

Gerardus Mercator
Duisburg, 1595

Atlas sive Cosmographicae
Meditationes de Fabrica
Mundi et Fabricati Figura

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Middle Ages, so the *Geography* was able to function, to some extent, as an atlas of current affairs throughout much of the fifteenth century.

In the last quarter of that century, however, geographical exploration made it clear that Ptolemy's maps needed updating—the Indian Ocean was discovered not to be a landlocked sea, new lands were found in the Atlantic, and new islands were reported in Southeast Asia. Many of the later printed editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* included new maps as supplements. For instance, Ptolemy's second map of Europe, showing the Iberian Peninsula as it was known in the second century A.D., might be followed by a "Tabula nova" or "Tabula moderna" showing the outlines as established by 1500. By the first decades of the sixteenth century, separate printed maps of many countries, provinces, and cities were available.

The first attempt to produce a printed collection of "modern" maps came in 1524–26, when Pietro Coppo (ca. 1469–ca. 1555) of Izola in Istria produced fifteen small woodcut maps of a uniform size. In fact, they were apparently never formally published as a unit, and only one set of the printed sheets survives, but they nonetheless demonstrate a clear intention to produce a uniform set of maps in book form. In a sense, therefore, we can think of Coppo as having produced the first "modern" (that is, non-Ptolemaic) printed atlas.

That distinction, however, is conventionally awarded to Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), an Antwerp map publisher and antiquary. In May 1570 he published a volume entitled *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Theater of the Whole World) containing seventy maps on fifty-three sheets, and including maps of the world, continents, countries, and provinces. The concept proved popular, and new, enlarged editions as well as various addenda were published during the next thirty years.

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In 1595, Mercator's famous work reproduced here, the *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* (Atlas, or Cosmographic Meditations on the Fabric of the World and the Figure of the Fabrick'd) was published in direct competition with the *Theatrum*. It, and not Ortelius' work, became the model for future atlases, and its maker, Gerardus Mercator, can confidently be called the greatest cartographer of the sixteenth century.

Early Education, First Maps

Mercator was born Gerard Kramer on March 5, 1512, in the small town of Rupelmonde, a few miles southwest of Antwerp.¹ His parents were actually German, and the first five years of his life were spent in the duchy of Julich, west of Cologne, near the Netherlands border. Thereafter, he returned to Rupelmonde, to the care of his uncle, to be educated. Young Gerard learned what Latin he could in the local school, and when he was about fifteen, his guardian sent him to 's Hertogenbosch to study at a school run by the Brethren of the Common Life, a religious fraternity that grew out of the movement known as *devotia moderna* (modern devotion). This movement cultivated an intense, loving, and personal faith that contrasted itself with the "old" speculative, scholastic, and routinized spirituality of earlier centuries.

1. The biography written by Mercator's friend and neighbor Walter Ghim, which first appeared in the prefatory section of the *Atlas*, remains an important source. There is no modern scholarly biography. The best account remains Heinrich Averdunk and J. Müller-Reinhard, *Gerhard Mercator und die Geographen unter seinen Nachkommen*. Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft 182 (Gotha: Perthes, 1914; reprinted Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969).

By the time of Mercator's attendance there, the "Great School" of 's Hertogenbosch was not only large (with some 1,200 students), but "it ranked with the finest secondary schools on the continent."² Among its teachers was the celebrated Macropedius (1475–1558), the greatest grammarian of his age as well as a respected mathematician. Here the young Mercator completed his basic study of Latin and pursued a course of studies in the seven liberal arts (the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music). No doubt he would also have read a good deal of theology. He probably lived in the house for poor students and engaged in some kind of manual labor as part of his school day (perhaps copying books for wealthy students, in the tradition of the brother-scribes, or distributing type in the print shop).

After three and one-half years with the brothers, Gerard went to Louvain, where he enrolled in the university on August 29, 1530, as one of the poor students at Castle College.³ By this time he had Latinized his name to Mercator (like *Kramer* in German, *Mercator* means "merchant" or "shopkeeper"). Mercator arrived at a decisive point in the development of the curriculum. Just as the Brethren of the Common Life had reformed secondary education in the fifteenth century, a new and novel college, founded on the urging of Erasmus, was beginning to replace older scholastic models

2. Albert Hyma, *The Brethren of the Common Life* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1950), 135.
3. Not, as Ghim says, the *Collegium Porci*. The principal source for this period of Mercator's life is Antoine de Smet, "Mercator à Louvain (1530–1552)," *Duisburger Forschungen* 6 (1962): 28–90, reprinted in *Album Antoine de Smet* (Brussels: Centre national d'histoire des sciences, 1974), 193–250.

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at Louvain. Instruction at the *Collegium Trilingue* was given in the three classical languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. In place of the rote copying and recitation that was typical of the medieval university, it stressed a critical approach to knowledge based on comparison, experimentation, and the testing of authority.⁴

Instead of relying on a medieval grammar and the writings of the church fathers, the new mode taught Latin by reading Cicero, and in its insistence on the best texts and the questioning of sources, the *Trilingue* provided a link to the Italian Renaissance. In this new school, lectures were free, and Mercator undoubtedly was one of the many students who packed the halls. Here he met and heard lectures from the *trilinguiste* Gemma Frisius (1508–55), only four years his senior and already considered a great mathematician and cosmographer.⁵ Mercator received his Master of Arts degree in 1532.

Mercator set out to support himself as a practical mathematician and scientist. Through intense private study and association with Frisius, and the goldsmith and engraver Gaspar van der Heyden, he acquired a thorough knowledge of geography, astronomy, cartography, and surveying.⁶ He learned the arts of making astronomical and surveying instruments of

4. Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517–1550*. *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vols. 10–13 (Louvain: Librairie universitaire, 1951–55), 1: 67–69, 76–85.

5. *Ibid.*, 2: 542–65; see also Antoine de Smet, “Note sur Gemma Frisius,” *Société royale belge de géographie, Bulletin* 80 (1956): 81–97.

6. Antoine de Smet, “L’orfèvre et graveur Gaspar van der Heyden et la construction des globes à Louvain dans le premier tiers du XVI^e siècle,” *Der Globusfreund* 13 (1964): 38–48.

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brass, of engraving on brass and copper, and of writing the italic hand. His immersion in these pursuits led to great struggles of conscience in trying to reconcile the new scientific and mathematical learning and the natural philosophy of Aristotle with the teachings of the Bible. He visited Antwerp to discuss these issues with, among others, Brother Franciscus Monachus, a geographer and cosmographer.⁷ Once Mercator was able to resolve the apparent conflict, the making of maps and mathematical instruments became not only a profession that promised him an adequate income, but a calling as well.

Mercator's first production as an independent cartographer and publisher, at the age of only twenty-five, exemplified the synthesis at which he had arrived. It was a map of the Holy Land, a scientific production, based on the newest and most approved mathematical principles, and intended to serve, according to its subtitle, "for the better understanding of the Bible."⁸ The following year he produced his first world map, which can also be seen as an attempt to unite the scientific and the spiritual. Using a sophisticated and unusual "double cordiform" projection, Mercator depicts a divided world given coherence by the power of mathematics. The projection consists of two heart shapes joined together at their bases. The distortions and interruptions that result limit its use as a working tool (the Americas are particularly

7. See B. de Troeyer, "Franciscus Monachus," *Franciscana* 17 (1962): 96–105; De Smet, "Mercator à Louvain," 31–33; and Robert W. Karrow, Jr., *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (Winnetka, Ill.: Speculum Orbis Press for the Newberry Library, 1993), 407–09.

8. Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 56/3; for Mercator's 1538 world map and the 1540 map of Flanders, discussed below, see 56/4 and 56/6, respectively.

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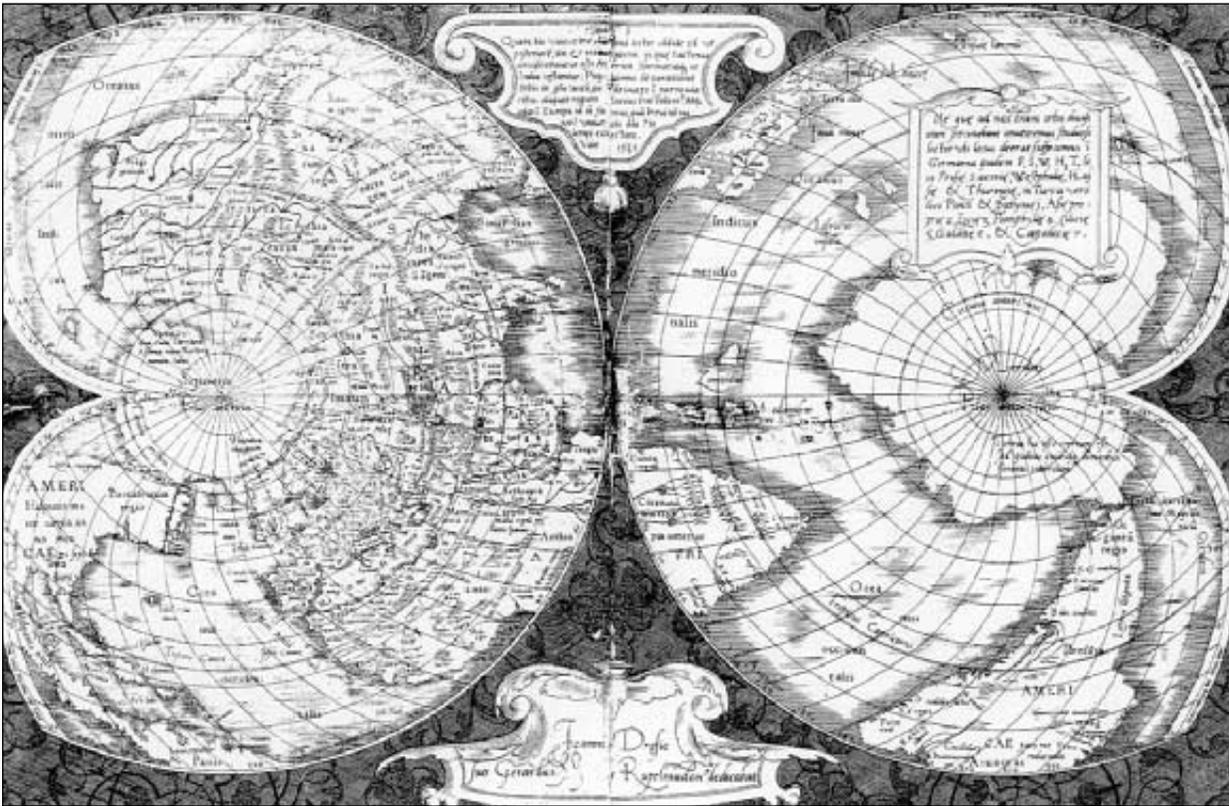
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Mercator's first world map, 1538.

ill-served, being spread over three of the four lobes of the “hearts”). Previous world maps had used a conic or oval projection, producing a familiar portrait of the world. By emphasizing the unusual projection at the expense of easily recognized continental outlines, Mercator was making an implicit statement about the ability of human reason and scientific investigation to help us understand the world.

The world of 1538 was a shattered world. The Lutheran schism had split European society along religious lines; the Peasants' War seemed to presage large-scale social fracture; in the Netherlands, Charles V was using



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terror to quell dissent, and his Inquisition would soon call Mercator (and Johannes Drosius, to whom the map is dedicated) to account. For Mercator, geographical description was more than the practical matter of locating places or showing how to get from one point to another. The cartographer is *homo faber*; he can split the world in unfamiliar and uncomfortable ways, but he also has the means, through mathematical reasoning, to bind it up so that it approaches once more the divine unity.

After the maps of the Holy Land and the world, Mercator turned to his homeland, Flanders, of which he published a decorative and extremely influential map about 1540. The merchants and burghers of Ghent were then in open revolt against Spanish rule, and this map of a united province, with its dedication to Charles V, may have represented an attempt to curry royal favor, or at least to temper royal anger. In 1540 Mercator published the first manual of the italic hand to be printed outside Italy.⁹ Far from a sideline, this work is entirely consistent with his profound desire to find first principles. For any map or other written communication to be effective, it must be clearly and legibly written. The humanist hand used by ecclesiastical secretaries in Italy was exceptionally legible, and thanks to its dissemination throughout the churches of Europe, it was in the position of becoming a European standard. Mercator used italic exclusively on his maps and it has remained a staple of cartographic lettering up to the present day.

9. A.S. Osley, *Mercator: A Monograph on the Lettering of Maps, etc. in the 16th Century Netherlands with a Facsimile and Translation of His Treatise on the Italic Hand and a Translation of Ghim's Vita Mercatoris* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1969).

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Globes and Mercator's Projection

Mercator's most ambitious cartographic project of the 1540s was the production of a pair of terrestrial and celestial globes, among the most remarkable globes of the century.¹⁰ The terrestrial globe displayed an exceptional knowledge of magnetism, with the north magnetic pole being located apart from the geographical pole, and with actual loxodromes (spiral lines of constant compass direction) plotted on it. He clearly envisioned it being used by navigators, and his employment of a wooden rather than a plaster ball meant that making compass measurements on it was much easier. Mercator valued measurement and sought accuracy and precision, and during this decade he devoted considerable attention to instrument making, producing a ring dial, a compass, and a quadrant.

In this busy round of work as a mathematical practitioner, theological concerns came to the fore in a most dramatic way. In February 1544 the attorney general of Brabant came to Louvain with orders to arrest forty-three persons on accusations of heresy. Mercator's name was on the list, charged with *lutherye* (Lutheranism), with the added note that he had written "suspicious letters" to the Minorite friars at Mechelin. Mercator was away from Louvain at the time, back in Rupelmonde seeing to the estate of his recently deceased uncle. Calling him a "fugitive," the authorities had him arrested in mid-February and imprisoned in the castle at Rupelmonde.¹¹ Whatever hearsay or flimsy evidence may have moved the

10. Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 56/7, 56/10.

11. E. Valveken, "Bij de arrestatie van Geeraard Mercator, 1544," *Nederlandsche historische-bladen* 1 (1938): 447-58; de Smet, "Mercator à Louvain," 75-79.

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inquisitors to act, the situation was a most serious one. Of the forty-two others accused with Mercator, two men were burned at the stake, another was beheaded, and a woman was buried alive.¹² His friends came to his support quickly. The University of Louvain, where he had an honorary appointment as porter, petitioned for his release. Peter de Corte (1491–1567), professor of theology in the *Trilingue* and a friend of Erasmus, wrote to Maria of Hungary, the governess of the Netherlands, attesting to Mercator's good character and entire innocence of the charge.¹³ But the bureaucracy moved slowly. In May they sent an agent to the Minorite abbey in Mechelin in search of the "suspicious letters"; none were found.¹⁴ Finally, after three and one-half months in prison (perhaps as many as six and one-half months), he was released.

Mercator eventually did leave the Spanish Netherlands for the more religiously tolerant atmosphere of the German duchy of Julich-Cleve-Berg, but he waited until 1552 to do so, the more liberal atmosphere not having been his principal motive. An early account says that he moved to Duisburg to teach in the university to be established by Duke William. The university did not materialize, but Mercator obviously found the setting congenial; he spent the rest of his active life there, while serving the Duke in the largely ceremonial position of Cosmographer. Mercator's three sons and three grandsons became active cartographers, and for much of their careers

12. Averdunk and Müller-Reinhard, *Gerhard Mercator*, 39.

13. The letters are printed in M. van Durme, ed., *Correspondence Mercatorienne* (Antwerp: Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1959), 18–25.

14. I have always suspected that the mysterious Minorite correspondent was Franciscus Monachus (see note 7).

it is likely that they were employed in the elder Mercator's workshop. The house in Duisburg must have been a hive of activity, with a well-stocked library of reference books, large tables for drawing fair copies of maps, well-lit workbenches beneath the windows for engraving copperplates and doing the metalwork on instruments, a roller press for making proof impressions, space for storing paper and drying and housing the printed sheets, and a number of craftsmen and apprentices, including members of his own family.

In 1569 Mercator published a world map on a new projection which was to prove his single greatest contribution to science and the invention that made his name a household word.¹⁵ Designed for use by mariners, the Mercator projection has the unique attribute that any compass direction can be represented by a straight line on the map. If a mariner wished to sail, say, between Gibraltar and Hispaniola, he simply laid a straight edge between the two points and measured the angle between this line and any meridian. If he then followed this steady compass course he would reach his destination. His course would not be the straightest possible; if plotted on a globe, it would be a spiral such as Mercator actually showed on his globe of 1541, not a great circle course such as would be shown by stretching a string between Gibraltar and Hispaniola on the globe. But a true great circle course requires constant change in compass direction and was well beyond the abilities and instruments of sixteenth-century seamen. Mercator's chart, used in connection with a magnetic compass (and an awareness of compass declination) gave the sailor the most reliable guide he had ever possessed. During the twentieth century it became one of the most ubiquitous projections for world maps, widely used in schools, textbooks, and popular media.

15. Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 56/17.

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Part of the attraction of the Mercator projection is its shape; it is one of the few world map projections that has a rectangular frame, making it an obvious choice for wall maps and maps in books. But every map projection is a compromise, sacrificing some qualities for the sake of others. In the case of Mercator's projection, its unique ability to show compass bearings as straight lines and its pleasing rectangularity are unavoidably linked to great areal distortions, especially at high latitudes. Greenland on a Mercator chart, for example, looks many times larger than Mexico, although they have nearly the same area. Because countries in latitudes closer to the poles appear so much larger than equatorial countries, the Mercator projection has been accused of favoring northern nations. Indeed, in terms of geographic accuracy, there are other projections more appropriate for a general-purpose world map, and the traditional schoolroom reliance on Mercator's projection is unfortunate. For its intended purpose, however, it is unsurpassed, and is still used for virtually all nautical charts published today.

The reliance in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries on Ptolemy's *Geography* has already been mentioned, but by the time Mercator took up the challenge of making an edition of Ptolemy in 1578, it had become largely an antiquarian endeavor.¹⁶ One could not properly understand modern geography, he reasoned, unless one knew historical geography, and Ptolemy was the most authoritative source for the ancient world-picture. With his scholarly approach and high artistic standards, Mercator made sure that the maps in his edition were as true to the Ptolemaic sources as sixteenth-century man could make them.

16. *Ibid.*, 56/E.

The *Atlas*

At the same time as the production of the Ptolemy, work was going ahead on modern maps for what would become the *Atlas*. By the time Ortelius' *Theatrum* appeared in 1570, Mercator had been publishing maps of his own making for over thirty years. According to Walter Ghim,

He had conceived certain ideas ... concerning the publication of other general and particular maps long before Abraham Ortelius, and had resolved to set out the situation of the whole world in a smaller format, and had described with his pen a number of examples, measuring the distances between places in correct proportion, so that nothing more remained to be done than to engrave them in brass. However, since the said Ortelius was so closely bound to him in singular friendship and familiarity, he put off the work, as yet unfinished, until Ortelius had sold copies of his ... *Theatrum*, in a very large quantity, to his great gain in riches and fortunes, before Mercator would publish his aforesaid smaller maps.¹⁷

Indeed, there is a unique example of a kind of atlas that Mercator prepared in the period 1570–72. It consists of folio-sized sheets taken from his wall maps of the world, Europe, and the British Isles, and supplemented by manuscript maps of Italy and other regions.¹⁸ Mercator's correspondence

17. All passages from Ghim and from Mercator's text in this Commentary are taken from the new English translation that appears in this Octavo Edition.

18. Gerardus Mercator, *The Mercator Atlas of Europe: Facsimile of the Maps by Gerardus Mercator Contained in the Atlas of Europe, circa 1570–1572*, ed. Marcel Watelet with contributions by James R. Akerman [et al.] (Pleasant Hill, Ore.: Walking Tree Press, 1997).

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suggests, however, that his modern atlas project may not have been as far along as Ghim indicates.¹⁹ Whether out of deference to his friend Ortelius or out of a scrupulous desire to create the best product possible, it was another fifteen years before the first part of his collection of modern maps appeared.

The long gestation period of Mercator's *Atlas* holds the key to its chief difference from Ortelius' *Theatrum* and its importance for the history of the genre. Ortelius was first and foremost a map dealer and publisher. His technique of atlas construction was to take the best *existing* maps from his large stock, have them reengraved to a uniform page size, and publish them in book form. This policy made for a rapid assembly of maps but resulted in great variation in the quality, reliability, contents, and appearance of the maps chosen. Indeed, Ortelius was known to include two quite different depictions of a region in the same atlas, on the theory that the map reader might be well served by having a variety of options. Mercator, on the other hand, was the sole author of his maps. He gathered his information from a variety of sources, including other maps, the accounts of geographers and travelers, and first-hand observations, but he alone made the ultimate decisions about what to include on the maps, where to place it, and how to relate the maps to other maps in the collection. A number of the *Atlas* maps are drawn at the same scale and can actually be pieced together to form multi-sheet wall maps. Mercator's *Atlas* thus has a clarity and regularity that are missing from the *Theatrum*, and his precedent of using a strong editorial hand to shape the content continues to be characteristic of the best atlases

19. George K. Boyce, "A Letter of Mercator Concerning his Ptolemy," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 42 (1948): 134.

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today. In its integrative and comprehensive approach, the *Atlas* of 1595 can be seen as Mercator's greatest attempt to achieve a sort of global healing.

Ortelius published additions to his *Theatrum* in the form of fascicles, or installments, of twenty or so maps, which could be purchased separately and later bound into a single volume. There is evidence that this mode of publication increased the circulation of the *Theatrum* among teachers and scholars who might not have been able to purchase the complete collection all at once.²⁰ Mercator adopted a similar publication plan, bringing out the first part of his atlas, covering France, the Low Countries, and Germany, in 1585. Each of the three sections had a separate title page, but none of them included the word "atlas." The second part of the atlas, containing maps of Italy, Greece, and the Balkan Peninsula, appeared in 1589.

In May 1590, while work was progressing on the third and last remaining part of the *Atlas*, Mercator suffered a stroke that affected his speech and left him paralyzed on his left side. "When he had entirely regained the use of his tongue," Ghim writes, "I saw him weeping and striking with his fist his breast three and four times over, saying, 'Strike, burn, cut your servant, O Lord! And if you have not struck hard enough, strike harder and sharper according to your pleasure, so that you may spare me in the life to come.'" Thereafter he continued to work as he was able. Ghim records how "he provided himself with a cot in which he could be borne by his servants from the chamber where he lay to the bath or the kitchen as he pleased. His present condition neither standing in the way nor prohibiting it, he observed the course of his studies in his ancient strength according to his powers in a small way"

20. Karrow, *Mapmakers*, 10.

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Theological Studies

In his last years Mercator found the strength to publish a work of theology, the full version of his “Evangelical Harmony,” of which an abbreviated version had appeared in 1569.²¹ The idea of harmonizing, or accounting for discrepancies in, the works of the Four Evangelists goes back to the second century (it later occupied the attention of such a profound thinker as Thomas Jefferson). For Mercator, harmony among the gospels was simply a case of setting the chronological record straight. On the basis of his research, for instance, Mercator regarded Christ’s public ministry as lasting nearly four and one-half years, not the three and one-half years usually credited.

Mercator suffered a cerebral hemorrhage in 1593 that deprived him of speech for a time and left him quite helpless. He improved a little and regained his speech but then, as Ghim records, “very peacefully, a little after eleven before midday, December 2, 1594, he went to sleep in the Lord.”

A few months later, in April 1595, Mercator’s son Rumold saw through the press the final part of the *Atlas*. This section consisted of Mercator’s introductory essay “On the Creation and Fabric of the World,” Ghim’s biography, an engraved portrait of Mercator, a world map, maps of the continents of Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, and maps of the Arctic region, Iceland, the British Isles, Scandinavia, and eastern and southeastern Europe. Following this section, Rumold reprinted the two previously published parts, so that the *Atlas* stood in its completed form for the first time. While the engraving and proofing of the maps was undoubtedly done in Mercator’s Duisburg home, the printing of the complete edition

21. Ibid., 388, 403.

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took place in a commercial shop in Düsseldorf, some twelve miles away. In this edition also, a collection of maps was linked for the first time with the figure of Atlas, the Greek Titan, condemned by Zeus to carry the vault of heaven on his shoulders. Mercator presented a complicated genealogy in the frontmatter, in which he identified *his* Atlas as a king of Mauritania, but whatever the lineage, Atlas has remained the icon and conventional designation for a book of maps.



Figure of Atlas, from the title page.

Given his prescience and innovations in matters scientific, it may be difficult for modern readers to appreciate the extent to which Mercator concerned himself in theological matters. His formidable religiosity comes through strongly in the long essay “On the Creation and Fabric of the World,” an attempt to put his book of maps in proper perspective. Its 36,000 words are, essentially, a gloss on the first chapter of Genesis. Just as the heavens proclaim the glory of God, the sublunary world, too, can be a book of praise.

For this is our goal while we treat of cosmography: that from the marvelous harmony of all things toward God’s sole end, and the unfathomable providence in their composition, God’s wisdom will be seen to be infinite, and his goodness inexhaustible [Prolegomenon, chapter 1].

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Not only in the myriad minutiae of creation, but even in the broad disposition of landforms, God's hand can be seen:

This, too, should be observed, how great the creator's prudence was in hollowing out those recesses, the receptacles of the waters, for he so distributed the seas throughout the whole world that all the kingdoms of the world could carry on trade among themselves and transport anywhere whatever nature or art should give them [chapter 10].

The scientific observation and mapping of waterways thus gives us insight into things divine.

Mercator was an incurable optimist. J.L. Heilbron has noted his "sunny" outlook,²² and indeed there is little in his creation story to inspire gloom. Eve and the Fall are barely mentioned, and he goes to great lengths to show that even the chaos had some form and some "quality or affection":

Therefore, since man is created in the image of God, the remaining creatures, so that they might have that just sympathy with mankind whom they were to serve, obtained some likeness to God in the creation itself. Moreover, even the first matter, chaos itself, from which all things including mankind were created, must have had some likeness to its creator. For it would be absurd, as I have already said, for God the fountain of all good things to create

22. J.L. Heilbron, "Introductory Essay," in *John Dee on Astronomy: Propaedeumata Aphoristica*, 1558 and 1568, *Latin and English*, ed. and trans. by Wayne Shumaker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 4–8.

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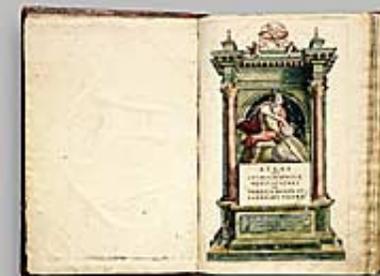
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something bad, and for him who is all, life and life-giving virtue, to create a stupid body without any quality or affection. This would immediately have had to be refashioned in order to be suited for the creation of the species of things and of mankind itself [chapter 4].

Harmony is always stressed, along with love: “[H]e makes all the things he creates, unanimously agreeing and connected with each other by the bonds of mutual love, to exist in a kind of natural affection and inclination to perform their office, which is imprinted within them from the harmonious consensus of ideas in the divine mind, according to the will of the creator” [chapter 3]. But in the turbulent and conflict-ridden atmosphere of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, sweet irenicism was no match for religious purity. Mercator never completely escaped the taint of heresy, and because his comments on original sin in chapter 18 were deemed unorthodox, the *Atlas* (including all the maps) was placed on the index of prohibited books in 1603.²³

Despite this formal ban in Catholic countries, Mercator’s *Atlas* flourished. A second edition had appeared in 1602, presumably seen through the press by one of the grandchildren, his son Rumold having died in 1599. All the copperplates were then sold to the engraver and publisher Jodocus Hondius of Amsterdam, and he and his son published some thirty further editions under Mercator’s name between 1609 and 1641. Although a number

23. Peter Opladen, “Gerhard Merkators religiöse Haltung,” *Annalen des historischer Verein für den Niederrhein* 133 (1938): 77–90, citation to page 83.

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of new maps were added, many of the original plates engraved by Mercator remained in use throughout these years.²⁴

Mercator was not the first to conceive of a book of modern maps, but he can certainly be called the first modern, scientific cartographer. Few men in the sixteenth century supported themselves entirely through cartographic work, but Mercator did; even fewer were skilled as he was in all aspects of map production, from surveying in the field through compilation, engraving, and publishing. No one else could claim the breadth of his understanding of terrestrial magnetism and map projection, and no one but a “universal man” of the Renaissance could combine all these traits with a devout and vigorous faith.

Robert W. Karrow, Jr., is Curator of Special Collections and Maps at the Newberry Library, Chicago. He holds a Ph.D. degree in history and is the author of *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570*.

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24. For an exhaustive bibliography of the Mercator atlas and its successors, including thumbnail reproductions of all the individual maps, see Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes neerlandici*, new ed., vol. 1 ('t Goy-Houten, The Netherlands: HES Publishers, 1997).

Binding and Provenance

The Lessing J. Rosenwald copy of Mercator's *Atlas* was bound at the time of publication, in brown calf over wooden boards, stamped in panels of blind and gilt. It measures 17¼ x 11½ inches (437 x 293 mm). The date ANNO // 1597 appears at the head and foot of the central panel of the rear cover and there are similarly displayed two sets of initials T.D.N // G.M.S. at head and foot of the panel on the front. A deeply embossed gilt lozenge appears in the center of each of these two panels. T.D.N. is believed to signify Tileman de Neufville of Wesel, second husband of Mercator's second daughter Dorothea.

The second set of initials may possibly indicate *Gerardus Mercator Socer* ("Gerardus Mercator father-in-law").

This folio volume has been sympathetically rebaked with very thin leather laid over and the corners and edges have been repaired to match. Two areas on the rear cover have similarly been expertly repaired with very thin leather replacements bearing decoration continuous with that of the original surface. Remnants of metal clasps appear on both boards, with the latches wanting. The book is housed in a full morocco solander case.

The front pastedown bears the early-twentieth-century bookplate of F.E. Lauber, with the Lessing J. Rosenwald bookplate above. Rosenwald bought the book from W.S. Kundig of Geneva, a leading Swiss dealer, shortly before Kundig's death in 1951.



Detail of front pastedown, showing bookplates of F.E. Lauber and Lessing J. Rosenwald.

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2⁰. [Part III.] π^2 $3\pi^2$ \aleph^4 a-d² χ_1 e² $2\chi_1$ $3\chi^4$ $3\chi^6$ (π^2 blank); 36 leaves. [Part I.] \dagger^6 **2 , $2\dagger^4$, $3\dagger^2$ $2\dagger^4$ $3\dagger^4$ ($2\dagger^4$ and $3\dagger^4$ blank; \dagger^2 signed $2\dagger^2$); 22 unnumbered leaves. [Part II.] π^2 a-c² χ_1 (χ_1 blank); 9 unnumbered leaves. Together, 67 leaves.

Pagination: [xx] 32 [33-52]; [44]; [18] pages.

Contents: [Part III.] [i-iv] blank [v] general title page [vi] blank [vii] To the Most Illustrious and Most Clement Princes, Wilhelm and Johann Wilhelm [viii] Portrait of Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde and poem on the portrait [ix] Epitaph of Gerardus Mercator [x] Another [xi] errata page [xii] blank [xiii-xvii] Life of Gerardus Mercator [xviii] Epitaph on the death of Gerardus Mercator. [xviii-xx] Two letters from two most learned men [xx] On *Atlas* by his grandfather, Gerardus Mercator. [1] Preface to *Atlas* [2] Family Tree of Atlas 3-32 On the Creation and Fabric of the World [33] section title page *Atlantis. Pars altera. Geographia nova totius mundi* [34] blank [35] To the amiable reader [36] blank [37-38] To Elizabeth ... Queen of England, France, and Ireland [39] To the most noble Lord Heinrich von Rantzau [40] blank [41-44] Index to the general maps of England, Scotland, and Ireland [45-48] Index to the map of Norway and Sweden [48] 1595 colophon [49-52] Political Status of the Kingdom of Denmark. [Part I.] [1] section title page *Galliae tabulae geographicae* [2] blank [3-5] To the Studious and Benevolent Reader [5-9] On the Political Status of the Kingdom of France [9-10] Advice on Using the Maps. Index of the Maps of Gaul [11-12] To the most illustrious and most clement prince Johann Wilhelm

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[13–16] Index to the general map of Gaul [17] section title page *Belgii Inferioris geographica tabula* [18] blank [19] To the studious reader [19–21] The Polity of Belgium under the Burgundians [22] Index of the Maps of Lower Belgium [23–24] blank [25–28] Index of locations in the general map of Lower Belgium [29] section title page *Germaniæ tabula geographica* [30] blank [31–34] Useful Prefatory Instruction to the Maps of Germany [34] Catalogue of the Maps of Germany [35–36] blank [37–44] Index of locations in the general map of Germany. [Part II.] [1] section title page *Italiae, Sclavoniae, et Græciæ tabula geographica* [2] blank [3] To the most serene prince Ferdinando de' Medici [4] Gentle Reader [5–15] Index of locations in the general map of Italy. Index of locations in the general map of Greece [16] Index of the Maps of Italy and Greece [17–18] blank.

Illustrations: Present are five engraved architectural title pages, an engraved portrait of Gerardus Mercator and 107 engraved maps, all but one double-page, as follows: [Part III.] 34 maps, lettered A–E, I–XXIX: The world, the continents, the British Isles, Northern Europe, and Russia [Part I.] 51 maps: France and Belgium, lettered a–z, &, ct; Germany, lettered A–Z (adding F₂ and Q₂), AA. [Part II.] 22 maps, numbered 1–22: Italy and Greece.

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Color in Cartography

A map, like any work of art, is the distinctive product of its time and place. It is perhaps less obvious that our perception of color is also determined by such factors. In 1890–91, the historian Henry Adams passed an idle year in the South Seas with his paint box, only to find that landscape painting, even amateur, was not so simple a matter as it might at first appear. “These skies and seas and mountains are not to be caught by throwing paint on their tails with ever so accurate an aim. ... The peculiarity of the tropics is that every object, even in shadow, is flooded with light. ... Even the colors shift incessantly. A coral reef which at ten o’clock is green with the intense lustre that only glass can represent, is deep purple at noon, blue at two o’clock, and may be brown or grey or violet or rose or orange or red before dark. ... The attempt to be true to nature, in the sense of matching colors, is more preposterous here than anywhere else, and nowhere is it very feasible.” Insofar as cartography is a schematic form of landscape painting, it shares precisely this problem with color.



Present-day Indonesia and the Philippines, from the map of Asia in the *Atlas*.

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The history of color in maps is largely the story of the interplay of decoration and function, of the nature and artifice in representational and symbolic coloring. Of course it is not always possible (or even necessary) to distinguish these elements. Cartographic coloring, like many poetical comparisons, is both symbolic and representational. Nature imitates art as often as art follows nature. The Turkish and Arabic name for the Mediterranean, the White Sea, no longer survives in the Western world, but the Black Sea and the Red Sea are presences still. Water, however, was not “black” for the ancient Greeks, and no one has found the Red Sea to be “red”: it was possibly an indication of direction, for the cardinal points have their own varied symbolism—usually red for the south, yellow for east, black for north, and white for west. Certainly, many medieval maps show the Red Sea as red. But any attempt to project the color perceptions of one age or nation onto another is apt to be misleading.

Color is not simply a matter of ideology or “a certain slant of light.” However naturalistic a convention may be in its inspiration, it tends to become increasingly formalized over time and detached from its origin. A picturesque landscape in the eighteenth century required certain standard elements, among them a brown tree: that very green painter John Constable was once asked where he put his. The four seasons, the four elements, the four directions, the four winds each have their symbolic colors. All figure on maps, although varying with time and place. There is no universality to symbolism. The four colors of Aaron’s “holy garments” (Exodus 39:1–2) were interpreted by St. Jerome as indicating the four elements: white for earth, blue for air, red for fire, and purple for water. There are medieval maps whose conventions appear to have been inspired by this exegesis, with white continents and purple oceans.

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Air and fire are less frequently represented, but in a few maps of the period, fresh water is colored blue, its stillness reflecting the air of the sky above; and sometimes mountains are red, perhaps reflecting a vulcanist conception of geology or merely (as a seventeenth-century geographer explained it) the greater proximity of the mountains to the fiery rays of the sun.

Red is also the medieval color of the town; this is commonly explained as an indication of the color of their clay roof tiles. The nineteenth-century traveler who, on landing at an Italian seaport, expressed her relief at being back on terra-cotta at last was not necessarily a malapropist—she may simply have had a firmer grasp of cartographic convention than of Latin vocabulary. But stone is also symbolically red, the earth (as old geographers explained) having created rock from lesser elements in its vast underground brick oven over centuries of time. Roads therefore, as well as towns, were colored red, a convention that persists today. By the fifteenth century, a distinction was often made on the detailed maps of surveyors or military engineers between stone bridges (colored red) and wooden ones (colored gray or black). In the thirteenth-century world maps of Ebstorf and Hereford, water is blue and cities red. Other maps of the time distinguish between the salt sea (often green instead of purple) and fresh water (blue for rivers and lakes), with woodlands in darker green and roads in red.

Geographical names were usually added in red in the Middle Ages, a convention borrowed from manuscript rubrication. Indeed, many other aspects of the decoration of maps appear to be borrowed from medieval manuscript tradition: the coats of arms or banners to identify cities or countries; or the miniature illustrations, ships, sea monsters, and allegorical figures along the borders or on blank spaces of ocean or unexplored interiors.

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The symbolic meanings of color change over time, as do the pigments themselves, as do, above all, the conceptual boundaries. In the late Middle Ages, it was customary to grade colors from coarse to fine and to establish an aesthetic hierarchy from ugly to beautiful. Five centuries later, many people still assess their fellow humans in these terms, ignoring the modern criminal profile systems that encourage policemen (at least) to consider the human face as the sum of its component features. The modern color paint sample book reflects the policeman's view of nature, with its very different hierarchy from the medieval. To minds trained to have a "favorite color" and to think that colors can be "coordinated," color has become an abstraction, a paint chip or benchmark against which natural appearances are to be measured.

The distinctions that may be drawn with colors between symbolic and naturalistic, however indeterminate the boundaries, may also be drawn geographically. The old T-O maps were aptly colored symbolically. Here the *T* defined the division into three continents (Asia, Africa, and Europe) assigned to the three sons of Noah, and the oceanic *O* encircled the whole. With more naturalistic representations of the earth, coinciding with more naturalistic representations of landscape in Renaissance painting (for the surveyor links the cartographer to the artist), symbolic coloring tends to disappear. With the transition from manuscript to engraved map, the transformation is complete. As the engraver's work increases in detail and expands in scale, the old opaque colors (the gouaches with their concealing admixture of white) yield to ever more delicate washes of color—polychromatic and polysemous but not obscurantist or competing with the information of black line. The finely engraved Italian maps of the sixteenth century were colored lightly, if at all, and most maps of the next two centuries were issued in both plain and colored states.

Although the line was now mass-produced by engraving, the largely optional coloring was still added by hand, as with the illustrated natural history books of the period. Cartographic coloring became an independent trade in the sixteenth century, a specialty of certain ateliers, often composed of women or of an entire family. Such colorists would follow a model ordinarily, but the work permitted frequent individual variations or elaborations, especially when an atlas was commissioned by a wealthy or influential patron. Early sixteenth-century attempts at printing large blocks of color typographically from two or three woodblocks were crude and not commercially successful. (Stencilling in the nineteenth century was a last-gasp attempt of the semi-mechanized hand to rival a newly industrialized color printing, on an economic rather than aesthetic basis.)

With the rise of cartography in the Low Countries, and the domination of Mercator and Ortelius, came an increasing use of color to indicate national and administrative boundaries. As may be seen in this copy of Mercator's *Atlas*, the countries are generally colored in washes of contrasting colors, demarcated by darkened edges—this is, in fact, exactly the way a pool of watercolor dries. The cities are highlighted in the traditional red, but there are no red roads. Instead there are blue-black rivers and lakes, and brown mountains (both excellently demonstrated in the several maps of Switzerland), and green forests (prominent in Luxembourg). Often, as in the mountain-encircled Transylvania or forest-girded Bohemia, these natural features coincide with national boundaries.

The most significant change in the practice of coloring since Mercator has come with developments in applied cartography. The rise of thematic mapping—of rocks, soils, land use, epidemics, etc.—in the late eighteenth

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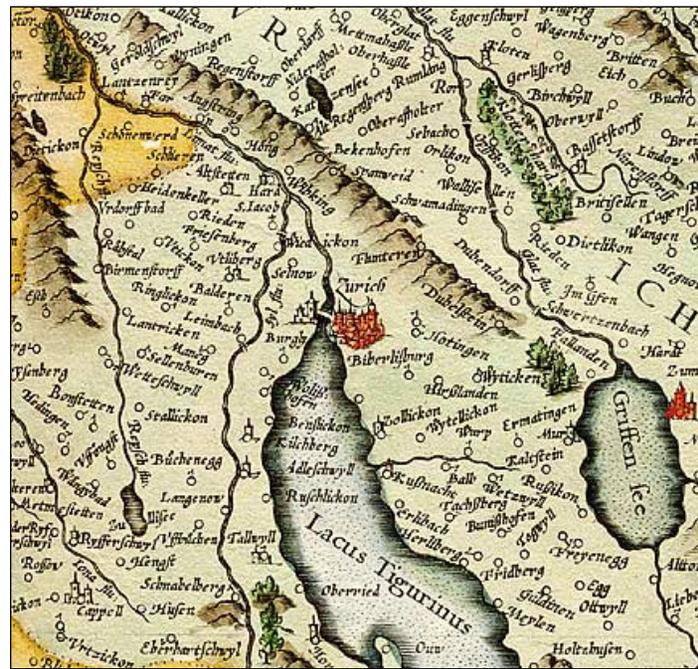
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and early nineteenth centuries, and lithographic coloring in the mid-nineteenth century, marked a return to the symbolic indications of the European Middle Ages. The new chemical colors of the period and the new mechanical methods of application enabled thematic maps to present a riot of color. Pure topography remained more sedate. Color printing admirably conveys a sense of contour and relief, and for the uniform shading of mountains, especially with the perfection of what might be called its own spectrum of color to denote altitude, from deep to light green, through yellows and browns, to reds and purples, culminating in white. Nonetheless, maps very similar to Mercator's in their conventions of coloring continue to be produced today for general purposes, so elegant is their geographical synthesis.



Zürich and surrounding lands.

THE EDITORS

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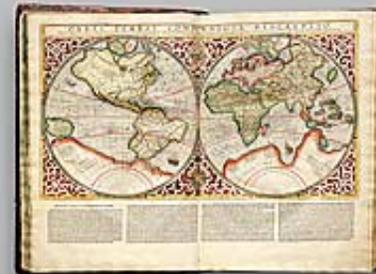
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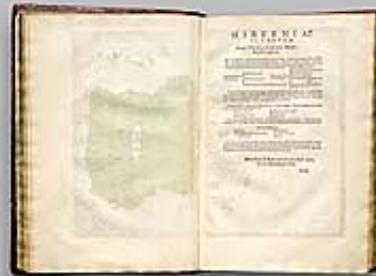
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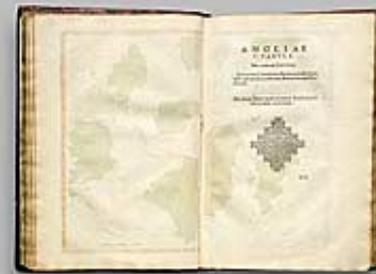
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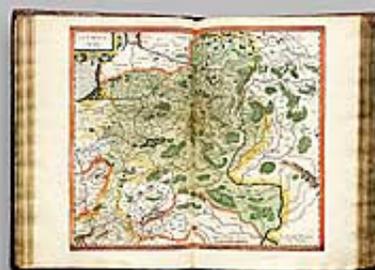
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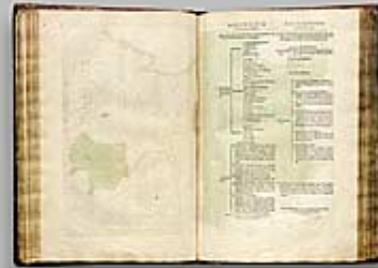
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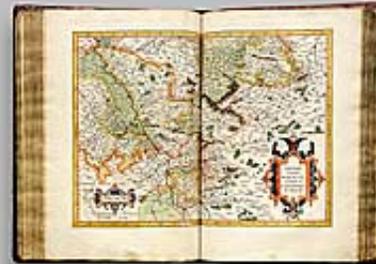
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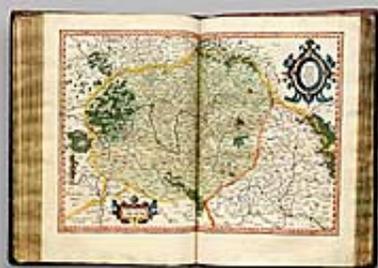
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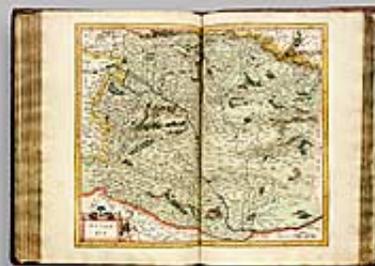
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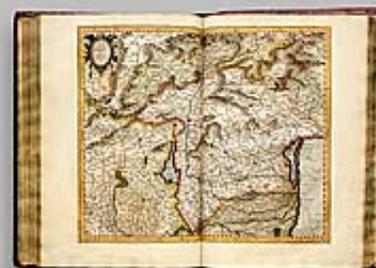
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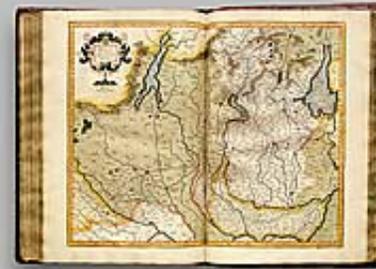
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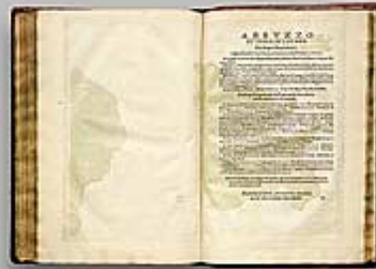
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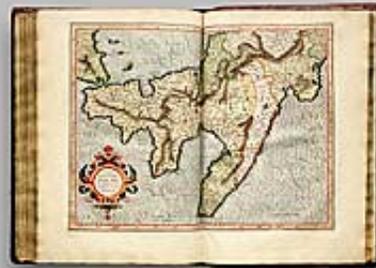
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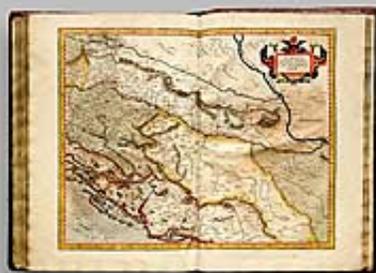
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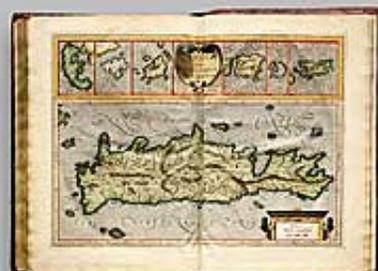
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Translator's Note

Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura

This is the first complete English translation of the text of Mercator's *Atlas*.¹ The *Atlas* consists largely of a polyglot compilation from many sources of political and ecclesiastical geography made by him and his heirs to accompany a set of detailed maps describing the territories extending from Iceland in the Northwest to Crete in the Southeast. As such, it presents many problems to the translator: First, of simple accuracy of identification, since the descriptions are so often secondhand and unverified; and second, of consistency in usage, since the *Atlas* dates from a time of far different linguistic and political configurations than those of the present day.

The present translation does not, and could not, attempt to resolve all these complexities. Rather, I have tried to make a version setting out the main signposts according to contemporary English usage, without introducing needless anachronisms. Thus, principal cities with established English names are so given: "Rome," not *Roma*; "Ghent," not *Gand*; "Mainz," not *Menz*. Where subsequent events have altered such simple relations, I have generally chosen to use English forms close to those (whether Latin or vernacular) used by Mercator. Thus "Danzig," not *Gdansk*. I have indicated current names selectively for the sake of orientation. Thus Marienburg/Malbork; Reval/Talinn. For locales of lesser rank, I have used

1. The reader will note that the English translation covers the text portions only, and does not include the labels on the maps and Mercator's indexes to same.

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vernacular forms as given in the original. A large residue of Latin names for lesser towns, especially in the ecclesiastical geography, remains. When I have felt unsure of their proper identification with modern sites, my preference has been to leave them in the Latin form derived from the *Provinciale Romanum*. These forms will be recognized by their endings in *-ensis*, etc.

Interpolated material is indicated in brackets. For this translation, tabular material has generally been presented in paragraph format. References to the Psalms are numbered according to Protestant versions of the Bible.

Finally, the reader should note that in the indications of longitude, Mercator's prime meridian is that of the westernmost of the Canary Islands, roughly twenty degrees West of Greenwich.

Translation by David Sullivan for Octavo.

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English Translation

Atlas sive Cosmographicæ Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura

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Atlas
or
Cosmographic
Meditations
on
The Fabric of the World and
The Figure of the Fabrick'd.

[VIEW 5R](#)

By Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde,
Cosmographer to the Most Illustrious
Duke of Jülich and Cleve, etc.
With Permission.
Duisburg, in Cleve

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To the Most Illustrious
and Most Clement Princes,
Wilhelm
and
Johann Wilhelm,
Dukes of Jülich, Cleve,
and Bergen,
Counts of Marchia and Ravensburg,
Lords in
Ravensstein, etc.
Father and Son
His Most Clement Lords
In Gratitude
Gerardus Mercator
of Rupelmonde,
in Perpetual Memory
Dedicates and Consecrates This.

[VIEW 6R](#)

Great thanks are owed to the Pelusian charts, and great thanks to you, Mercator, for having at last surpassed that ancient labor, and for having shown new stretches of the earth and sea, and the great, all-containing heavens. By J. Vivian.

[VIEW 7L](#)

Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde at the age of 62—Frans Hogenburg made this portrait out of affection for him. 1574.

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Poem on the portrait.

Thus was Gerardus Mercator known to the world,
when savage fate seized the man at Duisburg.
He lived eighty years and two,
eight months and three and nine days.
He was truly learned, pious, pure, just to all,
as dextrous in his genius as dextrous in his hand.
He joined the stars to the earth and added the sacred to the profane,
rectifying both at once.
As a mathematician, he described the stars with his cunning rod,
and gave them to be observed in a little globe.
He brought together the broad orb of the earth into maps,
and gave the kingdoms of the earth to be seen in the globe.
And lest he should fail the studies of the heaven and the earth in anything,
he taught history to speak times certain.
He uncovered the sacred mysteries of the prophets
and commanded Christ's four heralds to march in step.
And he did these things so as to surpass all past
artists, on his own, and by his own hand.
Happy in his offspring and in the children and grandchildren born of his body,
he has sure hope of a grateful posterity.
But since he followed your flock, O Christ, blessed,
he feeds forever on happy pastures with you.
And although it is not the least praise to have pleased the Duke,
yet greater praise is it to have pleased God.

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Written by Bernardus Furmerius of Leeuwarden,
Licentiate of Law, in his sorrow.

Epitaph
of Gerardus Mercator
Buried in the town of Duisburg in Cleve
Sacred to the best and highest God.

To Gerardus Mercator, a Fleming of Rupelmonde,
Born in the province of Jülich,
Servant of Charles V
Holy Roman Emperor
to Wilhelm (the father) and Johann Wilhelm (the son),
Dukes of Jülich and Cleve, etc.,
Cosmographer.

Easily the first among mathematicians of his age: who
displayed heaven and earth, within and without, using
artificial globes measured, so far as possible,
according to their radius, praised
for his wide learning.

Famous for his virtue (which is superior to all), the integrity of his life
and every kindness of manners; his sorrowful heirs erected
this monument to their well-deserving father,
and a studious band of scholars
to their friend.

[VIEW 7R](#)

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He was born March 5 at the
sixth hour before noon, 1512.
He died December 2 at the
eleventh hour before noon, 1594.

You ask who I was? With heaven as auspice I espied all the earth,
reconciling things below with those above.
Through me, the stars of heaven shine in maps,
India, the Antipodes, and the many-sailed sea.
I set in order the times of the whole world in annals,
so that the history of the immense orb might be known.
What else I crafted, if a future age read it,
that age shall know that I wished to profit it.
Now, so that I may see Him face to face who thunders on earth and in heaven,
I have climbed the shining stars. Earth, farewell.
Happy you who has lived for Christ alone;
may it be granted to live with whom you have lived.

He gave a sublime voice to man.

Johann Metellus, J.C.

Another.

[VIEW 8L](#)

He who revealed the breadth of the universal orb,
and everything there was in the universal orb;
the places of things and men throughout the orb,
along with the shapes the pole has,

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and what the nature and fixity of the planets is;
and measured and achieved these
with skillful genius, labor, and exactitude;
he, possessor of so many riches and goods,
Mercator, is contained in this modest urn.
Why does the place not shine with marble
and blaze with polished stones?
He did not suppose that stones would be the
guardians of his fame, but rather books
in the hands of learned men, so long
as the universal orb shall stand, fixed in its mass,
and as broadly as the universal orb spreads,
long after stones and bronze and gold.
His *Mind*, proceeding farther,
always acknowledged and worshipped the ruler of heaven,
faithfully in ardent zeal. Therefore he now
delights in and enjoys the perpetual sight of *God*,
even beyond the time
when the universal orb of the world lasts.

Lambert Lithocomus,
Student of Laws.

Correction of the more important errors that occurred
in the printing of this book.

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In the first part of *Atlas*.

Fol. 3, line 11, read “intellectui” and in the following line read “potens.” In the same folium, chapter 2, line 2, read “filum” and “exornatissima” for “è ornatissima.” Fol. 6, chapter 1, line 17, change “veritate” to “varietate.” Fol. 8, beginning of line 5, *ibid.*; chapter 3, line 25, read “traditus.” Fol. 9, line 25, for “ibi” read “sibi.” Fol. 10, line 34, read “receptas.” Fol. 13, line 31, read “incommunicantia.” Fol. 14, for “poris” read “temporis.” Fol. 21, line 3, read “apparebis,” line 32, read “illa”; and line 41, read “illius” for “illo.” Fol. 23, line 48, read “ulteriore.” Fol. 24, line 46, read “similia.” Fol. 28, last line, read “annuum.” Fol. 29, line 53, read “tota.”

In the second part of *Atlas*.

Map 1, line 4, read “geographiam”; line 5, read “ad inferiora, etc.”; line 24, read “Ebudibus.” Map 2, line 13, read “In Islandia, etc.” Map 7, line 17, read “maioribus” for “moribus.” Map 18, line 10, read “Aggerhusia, eadem in Sueciae regno”; line 5, read “indegenas.”

The Life of

the most celebrated and most famous man

Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde,

Composed by Lord Walter Ghim, patrician of Duisburg, and most worthy praetor of the same most ancient town.

Gerardus Mercator, the most experienced cosmographer by far to the most noble Prince of Jülich, Cleve, Bergen, etc., was born March 5, 1512, around dawn, at the sixth hour before noon. His parents, namely, Hubert Mercator and his wife Emerentiana, of Jülich, were staying at Rupelmonde within the

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borders of the county of Flanders with his uncle Gisbert Mercator, the most vigilant pastor of the same town. After he had passed his childhood and as soon as he had learned the rudiments of the Latin language in his native land, he was sent by this said uncle to 's Hertogenbosch to complete his studies of grammar and begin that of logic in the house of the brethren. He devoted three and one-half years to this work under George Macropedius, at the expense of the aforementioned pastor. Thence he was sent by the same man to the most celebrated University of Louvain, and taking his place in the *Collegium Porci*, directed his efforts to the humane arts until he attained his master's degree. After his advancement, for some years he devoted himself to private philosophical studies with singular mental pleasure. But when it appeared to him that this kind of study was insufficient to support a family for posterity, and required greater expenditures to pursue before he could reach its highest reaches and thus assure himself of an ample income for himself and his own, he therefore abandoned the study of philosophy and threw his mind into mathematics. He devoted such diligent labor to these subjects that within a very few years he was teaching their rudiments privately to some students, and eventually built and perfected mathematical instruments, such as spheres, astrolabes, astronomical rings, and others of the kind, out of bronze. In his twenty-fourth year (that is, A.D. 1536), at the beginning of September, he wed a wife there, a citizen of Louvain named Barbara Schelleken [*sic*], who bore him six children in the following years, namely, three sons and as many daughters. When Mercator realized that he was making such happy progress in the mathematical arts, he set his mind to engraving maps in order to cultivate more fully the powers of his genius. As he became more practiced in this

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matter, he began this work, beginning in Louvain with a description of the Holy Land, which he completed to the admiration of many in 1537 and had published. He dedicated these first fruits of his geographical maps to the most illustrious Francis Craniveld, Counselor of the most victorious Emperor Charles V. He had no teacher in the above disciplines (as he frequently told me), availing himself with his great mental swiftness only of the private instruction of the most famous (and now deceased) Doctor Gemma Frisius, who was easily considered among the most distinguished practitioners of the mathematical disciplines in all of Lower Germany at that time. Certain merchants [in Latin, *Mercatores*] urging him on, he considered and undertook the description of Flanders and after a short interval brought it out in the same place [i.e., Louvain]. With Flanders finished, he published a small book on the manner of writing the Latin letters called italic or cursive in Antwerp in 1541 [*sic*]. Since he understood that his apprentice work in these crafts was widely praised by learned men, he soon undertook and began another work, namely, the engraving of the terrestrial globe, finishing it over the course of one or two years, with good omens, in the said year, 1541. He dedicated it to the most renowned and eminent and worthy Lord Nicolaus Perenottus of Granville, counselor of the privy council of the aforesaid Emperor Charles V. In the meantime, he came to the attention of the aforesaid Emperor Charles V of most fortunate memory through the praises of this most noble man, and prepared and built numerous mathematical instruments most skillfully for his majesty. These were melted and consumed in a fire secretly started by the enemy in a barn during the Saxon War, not far from Ingolstadt in the duchy of Bavaria, as the emperor reported to him after his return from Germany to Brussels.

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For this reason, he ordered new ones to be made for him by Mercator. After a ten-year interval, he published another globe [Louvain, 1551], in which he encompassed the arrangement of the heaven of the planets and the celestial signs, dedicating it to the most reverend and most noble Lord George of Austria, Bishop of Liège, etc. At the same time he also composed a little book on the use of the globe dedicated to Emperor Charles V and a little treatise on the use of the astronomical ring. In the following year, 1552, he moved from Louvain in the duchy of Brabant to Duisburg in Cleve, with his aforesaid and dearest wife and most darling children and came to live. A short time after he had fixed his seat here in our neighborhood, he labored to construct two small globes at the command of the same emperor, one of the purest crystal, the other of wood. In the former the planets and the most prominent constellations were engraved with a diamond and illuminated and filled with gold; the latter contained a most exact description of the circle of the earth, insofar as the smallness of the little orb permitted, which was no larger than that of the ball boys play with in a circle. These he himself

presented to the aforesaid emperor at Brussels along with some other mathematical instruments. Also, before he left Louvain, he had begun a description of Europe and had completed three or four maps there, finishing and publishing the rest (having brought the bronze plates with him) when he came to live here in the space of two years, that is, in 1554, in the month of October. He dedicated the work to the prefect of Artois, the most reverend Lord Antonius Perenottus, prime counselor to his Imperial Majesty, and son of Nicolaus, of whom we have made honorable mention above. Mercator experienced in very deed the magnificence of this heroic

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spirit and his outstanding generosity in the honorarium that his eminency bestowed on him for the dedication of these said maps. He emended the same maps of Europe, publishing them here in Duisburg in March 1572. This work was celebrated with such praise by all learned man everywhere that its like in geography seems never to have been published. His fortune thus established, a description of the British Isles compiled with great diligence and the highest accuracy was sent to him from England by a singular friend, asking him to engrave it on bronze plates. This he could not deny his friend, and deemed it unjust to withhold his hand from a work so perfect and worthy in the sight of the learned. Beginning, therefore, this province, he sent it to the press in 1564. At about the same time, with the duke of Lorraine asking our prince permission for him, after measuring the duchy of Lorraine town by town and through each village most accurately by stages, on his return he described it exactly with his pen and offered it to his highness at Nancy. This journey had been attended with such great disadvantage to his health and taxed his strength so sorely that he narrowly escaped very serious illness and fell into a depression. Four years lapsed until 1568, when he allowed his *Chronology* (which we shall discuss more fully below) to be published at the insistence of his printer and friends. After a very short time he displayed and set out a new work, namely, a most exact description of the whole world in very large format before the eyes and gaze of learned men and travelers and sailors, projecting the sphere onto the plane by a new and most convenient invention, which would answer to the squaring of the circle so perfectly that nothing seems to be lacking save a proof, as I have heard no few times from his own mouth. He availed himself of no one else's aid or support in so vast a work; with his own hand

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he engraved everything that is seen in the maps except the borders. God favoring his labors and attempts, he put an end to this most magnificent work in August 1569 here in Duisburg, and deemed and judged it most just to dedicate it to the most illustrious prince Wilhelm, Duke of Cleve, etc., his most clement lord. After finishing these maps, he gave his attention to restoring and emending the maps published long ago by Claudius Ptolemy (who lived in the time of the Emperor Antoninus [*Antonio*] Pius). He restored the old geography and emended it according to the intentions of the author with such diligence that on this account alone he most justly deserved the highest praise of students of the liberal arts and the disciplines of mathematics. He put the final touches to this labor and work in February 1578, and dedicated it to our most illustrious and most clement lord of most pious memory, and most eminent patron [*maecenas*] of honorable studies. He had conceived certain ideas for this work concerning the publication of other general and particular maps long before Abraham Ortelius, and had resolved to set out the situation of the whole world in a smaller format, and had described with his pen a number of examples, measuring the distances between places in correct proportion, so that nothing more remained to be done than to engrave them in brass. However, since the said Ortelius was so closely bound to him in singular friendship and familiarity, he put off the work, as yet unfinished, until Ortelius had sold copies of his world map in the *Theatrum*, in a very large quantity, to his great gain in riches and fortunes, before Mercator would publish his aforesaid smaller maps. But lest he cheat the expectations of many learned men in vain hope any longer, he arranged and ordered his own affairs so as to have the general maps of France and Germany published here in Duisburg in August 1585, and

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inscribed and dedicated them to the most generous and most serene prince Johann Wilhelm, now our most clement duke. With these finished, he went about engraving the general and particular maps of Italy, successfully completing them in April 1590, and dedicated them to the most powerful and most serene Ferdinand de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany. A little later, he began the description of the northern provinces and had made no slight progress on them. But the fates envied him their completion and the opportunity of publishing them. His heirs (as the reader will see in the following little work) will display them to the eyes of inquirers. He also greatly increased the aforesaid chronology with testimonies of antiquity and demonstrations and wrote a little book on the art of geography; these his heirs hope to publish soon. If God had granted him longer life and health, he had decided to arrange the western regions, that is, Spain and Portugal, in maps of smaller format and send them to the press. He would have undertaken very many other geographical projects, and had certainly conceived them, but the event, as I have said, was contrary to his wishes, and denied him a more fortunate success. What has been said so far in the praise and commendation of this noble and outstanding man he undertook in the disciplines of geography and mathematics. Let us now turn to the useful work he accomplished for students of theology. Before the very troubled times of the present war in the low countries had arisen, he composed a harmony of the Gospels, which he arranged so that a reader might easily read the text of every Evangelist in the order and sequence that he had written his Gospel; but if it pleased someone to reconstruct a continuous evangelical history from the Four Evangelists, it would be possible for him to satisfy his wishes in one and the same reading. I have heard with my own ears his edition

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eagerly wished for and commended by theologians of great reputation. He had the said work published a little before the autumn fairs of 1592, dedicating it to the most noble and most eminent Lord Henry de Weze, the most worthy chancellor of Cleve. He also wrote commentaries on the *Letter to the Romans*, in which he very well and solidly attempts to solve, manfully and with an educated judgment and great ingenuity of spirit, several controversies of our time concerning divine providence, predestination, and free will; also, several chapters on *Ezekiel*, on the *Apocalypse*, and many others. If it happens (which I hope it shortly will) that they are published, there is no doubt that the labors of this good man and his pious effort will be the most highly approved by many learned men.

How greatly deserving of praise from students and scholars of history Mercator was, his *Chronology* (published in 1560) amply attests. He dedicated this to the most famous and most celebrated Lord Henry Oliver, honorary chancellor of Cleve. This work met with such approbation and esteem from all learned men throughout Italy and Germany that Onuphrius Panuvinus of Verona, that most famous and eminent investigator and champion of antiquities (to say nothing of the magnificent testimonies to its excellence of the most learned men everywhere) did not hesitate to prefer our Mercator to all the other most experienced mathematicians and champions of antiquities for many reasons. So that the reader may better know his testimony, I thought it not out of order to repeat here the very words of this authority, which we have drawn from a letter that Onuphrius wrote to his friend Johannes Metellus, a man of the highest erudition and greatest judgment. They are as follows:

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“About Mercator, I openly and freely confess that, of all those whom I have been able to see in this line of study (and I have read all that are extant), there is none to whom I would not justly prefer by far your Mercator, whether you look at his matter and arrangement or regard his judgment and industry or consider his observation of celestial motions (insofar as he treats this). Therefore I beseech you by the holy bonds of our friendship to make him more familiar to me, at least for our common interest in chronological studies, when you meet with him personally or write him.”

Who could celebrate or commend with sufficiently worthy praise or titles the immense labor he consumed and spent over many years, when the opportunity presented itself in his reading, to extract, annotate, and set in order the genealogies of the most illustrious heroes and most celebrated families, which flourished everywhere from the beginning of the world, and which thrive in the current state of things throughout Europe? Given the opportunity, he surely would have committed them to the press, if longer life had been divinely granted him. That he had in the end decided and proposed (and to a degree, outlined) to leave several little works to posterity as a monument after his death, the dedicatory letter he prefixed to the maps of France and Germany openly shows. Its drift is as follows: “The arrangement and order of the work demanded that I first treat of the fabric of the world and the arrangement of its parts generally; then of the order and motion of the celestial bodies; thirdly, of their nature, radiation, and conflict in their workings, in order to inquire more truthfully into astrology; fourthly, of the elements; fifthly, of the description of kingdoms and the whole earth; sixthly, of the genealogies of princes from the beginning of the world, in order to investigate the migrations of peoples and the first

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habitations of the earth and the times of inventions and antiquities. For this is the natural order of things, which easily demonstrates their causes and origins and is the best guide to true science and knowledge, etc.” So far in his words. He titled this work: *Atlas, sive cosmographicae speculationis libri quinque* [*Atlas, or Cosmographical Speculations in Five Books*]. In the first book he described the handiwork and fabric of the world. He completed it even during a paralysis of his left arm, as his time was running out. He had labored to bring forth this offspring above all others (as he himself attests) his whole life long. He had begun to inquire into astronomy in the second book, but he did not finish it. He was to have examined astrological matters in the third. He was planning to treat the creation of the elements, the motion of the sun and the moon, and also the location and order of the planets in the fourth. The fifth he had destined for the geography of the whole earth, if a sufficient lifespan had been granted him. But in this final work he had decided to divide the world into three equal continents, in a far different order from any that had hitherto been attempted or performed by anyone. He had established one of them as Asia, Africa, and Europe; the second, the West Indies, with all the kingdoms and provinces contiguous to them; the third, even though he was fully aware that it is to date hidden and unknown, he affirmed he could demonstrate and prove by solid reasons and arguments as yielding in its geometric proportions, size, weight, and importance to neither of the other two, nor possibly to be lesser or smaller, for otherwise the stability of the world in its central position could not last. This continent is called Australia [*Australis*, “southern”] by writers on the subject. So far we have discussed and explained the studies he either published or intended to. Now it remains for us to tell a little about his

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peaceful habits and most honorable way of life in praise and commendation of this extraordinary man. He was a man of most fertile genius, endowed with a singular candor of spirit and sincerity, most loving of peace and tranquility publicly and privately, so much so that he never quarreled with anyone during the forty-two years he lived here in Duisburg with his family, or occasioned a dispute with anyone, nor was he ever summoned in a lawsuit by others. He paid the government proper honor and observance. Wherever he lived, he was on best terms with his neighbors and was an enemy to no one; he accommodated others' interests (so far as was right), and put himself above no one. He had a wife distinguished by her most chaste habits, compliant and well-instructed in her domestic duties, and agreeable to her lot in life. She left this life August 24, 1586. His children were very obedient and gifted with a good nature. He entrusted his sons from

their early years to Johann Otho and then to his son-in-law Molanus for instruction in the liberal arts. At the same time as he took care that he be imbued with humane letters, he instructed and trained the older by birth, named Arnold (who entered the sea of this life August 31, 1537, in Louvain), in the mathematical disciplines. Within a few years he had progressed so far in them that he had scarcely an equal in the accurate and elegant construction of mathematical instruments, which he made for some of the greatest magnates of Germany. He was also as experienced as any in geography and chorography, and, undertaking the measurements of the archiepiscopate of Trier and the landgraviate of Hesse-Kassel at separate times (at the instigation of the most reverend and most illustrious princes the Elector and Landgrave Wilhelm, who repaid his labor with a noble honorarium), he

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completed them in a short time, and set them down and described them with his pen most accurately and not without praise. He also published the chorographic situation of the city of Cologne, measured in feet and very beautifully engraved on brass plates, with the addition of the antiquities from the times of the Romans that can be seen there even now. Later, after he had begun to measure the most spacious region of Hesse (at the wishes of the aforesaid landgrave) in 1586, he was unable to complete it as he had planned, being prevented by death. For this reason his oldest son, Johann, afterward undertook this province and finally finished describing it most exactly. Johann, along with his brother Gerhard, engraved most of the maps in the Ptolemy and the new geographic work of their grandfather. In Düsseldorf, the aforesaid Arnold took to wife Elizabeth, daughter of the most learned man Johannes Monhemius, the most worthy rector of the public school there. She was fruitful, and in ten pregnancies bore him thirteen children, namely, nine sons and four daughters. Two of the sons, the aforesaid Gerhard and his brother Michael, gave brilliant examples of their genius in the study of geography when they reduced the description of the three vastest parts of the earth, namely, Africa, Asia, and America, to so small a format that they included the situation and magnitude of each in geometrical proportion in the space of a single sheet of paper, laying them out for men to inspect. May God, greatest and best, prosper their labors and praiseworthy endeavors and give them good fortune. Arnold was, for his age, of the most acute genius and good judgment in the mathematical arts, which he increased wonderfully by daily experimentation. If the gods above had granted that he reached his full maturity, he would have become an outstanding architect of public buildings. For not only had he bought

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whatever books were published elsewhere on these subjects and diligently studied them, he also had a quite accurate knowledge of public works such as fortifications, trenches, walls, and ramparts through drawing cities and each of the most fortified citadels of princes that he was able to inspect, by which he augmented the *Theatrum urbiium* no little, though his name was not mentioned, so that he might easily and with praise have offered and let out his work in this craft to princes or to the governors of public works. But, alas! he was snatched from this life by a pleurisy in the flower of his age, dying an immature death, on July 6, 1587. His aforesaid wife, following her husband after a four-year interval, paid the debt of nature on August 7, 1591. The second of Mercator's sons was named Bartholomew, and devoted himself to wisdom, philosophical studies, and the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues at the University of Heidelberg in the Palatinate. In 1563 he wrote a little book on the sphere, dedicated to Lord Henry Barsius, but fell ill, a young man of the highest expectations, in his twenty-eighth year and died in 1568. The youngest son, named Rumuld, lived with the heirs of Birckmann for some years, first in London and then in Antwerp, and was engaged in the wholesale book trade. Meanwhile he also practiced the study of geography, so that when he returned home he could be of service in drawing geographical maps for his father, who had long been, as I have shown, occupied with many grave studies. He reduced his father's general descriptions of the world and of Europe into summary form, and published the delineation of all of Germany in a large format for students of this native land, dedicating it to the most illustrious Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hesse. It is to be hoped that many arrows of the like kind will fly from his quiver. Mercator educated and instructed his daughters at home in all piety and

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fear of the Lord. He married the eldest, named Emerentiana, to Johannes Molanus (whom I have mentioned above) while he exercised the office of rector. The next of his daughters in order, Dorothy by name, he gave as wife first to the Antwerp merchant Alard Six, to whom she bore two daughters, and after his death to Tileman de Neufville, a citizen of Wesel. He arranged to have the last, Catharina, joined in matrimony to Theodore Verhaer, a schoolmaster. From the time when our friend Gerardus Mercator came here to live I often visited with him on account of our mutual acquaintance and of being his neighbor. I never found him at leisure, or indulging in even a moment of ease; rather, I met him busy and intent, turning over the pages of some historiographer or other serious author (of whom he had a most amply furnished library in his home), or writing or engraving, or indulging in arduous meditations. Although he was most sparing of food and drink, he maintained a splendid kitchen, well-provided with the things necessary for living honorably. He took the greatest pains to preserve his own health, but if he fell ill, he called on the aid of Doctor Solenander, that most steadfast friend. He was always beneficent toward the poor and those of lesser fortune, and showed himself a friend and preserver of hospitality so long as he lived. Whenever he was invited by the senate to solemn public gatherings (or by his friends to private ones, or he himself invited others), he proved himself courteous and merry, accommodating himself to the manners of others as far as his bodily constitution and pious mien permitted. In familiar conversation and colloquy he was easy and agreeable, If

the occasion arose to meet with learned men, nothing could be more pleasing to him than to talk in a friendly and familiar way about the sayings

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of the philosophers, or physical and mathematical studies; or about preserving one's good health and maintaining one's fitness; or settling religious controversies; or of the deeds of the most famous men, the sites of regions and the makeup of heaven, or, again, of the manners, laws, and statutes of the wandering peoples. He maintained the closest friendship with Lord Johannes Ewichius, Ambrosius Maurus, Johannes Otho, and other learned men dwelling here. He lovingly considered Johannes Molanus, that most learned man and noble poet, so highly that he gave him his eldest daughter to wed. He was also bound by mutual recognition and familiarity with many learned men at Cologne, among whom Doctor Albada Frisius, Johannes Metellus, and Petrus Ximenius did not take last place. But why do I mention the small number of friends in the city whose daily familiarity he enjoyed here with me? Seeing that he was held in such high repute and esteem among the greatest men, especially the most illustrious and most generous prince (now dead) of most happy memory, our prince Count Hermann Nueharius and other counts, barons, and noblemen, that they cultivated and preserved his friendship. From 1552, when he established himself within the boundaries of this city and fixed his seat here, there was scarcely anyone in his highness' most splendid order of counselors and most celebrated circle of physicians who did not love our Mercator from the bottom of his heart, and always hold him in high regard, as was right. Not only was he strengthened in the neighboring regions of England, Denmark, France, Upper and Lower Germany, and Italy by so many and such illustrious and distinguished friends, but also everywhere on earth the most celebrated men were found in abundance who, writing him familiar letters, essayed to bring about a friendship with him, and to cultivate,

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protect, and maintain a mutual friendship. His most glorious reputation grew so great and was spread about and broadcast so widely everywhere that it reached even the farthest Indies and strove warmly in an exchange of letters with the most learned man Philippus Saffetus, who was living in Goa, the well-known state in the East Indies. A substantial collection of this sort and similar letters may be found with Mercator's heirs. In debate, he was of the sharpest wit and most experienced; in the labors of his profession, indefatigable. In prosperous and favorable fortune, he proved himself moderate; in adversity, most patient. In body, he was well enough constituted and mostly enjoyed good health, except that in old age he suffered occasionally from gout. He lived in the state of matrimony for fifty years and three weeks with his first wife. A few months after her death he married the widow of Ambrose Moer, the supreme magistrate of this city while he was alive. Mercator was stricken with a paralysis of his left side on May 5, 1590. Lord Solenander, the most famous and experienced physician of our most illustrious prince, attempted manfully to cure and advise him, but the hindrances of increasing age prevented a happier result. When he had entirely regained the use of his tongue, I saw him weeping and striking with his fist his breast three and four times over, saying, "Strike, burn, cut your servant, O Lord! And if you have not struck hard enough, strike harder and sharper according to your pleasure, so that you may spare me in the life to come, etc." But, although he was gradually restored to his earlier health (various kinds of remedies having been applied on the prescription of the aforesaid doctor), to the extent that he passed the nights quietly, according to his custom, and took easily digested food with a good appetite, and restored his strength with modest draughts of wine or beer, still he

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was unable to regain the power of his left arm and leg, even though his nurse with daily anointings most diligently rubbed the said members where needed for almost an hour day and evening, with the best ointments. For this reason he provided himself with a cot in which he could be borne by his servants from the chamber where he lay to the bath or the kitchen as he pleased. His present condition neither standing in the way nor prohibiting it, he observed the course of his studies in his ancient strength according to his powers in a small way, and he allowed only a little time to pass before he was intent on reading the most serious authors, or writing something, or at the least his mind was occupied with meditations on matters of the greatest moment. He bore nothing so indignantly as that he had lost so much precious time during his illness. Very often he complained with great mental pain that, hampered by bodily weakness, he would not complete certain works that he had mentally conceived (as I mentioned above) and had, so to speak, at his fingertips. This, alas, turned out to be so, as his mind had so often predicted to him. Therefore a most just cause for sorrow is given to all students, but especially to those advanced in the mathematical disciplines, for them to bear most bitterly the unexpected death of this most celebrated man because of human frailty. After three years passed, he lapsed into a great discharge from the head that obstructed his jaws and throat so that he lost for a time the use of his tongue and could swallow only with the greatest difficulty if something were offered him to eat or drink. This affliction, however, eventually abated somewhat. But as the inevitability of the fatal illness fell upon him, the day before that on which he migrated from this life, complaining of great pain in all his members, he implored before the convener of the assembly and his neighbors the mercy of almighty

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God with the greatest faith of spirit, repeating his words several times. On the day of his death, he begged the convener of the assembly with all his strength that public prayers be offered for him at the end of the assembly, which were the last words that could be understood by the bystanders, and then very peacefully, a little after eleven before midday, December 2, 1594, he went to sleep in the Lord. He had lived eighty-two years, thirty-seven weeks, and six hours, and had seen his great-grandchildren. May the Lord God bestow on him the most happy resurrection on the day of judgment.

Epitaph
on the death of
Gerardus Mercator

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To his grandfather, piously and peacefully departed from this life.

I, who have recently mourned the loss of both my parents,
am forced to go, wretch that I am, to new graves.
Thus, venerable and pious grandfather, who so often
gave me belief, does the black day snatch you from us?
Thus will grave learning, thus will ancient piety perish?
Will the sepulchral urn cover both at once?
Let it not be that these can have perished, which command
those consumed by tenacious death to be everlasting in life.
But be it lawful to add these tears to the ashes of my grandfather,
for grief too much repressed strikes the heart.
As once the successor of the Thesbitan seer received the gifts of the master,
who had been carried aloft in a chariot,

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would that a part of that learned mind yield to me,
and a part, be it so small, of that distinguished hand.

Johannes Mercator

Grandson of his first-born, sorrowing for these, gave offering to the
dead.

Two letters

from two most learned men

*Written in praise of Atlas by Doctor Reinhard Solenander, physician to the most
illustrious Duke of Jülich, Cleve, Bergen, etc., and by Lord Jacob Sinstedius,
Doctor of Both Laws.*

Greetings. Most learned Mercator, most blameless friend, I am returning to you your study written on the works of the six days, which I received most gratefully, for we are led by it alone into the knowledge of natural things, and since your apodictic arguments show clearly and to the life the first and original beginnings of the heavens, the air, the waters, and the earth, concerning which there was great controversy among the pagan philosophers. Once your arguments have been correctly viewed and understood, we shall no longer be seduced by Aristotle's exceedingly vain and monstrous "privation." I remember when that vain and deceitful figment was attacked by Peter Ramus in Paris, whence he was accused of heresy, as though he was attempting to destroy the Aristotelian foundations that until that day had been approved in all the schools. All scholars will therefore be deeply grateful to you because you have at last shared with us the most truthful knowledge of the beginnings and causes, divinely imbued in even these lowest dregs of the Earth. I sent a copy transcribed from yours to

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Grevenbroch, to my most blameless friend Lord Jacob Sinstedius, Doctor of Laws and a man of outstanding learning, piety, and honesty. He read it and sent it back to me with this little note. That you may understand his own thought and judgment from it, I am sending you his autograph copy. He strenuously beseeches me to admonish and encourage you (for he imagines that I have some influence with you) to share your writing at the earliest occasion with all good and learned men. And truly I greatly implore you to bring out not only this book, but the other ones, however you may. If by chance you decline, asserting your state of health and age (as I myself often offer the pretext of old age and business), it seems to me that the burden of age not only ought not to excuse you, but rather add a goad for you to complete these works. Would that I could absent myself from my decrepit and infirm prince (whom I alone serve in this difficult servitude)! Not only would I have rushed to you from time to time for the sake of your health, but I would come to you above all for this reason, to admonish you and render you unimpeded from completing these auspiciously begun works; and also so that I might converse with you, pleasantly and as friends, about these pleasant studies. As I delight in reading your study, and receive in my mind your, so to speak, Cygnaean [swan] song, it occurs to me that our Galen, when he learnedly expounded the function of the parts of the human body, devoted it with his pen as an offering conceived in the mind to omnipotent God. For I remember when he expressly owns at the end of book 3 of *On the Use of the Parts* that he wrote his commentaries as though they were hymns, in which he deemed there was more true piety than if he had sacrificed many hecatombs of bulls to him and burned wild cinnamon and 600 other unguents. He preferred above all other things first that he

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should know, and then that he should explain to others, what the wisdom, what the providence, what the power, and what the goodness of the very God are, ignorance of which that pagan judged the greatest impiety, not whether he abstained from sacrifice. In this opinion, he seems not very far

removed from the opinions of the holy prophets. I am wonderfully pleased by recognizing the true elements and principles of physics from Moses, which you in your writing propose with the most evident proofs, and the reader hungry for truth can in fact acquiesce in your arguments with good reason. It is strange how various and diverse are the opinions about the material of the world that we read here and there in the pagan authors, as may be seen in Galen's *Philosophical History*, in Diogenes Laertius in *The Lives of the Philosophers*, in Plutarch in the four books *On the Opinions of the Philosophers* (which seems to me to be an epitome of the dogmas of the natural philosophers), and even in Plato; and then, from among the Christians, in Epiphanius in *The Confutation of Eighty Heresies*, all of whom have noted these things explicitly, to add nothing of many other authors. All these opinions come crashing down when you proceed, after the description of the divine idea, to the secretion of that first mass, by which you lead the reader in the divine and unbelievable power of God the Creator and of the first matter, with its innate forms and qualities, created first of all and from nothing. The things you have vouched for in chapter 15 of your study concerning the Tree of Life (in which you make honorable mention of me, amicably attributing to me more than I recognize in myself), I have read and read again diligently, for as they are plainly philosophical and medical matters, it is amazing how much I am affected by them. Among other

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things, you show how even brute animals seek support for their nature from herbs, proving this from the examples of the swallow, the cat, the frog, and the dog, and it will be possible to show by many more, since, taught by nature herself, they have shown the known powers of many herbs to mortals. Indeed, we believe that stags have shown that the herb dittany heals arrow wounds because they, having eaten of it, expel the missile. Thus we think that does have proven the use of the herb sefelum, tortoises that of marjoram, weasels that of rue, storks that of oregano, hawks that of hieracium, and doves that of vervain, so that these last two take their names from the animals themselves, just as chelidonium is named after the swallow [*chelidon* in Greek]. In the hieroglyphs of the Egyptians, the magpie is depicted holding a leaf of laurel in its mouth, by which they designate a man healing himself. For a magpie taught by nature, if it sickens, is said to gather leaves of laurel into its nest, thus to avoid disease. So that antiquity deservedly made and called laurel sacred to Apollo, whom they made the inventor of medicine according to Ovid. Pellitory, which is also called perdicium, since partridges [in Latin, *perdices*] especially circle and delight in those places where it comes forth abundantly. We believe the serpents have ennobled fennel, for we know that they cast off old age tasting and eating it and repair the acuity of their vision with its sap, whence its use is made evident to us. You add in the same chapter that the species of plants in each region are created by God such that they are most suitable for the men and animals born there, which I could prove as a living witness with many evidences. Indeed, confidently reliant on this experience I have often proved, from the abundance of the plants that grow there, that I can observe which popular or endemic diseases any region is subject to. We observe this

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very thing, that among the Danes, Friesians, and Hollanders, among whom scurvy is common, its proper remedy, namely, cochlearia, grows abundantly. Thus, in swampy areas where the tamarisk recognizes its native soil, the inhabitants are commonly exposed to defects of the spleen, which may be seen in the sallow color that spreads over their swollen skin and from their puffed-up abdomens. In the same way, we observe that in those neighborhoods where wormwood is rank around hedges in yards, the inhabitants are often affected by obstructions of the bowels, weakness of the stomach, and excess flow of bile, so that, unless by the use of the said herb the passages of the bowels are opened and strengthened and firmed by purging of the bile, they sicken first with jaundice and a little later with water under the skin. I could go on at length, if I wished to make a catalogue of such things. What you propose in the same chapter on grafting is worthy of diligent consideration. For what you have observed, that the barks of branches are first and above all united with the tips of the scions, is proven by daily use and experience. This is the reason that we are little concerned when inserting the branch over how much is left, as long as the bark, once cleaned and split, is so fitted to the other bark that it joins itself to the fibers. There are other kinds of grafting, one where the trunk is split, but in this it is no less needful to observe this evening-up of the barks than in that that occurs by infoliation; that is, when the scion is inserted between the trunk and the bark, and even in infoliation (which some call emplastration) the very same thing is to be observed. Here, too, it should be duly noted, that even though Columella declares that any scion can be inserted in any tree. I attribute this rather to the common opinion that the tightest graft is achieved when the barks of these trees are thus united with each other, so that between the

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scion to be inserted and the trunk into which it is to be inserted this relation exists. Thus he prefers that the barks of the scion and the bark of the host stem are of the same quality, because it affects the surface. But concerning the manner and quality of grafting and then of animal medicines (I call those “animal” that the powers of herbs have taught, with nature showing the way) we shall converse in more detail when I have come to you (which will be before long), for I have thought much and often about them, which you will readily understand from the commentary I wrote on the climacteric. For as from the leaves and flowers of herbs, as indeed by the shape of their seed, it will be possible to make some easy, but learned, conjectures from the trunk and the branch, and from the quality of the sap and others of such like, as to what diseases and affections of which [bodily] parts each herb is suited for. Therefore I do not digress farther in this wise, putting these things off for our meeting. Meanwhile I beg you to take care for your health, in the manner I have prescribed; it will be no great burden on you; and love me in turn. I write snatching time from my courtly duties. Düsseldorf, July 1, 1594, Old Style.

Yours, Reinhardus Solenander, physician.

Most prudent and humane Solenander, I have read the most learned Gerardus Mercator’s book on the fabric of the world, written no less truly than learnedly. I cannot express how much reading it has affected me. I see that to date both the pagans and Christians were ignorant of the true elements and principles of nature. There is certainly nothing happier than that the reader eager and greedy for truth is led by most evident reasonings and proofs to a deeper knowledge of God the creator and of the prime

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matter, with its innate forms and qualities, which was created first and from nothing by divine power. Therefore he progresses well after the description of the divine idea to demonstrate the secretion of that first mass and matter. For he shows that that watery and muddy matter was secreted by a breath and a violent wind, so that the heavy elements would sink lower toward the center established in an emptiness; and that the earth, while it was fluid, surrounded a point or center in a spherical shape because of equilibrium, and that it was gradually reduced by the blasts of the winds to dryness and hardness. Then from the agitation of the watery matter the more subtle humors began to be converted and formed into the air, and at length from the air, the ethereal region began to be adorned with the heavenly spheres and stars, so that he makes those super-celestial waters constituting the empyrean heaven the brightest, and he declares that the angels were created from them. All of this agrees most closely with the word of God and with reason. Granted, Aristotle maintains (*Lecture on Physics*, book 8) that the world is eternal, whom Pico della Mirandola, Paulus à Schala, and Palingenius in *The Zodiac* do their best to defend. But it is preferable to adhere to the word of God than to vacillate among uncertain opinions. It would be impossible for anything to be said more pleasantly or agreeably than that the heavens, angels, stars, the air, waters, and land, and everything they contain were created solely for man's use, in order to serve him. Since the origin of all of these was taken from one and the same mass (from which man too was created), it follows that there is a great kinship, affection, and love of the heavens, angels, and all created things among themselves and toward man. I indeed will say freely what happened to me as I read: I began to be inflamed with a great desire and ardor toward all things created by

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God (excepting only devils), as being akin to me and created by the best God for my uses. Thus I am deeply moved to offer my gratitude assiduously to God, which is augmented and perfected by the knowledge of Christ. It is surely an indication of a skilled and wise mind that he concludes and proves from the separation of the waters from the land, confined to hollows in the midst of the earth, and that everywhere in balance, lest the center of weight be disturbed in its equality, that another part of the earth below our horizon exists, rising above the waters and corresponding to our Europe, Africa, and Asia. With what prudence he discourses on the characters of herbs (in which passage he makes honorable mention of your name)! In all, I acknowledge that he is a most learned man and most worthy of the favor and love of the most illustrious princes. In the last two chapters he assumes the role of a true theologian, disputing about original sin. Here he will not satisfy every theologian in all points. For he declares that the soul is propagated from, so to speak, a vine-branch, and not divinely implanted in the newborn body of the created son. Augustine and Jerome have discussed this matter in most lengthy and most elegant letters, with Augustine inclining more to the opinion of our author. Following Eugubinus in explaining the etymologies of certain Hebrew words, he seems to stray somewhat from the truth. For the name of the earth, *Eretz*, which the Germans have kept from the time of Adam, saying *Erde*, is not from *Razar*, which means “to tread upon,” but from *Raza*, which means “to seek” or “to want,” because the earth desires and seeks to produce herbs and fruits and other things mandated to it by God. But more about these matters when I have more time. I lovingly beseech you to encourage this most learned man to speed publication of this work.

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Indeed, the science of nature will be incomplete without the addition of this author. Farewell.

Your most loving,

Jacob Sinstedius.

On *Atlas*

by his grandfather, Gerardus Mercator.

Behold, reader, here is Atlas for you, huge and brought back to life:

look at the ancient signs of the old man ancient in years.

King of the race of the Moors and most devoted to the right,

he was also famous for his mathematical skill.

Whether you consider his ancient descent, or his strength or the toilsome

deeds of the man, no times will yield his like.

From him so many kings mighty in virtue were engendered

that the profane mob believed they were true gods.

He it was, as they say, who turned the world's axis

decked with burning stars on his shoulder along with the twin poles.

Hercules is said to have undergone this burden,

because Atlas had instructed him in his noble arts.

And because the virtue of the loftiest men is to be imitated,

my grandfather took this man as an example for himself.

That one tamed savage tribes; ours equably

ruled his passions and genius with moderation.

Skilled learning made Atlas famous above all,

and learning is here present by Mercator's efforts,

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who well discharged the office of a just cosmographer
and laid down a safe way for others by his art.
He at once prescribes a method for them and puts into order
everything that falls under measurement.
He also, reporting the primordial beginnings of all things
shows them the faith the Holy Bible gives.
Keeping proper order, he demonstrates each thing, and the first praise
goes to the creator; then he gives place to the created.
Afterward, he wished to demonstrate the motions of the stars,
and how the wandering band of planets rushes.
Then, too, he wished to explain the powers of the stars,
to what degree they master lower creatures with their rays.
Thence he wished to run through the causes of the elements,
raised from which this machine of the world thrives.
Add the maps of the old and the new geography,
which the author intended to complete his vast work.
But a grave illness prevented him, along with old age itself,
and at last Death denied him much.
What he could, he did, and commends the rest to the learned,
that they may desire to take care for their native land and fame.
By Johannes Mercator.

Preface
to *Atlas*.

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Atlas, king of Mauretania and born to a royal family, had Terrenus (or Native) as his father, according to the testimony of Eusebius, drawn from

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the most ancient historians. Caelus [Heavenly] was Terrenus' second name. Atlas' mother was Titea, also named Terra [Earth], and his grandfather on both his father's and mother's side was Elium or Sol [the Sun], king of Phoenicia, who lived in Byblos with his wife Beruth. Both his father and grandfather were excellently trained in astronomy and the natural disciplines, so that they were considered worthy of the names of Sol and Caelus because of their erudition. Atlas, too, as the ancients mentioned (see Diodorus, book 4, chapter 5) was a very skillful astronomer, and was the first among men to discourse of the sphere. He had many brothers, whom Caelus fathered on various wives, up to the number of forty-five. Of them, he had seventeen from Titea, a very wise woman and most beneficial to mankind. To these he gave in common the name of Titans, from their mother. Atlas also had sisters, among whom the most important were Basilia, who out of love for her mother raised all her brothers, for which reason they say she is called the Great Mother; and Rhea, whom they called Pandora. After Caelus died, Basilia, as the eldest and exceeding the rest in prudence and virtue, obtained the kingdom by the common consent of her brothers and the people. She was still a virgin, as she had wed no one previously. Later, hoping to leave an heir to the kingdom, she married her brother Hyperion, by whom she bore two children, Sol [the Sun] and Luna [the Moon]. Marveling at their wisdom, Hyperion's brothers, in order that the kingdom not fall to his offspring, killed Hyperion himself and smothered Sol, who was as yet a boy, in the river Eridanus. Then the sons of Caelus, of whom Atlas and Saturnus were the more noble, divided the kingdoms of their father among themselves. The places along the Ocean, as far as Libya and the Straits of Gibraltar, fell to Atlas, whence Mount

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Atlas and the race of the Atlantes are named after him in Mauretania. Sicily and Libya went to Saturn. He, hated by his own for the acts of tyranny he committed against his father Caelus, fled to Italy, where he was made a partner in the kingdom by Janus. However, because Diodorus mentions that Caelus first reigned among the Atlantes, and that they, earlier dispersed among the fields, were encouraged by him to come together and found cities, it is certain that these were the most ancient kings. For Atlas, the son of Atlas, after driving out his brother Hesperus, was king of Iberia (which was later called Spain) in the 738th year after the universal deluge, while Hesperus, fleeing to Etruria, was made the tutor of Janus. Atlas' grandfather Elius reigned in Phoenicia in the 682nd year from the deluge. Diodorus also states that these kings attained outstanding wisdom from the nature of things and by contemplation, and at the same time were accustomed to humaneness and piety, so that he deservedly says that the offspring of Atlas took the palm for piety above all other races and also for their humaneness to foreign arrivals, when, after scarcely twenty-two or twenty-three generations had lived, many parts of the continent were still empty of mankind. Atlas had many sons, but one, whom he named Hesperus, was outstanding for his piety and justice and humaneness toward the conquered. He, after climbing to the peak of Mount Atlas in order to investigate the paths of the stars, was suddenly snatched away by the winds, and never seen again. So says Diodorus; but I, as I have said, find that he was king in Iberia and that he crossed over to it with favorable winds at his back. There, he lived so wisely and piously that when he had been forced into exile in Etruria by his brother, he was made Janus' tutor and the administrator of the kingdom because of his outstanding wisdom and prudence. These offices

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his brother Atlas took on after Hesperus' death. I have set this man Atlas, so notable for his erudition, humaneness, and wisdom as a model for my imitation, so far as my genius and strength suffice, as I begin to contemplate cosmography as though in the lofty mirror of the mind, if by chance I may be able to uncover some truth in matters hitherto obscure, which you might bring to your studies of wisdom. And just as the cosmos contains the number, species, order, harmony, proportion, virtues, and effects of all things, even so, beginning from the creation, I shall enumerate all its parts and contemplate them naturally, as a methodical account demands, according to the order of their creation, so that the causes of things shall be evident. From these comes science, and from science wisdom, which directs all things to good ends. From wisdom comes prudence, which lays down an easy path for those ends. This shall be the aim of all things for me; then, in proper order, I shall treat of celestial bodies, then of astrological matters, which pertain to divination from the stars. Fourthly, I shall treat of the elements and then of geography. Thus I shall lay out the whole world as though in a mirror, so that there shall be certain rudiments for finding the causes of things and attaining wisdom and prudence, sufficient to lead the reader to higher speculations.

Family tree of Atlas

From the Preparatio evangelica of Eusebius, book 1, chapter 7, which he annotated from Sathonation the Phoenician, translated literally from Philo; and partly from Diodorus Siculus.

Heliuss, or Sol, King of the Phoenicia, bore Terrenus, or the Native, also named Caelus (Heavenly), to whom were born from Titea his sister (alias

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Terra [the Earth]): Illus or Saturn, who with his sister Rhea sired Olympian Jupiter; Iapetus, to whom were born from Clymene, the daughter of Oceanus, Epimetheus and Prometheus, who sired Deucalion; Basilia; Baetilus; Hyperion, who by his sister Basilia sired Sol (the Sun), smothered as a boy in the Eridanus, and Luna (the Moon); Dagon, the god of the Philistines, called Jupiter Aratris, worshipped at Azotus; and Atlas, who sired from Pleione the daughter of Ocean: Hesperus; Atlas; Alcyone; Merope; Electra; Celeno; Taygeta; Sterope; and Maia, who bore by Jupiter Mercury.

On the Creation and Fabric of the World.

Prolegomenon to The fabric of the world

First chapter.

The aim of all cosmography.

For any mind considering the construction of this earthly machine, it is axiomatic that God, its author, is of immeasurable power, wisdom, and goodness; and that to doubt his power is impossible for whoever believes that he created all from nothing and that its material is not eternal. If there is anyone to whom his wisdom and goodness is not yet fully evident, without having considered the most praiseworthy, exquisite, and wisest adornment and disposition of its fabric, let him examine it fully with us, until the very contemplation of the work perceived on every side (so far as allowable, from the word of God itself and the manifest experience of things) persuade him. For this is our goal while we treat of cosmography: that from the marvelous harmony of all things toward God's sole end, and the unfathomable providence in their composition, God's wisdom will be

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seen to be infinite, and his goodness inexhaustible. Thus we may be always raised up to the veneration of his majesty and the worship and embrace of his plentiful goodness. May his light shine out on our intellect, and direct our minds to this true wisdom. And so, since God's immeasurable goodness could not contain his glory within himself because of the birth of so overflowing a fecundity, he willed the creation of man, in order to share with him his glory; man, whom he conceived in his wisdom to be invested with a body, such as we see and his first creation displays; and he founded and ordered this world, which we have undertaken to contemplate, and all its parts necessary for the use of man as he is thus constituted, in the order, nature, and proportion that we shall see, next to it its idea, conceived from eternity, by his omnipotence. For the first end of the works of God and their first aim was to share his glory, the next, the creation of man; the third, the disposition of the rest of the world; and the last aim of his intention was the beginning of the work. It behooves whoever wishes to undertake the description of the world to begin from its first beginning, if he wishes to extend it usefully into philosophy.

Curious men are wont to ask what God was doing before he established the world, how and where he was when there was neither place nor time; and why he did not establish the world many ages sooner; and why he did not so perfectly fashion man that he could not fall. Whoever has knowledge of the eternal Trinity (so far as can be gotten from Sacred Scripture and the handiwork of God) and shall have attained the true definition of time and place will easily reply to such thoughtless and oversubtle questions. But indeed, the tasteless and irreligious impudence of such men is not worthy a response, for it is the part of religion to inquire into the judgments and plans

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of God that pertain to his hidden and unfathomable wisdom and majesty, farther than he has seen fit to reveal them to us in his word; and it is the height of impudence and folly to dispute about the things that are without or before the world, and lie beyond the ken of man, since such disputations give rise only to opinion, not to knowledge. They can bring no wisdom, but rather induce only strange doctrines, shaking the truth of things. So let it suffice to us to seek the knowledge of true things from things, either from our senses or from what is known to us from reliable history; of true things, I say, not conjectural ones, of which there is no knowledge, for in this way we shall not go astray, as long as we go forward in the right order.

Prolegomenon to The fabric of the world

Second chapter.

On God the beginning and cause of all, according to the Platonists.

The Platonists, from the commonality of species perceived in things and their order, very correctly ascended to that One that is the first beginning of all. That is (to follow the son of Paul), from the most orderly disposition and harmony of all things, perceiving that a certain providence exists about things themselves everywhere, understanding them to be the work of someone, and thence brought to the contemplation and affirmation of their creation, they got to that point. However when they wanted to descend from this One to the works themselves, they speculated vainly on the means and order of creation. First, because they posit that Intellect or Mind is the maker of the world, outside of the One, fully distinct and other from it. Then, because in a simple way they separate matter from all form, and understand it to be the progeny of no Idea;

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for Ideas or species are Forms, which can only generate Forms. Thus, they must of necessity understand it (matter) to be uncreated and eternal. This error arose because they believed that matter alone was susceptible of Forms, and that it had no connection with the forms of Nature, and therefore they dreamt more than once that the seeds of Forms were in it, and could be produced from its potential by the Maker. From this they were constrained to posit some eternal formal beginning outside of matter. Again, by this reasoning they were led to set up outside of the One something diverse from it; but since the One was the first beginning of all things, they cut too close to the quick from the whole nature and condition of being, and spoiled it. Falsely fearing that they were making it something composite, they sought another beginning of all things outside the One, born indeed from the One, but distinct in essence and natural properties, from which alone, as from a father, would be and depend, first and without intermediary the formative virtue of things and the model of the work of the world. Following in the footsteps of this doctrine, Valentinus imposed further fantasies, having even devised a way by which the One (which he calls *Proarche* and *Bythus*) could proceed to the generation of Mind, and then, through intermediary generations, finally leading to the creation of matter and of all things, with an admixture of the wondrous philosophy of Pythagoras. Following him, his disciples taught just as erroneously, defiling and obscuring truth on all sides with worse than old wives' tales. But since the madness of these men is hooted down by their own foolishness, let us rather return to the theology and origin of the world according to the Platonists. This, since it is above all other philosophies of the Gentiles divine, and seems to approach most closely the truth of the tradition of Moses, can the more readily lead us

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astray from the right and sacred philosophy. Therefore, setting forth the briefest summary of it, we shall oppose the true narrative of the topic, drawn from the sanctuaries of Scripture and Nature, ready to confirm it subsequently by reason, and to refute Platonism wherever it is in error, lest the eyes of our intellect, under the false appearance of a somewhat sacred theology, should be seduced by an empty philosophy into hidden falsehood, and we be led away from the truth of things; yet at the same time, so that it shall be clear to all that there was never so holy a school among the Gentiles, never so ardent a zeal, never such eminent geniuses, who could have reached the truth of things by their efforts; even inasmuch as the Platonists were the most religious of all, but themselves erred widely, and gave occasion for erring most widely to others. Therefore let us give thanks to the one sole God, who is the beginning and creator and life-giver and preserver and the end of the work of the world, that he deigned to reveal to us the true fabric of the world, its beginning and the source of all philosophy and all truth, through Moses and the other Prophets.

The One, or The Good. This, then, is the essence of the theology of the Platonists. In the divine, they propose three beginnings: the One, Mind, and Soul, which in their myths are called Caelum [Sky], Saturnus [Saturn], and Jupiter, following each other in order. First of all, he who is their first and highest God, they call the One, because of his uttermost simplicity, and the Good, because of his overflowing fecundity for generation and his aptitude for sharing himself. They say he is neither being, nor essence, nor intellect, nor good in an adjectival sense; that he understands not even himself, and neither lives nor moves, but is above all these things. That is, he is the source and beginning of being and essence, of intellect

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and intelligence, of life and motion, and of all things that may be imagined beside himself, the first of all and the supreme beginning. Again, they say he contains nothing in himself, and is diverse from all things, consisting in himself and not mixing with subsequent entities. But he is present to all things, and all things are contained within him; likewise he is everywhere and at the same time nowhere, that is, he is unworthy of no place, and is neither within nor without, neither finite nor determinate, and is the power of all things, and indeed the greatest power of all powers, yet he is not all things, but is above all things.

Mind. This One or Good, giving birth out of his superabundance, not by a consenting thought to this end, nor by any plan, or decisive act of will, nor moved in any way, but abiding in his proper condition, from his own inherent perfection, accompanied by an internal potential act, or effective power, creates a ray and pours it forth, much as the sun, remaining selfsame and motionless, pours round its light. This ray, insofar as it suddenly comes into existence as such from the motionless One, becomes a being, insofar indeed as it turns naturally to its parent; and, as though moving, becomes a living thing, whence drawing strength, and filled and made perfect by the power of the One, endows itself from the same power with intelligence, and becomes Mind, and Intellect. Then, by looking back on its own father, and turned in toward itself, it becomes intelligent. Moreover, because while it regards itself it is conscious of the extent of its own power, in which the generative virtue of all essences is mighty, it defines for itself its own essence, hitherto undefined and indeterminate and, so to speak, spreads it out, not by directing a line of reasoning or in the form of discursive thought, like someone looking for something he does not yet have, or someone who

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desires to know what is hidden, but in a single, ever-watchful act of its intelligence, an internal act, I say, of its own essence, always regarding its own power, and by definitely thinking those things that lay hidden prior to the application of intelligence. Thus, I say, it conceives in thought the formative Ideas or species of all things, which they call intelligible Gods. It gives the Ideas birth, in a sense, distinct according to formal reason, but in essence still the very same, being many-in-one. Not, I say, one and many, but many-in-one, as Parmenides would have it, because of the less numerous unity in Mind than in Soul. And as Mind, or Intellect, is filled with one power received from the One, so equally, while full of all the Ideas or forms, it remains one and the same with them, all existing in this, and they are true, because they are immutable and eternal. And further, just as Saturn swallows up those things born of and within himself, and does not allow them to be nourished by Rhea, Mind does not allow them to lapse into matter and the nature of fleeting things, but embraces and preserves all things in itself indissolubly and indivisibly, and possesses all in one, present to all and everywhere. Yet it is not in them, but they in it, as dependent on it and consisting within it. And since Mind or Intellect is many-in-one, that is, one existing entirely in itself and an identity of essence, or an indivisible unity, but distinct by a kind of alterity

within itself, according to those parts that always remain simultaneously within, thus it is not divisible according to consequent entities, but remains forever by itself, just as the One is not distributed among consequent entities. For Mind is not dispersed distinctly according to its internal alterity into many things, but procreates one thing only, according to seminal

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reasons, being already in act and essence at once existing as many, namely, Soul, of which we shall soon speak. This Mind or Intellect they call the Great God, or the second God, not another, but all God, namely, he from whom, as the first and total and sole being, all beings and furthermore all Gods receive their essences without intermediary. They also call it the word of God, and an act produced by the Good itself, and, again, the image of God, because it imitates, as its strength allows, the goodness of its begetter with its pregnant abundance and inclination toward giving birth. And since it takes its strength from its begetter, it is so closely joined with him that it seems to be separate from him only by virtue of its alterity. Plato also calls it Idea, because it comprehends within its essence the pattern and single, undivided species of all things. He also calls it Cause and Maker of the world, because, first to be made a being, it then becomes the parent of all beings.

Soul. The offspring of this Mind is the Soul of the world, the third God, which comes out of it just as it from the One. It is the word of the Mind, the light spread from Mind the maker of the world. It is an act, produced entirely without, and the life giving life to lower things, just as Mind gives life to Soul, and turned toward the One is itself given life. Again, just as Mind emerges when Being looks toward its begetter, thus Soul regarding Mind becomes the Reason of Intellect itself, a light and trace, always dependent on it and always connected with it, comprehending lower things from it, and existing as one and many at once. According to Parmenides, it is indeed one because it receives the reasons of all forms under one common intellectual essence, and is filled as it looks toward its father, Intellect; yet at the same time many, because as it turns within

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itself, it conceives the seminal reasons of all forms singly, numbering them in order, and animates them on account of its great fecundity in giving birth, as it grows warm inside, and affords them the source of motion for the generation of forms in matter, namely, for creating sense in animals, vegetative nature in plants, motion in the celestial bodies, and all the rest appropriate to the order, species, nature, proportion, and the motion of all things. Thus Soul, so constituted in its essence, just like the One and Mind, is also everywhere, and is present in all things, and cannot but order, arrange, give vegetable life to, and animate each thing in this visible world, and lead all individual things to their proper beings and forms as though by hatching them. But it does not remain indivisible in itself like Mind, but goes forth in a way to each individual body, creeping into them each in its own place and way, namely, according to the reason (*ratio*) of each species, but not indeed distributed into parts mutually divided from itself. For it is a whole and according to every substance and essence equally undivided, everywhere and at once into individual entities, but through specific, seminal reasons, which are many and various. In every place, it works by deploying its strengths differently, making simulacra of itself, that is, it makes species in things. For this reason, even though it is both one and many in its essence, becomes divisible through the several influxes of this kind of seminal and specific reasons. This occurs not by an inherent necessity of division (for it always remains whole in itself), but because bodies, by reason of their own divisibility, cannot receive it undivided. Thus this partition of bodies is not a suffering undergone by the Soul, nor a necessity.

These three beginnings among things divine the Platonists describe in the way I have said, and the first of them they do not allow is either an

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act of someone (as indeed it should not be), or that it has any action, but they grant that it is a potential being, that is, that it has the power of producing an act, all the while retaining the singleness of the One. They say too that Intellect is an act emanating from the One, and that Soul is an act of the Intellect, and that each of them is different from that from which it proceeds. Again, they say that what gives birth is greater and better than that that is born from it, and thus Intellect is less and worse than the One, but better and greater than the Soul. Similarly, the Soul is better and greater than the species produced by it. This is, roughly, the teaching of the universal theology of the Platonists, to which we shall oppose the following, truer one.

Prolegomenon to The fabric of the world

Third chapter.

True confession of God and the Trinity, drawn from the secrets of Scripture.

The word of God proposes to us one God under three distinct substances that are, however, not mutually divided and separate from each other. Each of them has its own properties, by which it is distinguished from the others. They are the Father, the Logos or Son, and the Holy Spirit, existing as one, not because they are of one essence, as a man is to another man, but rather because they are of one essence in number, that is, since they are mutually inseparable, and the entire latent essence of the Father radiates into the Logos as though by an eternal generation, so that the Logos is the shining character and expressed essence of the Father, and that very essence shines into the whole world from the Father through the Logos; and this splendor exists as the Holy Spirit. Thus the deity, omnipotence, virtue, wisdom,

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goodness, and will of all three is one. They can in no way be called three things, as the force and power and action of all is one in number, as the Logos teaches us, thus addressing the Father: “All mine are yours, and yours are mine” (John 17[:10]). Or again, “The Father that dwells in me, he does the works” (John 14[:10]), and, “My Father works hitherto, and I work” (John 5[:17]). And it is evident everywhere in Holy Scripture that the Father and the Logos work all things through the Holy Spirit. And it is said, “The Spirit of the Lord has filled the world” (Wisdom of Solomon 1[:7]), so that the work of all three is one in common, but according to their personal properties, proceeding in one way by the Father, in another by the Son, and in yet another by the Holy Spirit. Therefore we do not propose three Gods, nor three beginnings of things, as Plato does, but one indivisible

God, according to himself entirely present everywhere, from whom and by whom and in whom all things are created, existing, to be sure, under the form of a triple reason, but in an identity of essence, distinguished into three substances or persons. And they are not different in essence or mutually divided among themselves, and consequently are not lesser or worse in order, as the Platonists would have it, but are equal in all things, in divinity, eternity, power, and efficacy. And the proper essence of each of them is neither greater nor less, of one than of another, but that of all is equally necessary for the creation of each thing whatsoever. For in accomplishing every work, these three things are required for the worker: potential or the beginning of the internal act, the internal act or conception and arrangement of the work, and the emergent act. Thus, in fire the beginning of heat is the nature or form of fire, its act is internal heat, and the action or

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emergent act is the heat emanating from it. Likewise, in the soul there is the beginning and potential of motion, there is the arrangement or will to move, and finally there is the motion itself.

Since God did not create this world by chance, nor through ignorance finding the way by trial and error, nor without wisdom, but by the highest prudence and wisdom, it cannot be denied that he conceived from eternity a kind of determinate model of the world to be, and the ideas of each individual work. And we do not put the beginnings of these in the Logos, as Plato does, but in the parent of the Logos, since all that the Son has, he has from the Father. And so we put the seminal reason, so to speak, of the world in the Father, the vegetative force in the Son, and the productive and animating force in the Holy Spirit. This force comes forth with the Spirit, proceeding from the Father, and spread by the Son into the work of creation. Thus the Spirit abounding in God awakens the omnipotent and inexhaustible vein of the Father and calls forth the immeasurable fecundity of the Son as though to germination, and the Father conceives the world by a seminal reason and way, through the life-giving breath of the Spirit. Once conceived, he gives it to the Logos who precisely expresses the Father, and finally the world is produced in action from the Son. But it is not produced except by the mediation of the Spirit, acting like a vehicle by which the world is poured forth in all its parts, and in each individual thing is animated according to its proper idea (or form); and the Spirit accompanies the work in all its parts forever, so that, as it was conceived by the Spirit's own impregnating action, and formed by its life-giving motion, the world will be preserved by it forever. And again, it accompanies the work not so as to be divided into each part, but indivisibly, as the Platonists

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rightly declared the Soul of the world to be present to each thing. Nor is it a part of them, so that it becomes the soul or form of each thing, but instead it stays and is present whole in itself and in all things, but separate and different from all things. The Spirit forms all things once, from the power of the Father and through the act of the Son, each in its essence and species, perfecting all by degrees from the essence of matter, according to the reason of the model, and finally arranges all things according to the law conceived by the Father.

The fabric of the world

First chapter.

On the wisdom of the Creator.

As I begin to approach cosmography, gentle reader, it is necessary to apply all my strength of spirit, as befitting so divine and grave a speculation, in order to put before your eyes the species and order of all created things. By this means, I may lead the reader to the contemplation of the universe and the knowledge of the fabric of the world. For it is written, “In wisdom you have made all things” (Psalms 104:24). Wisdom it is to know the causes and the ends of things, which can be known no better than from the fabric of the world, most splendidly furnished and drawn out by the wisest architect according to the causes noted in their order. For as in creating, he gave to each thing its nature, thus they at once proffered their ordained offices, and will do so until the consummation of things. Therefore there is nothing more sure, than to investigate and probe with all our intellectual resources his work, just as it was made by its author, and as it is written (the Holy Spirit dictating) by “Moses faithful in all his house.” Nor shall we easily

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err here in assigning the causes of things, when we contemplate the first and foremost laws of nature, known to all, and deduce from them their like effects. Thus, nothing is more certain than that all heavy things are borne downward, all light things upward, and that nothing moved perpendicularly is infinite. From a solid body what is subtler evaporates, whence, the heavier parts being gathered in the center, we comprehend that the world is spherical, and understand the order of all its parts and the difference of subtlety and nobility. By the order of things, after their causes and ends have been demonstrated, we shall easily apprehend and disprove the errors of the ancient philosophers about the beginnings of things and their natures, so that truth may be unshakably established in the minds of men, and they shall no longer be tossed about by the truths of opinions and seduced by ambiguous reasonings in some manner persuasive. So marvels will be revealed in the site and nature of the celestial bodies, which to date have not been sufficiently inquired into or explored. Thus many things are lacking in the study of the elements that may be investigated by learned men through diligent study and art, added to the fabric of the world by the observation and the law of what is to be observed by learned men scattered over many kingdoms. Thus at least something certain may be found out concerning the admirable waxing, waning and tides of the sea and their causes. Thus broader inquiry may be made into the art of navigation, in which to date some things, and those not trivial, are yet wanting. And thus finally, a universal geography, so useful to princes and all people, might be completed, which is still so necessary since merchants do not have access to the noblest and richest regions where they might trade with other nations, and make all lands familiar to Christians, nor are princes able to state anything certainly

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and solidly about their realms, unless with great labor and the aid of too-faithless servants, since maps are lacking, the ocular witnesses of their realms and domains. Some years ago I made a beginning on this work, starting from the most desired regions in our area, before whom I now present the first volume of our geography, of maps of the Northern

and Sarmatic regions, with the intention of completing the whole world, describing it volume by volume, which (if God grant me life and health), I shall strive for with all my might.

The fabric of the world

Second chapter.

On the beginning of creation and on created matter.

The first day begins.

A little while before the age of Moses, Saturn was born, and before him, other gods of the Gentiles who, as they were devoted to the study of natural phenomena, were supposedly the discoverers of various dogmas. Beyond doubt, they introduced many heresies that later produced widely differing sects among philosophers disputing of the origins of things. And so Moses, establishing the true narrative of those origins, opposed the most ancient truth to their errors and refuted them when, beginning from the very matter of all things (about which above all they most mendaciously spoke, from their own imaginings), and completing the whole fabric of the world, he says, “These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, etc.” ([Genesis] 2:4). *These*, and not those, the mad delirium dreamt of by men. Henceforth we shall follow the text of Moses, considering each thing

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insofar as God has given us to do. *In the beginning* he says, that is, when there was as yet nothing created, but when the divine majesty had long since decided to begin the creation according to definite plans and laws; in the first instant, I say, or moment of the existence of things, which was not yet real, but only the beginning of things, without there being any one thing soever, or the condition of existence. In that moment of time, I say, he began to create, and then *God created*, with no supplied matter, from his immeasurable and most incomprehensible power, an unformed, rude, and unordered mass, from which he then drew off all the members and parts of the world. In this creation of matter, as in all following, three things had to come together at once: the fecundity of the paternal power, the active and pregnant power of the Logos, and the fecundating, impregnating, and life-giving force of the Holy Spirit. For matter, drawing the beginning of existence out of the power of God, as from a seminal reason, through the fecundating force of the Spirit, by the active power of God through the impregnating force of the Holy Spirit, like a fetus formed in the uterus and led out into being, is then hatched forth by the life-giving and educative power of God, and taken out into the open. So God, one, self-same, and omnipotent in the strength of his triple nature conceived, formed, and brought into light the matter of all things to be created, from nothing and without the assumption of any subject. And the Father did not work first, then the Logos, and lastly the Holy Spirit, but all at once, undivided, with all conspiring and cooperating ceaselessly together in the unity of the divine essence. When he says, *In the beginning*, we are to understand in the way I have explained, witness IV Esdras 6 [II Esdras 6:38], where he says, “O Lord, you have spoken from the beginning of your creature, saying Let it be

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made, etc.” Indeed, because he says, “from the beginning of your creature,” it is plain that not the beginning or start of the Son of God is spoken of, but the first moment of creation. This is proved by the preposition “from” and the construction of the words “beginning” and “creature.” For the thing itself contradicts whoever would connect the words “you have spoken” with “creature” (meaning, you have spoken to your creature), since the creature was not yet in being, to whom God might speak. And there is no reason for us to doubt the authority of the Fourth Book of Esdras, since it is obvious that it is an epitome of the 70 Books of Esdras that Pico della Mirandola testifies in his *Apology* he read, annotated with arguments from facts similar to those that are treated in this compendium of Esdras. And the truth of the prophecies contained in this book, in part already fulfilled, convince us that the primary work was written at the dictation of the Holy Spirit. Besides, since Moses (as I have already said) wrote expressly against the Gentiles, setting out a beginning for the world, in this passage from Genesis “beginning” can be understood no way other than how we have interpreted it, for if he is supposed to have said that God created in the Son (though this is also true), and meant nothing else, where could he draw an argument against the eternity of the world or of matter, since the beginning would then be eternal? All in all then, Moses is speaking of a temporal beginning.

By *heaven* and *earth*, he does not mean here the two distinct and different bodies that are today signified by the names “heaven” and “earth,” for neither heaven nor earth yet existed in its proper form. Rather, heaven was made on the second day, and earth appeared on the third with the separation of the waters, and the rest of the parts of the world are produced in order from the initially created mass. Therefore he understands “heaven”

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and “earth” metonymically as that first unformed mass from which heaven and earth were formed. Moses is addressing the Gentiles, to whom he testifies that this heaven and earth that we see were long ago created by God, in the way he is about to tell, and he uses familiar names and things in order to direct the thoughts of men to the beginnings of them. For Moses wanted to drive the ravings of the philosophers and the false doctrine of the eternity of the world and matter out of the minds of men, in order to restore God’s own glory to him, as he emphatically enough indicates in chapters 2 and 4. Moreover, that he employs “heaven” and “earth” metonymically for the matter of them, is demanded by the following epithets: *thobu* and *bobu*, which he applies to that initially created mass, which was without form, vast, empty, alone, and void. And he joins these epithets not to heaven and earth, but to earth alone, thus drawing the reader away from the contemplation of perfected bodies to the first matter of them, and does not truly mean the earth itself in its form but rather that unordered, formless chaos, even though using the word “earth,” because it was in its condition more like and nearer to earth than to heaven. And indeed he finally rejects the word “earth” when he goes on to describe this mass, calling it *thebom*, that is,

“abyss.” So by degrees he compels the mind contemplating these matters, divested from every determinate species of things, to the contemplation of the first matter of heaven and earth. Still, by using the word “abyss,” he indicates a certain form for this first matter, namely, that it was a liquid and fluid matter, and bottomless, as something uniform alike throughout, like water is to water or clay to clay. And again, in Job 38:38, this first matter is called *aphar*, that is, “clay,” which God at the beginning of things joined

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together into the solid earth. The most ancient of the Greeks called this first matter of all things *hylê*, that is, “clay,” or again, “chaos,” from *kheô* (I flow), because it is fluid. This form must without doubt have come to them from the first fathers of the Hebrews and from Moses, and became known to all the world. That mass first created by God was therefore clay and a softened material, not of diverse natures, but of one simple and undivided substance and form, having in itself the seminal power of terrestrial, of watery, and of heavenly form, and of all things God was about to create from this mass.

The fabric of the world

Third chapter.

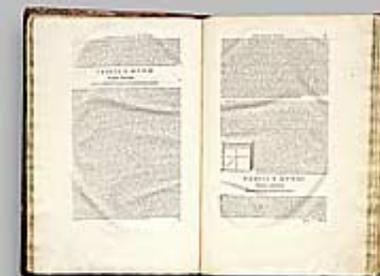
Why this chaos was formed, and concerning its foundation and form.

Now that all things have been made, we all understand easily what God intended to make from this chaos, namely, that he intended to divide and form it into all the species of things that he knew were necessary to the economy of the world, as he proposed from eternity. He would endow to each once and for all its force and natural law and stabilize it, so that it would remain unchangeable until the predestined end of all things. But as he created all other things for the sole use of man, and assigned them all to man’s service, until he transfers the human race to its heavenly dwelling after the lapse of the appointed time (as Saint Paul elegantly relates, Romans 8), this most prudent architect created and constituted them in such order that all things should serve man in subordinate obedience and the most willing harmony. This harmony consists first of all in this, that superior causes wield domination over lesser ones, and all effects proceed from the highest causes through intermediate ones to the lowest. Secondly,

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in this, that there should be an inclination and, so to speak, a kind of love of all things mutually each to each, in accordance with the consequence of causes and effects, so that inferiors respect superiors as their benefactors, and superiors their inferiors in turn, because they receive something from them. From these two conditions of nature it happens that howsoever contrary and hostile things are found to be in the lowest species of things, still each thing cleaves most closely to its order, and, coming together in the first cause, as though in a center, offers its just service to God the creator and to man, and all consent among themselves, according to the proper office of each. Of this, I shall have more to say later. For the moment, reader, you should be advised to observe diligently in the creation of things in what order, from what things, how, and by what means God has brought about each several thing. Thus you will learn what is prior in the economy of nature and what later, what are the causes of works, what the generation of each thing, and thence you will understand the definitions of things, their natures, sympathies, antipathies, differences in strength and weakness, in nobility and baseness, in longevity and corruptibility, and many things more. For whatever can be disputed concerning the nature of things depends on their generation and the order of their first creation. He who can understand, let him understand, for many things are difficult to explore, but still, many things can be achieved through a more intense mental scrutiny, especially if, calling on the light of the Holy Spirit, you zealously strive to raise glory to God from his works. Here you will observe far different beginnings of natural things, a far different order of nature at work than what is handed down by the Gentile philosophers. Indeed, it was impossible by one's own ingenuity to conceive these beginnings of the world as they are

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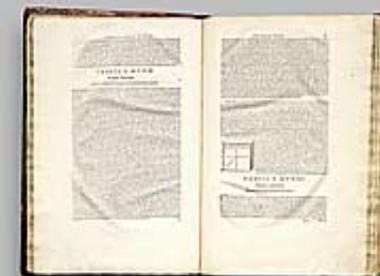
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handed down to us by Moses. But let us return our car to the right path. Once chaos was created, we must consider accurately what God first made in it. Above all, it needed a fixed place, for you see that the earth is the heaviest body of all, and this mass was far more similar in its condition to earth than to heaven. And if it had not received a fixed place, you will easily understand that it would have fallen into infinity, its weight, of course, urging on motion constantly. And if I might comment by the way on the beginning of things, observe how God begins his creation from the last, densest, element, from practically the most inert and formless, and step by step ascends to the higher, nobler, more divine ones. Observe again, he makes his beginning from the more solid and firmer body, so that those things that were to be made ready, pertaining to life and the perfection of creatures, which are all fluid and mobile, so that, I say, all these would have a firm base, on which they could be collected and made stable. To earth and to chaos, therefore, he assigned as position one point in the middle of the void, in which it could come to rest and, having reached it, would not tend toward further motion. This is by far the most wonderful miracle of all nature, exceeding all the bounds of intellect and of faith were it not that the procession of the stars and their circumnavigation of the earthly sphere convinces us that it is so. For how else could anyone believe that so great a weight could remain hanging in the middle of the heavens around it? And though this truth compels our belief, who could understand how so great and so weighty a mass could stand and rest there with no support? Who can imagine that it has found a foundation here, where there is nothing that could sustain it? God therefore justly ordered Job, debating him in the bitterness of his sorrow, to declare, if he had understanding, "What the

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foundation of the earth was” (Job 38:4). In this, God’s wisdom is inscrutable and his power incomparable, nor is it possible to imagine any reason for this foundation, except for the will of God alone, which follows the reasons and causes hidden in him, and which all obey absolutely. As he willed, so it was done. His will forms matter suited for the making and formatting of all things; his will creates many things of diverse forms from one body of one form; his will, by producing bodies from bodies and forms from forms,

brings what is inert and endowed with no activity bit by bit into vegetative force and efficacy, into life, into motion, into sense, and into intellect.

Above all, by the sole impression of his will, he makes all the things he creates, unanimously agreeing and connected with each other by the bonds of mutual love, to exist in a kind of natural affection and inclination to perform their office, which is imprinted within them from the harmonious consensus of ideas in the divine mind, according to the will of the creator. Thus chaos, and especially the heaviest part of it, the earth, seeks a designated point in the void, from the impression of the will of God, and moves there because of its weight as though through a kind of desire until, having reached it equally from all directions, it comes to rest there, bearing and sustaining the rest of the world as though on its shoulders. This therefore is the nature of the earth and, too, of chaos, and its sympathy with the rest of creation afterward, that it subject itself to all in the seat assigned to it in the center of the world, and firmly settle closest near the center, and sustain all the rest; and as it is most imperfect, that it seek blessing and aid from things above, in order to give birth to those things ordained to it. Chaos therefore rests in this point necessarily, since in it God has appointed

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the seat of rest for it and the end point of the motion of its weight, a law and boundary it neither can nor wishes to transgress, since God has spoken and so things are. This nature, this sympathy are given to it by the Lord, as being necessary for the support of all species and individuals. And so David says, “He has founded the earth upon its bases, that it should not be moved forever” (Psalms 104[:5]); and “He has made firm and stretched out the earth above the waters” (Psalms 136:6). Because this chaos is the mother of all things, not only of the lower bodies, but of celestial ones and of all that have been created, as we shall hear, there can be no doubt that all the elements and all the heavens even up to the highest, bear the nature of their mother, some more, some less, and obtain some weight by which they are inclined toward the center, and exercise each its sympathy, first to the earth, then among themselves by a mutual leaning and contact, and, so to speak, feeling.

Moreover, experience teaches this also, that things of greater weight by their nature more swiftly and more nearly approach the center of the world, the seat, I say, of heavy things. Hence arises a most certain reason of order in the universe, so that those things that are lighter and more subtle occupy the upper position. Not only this, but also the spherical figure of chaos and of the whole world takes its origin from this, for since the matter of chaos was fluid and thence similar throughout all things, by equal virtue and faculty on all sides, it was borne by its own weight to that resting point, so that its extremities were all equally distant from the center, and it came to rest in equilibrium from all sides of the center. For if its extremities had been unequally distant from the center, a greater weight would have pressed

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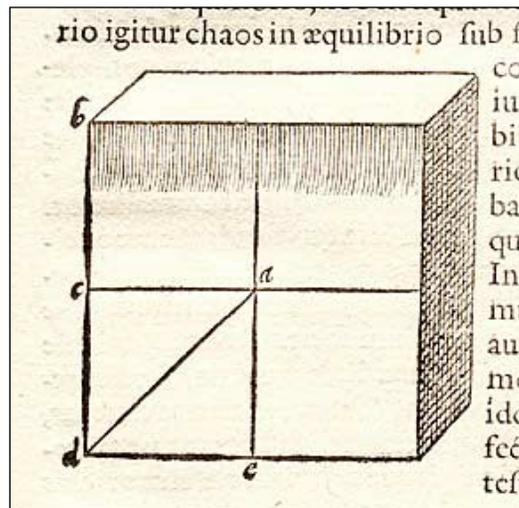
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on the center from one side than from another. Thus, let A be the center of a cube, and B, C, D, and E its extremities; should you look at B from A, or the angle DC in the middle of the side, the line DA is much longer than the line CA or EA, and so the matter pressing on the center along the line AB or DA will have much more weight than that along the line CA or EA. The weight DA will therefore prevail, and CA and EA will thrust forward, falling from above until CDE are in equilibrium, that is, come to rest at equal distances from the center, since the matter is liquid and fluid. So chaos will necessarily come to rest in equilibrium in the form of a sphere. And such a figure alone is fitting for the world on other grounds, once the superior and more perfect bodies were to proceed around the earth in a perpetual revolution for the sake of aiding the processes of generation. John of Sacrobosco and others confirm the spherical figure of the earth from certain evident accidents, but it is far nobler to demonstrate each thing from the source itself, I mean from first causes, for thus science proceeds on a firm



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path. This point being found from the previous demonstrations, all agree that it should be called the center of the world and of heaviness, or of the resting place of heavy things. The natural philosophers call it the lowest place of all, and all else higher, and they say that motion to the center is from above, while that from the center is from below, quite rightly, since what is most perfect is justly called the highest, and can confer on the rest something of its more eminent nature, while the lowest lies at the greatest distance from it, both in place and in condition.

The fabric of the world

Fourth chapter.

On the nature and form of chaos or the first matter.

Moses shows rather clearly that this chaos, created in the beginning, was the material beginning of everything made by God, since he derives all the works of the six days from it. And this first proposition of his plainly convinces us that nothing was created by God prior to this matter, for otherwise he would have erred in establishing the beginning of creation in it. Therefore, since all things were made after this matter and out of it, it is in the highest degree necessary for properly investigating the origin of nature and establishing the principles of natural philosophy in accordance with truth to consider most diligently what kind of thing this first matter was. The Gentile philosophers tortured themselves in many ways considering this matter. They did not dare to deny that it existed, yet they in no way conceded that it was a being, and they say that it was neither quantity nor quality, nor did it

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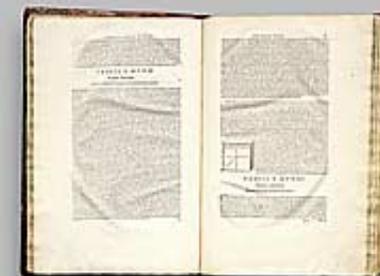
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have either in itself, and so they deprive it of all quality and form, as when they testify that it is mere privation, bad, and ugly. Some go even further in their shameless temerity and say that God labored in mastering this matter and subjecting it to forms. What could be more insolently, what, I ask, more objectionably said of God's omnipotence, which could bring about and introduce forms much nobler than matter elsewhere (as they themselves would have it), and was able to create matter most obedient to his every work? But such is the darkness and blindness of the human mind that, without the lead of God's word, it is unable to reach rightly and certainly whatever is remote from the senses and has a divine origin. Indeed, it is the height of insanity to wish to measure and inquire out of their mere brains into the deepest mysteries of nature, the first origin of nature and the uttermost abyss of the counsels and the works of God. Nature can teach us that all things are created from matter, but who would dare set up as oracles the manner of this matter and conditions nowhere found in the word of God, nor shown by any trace in nature, and indeed contrary to the manifest word of God? They thus deprive the first matter of all form and every condition and species of existence, so that it is impossible to say how it could subsist in itself. But Moses expressly calls it earth, water, and the abyss, before a kind of new species had been imposed on it over the concrete form. And Ecclesiastes 3:20 calls it *aphar*, that is, "clay" or "mud." From these it is evident that the first matter had from the beginning a kind of species, of earth and water, and moreover had magnitude and weight. But someone will say, philosophers consider matter per se and form again per se for the sake of distinguishing things, in order more clearly to teach that the causes of things depend from qualities and forms, not from matter, as

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do the generation and production of species, which both occur with the introduction of form to matter. And they rightly say so, and we too assert that qualities and forms are active, and begetters of species, but that matter is not bereft of them. However, they err most gravely in two things. First because they, going up from final and most perfect forms to the first of all of them that can be thought, separate them all equally from matter, and consider them as accessories introduced from elsewhere, so that finally they leave matter naked, while according to the true production of species as described by Moses, it is not allowed to ascend beyond the formlessness of chaos as indicated by Moses. And since this was the first beginning of things, and in this, finally, all things are resolved, according to Ecclesiastes 3, how could they ascend further by subdividing it, when they cannot prove that it is composite? Secondly, they err even more gravely in this, that they make all form so alien to matter, that they grant that there is no seminal force or root in matter, but will have it rather that it received its first beginning elsewhere, from without matter. To this we reply as is agreed upon by the genesis of the world and from divine testimony, that the first matter had its own form, quality, and quantity, and that from its form the forms of the rest of things were born. Besides, it is plainly absurd, and alien to God, to create something that was formless and without any virtue or quality, both by reason of his plan and by reason of his omnipotence and majesty. By reason of his plan, because, since he destined all things for man's use, what purpose would an inactive mother serve, neither capable of anything herself, nor receiving qualities and virtues in order to shape them, but indeed rather blunting them? For if you say that, having received qualities, she confers something on them, you are asserting contradictory

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things, namely, that matter is neither quantity nor quality, and that matter does not comprise in its bowels its own quality, and yet is endowed with some virtue by which it could bestow something on other works. And then, by reason of his omnipotence and majesty, because it befits God least of all to establish matter as utterly formless. Nay, since he himself is the formative form of all forms, pure light, pure virtue and efficacy, pure life and a breathing goodness, how could he produce anything empty and dead, having directed his whole plan toward life; having conceived of creating man in his own image, how could he begin from a dead and inert foundation, and from this go on to form man? Nothing less like God, indeed more contrary and alien to God could ever be. Therefore, whoever makes so lowly a beginning for so excellent and incomparable a work causes injury to God the best and greatest, and detracts from his majesty and omnipotence. Empedocles and Anaxagoras (whom Plotinus reproves in *On Matter*, chapter 7) seem to have had a somewhat more correct opinion of the first matter. For Empedocles did not thus infinitely subdivide matter, and strip it of all quality, but rather, when he learned from experience that all bodies can be resolved into the elements from which they were composed, he did not discover any further resolution, and he stopped seeking any farther for the beginning of matter, ignorant of the prior matter from which the elements were born. Plotinus' objection to him, based on the corruption of elements, is groundless, since the elements are not corrupted, but only their combinations, by whose putrefaction and resolution the elements are made pure again and restored to their integrity. Anaxagoras, though, approaching most nearly to the nature of chaos, affirmed that the first matter was a watery mixture. In calling it a mixture he surely erred, but

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perhaps because the correct name did not occur to him, he wished to describe it by a likeness very close to the real thing, doubtless taught by a most ancient tradition, that the first matter was *aphar* or *hylê*. He added that this matter contained in itself or in its essence all forms and all species, not merely as a passive aptitude for all things (as some would have it), so that it could receive forms introduced from elsewhere, but actively (understanding this not as expressed or actual, but as a potential). In this he erred, but was not far from the truth, as will be clear in what follows. But if he meant that species are formed by matter (as Plotinus seems to say), he surely erred, since the imperfect cannot produce the more perfect, but needs a perfecting force. But to attain the true doctrine concerning the first matter, leaving behind the dreams of the Gentiles, I will indicate briefly what first ought to be thought about it, and going along I will prove it from the word of God and the perceptible agreement of nature with it. This, then, is how things are.

Omnipotent God, lord of nature, is alone capable of making whatever he wishes from whatever he wishes, as John the Baptist testifies in Matthew 3[:9] and Luke 3[:8], “That God is able from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.” And he who could create this world without any matter being provided, could all the more also make whatever he liked from whatever he liked in a moment. But he himself followed in the creation the reason and the norm he imposed on nature, as we shall see. For once nature is ordained and constituted by God, he does not make anything whatsoever from anything whatsoever, but he creates that thing from the matter that is by nature closer to the thing he intends. Such is his infinite providence,

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and thus he does not bring forth wheat from a stone, but rather from an earthy and watery sap, nor does he raise fire from water, but from oil, or, even more, from brimstone. The quality, therefore, suited to the things that are generated is required in their matter, and we observe this law in all of nature, once ordered by God, that nothing is born of nothing, nor from matter that is affected to the contrary or unsuitable for generation.

Every operation of nature on matter that is affected to the contrary and unsuitable, is violent, though less violent in the unsuitably than in the contrarily affected. Further, what suffers force returns to its nature once the agent is removed, unless it is drawn little by little into the nature of the agent, conquered by a more protracted action. Therefore all generation into matter is violent, if we shall say it is without any quality and natural affection by which it could be inclined to engender. Further, there is a consensus and sympathy among things that is necessary for the generation and continuation and multiplication of the species, as we remarked in chapter 5 above, and as is most evidently to be perceived everywhere in the economy of the world. It was necessary, therefore, that the matter from which something was to be generated have its own proper nature and condition that would be suitable for the generation of the intended species from it.

How could this same nature, if it had in no way had from the first creation a root in the first matter, incline to that office to which God destined all things, namely, to serve the use of mankind? What mutual sympathy of things could ever have been born? A sympathy that is so necessary for us to acknowledge and observe, that the Holy Spirit, who sustains

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and directs all things toward this use, describes it clearly and amply for us through Paul, when he shows the incomparable greatness of the glory that shall be revealed for our sake by this service of all created things, saying, “For the earnest expectation of the creature waits for the manifestation of the sons of God” (Romans 8[:19]). That is, creation eagerly pursues the duty ordained to it by God, supporting mankind caringly in this life, with the desire that they be saved and led to God their creator. But if, he says, this service of the creation is done in vain for many, and is empty, still it does not willingly subject itself to this vanity, that is, it is not indifferent whether it serves good or evil men, but rather it performs so far as it can its prescribed office for the glory of God and the salvation of mankind. And indeed, God does not subject creation to this vanity, so that it will serve even evil men (albeit in vain), but not simply, but with the hope that they may sense the kindness and benevolence of God and be converted; and also to show that creation has served the evil unwillingly, he adds that it is to be freed from this servitude, into the liberty he grants to the glory of the sons of God, to which they constantly aspire, namely, when Christ our Lord and the Lord of nature, once the further propagation of the human race shall be ceased, will lead his faithful into the glory of God the Father. Here you see most manifestly, how great the mutual sympathy between all things and mankind is, which could not come about from matter utterly formless and deprived of any quality and affection. But you will say to me (drawing on the philosophy of the Gentiles), that God introduced some form later into matter after it had been created, from which generation and propagation supposedly were made. But I ask you, why did he make in the second place and by a second operation, what he could have made in the first place and

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the first creation? Could he not have just as likely and properly given in the beginning matter qualified in its own nature, as later to have introduced quality in it, and that by force? Again, could he who is all, form, virtue, most perfect action, most powerful and best, and the very fount and origin of good, create something utterly formless and most alien from every affection and action?

Now God wished to create man as his chiefest work in his own image, for how otherwise could he have enjoyed the glory of God in dissimilarity? Things unlike are not affected by each other, but rather shrink from one another. A great likeness to God was therefore requisite in mankind, since he was to participate so greatly in the glory of God. And Holy Scripture testifies that the universal glory of God will be disclosed to the saints, and we will be like to him, because we shall see him as he is. Therefore there shall be the greatest similarity of mankind with God in the life to come, mankind whose excellences received their beginnings in the creation, as is abundantly witnessed in Genesis, namely, that mankind ought from the beginning of creation to converse with God, and to serve him in all obedience in this world, until the human race should come of age in the likeness of God created together with it, and receive its extreme perfection in the heavens.

Therefore, since mankind is created in the image of God, the remaining creatures, so that they might have that just sympathy with mankind whom they were to serve, obtained some likeness to God in the creation itself. Moreover, even the first matter, chaos itself, from which all things including mankind were created, must have had some likeness to its creator. For it

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would be absurd, as I have already said, for God the fountain of all good things to create something bad, and for him who is all, life and life-giving virtue, to create a stupid body without any quality or affection. This would immediately have had to be refashioned in order to be suited for the creation of the species of things and of mankind itself. For the work of any artisan presents the industry, prudence, and zeal of his spirit; how much the more will the works of God represent his intention and, to a degree, his image? Therefore he who formed and constituted nature from the beginning such that it might produce generation only from suitably qualified matter, also created and produced the first species of things from chaos, which was suited for this.

We conclude, therefore, that chaos was the first matter of all things, having in its essence the seed of all qualities and forms; a nature, I say, that was one, simple and not composite, deducible and distributable into as many species of qualities and forms as now exist in universal nature. Also, that it was similar to its creator in this: that just as God the Father is the beginning of all deity, having hid in himself all the things that are expressed in action in his Son the Logos, and poured forth through the Holy Spirit, and are shared among his creatures, just so did chaos enfold secretly in its bowels all forms, substances, and qualities of things, by means of a seminal and radical power, along with the internal essences that were thence produced, perfected and distributed by the creator into their several species and, as action went forth, served mankind. And just as the multitude of ideas comprehended in God the Father, not as many, but under a simple unity, is produced into each several species outside of God through creation, so

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chaos under one simple and noncomposite nature, is divided and perfected through creation into as many substances and species as were required for the body and economy of the world. And just as the substance of God is not composite, not consisting in matter and form, but of one indivisible essence even in thought, so too the substance of the first matter or chaos is not composite, not consisting of matter and form introduced from elsewhere, or newly created in itself, but is one simple essence created in a unique action by the one simple being, God, and it exists as a vital substance, and life or substantial form, or essential substance and substantial essence (or however the unity of matter and form may be expressed), but differing from God most of all in this (beside the other differences), that it is corporeal and gross, finite in action, virtue, and power, being but a slight beginning of these, and divisible into different substances, even into contrary things, not indeed immediately, but by intermediate degrees of progeniture. The ancient philosophers were wrong to divide this unity of the first matter through all things, as though there were two diverse and separate beginnings of things, matter and form. In those things that come to be, such a distinction affords a certain light to the intellect, when we regard the matter from which something comes to be and the form to be produced and not yet existing separately (as the subject demands), but in fact when we make this distinction in the first matter, and outside the case of generation, we conceive of matter as utterly formless and empty, and wander far from the true principles of nature.

Chaos, then, is in those things that are created, and is outside of God, the being of beings, form of forms, and substance of substances, not in

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action, but in potential, and that not external, but internal, furnishing the matter and beginning of form to all things like a mother, but first by the maker God and then by the specific virtue established by God, and by it forming, perfecting, and preparing for birth. We shall see that this judgment about the first matter and chaos is confirmed from the account of the creation of the world and the unquestioned experience of things.

The fabric of the world

Fifth chapter.

On the false and true understanding of the ideas.

Since many absurdities are handed down by the philosophers out of a faulty understanding and consideration of the Ideas and forms, vexed questions and arguments having arisen, and the true order of the operations of nature having been obscured, we have found it necessary to inquire more closely into the condition and nature of the Ideas and forms, lest relying on a false foundation we deceive ourselves and we establish mere opinions and even silly ravings rather than true knowledge. When the philosophers would have it that the forms are introduced from elsewhere into matter, they assign another beginning to them, distinct from matter, no doubt some eternal Idea from which they flow and are joined to matter, so that each being is not simple, but rather composed from diverse, separate, and noncommunicating things, namely, from matter and form. Moreover, matter and form would have no essential likeness or any sympathy between themselves prior to this composition. But it is a well-known fact that every good artisan conceives a certain idea before making his work, by the contemplation of which he begins and finishes the work. But in fact many things occur in the course

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of the work, which he adds or takes away apart from the model as he has conceived it, and if more artisans approach the same work, there will be as many differences among them as there are artisans. Therefore there is no idea outside of man, instilling and forming such a model in his understanding; rather he forms it according to the sharpness of his intellect, and the understanding of things he has achieved, whether true or false, and according to the judgment of his reason, and reforms it from the accidents of experience or a better understanding obtained elsewhere. So God, as by himself the wisest, most powerful and most experienced architect of the world, has created all things precisely according to the best and most ripely considered plan; and for this reason it is necessary that he conceived a suitable and most fitting plan for his work. For a wise person does nothing except according to a just order, manner, and reason, since those things that are not so made are made by chance and rashly, and are incapable of promising certainly the appearance of good. But God truly did not take this idea for the founding of his work from a precognition of things, or from forethought, reasoning, and contemplation, as though using a model, as man does. He himself, since he is omniscient and omnipotent in himself, without any motion of the mind, or alteration, consideration, or listening; having all the beginnings, middles, and ends of things, their modes, conditions, number, proportions, appearances, and whatever visible or invisible thing exists, by virtue of his essence present and considered and weighed—so perfect an artisan, I say, holds and possesses

this idea prior to its creation, as it reflects back into all things, from eternity, out of the inmost center and source of his essence. And so this idea is one

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and simple, just as the essence of God is one and simple, proceeding, so to speak, by fruitfulness of generation and propagation into the branches of all forms and species, according to the plan and aim of creation into the one species of man. Therefore whenever you wish to contemplate closely the creation of things, and desire to investigate correctly their affinity and sympathy, in what order and from what each individual thing is created, and how one species passes over into another, you must contemplate these things with the whole acuity and force of your mind, for thence the creatures are each known, and the order of their servitude, as far as they pertain to mankind.

It is in no way lawful to place this idea outside of the substance and essence of God, since this idea is above all proper to God himself, and communicable to none other than to God, just as his essence coincides with none other than with God, unless it please you to rave with those who dream that all things are born from the essence of God and are, so to speak, particles of him, and thus suppose that the souls of all are to return to him. But since this idea is inseparable from the essence of God, it is forbidden to think of any first beginning of forms and species except in God. For if someone were to posit ideas outside of God, these will not be first ideas, but secondary ones, created from that first one that is in God. These, when the philosophers put them outside of things, and they are said to come together with matter, and to constitute the things themselves and composite species—what else results than that a helper is added to the sufficient creator of all things, who would then form all things? As though he, without an intermediary, in himself were unable to do so, or had disdained

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to act, he who is so inflamed with love for his work, that he might delight to be together with the sons of mankind. (See Proverbs 8[:31]). And if we grant that he in himself created formless, inert, and thoroughly powerless matter, without any quality, he who is all strength and a pregnant and omnipotent power of efficacy for the most noble effects, why shall we say that he created forms more worthy and nobler than matter through alien and subservient ideas? Is this not to diminish the glory of the creator? Or perhaps you would have it that matter too was created by secondary ideas? What idea, I ask, can be imagined of that that is nothing and stripped of all essence? For they want the ideas to be the effective forms of forms. Because if someone should claim that these secondary ideas are made not only for the first creator of things, but for the perpetual propagation of species, what will be the difference between propagation and the first constitution of a thing? Won't the species be composed in both cases of form introduced into matter? Thus, if God created the first man, and then the work of creation is repeated in each every subsequent man, why do we read (Genesis 2:2) that on the seventh day and thenceforth God is said to have ceased from creating? Just as those who affirmed that angels were the creators of the world were thrust from the congress of the faithful as heretics, those who say that the ideas, placed outside of God, created the species of things will be equally heretics, for such ideas are creatures no less than the angels. To this may be added what I said before: if you define species and matter as separate and not communicating with each other (as must necessarily be when you define matter as utterly formless, and make it, when joined with form, a composite and not a simple thing), it cannot be that there is any inclination or appetite on the part of matter for form, or any sympathy,

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which is born from differing similarity. From the separation of the ideas from God and from things arise many involved and purely useless questions, which, however you may solve them, you will never arrive at the truth of creation and of generation, and therefore you will not be able to affirm anything certain about the origin, power, or sympathy of nature.

Therefore we say that there is one universal idea essentially residing in God, which is the multifarious reason of all the things that God willed to create, disposed and determined according to his infinite wisdom and will, and that this idea is especially expressed by an external act in the making of the world, and that (once this act was expressed) the species naturally were multiplied and propagated through generation into many individuals, without the cooperation of any idea outside of God. Namely, that is, in the first expressed act of each species, the character of the idea of that species, existing in God, was imprinted, and from this impression it was inclined thenceforth to the propagation of its own species. Moreover, we say that this idea, or the reason for all things, as an internal act of the essence of God is analogous to that very essence, and hence we say that the creatures, which are the images of his idea, have a certain analogy to the substance and essence of God. Whence the most high mysteries of the Trinity shine out from afar, as though through a grate; and the Catholic doctrine, against all the heresies about the Trinity, may be remarkably illuminated, and be made more clear once these shades have been dispelled, if anyone, calling on the Holy Spirit, inspect with pious zeal and all his might the analogy between the creature and the creator. The particular reasons in the universal idea are summoned through a nexus of mutual dependency and through a perpetual

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harmony into a most consonant melody. And it is also necessary that the created reasons come somehow together into one symphony, according to a certain similarity, if not proportion, since there is no proportion between the finite and the infinite. From this symphony of creatures, or in the consent and concord arising from nature and office, follows a sympathy, which was necessary because of the aim of creation. What hitherto has been partly stated about matter and form, species and their ministry and sympathy, even if they have not been sufficiently demonstrated, will shine out more manifestly and be proven in the history of creation, to which, therefore, let us now return.

The fabric of the world

Sixth chapter.

On the time of the beginning of the creation.

When God was beginning to create, the stars did not yet exist, nor their motion, and therefore time was not yet according to the definition of the natural philosophers, but nonetheless this dark interval that preceded the light, is counted as part of the day, and is called night and evening (Genesis [1:]5), and along with the following light, until that fell, constituted a natural day, equal to those that followed. This eternal space, then, is measured by God, by the first and the last, according to the magnitude of its parts, and there is no difference from the time of the natural philosophers, except that it may not be measured except by a comparison of the measure taken by turns from the creation. For the eternity that preceded the world had neither years, months, nor days, nor any similar accident by which it

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might be measured. What if the time of the natural philosophers cannot be measured? Does it cease to be time? Measurement is an accident of time; it cannot define it. Whatever is known to be has its own definition in its nature, even if it cannot be given in words. Thus eternity is truly known to be, because common understanding shows it, since there is no one who would say that what never is, can be, or who would not claim that whatever sometimes is, is; and hence no one would doubt that what is for some period or at some time, is. And this is a common opinion, that what is at no time, and is nowhere, does not exist. For it is impossible to conceive of the essence of anything without the circumstances of time and place. Therefore, in order to avoid shifty and captious terms, and many empty fantasies, which the deceitful sophists pour out on our understanding like thick clouds, drawing from the definitions of time and place used up to now, it is better to apply the mind to the substances (or, if you wish, essences) of time and place, and if you should be unable to express their reasons, as fitting words are absent, nevertheless to regard these concepts by means of some likeness. Thus you will consider time as a kind of extension of duration, between what is earlier and what is later, which extension, after the creation of the world, constant and unchanging measures, namely, the motions of the stars, measure most exactly. But before the world was created, although such measures did not exist, time did not cease to exist, and if any speculation requires measuring it then, we shall apply in thought the measures of this our own time, so far as pertains to the extent of those measures, to the parts of that eternal time. Thus, if we should wish somehow to declare the eternity of God, we shall say that he was a thousand ages (I speak of such a great extension in time) before the world was created,

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and before these another thousand, and yet a thousand, and earlier from thence without end. Thus a common understanding measures, in some way, the parts of eternity; what need is there of clever subterfuges and labyrinths? The things that are eternal and uncreated are conceived more easily by some such understanding than they are defined, or correctly described. Also, the word of God frequently attributes to him eternal and infinite ages from the beginning to the end, accommodating itself to the common understanding, which he himself formed. "Place" we shall likewise consider as being the space in which a thing is, which we shall divide into three species, namely, into that that exceeds the located thing, that that is equal to it, and that that is less than it, defining nothing concerning the size of the located thing. According to the first species, a man is in a house; according to the second, every body is in water or air, comprehending its extremities on all sides; according to the third, everything, and especially God, is in even the smallest place, creatures, however, by synecdoche, but God according to his whole essence. These things being thus determined, if anyone should doubt that anything other than God was created eternal, he should consider that both time and place are brought in God himself by his essence, since essence cannot be without time and place. "For God," as John of Damascus very elegantly puts it (book I, chapter 16), "is the place of himself." And in the same way and for the same reason, it will be imagined that he is all things for himself. And so Tertullian writes in *Against Praxeas*: "For before all things, God was alone, world and place and time for himself" (fol. 675b). If anyone seeks for another substance of time and place, he will fall headlong into an inscrutable abyss and into wandering riddles, because the profundity of God far, far exceeds all understanding.

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Let us say, then, with Moses ([Genesis 1:]5) that the beginning of creation and of the first natural day was made at night, and that night is the first part of day, and that we ought to begin the time of the world from the first moment of creation; and that therefore God established the seven days of the week not only as a memorial of the creation, but that he also intended the beginning of each day to be taken from the setting of the sun and the evening. Further, that they are mistaken who would have it that the older Hebrews began the day with sunrise, misunderstanding certain passages of Sacred Scripture, perverting them to persuade themselves of this. In Exodus 12:18 it is taught that the solemnity of Passover is to be celebrated over seven days, and the beginning and end of those days is determined to be at evening. The Lord ordained that the first and last of these days were solemn ([Exodus 12:]16), so that the first (according to John 19:31) shall be called the Great Sabbath, the fourteenth day of the month, on which the lamb is slaughtered between two evenings, which the Hebrews call *Paraskeue*, that is, “preparation,” and that they distinguish from Passover, which follows immediately, as is clear from Matthew 27:62, Mark 15:42, Luke 23:54, and John 19:31. Thus these are two days, and two evenings succeeding each other. The first is the end of the fourteenth day, the other the following night after sunset, which belongs to the following day. Between these two evenings he orders ([Exodus 12:]6) the lamb to be slain and prepared. But that could not be done in a moment, dividing one day from the other, and so evening is understood more broadly to mean the evening time, inclining to the end of the day and near it, or, again, as it ends the day and the next one follows immediately. Thus in [Exodus 12:]18, when he orders the unleavened bread to be eaten on the fourteenth day in the evening, he means

from the evening ending and immediately following the completed day. For since the setting of the sun distinguishes the days, how could the night on which the Passover meal is eaten, and the part of the day before sunset, in which the lamb was slaughtered, be referred to as one day? In Mark 16[:1] it appears more plainly that night was the beginning of the natural day, for he says, "And when the sabbath was past, ... [the women] bought sweet spices," which would

not have been lawful on the Sabbath; they did this therefore in the evening, when the Sabbath was past, seeing that he adds that on the next day, that was the day after the Sabbath, they came at daybreak to the tomb. Therefore the Hebrews began the natural day from the evening and sundown, because the first day of creation began from the night.

The fabric of the world
Seventh chapter.
The works of the first day.

The first thing, then, God created was that chaos that we have discussed to this point, a confused mass, the matter and the mother of all things to be created, which he calls "earth," because it was nearest to the earthly nature and condition, since the earth was first completed and gave its fruits. Soon afterward (chaos still being undivided), he names it "waters," not because the waters had yet been separated from the earth, but indicating that, once matter was created, the distinction into elements had begun. And before he names it "water," he calls it "abyss," as though it were an intermediary between the formless mass and the first distinction as it began to appear; or

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rather, he indicates the nature of that mass, since it was *aphar* (“clay”) and a fluid material, prone to generate water, which he intended to separate first from the earth. This mass, moreover, as great as it was, was all an abyss, for it was still uniform, not formed into any species, and neither animals, plants, the shining heavens, nay, not even the elements themselves (that is, earth, water, and air) existed yet. But it was, Moses says, a solitude and an emptiness, or solitary, empty, and void, just as we call an uninhabited, sterile land, affording nothing for the use of men, a solitude. Thus this mass was pure solitude, but having in itself a species whence all things that now exist could be drawn and formed. This species is indicated and understood under the form of *aphar*, of clay and especially of the abyss.

He adds that this chaos lacked what was most needful for the constitution of the generative and procreative nature of all things, namely, light. Two things in the creation are above all to be remarked. First, that it proceeds in order from the most imperfect and baser to the most perfect and noblest, as from chaos first to earth, then to water, thence to the heavens, and so forth. Second, that he establishes the natures of all things, their power, activities, order, way of acting, rise and fall, and the periods of all things and the universal law of nature in such a creation as he has willed them to be perpetually. Thus since he willed that the inferior world, that is, the earth, water, and air, be the mother of all things to be engendered, he willed that the superior be endowed with a father’s masculine force, that is, he willed to establish a seminal reason in the elements, and a preparative and exciting power for generation in the heavens. As soon as he began to draw out the elements, he extracted the material of the heavens at the same time, so that the mother and the father should come of age at the same time,

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so that all the power and strength of each in generation should accept his laws and norms in the moment of creation. Thus he established two orders of creatures simultaneously from the beginning of the distribution of chaos, and in both, progress is made step by step to the more perfect and nobler. And when he begins to distinguish the mass into elements, he draws out at the same time as the air the shining celestial matter, from which then the firmament and the stars were to be formed and collected; and as he assigns to each thing its species as he gradually completes it, so he confers to each thing the proper natural laws, to the elements, elemental laws, and to the celestial matter, celestial ones. It is also to be noted that the element of air and heaven itself (whence the stars shine), are both frequently indicated in Holy Scripture by the one and the same name, "heaven," because, by reason of the name established by God, these two were at first of the same condition, and were created at the same time without distinction, but soon began to be separated, since the firmament and the stars were to be built from the nobler part of its substance.

Now observe what was the matter of the celestial substance. The element of water was already beginning to be collected and to appear in the convexity of chaos, and light still had not been produced, which was necessary to the operations of nature. And behold, Moses says, "And the Spirit of God was moving upon the waters" [Genesis 1:2], that is, he stirred up a mighty wind from chaos, which would move the waters, not yet separated from the earth, and raise them up into higher waves. Gradually, the water began to be separated from the denser substance of the earth by this agitation, and a subtler spirit stirred up from the watery part of chaos escaped into the air, and the subtler and nobler part of the air into the ether, or the celestial

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substance. These three things emerged on the first day from this blowing, which doubtless, as the agitation lasted longer, became fuller and stronger, and a greater supply of the windy element arose, until the earth, subsiding and emerging more compact, restrained the agitation bit by bit, and the windy matter, somehow exhausted and worn out, bit by bit settled into rest. Thus when you see heaven emerging and being formed from the water, still unseparated from the earth, you will easily understand that heaven has a certain affinity with earth, but a greater one with water, whence the Hebrews call it *shamahim*, from *esh*, that is, “fire,” and *maim*, that is, “waters,” because it was made from the waters, and bears the stars about like fiery waters, as Eugubinus represents the etymology of the word. Then, because chaos possessed size and weight, and whatever was made from it bears, as I have said, the natural quality of the mother in the same way, the heavier and baser first subsided in one, but the lighter and nobler substance, like the fat of all chaos being raised up, was united for a very long time with the superior, and hence heaven was created from the nobler part of each element, before they went separately to their own places. Hence heaven far exceeds all the elements in nobility and virtue, because it was created from the most noble substance of chaos as a whole,

and in heaven itself, the highest things are much nobler than the lower things. Again, the celestial things maintain a perpetual affinity and sympathy with the elements, by which they incline to each other mutually, and similarly the higher things in heaven to the lower in it, so that there is nothing in the world that does not serve for mankind’s sake in its place and order, out of an innate sympathy. Thus the heavens and the stars,

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because of the inclination they have to these lower things, constituted in a spherical form and resting on the center of the universe, are moved in various circles, in order to communicate their virtues to all these lower things, insofar as it is necessary for generation. But heaven on this first day was still undifferentiated and of one condition and nature throughout, having only a single motion in the beginning, to distinguish night and day. But as creation went on without cease, the more brilliant matter of heaven gradually began to be gathered into the diverse spheres and globes of the stars and planets, and as each of these began to be perfected in its own nature and to be imbued with motion, even so the sympathy and operation proper to each was born within it. Thus the light (or shining matter) assigned to the sun began to be gathered continuously into one half of heaven, and to come together into the globe of the sun, so that after about the tenth hour of creation (for it has been plausibly demonstrated in the *Chronology* that it began to be drawn together in the sign of Leo), it gave light to the world, and then after fourteen hours, with the daily motion of the heavens, it set. This light was rather weak in the beginning, since the matter of the sun was still sparse, until on the fourth day it was drawn and fixed together in its full greatness. This speculation on the collection of the stars into globes and the growth of light cannot be idle, since it was necessary for there to be light on the first day, which would constitute the day, while the sun was only completed on the fourth day, and God ordained no other light than that of the sun to make the day. Similarly, we must imagine that the spreading forth of heaven, the collection of waters into the seas, the drying out of the earth, the production of grasses, fruits, and trees, and whatever else God ordered and entrusted to nature alone, were not done

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in a moment, as the word of the ordainer seems to mean, but gradually in that order and manner that he willed nature always to use in later times; and therefore that each and every work was begun when the matter suited to it had been prepared, but especially on the day when the order was given. Thus the separation of the waters would have begun on the first day, but completed only on the third. For if each individual thing had been created in a moment, God would seem to have been intent more on the mere production of things, than to establishing the natures and laws of things—the contrary to which we shall see on the third day. Therefore, since the nature and natural law of any thing ought to come into being with it, as soon as something began to be created, its effective virtue and mode and rule of acting also began, by which it would serve God in creation, so that each thing would have from its commencement its own, so to speak, elementary instruction in creation, and would serve its creator through its nature once and for all established, in the disposition of other things. Thus, once weight was given to chaos, and the center and resting place of heavy things established, the disposition and order of all bodies naturally followed; thus, once the mass was moved by the wind, the separation of earth and water came about naturally, and the exhalations were lifted up, which, formed by the artisan into their celestial condition, also exercised their celestial operation in generating grasses, trees, and animals. Creation proceeds in this way, and the operation of nature follows creation, and these two concur afterward in the rest of the works of God. Therefore, since this is the order of things established most wisely by the artisan toward the aim of his entire plan, the student of true philosophy will diligently observe the order in which each thing was created, what was the nature of the matter

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the creator first bestowed on them, what he added to that nature, how the species for forming things appeared. And, again, if the circumstances surrounding this creation contributed anything, they must not be neglected. For the more it is given to us to examine these things more deeply, so much the more perfectly will the nature and efficacy of the created thing be clear, along with its commonality with other creatures, and, consequently, its sympathy and overall manner of working. Now, in order for the matter of each thing to become knowable, we must begin from the first matter of all, namely, chaos, for insofar as it shall be understood according to its form and qualities, so too will those things first created from it be understood, and likewise the rest created from these. On the other hand, the things added by the creator to matter for the constitution of the species and nature of a thing cannot be taught by this previously created nature, but must be sought from the things following, namely, from the apparent properties of a thing such as its size, weight, lightness, solidity, extenuation, fluidity, shape, qualities, colors, office, or whatever other accidents or properties it has, whose effective causes are known beforehand from long study and experience. I mention these by the way, since they are the principal foundations for discovering the causes of things and their economy (which should be the aim of the philosopher's attention). Let each do what he is capable of; we shall pursue the study of the parts of the world, its position, proportions, and local movement along with the remaining matters proper to cosmography, and leave the rest to be contemplated by loftier intelligences.

When Moses says, "God said," he is not indicating a statement pronounced at some certain time, but rather his constant will, which speaks and

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causes things without speech or expressed words, and produces them at a definite time. Thus when he says, recounting God's actions, "God divided the light from the darkness," he does not mean an external action, but the constant will of God, by which alone he begins and perfects all things at the pre-established time. Nor does Moses wish to say that this division was completed on this day, and that only afterward, on the fourth day, the sun and all the stars were completed. Rather, to the intelligent, he is indicating clearly enough the gathering of light that I have spoken of, and that it, on this day, had proceeded to the point that light, drawn up into one part of the heavens, could set, leaving behind itself night and darkness. After the works of this day were finished, he adds that God judged and attested that the light was good, which he does not do for all creatures, but only for those that confer a notable usefulness on mankind, beyond the rest, and which outstandingly illustrate and commend the work and intention of God. So, in what follows, he extols with the same praise the drying of the land, the generation of grasses, trees, and fruits, the offices of the sun, moon, and stars, and the beasts of the waters and

of the earth, all of which God judged very good, once mankind was created, as being most fitting for man's use and created on his account. "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all those who have pleasure therein" (Psalms 111[:2]). Once light was introduced into the world, the first day was completed, which he says consists of evening and morning, or of night and day, called a "natural day" by the Latins. He puts night first, since creation began from it, for light could not be the first of all things to be created, according to the idea of all as it was conceived in the mind of the artisan.

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Rather, matter was prerequisite, from which light was to be formed. This is the end of the first day.

The fabric of the world

Eighth chapter.

On the heavens.

The second day begins.

The second day, on which the firmament was created, followed from the setting of the light. Moses does not add from what matter God wished it to be made, but this is evident from the creation of light. For since light was produced from the waters, as we have said, and all light comes from the firmament, it is certain that the same lucid substance that brought about the day and achieved a circular motion was on this day made into the firmament. Therefore the firmament is called *shamaim* in the sacred language, Hebrew, since it is of the same substance as light, namely, an aqueous one, but a little less noble; light naturally being more noble demands the more noble part of the same substance, for which reason its nature and species were perfected later, namely, on the fourth day. Moses calls the firmament *rakia*, by which the ideas of diffusion, extension, expansion, and distension are signified. The reason for this name is taken from the work of creation, which was made in this order and succession. First, when the wind was pressing on the abyss, it breathed out upward, and the airy and celestial substance was diffused, in which whatever was suitable for light began at once to be collected, having been boiled out into a luminous essence, in order to provide the day. At the same time, the future firmament's substance, in which light was being gathered and would remain, was lifted

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upward out of the element of air, diffused, extended, and spread out like a sail or a tent around the inferior universe, having a diurnal motion from the first day, and carrying light around it. Therefore the firmament, because of this kind of diffusion, extension, and expansion from the airy element was properly called *rakia*, not because of its solidity or the compacted strength of its substance, which *rakia* does not mean. Indeed, neither the matter from which the firmament was made, nor does the expansion Moses attributes to it here (and also in Isaiah 42:5 and 40:22, as well as Psalms 104:2) necessarily imply such a solidity or such a strength of substance, nor should it be thought to imply it, unless some argument for it appears in the word of God. The comparison, drawn from a sail stretched by the wind, or from a firmly spread tent, rather reveals the stability and immobility and incorruptibility of nature. God willed the firmament to signify and to be such in this work that it would be a constant aid and support for transitory things. And what, I ask, would have been the use of that iron rigidity and strength, that adamantine hardness, where there is no wearing away, and nothing that might corrupt? Moreover, God called the firmament “heaven,” or *shamaim*, so that we would understand that it is of the same substance as light, and created equally with it. Here the reader should take note of what Esdras says of the firmament (IV Esdras 6 [II Esdras 6:41]), repeating the story of the creation of the world, “And on the second day, you created the spirit of the firmament, and commanded it, etc.” The order of creation teaches, the proportion of weights teaches, the extenuation of substance and experience teaches that the farther bodies are from the center of the world, the thinner, lighter, and more spiritual they are, and hence it is necessary that those that reside above all must be the most spiritual. Now

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the firmament is much higher than the elements, and therefore it is also more spiritual than the air, and at the highest extreme of the universe, where so many stars have their perpetual, most constant, and invariable motion. It was necessary for heaven to be so, after the masculine force that subsists in the spiritual substance, was to be inserted into it, to aid the imperfect power of generating these inferior things. Also, it did not suffice for all its substance to be such equally throughout, that is to say, homogeneously, but in proportion to the variety and nature of things; a various and swelling fecundity was requisite, which should extend itself outward by a natural inclination in order to ripen the offspring of the inferior world and act as midwife to them. This fecundity is situated in the overflowing spiritual essence and in its strength, and so the gathering of the spiritual substance, that is within each heaven or part thereof, had to come together in a single spherical body, as though in a genital member. Thus in the heaven of the sun, the strength of the spiritual substance is particularly collected in the globe of the sun, with Mercury and Venus added as supports for generation. Thus the moon and the stars, from the beginning of the creation of light, are each collected into their own orbits according to the needs of their office, and perfected on the fourth day. For the heat and brilliance, or rather radiation, of light, was necessary for the action, production, and direction of the generation of spiritual virtue. Accordingly when God created light, he made the spiritual substance of heaven light. Now if it were possible for anyone to know the natural cause and origin of light in its substance, he would gain possession of a great mystery, useful for inquiring into and even discovering the natures of the stars and the planets, which doubtless obey their own efficient material cause. For if you bring the whole

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strength of your mind to bear on it, you will see that the creation of things follows, more or less, a natural order of causes, and to deduce causes from causes, until the proposed effect is arrived at. This is the incomprehensible wisdom of God,

that from one thing first created, he forms and establishes all nature according to a universal idea, so that he seems less to imitate it, than to found and establish it. For by creating through his will and power the universal idea of nature most exactly conceived, he likewise most exactly imitates and expresses it, so that both in the idea and the fabric of the world, the natural succession of things and causes exists. What wisest power, wondrous above all, and what most powerful wisdom! How great an affinity ought there to be between nature and its creator! God spoke and it was made; his will is the essence of it; just as he wills it, so it is, and he wills it. God willed it for the same thing he wills, and he willed with pleasure and eagerness the heavens and every star in them to serve with their various motions mankind, and every creature on account of mankind. His will, his desire, along with a certain love, remain imprinted in the heavens. The heavens will the same, are inclined the same, and carry it out diligently, and with a certain pleasure. Therefore the affection of God to his creature is made the affection of one creature to another. This is the first and foremost cause and origin of all sympathy, by which every individual thing is urged to carry out its duty. There is no reason for us to attribute another cause to heaven, or to think that angels are the movers, as though heaven were in itself immobile, and scattered the rays of its virtue indifferently and without any affection or sympathy toward lower things, wherever it might chance. Still less should

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we say that it is moved constantly by the divine mind, unless we mean by the constant nature once and for all impressed on it by God's will. But meanwhile, if you wish to perfect this philosophy of sympathy, you will have to inquire as to what likeness, what analogy with the creatures, and with which of them, God implanted in heaven, by which it is inclined to them. And also, whence and in what order and what manner this likeness and analogy was introduced into it. Truly when you have mounted into this theater, you will exclaim, "O! the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How inscrutable are his judgments and fathomless his ways!" But if you find nothing, it will yet be a great gain to have learned this inscrutability, so that you may learn to wonder more deeply at the infinite wisdom of God, and to revere his greatness with a more ready spirit. You will also easily attain this, that you will find that nothing has been created by God without cause or a just reason according to his unique plan. I hope you now understand what Esdras means when he says, "You created the spirit of the firmament, and commanded it." That is, indisputably the celestial matter, which is very spiritual, perceiving the word of God or the impression of his will, took on the same affection toward mankind as God bears, namely, that for that reason it, growing hot, was extenuated and became spiritual, lifting itself up high above the element of air, and spread out, and remained fixed there, dividing the waters above from those below. The celestial matter, therefore, having gotten this sympathy from the will of God and by his impression, having to this point been mixed with the air, turned to a more spiritual essence, and by its own inclination rose upward. This is what he [Esdras] says in these words, "On the second day the spirit of the firmament was created," even though it was not yet drawn up into

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the globes of the stars and planets. And the rest of the commandment, that is, the division out of the same sympathy and inclination, was executed on the same day, and remains in the same office, until the will of God (from which its sympathy depends) is accomplished, as David witnesses, “He has also established them for ever and ever: he has made a decree forever that shall not pass away” (Psalms 148[:6]).

This firmament was not some singular heaven divided from the others, but a single machine of the heavens, as is clear since on the fourth day God placed the sun, moon, and the stars in this firmament, comprehending all the heavens that appear to us. And since these bodies, which God put into the firmament (and according to David’s testimony fixed there by certain laws), are found to have very diverse motions, all agree that the firmament was divided into several heavens; how many, we shall credibly discuss among astronomical matters. But the manner of this division has appeared in what has gone before. Since higher things always rose from lower ones (as more rarefied, dispersed, and lighter), for instance, water from earth, air from water, the firmament from air, thus, doubtless, in the common substance of the firmament, as a similar rarefaction and separation and withdrawal toward the height gradually took place, first the sphere of the moon subsided and remains in the lowest place; in the second, the sphere of the sun along with Mercury and Venus; in the third, Mars; then Jupiter, and so forth, so that the last separation is that of the supercelestial waters, which form and remain the highest part of the machine of the world. The universal and perpetual nature of things, which is the law established by God of light and heavy, demands that this is the economy of

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the distribution of the heavens. For since all things are created and formed from one unique matter, and therefore resemble its innate quality, higher things will be mutually affected among themselves just as lower things are among themselves, unless we were to say that God, when he came to forming the heavens, refashioned the first matter, and gave it a far different essence, nature, and laws. And what would this be other than to diminish the wisdom and power of God, as though he had made the first matter such that it was not suitable for the creation of all? And if we grant this, what could be the communion of natures between things celestial and elementary? What sympathy? Would this not be to upset the whole order of things, and to subvert the plan of God in his creation? Since, then, the universal law of nature is the same through all things communicating with each other, no one can doubt that those things that proceed from one, conformable in itself and without discord, have the same relation to that one, as a son to his parent, and any engendered thing to its engenderer, and resemble its nature in some way, and are inclined to it, as to their beginning, and are bound by the bond of love. Therefore there will be the same relation among celestial things, as there is between elementary things, since all things were successively created from the same mass, uniform, conformable in itself, and harmonious; and the higher things will embrace (out of their own nobility and perfection) the lower, as being their beginning; all the more, as they communicate by nature and serve mankind to the utmost of their abilities. Moreover, the higher things, as being more purged, distilled, and boiled off (in addition to their nobler form), will be the nobler instruments for God's plan, and will perform each its own office more strongly thereto. Wherefore I judge the opinions

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of the astrologers about the malice of Saturn and Mars most absurd, as I shall more fully discuss when I come to astrology.

Once the firmament was created and placed in its position, Moses says, “And the evening and the morning were the second day,” beginning, of course, like the first from the evening, and ending with the setting of the light once more. The reason of the day is the same as before, which, preserving all the time of creation, indicates that we ought perpetually to keep the memory of creation. Moreover, he called this firmament “heaven,” i.e., *shamaim* in Hebrew; if he called it with audible speech, he called it so for Adam’s sake; otherwise, as I have said, for God to say something is, is the same thing as to call it, namely, his eternal will, by which he willed and made the firmament to be out of the waters.

The fabric of the world
Ninth chapter.

On the supercelestial waters and the creation of the angels.

There is no open mention in the Bible of the supercelestial waters, unless in Genesis 1:7, Psalms 148:4 and IV [II] Esdras 6:41. Authorities have differing opinions about them. Jacob Ziegler quite foolishly imagines that God created the first matter as infinite, so that it would not be thought that there was a void left over outside of the world; and that in creating the world from this matter, he did not exhaust his own infinity, but used only as much as would suffice for creation, leaving the rest, as it were (which he calls the supercelestial waters) empty and as darkness, asserting that this was shut out from the world by the firmament. This opinion is ridiculous. For how can

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it be admitted that God's infinite wisdom creates anything in vain? And certainly whatever is left empty, outside the world, and of no form or use, is in vain. If you say, this was done to fill up the vacuum, I shall ask you whether there hadn't been a vacuum there from eternity, and whether this too was created? This will lead to an inextricable labyrinth of questions, and no manner, order, or law of nature will appear in the derivation of the parts of the world from chaos. Rather, all things will come about without reason or any natural consequence, for there will be no place for rarefying, enlarging, and ennobling matter. Others (not a few) think that the supercelestial waters are the clouds, which are borne from the middle region of the air and are separated from the lower air (which is included in the name "heaven") by the sea and the rivers. But the holy testimony of Moses is opposed to them, since he attributes division to the firmament in which the sun, moon, and stars are fixed. And the air that is beneath the clouds and is subject to great changes cannot be called the firmament. And if they want to give the firmament its name because of its constant and immutable location, then water will also be a "firmament." But another firmness is needed, such as I have said is necessary to the firmament, which subsists perpetually because of its substance and unchangeable virtue, for the purpose of sustaining the generation and multiplication of things according to their species. This firmament, moreover, was made after the light, and therefore after the air, since light could not be without air, which was to go around the mass, draw off the light, and bring about day and night. Since, then, this firmament was made from the air, and completed a day later than it, it was without a doubt something other than this lower air and more perfect than it, above which David locates these waters. Observe (Psalm

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148) the order in which he praises God, first calling on celestial things in general to praise him, and then summoning each one in a just order and distinctly: first the angels who live in heaven and the spirits of the blessed; then the parts of the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, that is, the firmament; thirdly, the heavens of heavens, that is, the heavens that surround the firmament, and that contain it within themselves (or the heaven of heaven, as in Psalm 113). Lastly he moves the waters that are above the heavens. You see how he progresses in order from lowest to highest, adding a special cause for them above all to praise God, namely, because God made them to stand forever and gave them a law and office that they shall not let pass unaccomplished. After celestial things, he passes to earthly ones, among which winds, lightning, hailstorms, clouds, and the birds of the heavens are included, all elementary things, needless to say. Thus you can see two orders of praisers, the celestial and the elementary; and since he places the supercelestial waters among the celestial and changeless, there is no way we should believe that they are clouds. And in Psalms 104:3, God is said to lay the beams of his roof and the upper parts of his chamber (that is, the world) on the waters, which must be none other than these supercelestial ones.

Whence these waters were created, and to what end, is unclear from Moses. Since they cannot be perceived by the eye, and do not represent anything that could be taken by the Gentiles as a subject for their idolatry, and further, since they are the most hidden and highest things of the universal creation, which no one can examine, it was of little importance to reveal their origin and end. For this reason, Moses is silent about them, nor does the Holy Spirit openly reveal them. Nonetheless, he does not mention

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them in vain, but offers pious minds matter for imagining something more lofty, and hints at the most admirable wisdom and inexplicable power of God, where the extremest acuity of the mind is blunted and their ways and abyss may not be followed further. However, it is possible to see their origin and matter in that he calls them “waters,” indicating they are of a like form and nature as the firmament. Similarly, David (Psalm 148) allots to them the highest place in the whole universe, just as Moses does. Indeed, since they were borne aloft along with all the things that were made after the motion of the waters and the creation of light, according to the order of extenuation and perfection, and fixed in their place, there can be no doubt that, as the same order continued, the most extreme distillation, so to speak, and sublimation was arrived at in these supercelestial waters. Therefore these waters are the clearest

and purest heaven of all, which theologians rightly call the empyrean, since the light in the firmament and collected from the substance of the firmament, which represents pure fire to the eyes and the senses, is so great, it will also be the substance of this ultimate and most purified heaven; much nobler than fire, and more shining, with an equal clarity throughout, so that in it no contraction of light into globes is made. It appears this was made because God wanted to draw a boundary around the whole economy of nature with the convexity of the firmament, and willed that this division of the waters assigned to the firmament be written so that we may understand that the works of nature are bounded there, and do not go beyond its highest extremity, namely, the convexity of the *primum mobile*, but are entirely contained within it; and that beyond this convexity all things are at rest and immovable.

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As for what purpose the supercelestial water, that is, the clearest heaven, was made, I shall say what appears probable to me. There is no one who doubts that the angels were created, since there is nothing from eternity but the one God, and all the rest are creatures and have their beginning. But when the angels were created is not easy to say. It is proved that they were not created before the world, since “In the beginning, God created heaven and earth,” that is, the formless mass that was the mother of heaven and earth; and if creation began from this mass, the angels could not have been created first. But when the bright stars were placed in the firmament, from that point they were, for thus the Lord addresses Job, “Who laid the cornerstone of it; When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?” (Job 38:6[-7]). The sons of God can have been no other than the angels, since mankind had not yet been created. And if the angels sang praises to God the creator when he established the earth upon the cornerstone, and the shining stars praised along with them, then angels existed on the third day, and stars as well, though they were not yet completed. For they [the stars] began to be created on the first day, and they were perfected on the fourth day; therefore they were much more than half perfected, and were beginning to shine (their light having been directed), and to praise and glorify God in their obedience. That this passage (Job [38:]6) has to do with the third day of creation is easily understood if you compare the two preceding verses. In the first, he speaks of the first foundation of the earth, namely, when God gave it a place to rest, the center of the universe, which exists as a basis for the earth. David refers to this foundation saying, “You laid the earth upon its foundations, that it should not be removed for ever” (Psalms 104:5). In the second, he refers to the shape the earth has obtained

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because its weight seeks the center from all sides, namely, a sphere. In the sixth verse, he first poses a very profound question about the basis of the earth, namely, how this center, which is the basis of heavy things, can be fixed, since it hangs in the middle of the fluid and mobile air. Immediately afterward he speaks of the superstructure, which is usually elevated on high, and rests especially on the cornerstones of buildings. “Who,” he says, “laid the cornerstone,” that would sustain the mass rising on high? Here, you see three parts of locating and establishing the earth brought into question, in the order in which they succeeded one another in the creation. For once chaos was first created, the earth began to subside toward the center; secondly, subsiding, it took on a spherical form; and thirdly, as the earth finally dried, it rose up above the waters and was established there, with the highest mountains hanging above the waters. David speaks of this establishment in this way: “For he has founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods” (Psalms 24:2). Who lifted up the highest peaks of the earth so far above the seas, and so established them, that they should not fall down and return to their natural position, is the question of the second part of the sixth verse. And since their firmness and stability was made on the third day, when the earth had become dry, solid and firm, it appears certainly that the angels had been created before this firming and drying was completed, namely, on the second day. And this squares most elegantly with the creation of the supercelestial waters being made on the second day, since it is most likely that the angels were created from them, since there is no substance in all of creation more apt for this than that brightest and fiery air, in which the founder wished that they should have their seat and dwelling, nor was any other element more fitting for the bodies of the angels,

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than that from which they were to draw their spirit. Paul also bears witness (Hebrews 1[:7]), that angels are spirits and a flame of fire, that is, clear spirits like the brightest flame, like the substance of the empyrean heaven, so that angels appear to be stars created from the supercelestial waters, but with souls, rational, and moving themselves on high and below in the service of God. Hence they are called angels of light, that is, shining angels, created from light and dwelling in celestial light, and they appear to men with great brightness of light, as to the shepherds (Luke 2:9), to the women (Matthew 28:3), and to Peter (Acts 12:7). This is the end of the second day.

The fabric of the world

Tenth chapter.

*On the gathering of the elementary waters,
and the preparation of the land for generation.*

The third day begins.

On the third day God said, “Let the waters that are under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear” (Genesis 1:9). It is not Moses’ meaning that he had said this and begun the separation only on the third day, but that it had been his eternal will that on this day the division of the land and the water be completed and the land be dried up and then rise higher above the waters, which would be received into its recesses, so there would be a seat and dwelling-place and granary for the animals to come, to supply their every nourishment. Whatever things are in God are eternal, and the will to this division, just as that to creation, was eternal; likewise the will to complete the division on this day was eternal. When it had been fulfilled, he wished it to be done from eternity and

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approves it into eternity. His sentence stands, which he cannot regret, which cannot be confuted nor emended nor better conceived, since

his wisdom and prudence are infinite, admitting no alteration of plan or will. Because the division was completed on this day, Moses therefore says, “God said”—namely, from eternity—let there be a division and the dry lands appear, i.e., as much as to say, let there be a division until the dry lands appear. And when will the dry lands appear? Now on the third day, for he adds, “and it was so,” now, doubtless, after the second day, which he said was already completed, and before the end of the third day, which he will conclude after verse 13. But if someone should suppose that the division was both begun and completed in the space of one day, what kind of disposition will there be in the creation of order and the law of nature, which we now see working successively and through causes and intermediate consequences? It will follow of necessity that God created all things bypassing every order and law of nature, and that he only then prescribed these things for nature and imbued them with it, which is obviously absurd and impious to think. For things should bring with them from the creation their own nature and law of operation, unless we are to believe that God in his creation lacked sufficient strength either in his plan or his power. Thus, since in the second verse he moved the waters with a strong breath, we understand that he established this breath as a natural cause for the works that followed, and that from that point, having begun the separation of the land from the water, the separation was perfected and completed on this third day. Having observed the natural cause of the separation, the cause for the inequality of the land and the recesses of the sea becomes obvious.

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For that same force of wind came out from various directions so that it violently raised on high *aphar*, created in the beginning, and thence collected the subsiding land into the deep, where it created the profound and greatest hollows and cavities. Thus you can imagine that in the area where the Atlantic Ocean is now, the wind assailed *aphar* with the utmost violence, and likewise in the area where Asia and the New Indies are now separated; these winds hollowed out the subsiding earth and heaped it up into lofty continents, and various whirlwinds arose from different directions, causing lesser hollows, and, with waves rising on high on all sides, gathered the land together into mountains. So, in the clash of waves, you can understand both the division of the land from the waters and its being gathered in the middle regions into the highest mountains. Throughout Africa Mount Atlas and the Mountains of the Moon, throughout Asia Mount Imaus and the mountains of the Caspian, and the rest of mountains everywhere, were doubtless thus born. The waters in turn, purged of all land after long agitation and gathered into those hollows, sank back down where God established their boundaries (as David says, Psalms 104:9), doubtless since all heavy things approach the center of the world as closely as possible. Water, which is fluid and labile, being unable to stand firm as it is piled up (as earth can), always flows to a lower position, so as to stand level at the lowest point, from which it is unable to rise on its own, unless a heavier thing occupies the bottom. Thus it is that all waters flow to the sea, unless higher barriers are interposed.

From this time we must consider that the sun and the moon and the rest of the stars were gathered and fixed together to the point that they begin, in their innate nature, to have a more powerful strength, since they had already grown to the third day in brightness of light and natural virtue, and hence it

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is certain that they contributed more of it to drying up the land. The wind, too, whenever it was blowing through the air drew out from the clay liquids boiled and thinned out by the sun, so that the land was dried out from two causes, and coalesced into a greater solidity. Just as David says (Psalms 24:[2]), “God has founded the land upon the waters,” that is, by dryness and solidity. Without them it would have remained fluid, and would have sunk, in accordance with its nature, beneath the waters and settled again to the depths, as it is heavier, and would have forced them to rise above it. Moreover, we should not regard this dryness of the land as absolute, but middling, enough to suffice for the stabilization of the land and the creation of plants, if indeed the grasses, which need moisture, were created before it rained, and man was formed from clay on the sixth day. Indeed, consider this: if the land had been completely dry, it couldn’t have been raised up into high mountains and stand firm, for some amount of moisture binds the land. Without it, it would collapse completely like sand, nor would it have been suitable for giving birth to those things God wished to create in its entrails. This, too, should be observed, how great the creator’s prudence was in hollowing out those recesses, the receptacles of the waters, for he so distributed the seas throughout the whole world that all the kingdoms of the world could carry on trade among themselves and transport anywhere whatever nature or art should give them. Also, and what is of the greatest importance, the creator did this so that the land, forming one sphere with its gathered waters, would remain in balance. For otherwise the land would not have been “founded above the waters,” but, with more weight gathered on one side, it would have pressed down the whole mass of land to the center of gravity and of the world, and this depression of the land would

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have caused the waters weighing upon the other side, rising aloft, to flow down and occupy the nearest lands. For since land is heavier than waters of the same quantity, it is necessary first for the body of land to stand firmly in balance, and then for the seas surrounding the circle of the land and communicating with each other, to be distributed in such a way that, resting in equilibrium on all sides, they do not bring more weight to bear on one half of the sphere (no matter what circle you use to define that half) than on the other half opposed to it. If the seas had not been connected, but some remained confined within their own boundaries, the land could somehow have stood firm even if it was not itself in equilibrium in all directions, since if there were not enough weight in one of its halves, the waters penned in on that side would have made up the difference. But since the use and function of the seas demands their interconnection, because of the necessity of circumnavigation, and the unburdening of the rivers, which can only be distributed equally and in balance to all parts of the sphere by the communication of the seas, demands the same, it was first necessary (as I have said) for there to be a balance of land throughout, and it was not possible for this to be compensated for by the waters. For these would have had to be piled up higher in the lighter part than in the heavier, and they accordingly would have flowed down until they had everywhere attained an equal depth from the center. But if these waters, making up the balance were so hemmed in that they could not flow out, there would have been two inconvenient consequences: first, that being subject to corruption, they would have spoiled the adjacent lands, and not afforded the usefulness owed to the affairs of mankind; second, that sucked down into the bowels of the earth or gradually carried up as exhalations, they would have

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abandoned their proper position and taken away the balance of the whole. But if someone should claim, using some explanation, that the waters could be preserved there, we will reply that this comes about in vain by more, more laborious and useless means than the rest, because it can come about without means of this kind, and in a shorter fashion, and more usefully. Therefore, the opinion stands that the machine of the land is balanced in itself, and as a consequence that the sea, which is contained in its recesses, also is continually moved by this, so that it will not be corrupted and infect the air and kill the fish. Moreover, it washes the land within and without so that all will be clean and healthful, all corruption being consumed and dissipated by motion and attrition. The disposition of the center of weight and of the world implies all these things. If this had been recognized and examined by the ancients, they would have judged almost correctly concerning the situation and size of the new continent (discovered in our time) and of the southern continent that, not yet explored, lies adjacent to the Antarctic Pole. Furthermore, since the lands known to the ancients are contained in 180 degrees of longitude, occupying, that is, only half of a sphere, it was necessary for as many lands to exist in the other half. And since Asia, Europe, and Africa are located for the most part beyond the plane of the equinox to the north, it was necessary for such a continent to exist below the Antarctic Pole, which, along with the southern parts of Asia and the New Indies (or America), would balance the other lands.

God (as Moses says) called the land, separated from the waters as described and prepared for animal life, *erez*, that is, land, and the collected waters *iam*, that is, seas. But it is not to be thought that he gave these names immediately once the separation was made, any more than he before

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gave names to the day, the night, and the heavens. For to whom would he have spoken, so long as man, to whom knowledge of these works was most important, had not yet been created? (Unless someone is to claim that he spoke them to angels.) I am convinced that another great mystery is being hinted at here, namely, the witnessing of the immense affection and most loving and most beneficent conversation of God with man, whom he created by a singular plan and zeal. I think, that is, that he means that the revealing of these names was not made on this day, but later, in familiar conversation with Adam. For seeing that God led the animals to Adam so that he would name them (Genesis 2:19), there is no doubt that his talk with him was broader, and that he discussed the creation of many more things with him, naming the light, the day, the night, the heavens, the earth, the seas, the sun, the moon, and the prominent parts of the earth, so that he could relate to the coming generations the true history of the entire work, as it was preserved, more or less, from Adam all the way down to Moses. The word *erez* (to repeat the words of Augustine Eugubinus) properly designates “what is trod upon,” from the word *razaz* (an aleph being added, according to the Hebrew language), which shows his intention in creating the land. For it was created to be trod on by the noblest animals, for whom all was created. *Iam*, that is, “resounding,” “roaring,” “in a tumult,” is from the verb *hamah*, which means “to roar, shout or buzz.” Therefore, from Augustine’s derivations, it is clear that *erez* and *iam* mean the land and the waters as they are now: the land, which is the pavement for terrestrial animals, affording them support as they go or rest; and the vast sea, as, gathered from the accumulation of the rivers, it flows and reflows unendingly, causing a din and a noise. Indeed, since the land (*terra*) is named from wearing

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(*terendo*), it corresponds most properly to the word *erez*. Notice also this, which Augustine calls attention to in the same place. *Thebom* is derived from the same verb *hamah*, and so means “a roaring, agitated abyss.” From the meaning of the name you understand that the separating wind that I discussed in chapter 7 was present from the beginning in chaos, and that in that passage, no other spirit is to be understood than this blowing, exciting the whole mass, and thus the division of water and land was made in part in a natural way.

The fabric of the world

Eleventh chapter.

Of the quadruple degree and order of created things.

To this point only those things were created that pertained to the generation of the things necessary for human life, and that would be their dwelling places, that is, the elements from which, or those things by whose aid these were to be generated and sustained. Common opinion divides all created things into three classes or, rather, degrees: into those that are, merely; those that grow; and those that have sensation. This division, rightly understood and deployed, agrees most elegantly with our speculation and assists it greatly, and brings wisdom. In the first degree, we are not to understand naked essence without any form or quality or efficacy, such as the pagan philosophers vainly dreamt the first matter to be, for I have shown that God created nothing of the kind. Rather, those things are to be thought of which, whatsoever they may be either virtually or potentially, nonetheless are entirely without motion, so that wherever they lie, stand or hang, they remain motionless in themselves, nor take on any growth to themselves;

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or, to speak more clearly, those things that do not have the power of growing in themselves, but that are, and remain, as nature first formed them, having no life in themselves. In the second degree are all things that have in themselves the first degree of life, namely, the power of growing and springing, but do not rise any higher toward life. In the third degree are those things that have in themselves (in addition to the vegetative power) the power of sensation, and that move themselves by their own virtue according to the condition of the senses. The degrees of creation proceed to this point out of the first matter. But because the soul of man (by which alone he differs from the brutes) is vulgarly thought to be created not from the first matter, but privately and uniquely by God, they number man himself among the other animals, and include him in the third degree of creatures. But in fact, since, as I shall show in its own place, the soul, too, of man is derived from the first matter by intermediate degrees of perfection, it will be obvious that man must constitute a fourth degree of creatures. Therefore, there are: the first degree of those that are; the second, of those that are and have the power of growth (which forms the first degree of life); the third, of those that are, have the power of growth,

and have sensation, and are voluntarily moved by their senses; and the fourth, of those that are, have the power of growth, have sensation, and furthermore understand and reason. Or to put it briefly: 1, that are; 2, that grow; 3, animals that have sensation; and 4, who understand and reason (for the higher degrees include the lower). A philosopher should diligently apply his mind to these four degrees and observe the order of creation ascending and progressing by these degrees. However, it is not to be thought that

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everything in the first degree was created before those in the second. For it was not necessary for precious stones and metals to exist before grasses. We must conclude above all that those things had to be created first that the use of man would soon demand. Gems and metals, even if they were born long after man, could bring no inconvenience on him. True, you will say to me, they must have been created before the seventh day, and you will be right. But wait, and consider that they were created when God ordered the land to generate them. For the land is established as the mother of these things, and remains their mother, conceiving within herself and from herself the seed whence she generates these things forever, and she perfects them according to her fecundity at her own time, but the delay in perfecting does not put off the generation of a new species, because that is the last to come, and does not consequently generate. For if a gem were to have procreated a gem and a metal a metal like itself, then it would have been necessary to endow the metal and the gem with a specific and seminal power. But this was the province of the creator, not of the land, so that gems and metals would have had to have been perfected before the seventh day and to have been endowed by God with a virtue specific to them. But if we observe the order of the world expressed in Genesis, it seems this ought to have been done on the third day along with the grasses, for there would have been a similar means of generation for each, and each would have been counted in the same degree, namely, that of the vegetable, and therefore would have matured equally. So, since the seminal property of these things [gems and metals] remains in the land (although some assisting and, possibly, formative virtue might come from celestial influences), we must conclude that their creation was perfected when the seminal property and power

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of generation was impressed upon the land by the Lord. It is nonetheless credible that this was done on the same, third day, according to the natural progress of things, when the land had been sufficiently solidified and the stars had nearly completed their own form. Therefore no inconvenience arises if metals and gems and all things similarly engendered by the land do not have their own power of self-propagation; and they may be said to have been propagated, and were so, only after some years, since the seminal property and specific power, which complete their generation, had been given to the land in the beginning.

Here, then, is a double account of generation, which should be prudently distinguished lest the just order of creation, plainly evident in Genesis, be troubled, and so that the account of the order should stand throughout. One kind of generation is of the species itself, which always produces a thing similar to itself, as a horse, another horse, a sheep, another sheep, and so on to the end of the world, because it is out of its own substance and through its own power of generation. We shall speak of the wondrous mystery of this in the following chapter. The other is that that engenders something unlike itself, differing in species, according to the quality of the spirits of a diverse kind that come together. So the land engenders gold, sulphur, lead, etc., dissimilar to itself and of another species. The land has the power to do this in itself from creation, and does not acquire it afterward or anywhere other than from the artisan creator. You see, then, a twofold generation of species, of which the first, that that is by species alone, requires the perfection of the species within the six days of creation, so that it may receive from the creator this specific power of generation, which neither

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earth nor heaven, nor any other previously created species can give; it is the creator's alone to instill this power in created species. For this reason, even though the waters produced the first species of fishes and birds, God did not make this specific power perpetual and proper to all of them, but rather perfected that inchoate power in the proper matter (drawn from the waters) of those species along with the animals themselves, and impressed and endowed them with it, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea, and let fowl multiply themselves in the earth" ([Genesis 1:] 22). But those species that did not receive this benediction cannot multiply from themselves, but have their generation by means of certain accidents and from without; to be sure, from a certain element or elements to which God gave the power of generation at that time, no doubt, when each, having achieved its perfected species, had attained its own nature and spirit, just as he gave the same power to animals once they were perfected. For this reason, once the specific power of these species was impressed on already perfected elements, there was no need to bring forth stones, gems, metals, and others of the same kind prior to the seventh day, for their creation had been made in the elements, and they needed no further creation, since their generation depended naturally already from the elements.

Now that these degrees of things has been established, let the student of the more arcane philosophy ponder diligently which of them are more noble, and in what order and by what and how many means they are brought to the perfection of their own species. And since intellect and reason add something above sensation and the power of motion, and while this in turn

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is more valuable than the vegetative power, and, again, the vegetative power is the first entry point into life, it is easy to understand that the degrees are formed and ennobled by nature in the same order in which they have been enumerated. We have an example of all in the generation of man. In this, the specific power impressed on the seed by the parents and innate in it first forms the body and the entrails, which remain in the first degree while the heart is being formed. Once the heart is formed they assume a vegetable nature and begin to transport food to themselves and to grow. Then, after about six weeks, having attained the third degree, they move. At this time, indeed, it is impossible to discover any trace of intellect or of a rational soul in the fetus, but by necessity the substance of the rational soul is present even in the first moment of conception, if we grant that it is engendered by the parents. But it is formed last, and

perfected as the most noble part. Therefore all generation proceeds from the less noble to the more noble, and is completed by the highest summit of each species, and rises no further. For it is unable to surpass the limit of its species, since further powers are not given to it, but the blessing of generation is bounded by the species. Thus, those things that only are, however much they exceed the rest of their kind in nobility, do not attain to the power of growth. Of those that have vegetative power, some indeed are nobler than others, but they do not arrive at sensation, and animals, whose distinguishing trait in their species is sense and motion, do not attain intellect, for this is above all and bears the image of God. And, reader, you will observe that this same order was preserved in the creation of things, for to this point God has created things that are, then (a nobler substance

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having been drawn from them) he will create those of the second degree, namely, grasses and plants, and then animals, which belong to the third order. Among these, first those from the water and less noble, then the terrestrial animals, gifted with a subtler, drier, and warmer spirit (for they are subtler by their sensations, and approach somewhat to intellect), and then man himself, who is to dominate all the others by his reason and wisdom. So the nobler are created later, since they need a nobler and more cleansed and digested matter, and thence are perfected more slowly; nature, created first, always working according to its own genius and the means given by the idea of God. And God's idea is the work of his wisdom, of his will to order and virtue and proportion in creating and sustaining things. In sum, if anyone earnestly investigates the order of things and considers the communion and differences of species, he will understand that the creation of things rises from the lowest and least noble species much as a tree has first one trunk, in which all, from the roots to the very top are one by the communion of the species, each individual part having its veins in it; but when they begin to approach some differentiation, the first division of the trunk into branches occurs. Then (every branch existing as one for a while until its veins go off in a different direction), a second division occurs, and so on, until the last branches and fruits are reached. So chaos is the unique trunk of all the species to be created, having its root and beginning in the universal creative idea that is in the divine will and mind. In this trunk, all are still one, hidden and communicating in the seminal property of chaos. Then, as this universal idea, the creator of things, divides itself rising little by little by division into a determinate number of species and into form, from the one simple and unitary species of chaos the differences of species

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arise. For the substances of all destined species remain together until they perfectly tend toward difference within the one where they communicate; therefore those that still communicate stay together, being contained in one branch, until they arrive at the path of their own species, each pursuing its highest or extreme and perfect species. Thus, after every excoction, distillation, cleansing, attenuation, sublimation, or any other means have been performed everywhere and, so to speak, through all the branches of creation, that act, tending toward the ultimate aim of the operation, is to be named, until we arrive at the conception of each species. We also must remember that those things of superior degrees are perfected more slowly, since they rise through intermediate degrees. Thus since an animal ascends three degrees, namely, through being and the vegetative species to sensation and motion, it is necessary for the vegetative to be perfected by one degree first. For we must think about that universal idea in God in this way, that it thus makes its impressions in creation, so that starting from the trunk it proceeds in an unconfused order and along a straight path, little by little through more and more noble beings to the production of the highest species, and perfects those belonging to one degree simultaneously, and then those of the following and more noble degree, as we see in the creation of plants, animals, and man. Species, then, that stand in one degree, or are of one kind or genus (as, e.g., the willow and the oak in the genus of plants) are distinguished among themselves by certain degrees of excellence or nobility. For this reason, what is more perfect or noble is slower in its performance in one or the other. Thus it happens that the oak grows and matures more slowly than the willow. Nonetheless, the creation of the oak was completed on the third day no less than that of the willow, for as we shall shortly

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see, the specific power was born together with the germinating herb and impressed on the plant through the formative idea. For the creation of those things that will bear offspring like themselves is perfected, by these two, namely, by the species itself and by the specific virtue, that is, of propagating the species. The growth that follows later and the generation of fruits are the natural works of the species itself, following that virtue and creation. Here, though, you must remember what we said in chapter 7. Once the matter of any thing was made ready, the species of the things to be created thence is born at the same time, even if the thing itself grows up later. For instance, the sun began to be created on the first day when God created light, although it was perfected only on the fourth day. Likewise, once the waters were made ready, the species of fishes began to be created on the third day; and, once the land was dried out, the species of terrestrial animals, although they were perfected only on the fifth day. And likewise the species of grasses and plants began to be created on the third day, although they were finished on the fourth. For Moses indicates only the time of works as they were completed. Therefore the species of plants and terrestrial animals were born at the same time, once their mother the land had been perfected, but those that were of a more solid substance were finished more slowly, as, for instance, the oak grew up on the fourth day, later than the grasses. Having considered these matters concerning the degrees and order of created things, let us turn to the creation of plants, which is the second part of the work of the third day.

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The fabric of the world

Twelfth chapter.

On the creation of grasses and trees, and the spiritual substance.

On the third day, after he first separated the waters that are under the heavens from the land (while the wind continued), the other work of this day follows, the creation of grasses and trees, which we shall now discuss. Since man and the other animals were to live by grasses and fruits, creation proceeds to the second degree of things, which is the first degree of life. And because these things were to be converted into nourishment for man and the animals, God found a means through which they could multiply through their seed and specific power, to which God gave his blessing so they would suffice for all animals. Even though the blessing of multiplication is not added [in Moses' account], we clearly understand that it was made, because he adds it to the other creatures, and gives them as food to all animals ([Genesis 1:] 29–30). The blessing that is expressed, that of fishes and birds, is, “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters and the land” ([Genesis 1:] 22). And he says to mankind, “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moves upon the land” ([Genesis 1:] 28). And once the land was made ready for generation, God said, “Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed after its kind” [Genesis 1:11], as it says in the following verse, that is, out of which grass of the same species can be born, “and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after its kind” on earth, that is, let it make fruit in which seed of the same species may be born, while the tree grows on the land,

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from which a tree of the same species can be born. When he says, “Let the earth bring forth,” it is certain that the grass and the tree were not immediately perfected as he said it, but rather from a point or, so to speak, an atom of earth, just as from a seed that, though it very small, still, by the specific idea and blessing of God, shot forth all its virtue in its smallest part and bud (which is contained and lies hidden in one end), budded, and bit by bit grew into an adult plant or tree.

Now that we have come to the first degree of life, it is necessary to pry and inquire into the nature and condition of the spiritual substance from which life has its origin. As I said in chapter 6, all things arise by evaporation and exhalation out of chaos. Next, the elements having been made ready for generation and the celestial bodies for influence, the almighty creator took the atoms of virtues or minimal particles of the water and the land, by means of which he gave specific power according to the ideas and following the number of ideas included in his wisdom, and he added the blessing of engendering things like to themselves, so that they would multiply, preserving the same species forever. The spiritual substance, moreover, is the more noble part of every element or generative body, which by attracting nourishment and converting it to its own nature and extending to the growth of the body has its power by his blessing and from nature. Thus the land, water, air, and the other bodies exhale the spiritual substance from themselves by means of heat, and it is converted by the specific substance of the seed into the same nature and species, and supplies growth or motion or sensation according to the condition of the species. When a similar substance is engendered in the bowels of the earth, and produces its species within the land, it does not bring growth to the species, but instead

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is coagulated and collected into itself indissolubly, without spreading any exhalation or odor of itself or virtue elsewhere except by attraction and the operation of its permanent quality. So gold is coagulated in a quantity of the spiritual substance and receives no growth but instead is contracted by sulphurous heat so as to become the heaviest thing. Stones are engendered in the same way. Grasses and trees, since they are meant to grow, have a soft and ductile nourishment, and so exhale odors and virtues and at length are gradually consumed when they have matured in their growth. This spiritual substance alone preserves the species (I mean, that within plants, not that outside), for it, having first been attracted by the species, is changed into it and then nourishes and preserves it. As long as nothing corrupts the species itself, it nourishes it, always preserving the same characteristics of leaves, flowers, branches, and fruits, the same odor, flavor, color, and the rest of the accidental qualities, so tenaciously that if a shoot or bud is inserted into another plant, it will follow even there its own nature, changing all nourishment into its own species. Indeed, whatever nourishment so attracted is changed into the form of that part to which it ultimately arrives. Thus the sap of a tree, when it arrives at the fruit, is changed into the species of the fruit, or when at the leaves, it turns into a leaf. The nourishment of an animal, too, turns into liver when it finally is attracted to the liver; when it comes to the root of some muscle, it turns into that substance; and so forth in all cases. And every member attracts to itself what is most suitable for it. Some things, however, that are not suitable for nourishing the body, nature expels, some into the hair, others into the nails, others into scurf, others in some other way, or entirely outside the body. Some things that are appropriated by a hidden power for some organ or other, tend thither

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by a natural affection. Therefore, this seminal and spiritual substance is an entirely divine thing, in which all specific power and preservative virtue is present from the creation, and in which all bodily motion necessary for the animal is, by means of the heart, aroused. For the heart is formed first by it in the very middle of the animal, so that its virtue will be on hand for each extremity, and it provides like seed for generation, so that the continuance of the species shall remain until the end of the universe. This, too, must be known and considered: this species does not flow from the stars, but from that into which God first placed it and which he blessed for generation. The stars are an aid, but the origin and root of all species is in these things here below. And since the world is, so to speak, one body, having parts that are harmonious among themselves and uniting toward one thing (just like individual animals), to the pattern of which and of God man was created as a microcosm, and bears the image of God; and further having a similar distribution of its parts, it is credible that the world has the sun as its heart, as the beginning of all life. Further, that the sun had its start from the beginning, when light was created, and fulfills the same office in the world beneath the hollow of the firmament as the heart does in man, warming everything above and below with its heat and light, and for that reason was established in the middle of this world, or a little higher, as the heart is in man.

The fabric of the world
Thirteenth chapter.
On the tree of life.

God gave such a seminal species throughout the earth, wherever there was a mixture of elements suitable for it, so that the virtue of this species should

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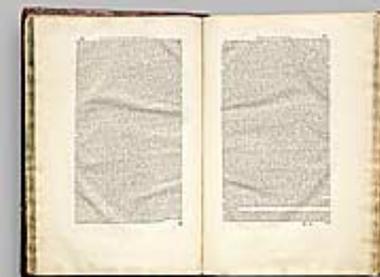
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nowhere be absent, since plants do not change places and walk over the earth in the manner of animals, but staying in their own place cast their mature seed forth there. Nor was any care for transplanting them given to man, as all necessary things were offered to him spontaneously. Since the wisdom of God created nothing that would be useful for some necessity of life in vain or without a cause, it is most certain that there is no disease or any defect of nature whose proper remedy he did not foresee. Therefore he made as many species of plants to sprout and be born as were needed to preserve and sustain the life of mankind and of all animals. He also placed the tree of life in the middle of paradise so that man might preserve his life in health by its use until he, made more divine by the exercise and obedience of the commandment, should be transported to heaven. Thus the brute animals, too, seek support for their nature: the swallow, celandine; the cat, catnip; the frog, plantain and sage; the dog, grass; the tortoise, marjoram; the weasel, rue; the stork, oregano; the partridge, pellitory, also called *perdicium*; the hawk, hieracum; the dove, vervain. The magpie also is said when sick to carry laurel leaves into its nest, in order to ward off diseases. So we believe that stags have shown that are healed from arrow wounds by dittany, because the shaft is ejected when they eat it; we think that hinds have proved the herb sefelum, and that serpents have ennobled fennel, for we know that by tasting and eating it they throw off old age and restore the acuity of their eyes with its sap. It would be possible to show this by many examples, since animals, taught by nature herself, have indicated to mortals the powers of many herbs known to themselves. God created as many species of plants in each region as were suitable in their natures to the men and animals born there. This is proved by experience again and

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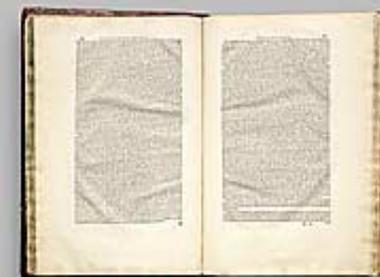
again: thus, simply by the frequency of the plants that are born there, it can almost be seen to which popular (or epidemic) diseases each region is subject. Thus, among the Danes, Friesians, and Dutch, among whom the disease called scurvy is frequent, its proper (so to speak) medicine, namely, cochlearia, springs abundantly. Thus, in swampy areas where the tamarisk recognizes its native soil, the inhabitants are commonly exposed to defects of the spleen, which may be seen in the sallow color that spreads over their swollen skin and from their puffed-up abdomens. In the same way, we observe that in those neighborhoods where wormwood is rank around the hedges or in yards, the inhabitants are often affected by obstructions of the bowels, weakness of the stomach, and excess flow of bile, so that, unless by the use of the said herb, the passages of the bowels are opened, and strengthened and firmed by purging of the bile, they sicken first with jaundice and a little later with water under the skin. And although some things are injurious and poisons to certain people, if they are applied in their own way, they are healthful. Thus from the worst venoms the noble theriac [or antidote] is made, and there is nothing made so alien to the nature of man that its use is not in some cases useful. Now let us discuss the seed. God created the grasses and plants from atoms of the land by the work of his wisdom, and by means of the idea of God and his blessing. However, he created them such that they are now born from seed, and the same manner of working belongs to the first generation as to the second, since it is made and remains the same species.

Therefore, as the plant is born from the seed, so it comes from the atom of earth, formed by the idea into a certain species, and vice versa. For a bud out of the seed, contained in one end, where it forms the point of the seed,

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attracts the moisture of the earth and of the water, and makes one or several little roots, according to the property of the species, and through these roots engenders the trunk from the nourishment attracted to its other end, and, following that, those things that adhere to the trunk, namely, branches and leaves; for the specific power that changes all the nourishment that it attracts into its own nature and species is in the bud. The same rationale is in the earthen atom formed by the idea, for it produces its own germination the same way the seed does. Then, the nourishment that has been attracted, as it is carried higher, is changed more and more into the form of that that is born from it, into branches divided from the trunk, and leaves and flowers and fruit. The most perfect thing of all is the fruit, in which the seed, which was given for the multiplication of the species, is brought to an end. The higher members, roused to growth by heat, draw the sap from the lower ones, for as the root is not strong enough to furnish sufficient nourishment to the upper members, it gathers new roots for attracting, by which it gathers more abundant nourishment. It follows from this that the upper members of those plants that have more roots need more nourishment, and their fruits are moister, unless the roots are more of use than the fruits. In this case, the divine wisdom provides for the use of animals; as in those grasses whose roots are destined to be eaten and that attract more sap, the roots are more succulent and thicker, nature procuring growth most of all to the roots and not to the grasses. Those that are longer have a drier and thicker substance, as they seek drier nourishment in deep soil. There are many things that can be observed in the accidents and properties of roots pertaining to the investigation of the nature both of themselves and of the grasses. The sap, as it is attracted, is carried up in grasses through parts

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that are not yet changed, but in trees, through the bark, as it is spongier, until it is changed (after a considerable delay) by the neighboring part and the noblest and purest is raised up into flowers, fruit and seed. Many speculations will occur here to the investigator. That the attracted sap is truly, as I have said, borne upward we learn from the graftings of scions in trees. For in these, the attracted moisture is first communicated to the bark of the scions, where, pausing a while, it unites the barks of the scions with those of the stems, and then connects wood with wood. But the species that is in the stem is changed into the species of the inserted scion. Thus, according to the commandment of God, the same species always produces the same things, whether from seed or from an inserted scion, and, consequently, extends branches, leaves, fruit, and seed according to the nature of that species. It is, moreover, useful to consider how long it takes, and at what distance from the earth the fruit and seed mature, and in which moistures around their roots plants delight, which ones they avoid, and (if possible), how the sap is changed by degrees into the root, the trunk, the leaves, the flowers, the fruit, and the seed. For so the nature of the species is more exactly distinguished. This, at least, we admit, that the nourishment of the plant is much nobler in the fruit than in the plant, and noblest of all in the seed, as that is the aim of the whole creation of that species.

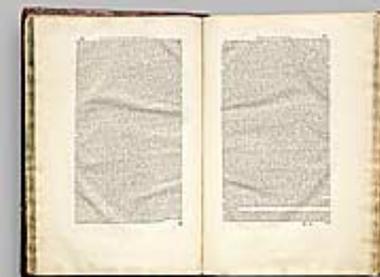
From what we have said, you may gather that some grasses and trees were created in some regions, others in others. Experience, too, teaches that some exist in America (or New India), that are never found in our continent, that is, Asia, Africa, and Europe. These were not used by mankind until some traveled thither, which I believe occurred after the

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age of Christ and the apostles. Likewise, there are animals there that are not found in our continent, which certainly existed from the creation of the world. From this I suspect that those lands were not destroyed by the flood, since God wished to destroy mankind (Genesis 6:1-7). For there were no men there, and the animals created and dwelling there were not to be destroyed on account of a cause not found in animals, namely, that man (whom God repented creating) would perish. But in our continent the animals should have perished, unless some had been saved in the ark, since they could not live in the water.

Since, then, God established the virtues of the tree of life, scattering them throughout the whole world. By that one work he provided for both the states of mankind, that of obedience and that of sin, and the power of the tree of life, either in paradise or scattered through the world, was not in vain. For when the world was filled with men, access to the tree of life would not have been open to all, but the grasses and plants born here and there would have been equivalent, and delight would have been a certainty for mankind, and a blessing would have turned away every disease. Therefore, since things had been most wisely created for the use and service of mankind, in both the world above and the world below, what a beautiful harmony there was then! Where the lowest agreed with the highest and expected aid from them, and the highest conferred their gifts on the lowest, and all things were subservient to mankind, until he should be transported to his celestial dwelling by God. This disposition, this beauty of estate, would have remained inviolate if Adam had not sinned. But, if you pay more diligent attention, the same harmony is perceived even today in the traces of the first nature. For there is nothing so small that it does not

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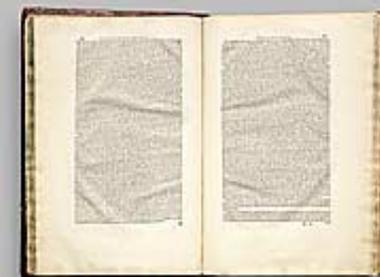
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serve something and depend from a more perfect thing. All things exist for man, and since all things tend toward their goal, and the goal (I mean, man) consists of various parts, which preserve a most agreeable harmony, namely, that in which life consists, therefore some things are subservient to the stomach, some to the liver, others to the heart, others to the blood, others to the kidneys, etc. For this reason there were as many simples or plants, as there were entrails in man and affections of the entrails. And since every being changes the attracted nourishment into its own species, and there are various posts within the human body, and various paths to each extreme post, by which nourishment passes (e.g., in the belly, in the liver, in the blood, in the spleen, etc.), those simples are stronger (or flow through the intermediate posts more quickly, as though friends) that deliver their virtue whole to the extreme posts and do their work there. But those that cannot be changed there by nature are either poisons or harmful to nature. Those that are changed in the first posts are friends to nature, or of little virtue. Those that penetrate to the extreme posts with their virtue intact, being friends to nature, are the ones that are more appropriate to that member or organ, and have certain characteristics from which they may be recognized, if you inquire most diligently into the matter. For we see that those having a great similarity to nature also share in their form; for instance, onions and garlic and others like them have bulbs for a root, and engender a similar plant upward. If the flowers differ in color, that occurs according to a peculiar property of each and a certain difference. Thus many grasses and trees that have leaves that are toothed around the edges like a saw, and that engender so for the same cause, have something similar in their nature in which they agree. Again, there are many grasses and plants

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that have leaves very little toothed around the edges, but are rather evenly circumscribed; many leaves that are toothed end in a point; many in rounds or lobules, like rue; many in a sharp and piercing point, like the yew. All these things should be diligently observed, since they are not so by chance, but according to the perpetual production of nature. For this reason, since nature produces nothing accidentally, and the same cause was created forever for the same form, it is necessary that many things are similar by a certain law of species, and share naturally in some way. Further, since there is a common purpose and union of celestial and terrestrial things toward one goal, namely, man, and since celestial things are eternal, and since the species in this lower world are also eternal, having the same engenderings in shape and form, each depending on its own causes in heaven, it is useful for those studying the characteristics of plants to collect and comprehend many things looking to one star and many sharing in the same nature according to the more experienced natural philosophers, in which they mutually correspond in form, color, taste, and the other qualities. For thus he will learn to judge of the nature of things from likeness. For there is a proper character for each nature, which it forever preserves, under the influence of a similar nature in the heavens. I wished to alert the reader to these things for my speculation (such as it is) so that by his endeavors he may aid a thing that has long been most useful, in which Solomon gained great praise (1 Kings 4:33). How may those things that are before our eyes and forever follow the same law of nature in their shape and form be thoroughly investigated with zeal and application? Though it is laborious indeed, labor conquers all. I myself heard Reiner Solenander, the most learned physician of the most illustrious prince of Jülich discoursing industriously and quite sagaciously on

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the characteristics of plants. Would that he would continue his studies in so necessary a part of philosophy (if anyone can, he can, such is the dexterity of his mind in investigating nature and the causes of things). In a short time we would have a demonstration of these characteristics and the hidden powers appropriate to each internal organ.

So, since God set the virtues of the tree of life everywhere, the psalmist rightly says, “The works of the Lord are great, sought out in all his pleasures” (Psalms III[:2]). He always directs his work toward its appointed goal, whether Adam obeys the first commandment or not, and does so in the highest wisdom and mercy and goodness and justice.

Now that I have treated the nature and variety of plants, according to my meager understanding, there remains one supreme miracle of nature, namely, that, howsoever many things there are in each species—for instance, size, form, figure, odor, taste, color, leaves, sinews, roots, bark, power, and all the infinite things that are in a single plant—they all lie hidden (as I have said) in so small a bud of the seed. For the power of the whole species is hidden in that bud, although the bud has

nothing of such things in it, nor even any trace of them, but is rather completely homogeneous and seems clearly to be of the same nature. For this reason, I think I judge rightly that the simplest idea, which formed the seed in the beginning, still accompanies the species and continues the same work until engendering ends. And this is what Christ said: “My Father works hitherto, and I work” (John 5:17). Whence it follows that, although there was a sabbath from creation, there was not one from sustaining the creatures; rather, that work will last until the end of the world. I do not

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see what else might be said here. If you are curious about this speculation, pay attention above all to which accidents are proper to each species, and investigate their causes, if you can, first concerning the figure, and observe the order in which its growth occurs from the root to the top, and how it proceeds and is distributed through the bark and the veins and sinews of the leaves right up to their edges. Doubtless you will at length discover the proper characteristic of each nature. The end of the third day.

The fabric of the world
Fourteenth chapter.
On the creation of the lights.
The fourth day begins.

Although the creation of the lights was not finished until the fourth day, they nonetheless began to be created on the first day. That is clear, since there is no other light distinguishing day from night than that of the sun (as this property is ascribed to it in [Genesis 1:]14). And now three days have already passed, wherefore the light that distinguished the first day from the night was doubtless that of the sun-to-be; still scattered, but drawn up into the hemisphere of the heaven that surrounded all of chaos, turning from the beginning above the poles of the world, so that on the first day heaven and its motion began to be created at the same time as the light. For we read, “God divided the light from the darkness” ([Genesis 1:]4), which could not have provided day and night except by gathering light into one part of heaven and by its drawing it around paradise. Therefore, since day follows night, the creation of light happened first in that half that was below the horizon of paradise, where, becoming more intense and gathered, by a

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motion made to the west, it rose from the eastern part of paradise above its horizon and made the day. Then, on the fourth day, the gathering of the substance of the sun and the moon and the stars was completed. For Moses describes the time of finished works, which depends on and is defined by the perpetual will of God. Moreover, the sun (which in chapter 12 we have stated to be the heart of the world) had to have been created before all the rest, as is the case in animals, and therefore was begun with the first creation of light. The sun, having received the brightest substance, obtained dominion of the day, while the moon had that of night, seeing as it does not illuminate the night with its own light, but with that of the sun. Still, it does have its own light, although it is inconsiderable, for in a total lunar eclipse, if the air is clear, its circle still appears, though with only a faint light. But the stars and the other constellations seem to have a more intense light, but much inferior to the sun's. It should be noted that he says the lights are located in the firmament of heaven and that he called the firmament heaven ([Genesis 1:]8). Whence we gather that chaos was much less created than the world now is, and that matter, drawn forth and extenuated from *aphar*, as though from the muddy abyss of chaos, was carried aloft and gradually receded further from the center, being made more subtle and noble as it expanded, and surrounded the denser elements. Thus the empyrean heaven became most subtle and noblest, being the throne of God and the dwelling place of the blessed. Beneath it is the *primum mobile*, a somewhat denser and less noble heaven, and beneath it, the other heavens and the planets, those that are nearer to the earth being of a denser and less noble substance, one less expanded. Thus the densest heaven is that of the moon, and closest to the condition of the elements. This expansion makes

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the higher things lighter, and the separation makes them more noble than the denser. Then the bright matter that was prepared for the substance of the stars and the lights was not expanded, but contracted, so they would shine more strongly and become brighter. Thus it is that the stars are of a denser substance than the rest of heaven, but one equally light, being fiery, and denser, indeed, so that the light and the reflection of the beams projected from other stars should be stronger and more powerful. This illuminates the night, especially as it is reflected by the moon, while the direct light of the sun divides day from night. Besides these functions of the two lights is added that they “be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years” [Genesis 1:14]. Here, astronomers understand as signs certain aspects of the stars, by which things to come are indicated. But they are utterly wrong, for these lights were created for something far greater than for the various prophecies of the astronomers, namely, that men, whom God placed in his edifice, should learn to understand the omnipotence and goodness of his creator, which David splendidly shows, saying, “The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament shows that these things (which are observed with wonder) are the work of his hands” (Psalms 19:1), which they regard with wonder. And Paul speaking about the Gentiles to the same purport, said, “Because that that may be known of God is manifest in them; for God has shown it to them. For the invisible things of his from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead” (Romans 1:19 [-20]). Therefore, these two lights were especially established in heaven so that through them the works of God and the omnipotence, majesty and divinity of the creator should be known to men, not in order to serve the vanity of

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the astrologers. They are additionally given for marking the times, when they are to be changed. Thus they will indicate the end of times and the judgment of the world, when they shall be darkened and dissolved. Thus at the time of Christ's passion, when the time of the law was to be changed, Dionysius the Areopagite saw a wonderful eclipse of the sun. And Joshua saw the admirable hand of God by the sun (Joshua 10:13). Again, they are also set to define the days and years, and the stars that adorn the heavens at night, I say, also illuminate the earth from above and show the annual path of the sun by their position. The end of the fourth day.

The fabric of the world
Fifteenth chapter.

On the creation of fishes and birds.
The fifth day begins.

Once the second degree of things was created, now we treat the third, those things that are quickened and that are moved, and first of all those that grow more easily from the waters and are of a less solid substance and more short-lived. These are divided into many species, and engender seed of each species among themselves. From it, once it has matured and been cast forth, the same species is born, and the individuals of any species always have the same characters, so that there is always the same number and arrangement of the bones, the same color, the same form of the body and the rest of the members, the same power and nature and taste, just as in grasses and plants. For the various species have various characteristics, differing in shape or some accidental quality. If you can gather the cause of this difference,

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you will observe the proper nature of each species more closely, for the proper nature of each species causes the difference of characteristic, and the one follows the other, so that it is possible to gather the cause from the effect, and the nature from the cause. In observing birds, the same things come under consideration. Because the substance of birds is more solid, and consequently more lively, the work of them was completed later on this day, even though they may have begun to be formed at the same time. Once the waters had been gathered into the seas, for the matter for each had been made ready, creation progressed continuously, and did not end until all things were finished and the sabbath from all the work of creation was at hand. For there is no reason, once matter was made ready, for the creation of things to be suspended: God creates the many and the one equally, and the natural order of things to be created is elegantly observed. Moreover, the stars, which contributed more closely to life, had been finished on the preceding fourth day, so they might contribute their work more strongly than when the grasses were created. Thus the nature of created things, once it was made ready, began to fulfill its function, and the fabric of the world proceeded with all things cooperating at once. O wonderful wisdom! that sufficed to create the order, nature, ornament, perfection, and powers of so many utterly diverse things, with no study or reasoning. For, He spoke, and they were made. It will be advantageous here to make an anatomy or division of each species, so that it be known in what things the characteristics of each differ, and how, and by how many parts nourishment is changed into the species, and at what part blood is created in fishes. You will find in fishes (by the marvelous providence of God) a bladder filled by the air enclosed in it, which begins to grow along with the fish, and whose function is to

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maintain its balance in any part of the water, lest it be sunk to the bottom by the weight of its body. You will also find many eggs in the females, which by rubbing against the rocks or poured out by some other natural force multiply the species. Just as the seed of a plant, shot forth from the mother (since she has the specific virtue in herself), extends the species in its own element, water or earth, so also the eggs of fishes, shot out into the water, take on life and exhibit the same species and characteristics of the mother. It will also be useful to divide the birds of each species, and examine the internal parts and functions of each, in order better to understand the origin of the cause of their characteristics and of their proper nature. In them, single eggs are created in succession, and are released in a somewhat hard shell (so that the specific power will not be too easily exhaled). These, separated from the mother, preserve their own specific power, and, having been hatched by the heat of the mother (or even by stoves, as the custom is in Egypt) in the space of six weeks or a month, produce birds of their own species. Further, they conceive by the union of male and female, like other animals. Above all, this deserves the most attention for differentiating fishes from birds: although they were perfected on one and the same day, they do not consist of the same matter. Rather, since birds are more like terrestrial animals (as is plain from their blood and the whole makeup of their bodies), they have more earthly substance than do fishes, so they seem to have been born from muddy water, fishes from purer water. Therefore, birds are of an intermediate order between fishes and terrestrial animals, closer to the nature of terrestrial animals than to that of fishes, and therefore they were perfected later on this day. One thing is most worthy to be observed in all animals, that they imitate in some way the figure of man, as though all of nature

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were tending to the formation of man and were only perfected in every respect in man. Although they have a longer head, it is somehow provided with all similar tools for sensation and motion, the skulls are similar, the spine of the back corresponds to the human spine in every way, and the ribs to the ribs, and all members are formed according to the nature and operation of each one. The end of the fifth day.

The fabric of the world

Sixteenth chapter.

On the creation of the terrestrial animals.

The sixth day begins.

We have seen the two kinds of the third degree, fishes and birds, and now the third kind follows, the terrestrial animals. As much more slowly as these were created, so they are more similar to man, so far as sensation and motion go. In reason, however, man is generally superior to all, since they have nothing of the kind. However, some terrestrial animals are more similar to man than others, as for instance they write of the elephant that it is a docile animal and in a way comes close to understanding. What shall we say of the ape? which playfully imitates human actions, becoming angry, laughing, applauding, and thoughtfully smells, turns around to inspect, as if weighing whether something is fit to eat, breaks nuts with its teeth like a man, and as it

attends to its own affairs, looks around to see what bystanders are doing. It has a head, feet, and hands quite like those of humans, and, among animals, in all things most imitates the characteristics of man. For which reason it is

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advisable to inspect its anatomy very diligently and examine how greatly and in which internal structures its interior arrangement differs from those of man, from which the animal virtues shall be made known from its internal character. For I believe these virtues depend on this, or, being arrayed specifically by nature, are stirred up to their work by this as though by a suitable instrument—which, however, still seems ambiguous. For it appears that each individual thing has a certain principle of its nature within itself, which dies with it, such that the cause of each nature is co-created with the thing itself, and does not inhere elsewhere. Therefore, an anatomy should be made of every species, so that the internal difference of all animals among themselves may be perceived, and the differences of the animal virtues be made known from the diversity of their characteristics. Thus you will discover from what causes the animal virtues are more excellent in flying fowl than in fishes, and in terrestrial animals than in fowl, and in man than in terrestrial animals, and you will detect that most elegant order from the less solid to the more solid, from the more imperfect to the more perfect, from the less lively to the livelier, from the temporal to the eternal. All animals feed on things born of the earth, each on what is most suitable to its nature, and in which by its nature it takes pleasure: it is useful to know this as well. For even if the nature of each changes nourishment into its own species, there is still some virtue in grasses and fruits that in one way or another turns and changes into its own nature, especially where there is an affinity of natures, and an easy digestion; indeed, they even change poisons, but by a force of a contrary nature, and corrupt them. Birds feed on fishes, as though from a knowledge of affinity, and each one joys in what is nearer to its own nature, except for the same species, which is loved by every

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animal, man being the exception, forgetful of his origin. Venomous animals have this advantage (aside from the fact that they possess a nature useful everywhere), that they transfer poisons to themselves and are nourished by them, while they themselves are consumed by others without harm: thus nature provides for the safety of animals. But one question now remains to be answered, whether the nature and condition of animals such as they are now, would have come to be, if man had not sinned? Doubtless they would have died when the period of their life was completed, and would have been meals for each other; otherwise the world could not have contained their multiplication. And why should they have been immortal, since they were destined solely for the service of man, and so many individuals multiplied were to be of no use? They would have revered man and been obedient to him, for God established Adam as the lord of everything that is beneath the heavens (Genesis 1:28–30). And God made tunics of skin for Adam and his wife (Genesis 3:21), which dead animals had beyond doubt furnished, for God had already ceased to create before then.

The fabric of the world

Seventeenth chapter.

On the creation of man, and the first and principal aim of creation.

The fourth degree of things to be created and the most perfect, is man, for whose use and service all things were hitherto created. And just as all these things have an order and harmony among themselves for their mutual assistance, so they all at the same time have for man a certain conformity and harmony in their nature, qualities, and operations. For this reason, the Greeks call man a microcosm. This conformity and harmony exists so

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far as it pertains to the animal in man. There is something in addition far more noble in man, exceeding the dignity of all creatures, namely, the rational soul, according to which he is created in the likeness and image of God. And since man is, according to his substance, a rational animal, and received the blessing that he should increase and multiply, namely, by the engendering of his own species, there is no doubt that from this blessing he received also the power of engendering the rational soul, which is the distinctive part of the species. It is scarcely suitable for this to be created anew in individual men, seeing that God ceased from all work of creation on the seventh day, and kept the sabbath. And in this inferior world there are still remains of the matter from which celestial and supercelestial things were created, so that there might be a natural inclination and sympathy of the upper world to the lower, and a regard and desire of the lower for the upper, for on this depends the proclivity and cooperation of the upper to the lower. The noblest thing that is in the upper world is the empyrean heaven, or the supercelestial waters, from which I have shown the angels were created in order that the rational soul might be engendered from the remains of the empyrean in this lower world. And how might it not be, since gold, which is incorruptible, is engendered from the much denser and less noble matter of the earth? Therefore the eternal and immortal soul is much the more able to be engendered from the remains of the supercelestial waters, to be similar to the angels, and the blessing and command of God to engender and multiply the species gave the power of engendering the soul from such remains. Behold now what the gifts of the holy spirit or God are in this soul: they are the intellect, reason, judgment, memory, the true love of the good, justice, joy in the holy spirit, free will, and whatever

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others there are. In these, man bears the likeness and image of God in the immortal substance of the rational soul. Man was created in this order and way: First God shaped the human form from *aphar* or clay. In it doubtless began to be formed those entrails that are made first in generation, as the heart, then the liver and those immediately dependent on the heart. Once these were formed,

he breathed the breath of life into his face. All living things draw breath through the mouth and nostrils, by which the heart is kindled with life and motion. Thus he blew breath through the nostrils and mouth, and in it there was doubtless something from the remains of the supercelestial waters; or something of them had previously been conceived in the joining of the body, from which the rational soul was at length formed by the attendant Holy Spirit, while animal life was procured earlier through the common air. For the rational soul and that that gives life to the animal are not the same thing, inasmuch as they have diverse functions. While the animal soul goes before, the rational soul remains; the animal soul is a certain harmony and common operation of the internal entrails, uniting for the life of the animal, while the rational soul is the image of the divine essence. Moreover, that animals attained life through a similarly working blast of air doubtless came about by the spirit of God (even if this is not stated), for you will easily understand that God worked similarly in similar cases. The gifts that the rational soul brought with it were necessary in man, if he was to be the image of God, so that he might contemplate the works of God and acknowledge, venerate, and love his creator; for the knowledge of God was required for the aim of the creation of man. For what blessing would

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there have been for him with God without knowing him? Therefore, since man knew God's highest power and goodness, and the contemplation and familiarity of God were pleasing to him, God wished to make trial of him, to see whether man, who had been enriched by him with the greatest gifts, by which he might have obeyed God, would acknowledge God as his creator and reverence him. For so beneficent a father required voluntary and spontaneous obedience and love, through which he should be worshipped, and man might have made a compliance welcome to God. He imposed a very easy order on him: not to eat of a single tree, where there were so many of the best fruits in appearance and flavor, and to abstain from this one alone. It is believable that man obeyed God for some while, for he remained sometime in paradise, not for an hour only or for days or weeks. Rather, it is most likely that he abided in this wish of God for some years, as George Cedrenus believes, so that he might tell the works of God to his posterity, having been solidly taught them by the aid of the Holy Spirit and longer contemplation. For since the lives of men were very long then, the true doctrine of God came to Abraham through the tradition of a few, namely, of three, Adam, Methuselah, and Noah, by whose holy covenant with God it was then easily preserved all the way down to Moses in the posterity of Jacob. But, as idolatry was growing too strong at the time of his birth, God wished to lead men back to the recognition and worship of the one God through Moses by the description of his first works. Here, therefore, it is proposed for us to contemplate the world's genesis, which Moses described partly from tradition and partly from the revelation of the Holy Spirit, so that we may achieve the true and complete description of the whole world, which description we are investigating. There was far beyond a doubt a rather frequent

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conversation between Adam and God, in which he was instructed about the creation of the world, the nature of things, God's plan, and other matters that were necessary for man to know. God led the animals to him, so that he could inspect each of them and give them names according to their nature, which could not have happened in such a short space of time. We have as authority George Cedrenus (in his compendium of histories) that some of the ancients thought that Adam sinned only in the seventh year and was expelled from paradise, and he shows this is probable with effective arguments.

The fabric of the world
Eighteenth chapter.
On the fall of Adam.

Meanwhile, while Adam was living in paradise, having become more familiar with God, perhaps not weighing gravely enough the command of God, he gave his ears to Satan and listened to him patiently for a long time. Satan, having become an enemy to God because he had been expelled from heaven by God's just judgment, lay in wait for man and persuaded him that the command of God had been given him for another end, an end man had not heard from God, even though he knew that God was his true creator and was just, and had not given his command vainly, and that the serpent was indeed a liar and had been justly expelled from heaven. For there is no doubt that he had had much conversation and various discussions with God in paradise, in which he had been instructed about the creation and the aim and nature of all things. Moreover, he recognized the power of God from so wise a creation and from the right judgment against the serpent, so that he deservedly should not have listened to the serpent. He acted unwisely, but in

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this he did not sin against God, since God had not prohibited this. Indeed, it would have made for the greater glory of God, if Adam had not, being tempted, sinned, for then man would have displayed a sure testimony of his being created well, as “everything was very good” (Genesis 1:31). He could have interrupted the serpent’s speech and cast him away, and he would not have sinned. It was the beginning of sinning, but not sin, that he gave his ears to Satan, for God had not prohibited this, and man still retained the power of contradiction. But longer patience and familiarity gave birth to consent, and he sinned continuously in transgressing the command. Offended by this, the Holy Spirit left him to the gifts that he had accepted in the creation and that were sustained by the Spirit so long as he did not sin, while God looked on at the event, without approving, since he had prohibited it, and Adam made a test of his constancy. Ecclesiasticus writes most truly and plainly of this fall: “God made man from the beginning, and left him in the judgment of his counsel; if you will, you will keep the commandments, and perform faithfulness of the best willingness. He has set fire and water before you: stretch forth your hand wherever you will. Life and death have been placed before man; and whichever he likes shall be given to him” (Ecclesiasticus [Sirach] 15[:14–17]). But then, since God foreknew that he would sin, why did he not create him such that he could not fall? God did all things well and as a father; it was a favor that man was adorned with such outstanding gifts of the mind that he could easily have obeyed so light a command, and man justly ought to have shown his gratitude for such gifts by obeying his creator. Therefore, as Ecclesiasticus affirms, he could have stood firm if he had wished to. That he fell is his own fault, not that of God predestinating or willing. For God had created all

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things very well, and disposed them as a father. Therefore when he sinned, he was deprived of the Holy Spirit, which before dwelled familiarly with him, and from whom he had neverending life, if he had not sinned.

The Spirit had sustained him in a holy life and the grace and favor of God; but thus, deprived of the familiar presence of the Holy Spirit, he felt nothing in himself but the affections of the flesh, by which his mind was distracted (as is clear from Paul, Romans 7:15–24). He himself became carnal, that is, addicted to the lusts of the flesh, as being constituted of the same substance. For he says there is a different law or necessity in the flesh than in the mind, and it drags the mind as a captive into slavery. Further, what is captive is not a law unto itself, but is subject to the power of another. So he indicates that the mind was not carnal in the beginning, but turned out that way, when it became a captive to the flesh. It is clearly necessary to know and observe this origin of original sin, that the mind was not from the beginning created as carnal, or frail and unable to resist evils. For that would show the impotence of the creator, as if he could not create man fit for the intended aim, and it would violate his power. What calamities arose for man from this sin, learn from the passage of Paul cited above. For if the flesh could do so much against the mind adorned with so many gifts and guarded by the Holy Spirit, what might it not do against the same once it was made captive to it, and deserted by the Holy Spirit? Hear what the Apostle says of all, both Jews and Gentiles: “They are all gone out of the way, they are together become useless; there is none who does good, there is not one” (Romans 3:12). He speaks of human nature alone, but when man is in Christ and aided by the Holy Spirit, he is not like this. The natural gifts

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of the mind—intellect, reason, judgment, memory, etc.—are not enough unless the Spirit be present, their supporter and governor. But the lust of the flesh is not merely a privation of justice, but a true inclination toward those things that please the flesh; therefore when the mind is a companion of this inclination, not only is it deprived of justice, but it has a positive evil, namely, the perpetual inclination to the pleasure of the flesh, whence all sins arise. For this reason this inclination is called original sin. For if it was only a privation of justice, Paul would not have had occasion to exclaim, “O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” (Romans 7[:24]). A reborn man is freed from his mind, but even in the reborn the original sin still sticks, and this is an argument that original sin is more than a privation and evil inherent in nature and is propagated through generation. The psalmist says, “In sin my mother conceived me” [Psalms 51:5]. God, foreseeing that this sin would arise in man, said, “But on the day that you eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, you shall surely die” [Genesis 2:17], for this sin was to be removed by the death of this body. So the law is that all shall die once, so that what there is outside of creation may be destroyed in those to be saved. I will show in the restored ancient geography where paradise was, and what were its rivers. Man having been created outside of paradise was transported into it.

The fabric of the world

Nineteenth chapter.

On the second and subordinate intention of the Creator in creating man.

Because God foresaw that man would sin, he repaired the fall of man with a new blessing, in order that so wise a creation of all things and a purpose

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toward the designated end, which Adam violated by sinning, should not be in vain. He built a way by which man, free from sin, should be restored to his first condition and the intention of the first creation might proceed. He promised that his son would take on flesh, and would make satisfaction for the sin of Adam, by which all were bound from their generation, and would pacify God the Father, and gain again the aid of the Holy Spirit, by which promise and belief he might attain eternal life according to the same intention as before. From this foreknowledge God, using his marvelous providence, so completed the creation of all things that he preserved the means of attaining eternal life for man in both states, that of obedience and of the fall, so that in this way nothing would be made by God in vain. Only the death of the flesh remained, which was owing to original sin, so that sin might be removed entirely from man, and that he, all pure as he had been created, should come to God, to the end for which he was created. Furthermore, since all were bound by original sin (as I showed in the previous chapter), that they might not come to Christ through the gift of nature, God ordained penitence, baptism, and communion, the main sacraments by which man should give himself before the whole world to Christ, and approve and accept his sacrifice for the sins of man through faith in him, and be armed against the power of sin. By this means alone he might be liberated from the power of original sin, and gain the aid of the Holy Spirit against it. The battle with sin lasts as long as we live, until sin is destroyed by the death of the flesh, on which its origin depends. Therefore the death of the flesh was enjoined by God, because of the fall of Adam, so that sin (which is outside of creation) should be taken up by the roots. Once this is done, man is saved, but entry to God the Father does not

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lie open except through Christ. It is written, “And no man ascends into heaven, except the son of man who comes down from heaven” (John 3:13). The way had to be opened by Christ. And, “It is fitting that Christ suffer, and so enter into his glory” (Luke 24:26). And that I may add this here—something wrongly argued against by many—that none of the earlier fathers ascended into heaven before the incarnation of Christ, but they were preserved in a certain place in joy and happy expectation until the coming of Christ. The fathers call this place the *limbus* or border, not of hell but of the heavenly paradise, I think, where Abraham, as he was the most renowned father of the faithful, was, in whose bosom or congregation Lazarus was sent after death by the angels. But after Christ’s death they were brought into heaven, according to his own testimony: “Father, I will that where I am, there my servant shall be” [John 12:26]. Thus Jesus Christ ascended to heaven in his time and with this great prize and captivity. Therefore this original sin and the battle with it lasts until the death of the flesh, but we are strengthened against it through faith in Christ and are saved by the aid of the Holy Spirit, just as Adam would have been saved if he had not sinned. Because of this battle with the mind of man Paul cries out, “Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death” (which is threatened thereby). “I thank my God through Jesus Christ,” he says [Romans 7:25], whom the Father gave as savior, and by the Holy Spirit his helper, until sin shall be completely destroyed in the death of the flesh. THE END.

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Atlas
Second Part.
A New Geography
of the Whole World.

By Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde,
Cosmographer to the Illustrious
Duke of Jülich, etc.
Duisburg, in Cleve

To the amiable reader.

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Finally, gentle reader, we now offer the second part of *Atlas*, the first volume of the new geography, namely, the description of the lands of northern Europe, begun by my father Gerardus Mercator of pious memory and brought to completion by me, would that it be in the perfection I wished for. We owe the inscriptions of the individual maps (inscriptions containing the order of the political state) to Lord Bernardus Furmerius, Jurisconsult of Leeuwarden, who faithfully collected them from Richard Stanhurst, William Camden, David Chytraeus, and other writers of our time, preserving the authors' words or modifying them slightly, and kindly shared them with me. "That we have not followed the correct order in publishing the maps, as one would by publishing France, Germany, Italy, and Greece before ordering these (which have the first place) to go out to the public, was not by chance, but was done on purpose and of inevitable necessity, so that we might by this means both survive our expenses and serve the republic with the maps most of all needed at this time." Thus my father, in his

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preface to the prince of Jülich, admonished the reader. Moreover, since the individual parts that have been published are complete in themselves, once the description of the whole world that we are undertaking is completed, each part can easily be put into its own place and order. I do not think there will be anyone so unfair as to malignantly carp at our procedure, which is urged by necessity. Moreover, I should like to ask the benevolent reader that we not be forced to repeat here what we have prefaced in general, and not to bear it amiss to be sent there to read it. I, indeed, finally having achieved this good and long-wished-for beginning, will not afterward abandon the correct order. Once the northern lands are published, I shall take on the second volume of the new geography, that is, the accurate description of Spain, and thence on to Africa, Asia, America, and, if it is discovered, as is our hope, I shall gird myself for the third continent, which is called the Magellanic or southern (*Australis*) land, and happily bring to its destined conclusion that that my father Gerardus Mercator of pious memory left uncompleted in these matters (which amount to almost all of this work), with the greatest zeal and industry, to the extent of my strength, with God smiling on my endeavors. Meanwhile, I strenuously beseech again and again the learned students of geography that they may please to aid me with their observations of travels and wanderings over land and sea, and solemnly and reverently pledge that I shall not be forgetful of the favor done to me. Farewell, reader, and enjoy the fruits of our labors.

Yours most devotedly

Rumoldus Mercator.

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To Elizabeth,
the most serene and most mighty
Queen of England, France, and Ireland.

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Most Serene Queen, since Gerardus Mercator, cosmographer of the Duke of Jülich while he lived, spent his life in mathematical and particularly geographical studies, and obtained no little favor with all the dynasts of Europe for the same, in order to commend them also to posterity, he gave as title to his work of the new geography *Atlas*, so as to celebrate with that name the memory of that most ancient king and to obtain favor for his work. And it was greatly to be avoided by me, his son, lest that ancient king, sung by many, should appear to the public today with an inopportune or unsuitable patron. For just as it is not enough to have erected a building correctly, but it is further required for its perfection that there be suitable ornamentation, so when I was planning to build King Atlas I wished to dedicate his second part, containing geography, to your Majesty, so that through this, it would appear more ornamented and remain safer from the attacks of the malicious. I did this the more readily above all for this reason, because, as the most ancient king of Mauritania and the learned times of antiquity are worshipped, never to die, in the name of Atlas, so it was just that future times should forever worship and celebrate you, O queen, in the name of geography. For through you and your subjects of the northern lands notice and illumination first dawned to the world of those regions that until now were hidden, as you order and command journeys through the rough kingdoms of Neptune, shining with ice, to the most remote Indies by unheard-of sea voyages. These in the course of time will doubtless have

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a happy outcome: they will someday bear great fruit not only for your Britons, but for all the rest of the neighboring inhabitants of Europe. And not content with these, virgin queen, you not only raise your glorious head over the lofty northern pole, but by the maritime expeditions of the noble heroes Thomas Cavendish, Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, and others, you uncover and illuminate many unknown and marvelous things throughout the world concerning the various locations of kingdoms and regions, the differing flux and reflux of the sea, and the temperature of the heavens and the air and its variety, so that we may hope by these most noble and

famously celebrated sea journeys of your subjects that not only the northern hemisphere, but indeed also the Antarctic, which, containing a third of the earth, still lies hidden in shadow, will soon be made plain to the world. This is greatly to be hoped for, so that at last the face and figure of the whole earth shall be made known in this old age of the world, and that, as the human race is multiplied, so too shall its familiar intercourse and daily use of trade be multiplied, that we may all be kindled with greater wonder, desire, and ardor toward all things created for man's use by God, and be moved to offer our gratitude to God assiduously. In addition to which I, following the leader of all geographers, shall enter into this new description of the earth's globe beginning with the most remote lands and peoples of the North, and especially with your Britons, celebrated throughout the globe, as yet known according to no rule with the exception of the most famous regions. And since you, most serene and most mighty queen, are the first and foremost governor and moderator of these peoples, I surely

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ought to dedicate these labors of my father of pious memory to no other than your own majesty, you who administer so happily and prudently the commonwealth that you excel by many parasangs the earlier kings, your grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Therefore, so that geography (without which all history is mute) may tender its testimony of gratitude for a received benefit to far-off posterity, and eternal memory celebrate the name of your majesty, accept, most serene queen, what is yours and what things are justly owed to your majesty; and accept also these maps of the regions belonging to you and entrusted to you by the supreme king, toiled over by my father, along with my contributions to them, which I humbly offer and dedicate and pray will eternally be consecrated to your majesty, attending on your most serene majesty with the perpetual veneration it deserves.

Duisburg, in Cleve, April 1, A.D. 1595.

With all zeal most devoted
to your most serene majesty

Rumoldus Mercator.

The Image of the Globe of the Earth.

Since order always requires, by a natural necessity, to place things in general before particulars and the whole before the part, for the better understanding of a given thing, I, bound by the same law, ought to preface this first volume of our geography of the northern lands with the image of the universal globe of the earth and its four parts, Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, in order to pursue the matter more successfully. Then, as the individual volumes follow, the reader will always have a complete work and

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description of the universal whole, even if he has purchased for himself only the delineation of his own country, and will not be deprived of this useful speculation. Indeed, the contemplation of things in general is pleasant and above all necessary for anyone wishing to have even a minimal knowledge of the world and of natural things. For if it pleases you to consider the risings or the settings of the sun, what is the cause of summer or winter, or whence arises the inequality of the days and the nights, or why, finally, and where anything is born, propagated, done, accomplished, changed, or converted from the very beginnings of creation—all this you will surely learn nowhere better than by comparing these five maps, without any danger and with an honest mental pleasure. And just as it is insufficient for anyone, no matter how great a habitation he has acquired, to have an overview of the parts of his own buildings (such as the courtyard, the cellars and storerooms, the kitchen, the dining room, the upper story, the bedroom, the suite, the library), so that he may use them conveniently, but it is also necessary and convenient for him to know in what part and street of the city his house is situated, so that he will know at once how near or far from danger he may be if a riot or fire occurs in the city, so it is no less pleasant or necessary to know in what part of the world you live, what peoples are neighbors or farther off, so that you may know how fearful or tranquil you should feel, if the calamities of war are approaching. Then, too, since cosmography is the light of all history, both ecclesiastical and political, and the idle onlooker will learn more from it than the wayfarer from his lengthy, irksome, and expensive labors (who often “changes skies but not his mind”), you will take little of use from it if you have not joined general to particular maps. These general maps are collected from the large description of the globe of the

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earth (whose beginning longitude, or the position of the prime meridian, we have followed in the particular ones) and from my large map of Europe, which I published in Duisburg. And although they do not everywhere correspond to these latter geographic maps of ours in either the degrees of longitude or those of latitude, still the difference is so small that in such general descriptions it can scarcely be discerned. When the work is completed (God willing), we shall give more perfect ones, better agreeing with the whole work, which we shall also print separately, so that they can be inserted in the place of the earlier ones if necessary, and buyers will not be cheated. Meanwhile, reader, farewell, enjoy, and think diligently of the glory of your dwelling-place, which is only temporarily granted to you, along with the poet George Buchanan, who thus compares it to the celestial realm in order to draw forth your souls, immersed in terrestrial and transitory affairs, and show the way to higher and eternal things:

May you perceive how small a portion of the universe it is
That we carve out with magnificent words into proud realms:
We divide with the sword, and purchase with spilled blood,
And lead triumphs on account of a little clod of earth.
That strength, seen separately by itself,
Is great indeed, but if you compare it with heaven's starry roof, it is as
A dot or the seed from which the old Gargettian [i.e., Epicurus]
created innumerable worlds.

This is that seat of mankind, this the home of beasts
And of winged birds. From this narrow jail, how much
Of the earth do the circumfluent waters of Ocean steal,
Bursting through the divide of the pillars of Hercules,

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Separating Europe widely from the Libyan shores?
To this add the barriers of Arabia, and the seas
That straiten the Hyrcanian fields; to this add the lakes and the
 broad swamps,
And the rivers that make mountains to totter
From their lofty peaks or pool motionless in lazy lagoons.
When these forcefully snatch, when they submerge the world in their
 abyss,
The greatest part of little earth stands under the waters,
And what is left swims like a little island in the great deeps;
And of this, how much either lies waste with sands,
Or swells into vast mountains with neither crop nor tree?
Or burns with too ardent flames, or is numb with cold?
Or lies untaught to grow gentle with human care,
Or is fertile with saps evil and deadly to the living?
O shame! O headlong madness of a stubborn will!
How tiny the part of the universe is where glory raises its head,
Wrath rages, fear sickens, grief burns, want
Compels wealth with the sword, and ambushes with flame and with
 poison;
And human affairs boil with tremulous uproar!

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A Compendious Description of the Globe of the Earth,
Which Rumoldus Mercator had made from Gerardus Mercator's *Great Universe* for Lord Richard Garth, geographer and a great lover and supporter of the other liberal arts, in memory of their long friendship and companionship.

[Map of the globe.]

A brief account of the creation and constitution of the world.

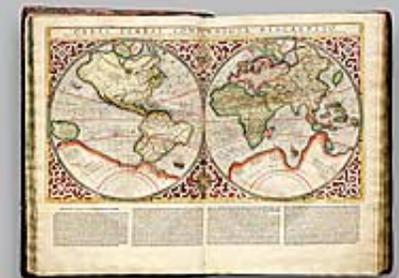
Before everything else, the student of geography should consider the creation of the world, and in this fashion. God, once a point had been established that is now the center of the world as the seat and resting-place for heavy objects, creating a shapeless liquid mass (which they call chaos), placed it there. Then, having raised a powerful breath, he stirred the mass up and, by stirring separated the denser and heavier elements, which bearing down on the center to an equilibrium yielded the land and the sea in one body of spherical shape whose center is that point that is the seat of heavy things. When the lighter and all the more noble elements had attained a superior position above this body, and the luminous matter had gradually been collected into globes, he created the moon, the sun, and the stars. These are carried about by reason of the *primum mobile*, that is, of the highest heaven above the poles of the equinox or the world from their rising to their setting, dividing day and night; and they fly about above the other poles, namely, those of the ecliptic, by their own motion from setting to rising, some faster, others slower. Then, so that the earth would become suitable for the habitation of animals, that breathing, raising the waves up

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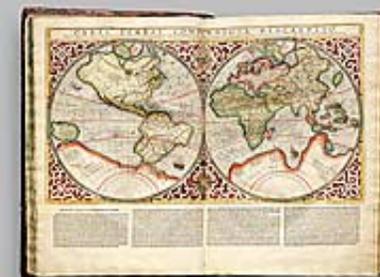
in one place, where it pleased God, gathered together and solidified the mountains and the higher area of the land in one place, and elsewhere made cavities and inlets, into which the fluid water could sink. Furthermore, so that the whole machine would hang in balance, God placed that other continent (which they call America or the New India) opposite to ours, which comprises Asia, Africa, and Europe; and because these two continents for the most part are located above the equator toward the North Pole, in like manner he opposed a third continent to these beneath the South Pole. The seas are interconnected so that the entire machine of land and sea would be and remain everywhere in equilibrium, and so that all its parts would be reachable by sea from any region whatsoever. I wished to call attention briefly to these lucubrations of my father on his *Cosmography*, so that the reader might be imbued with natural speculations on the globe, and might attain entry into the deeper mysteries of its foundation.

Now the student of geography, about to contemplate the convex surface of this spherical body should observe that it lies below the stars and that various things befalling it are contingent on their location; they occur to the earth by reason of the circles by which the motions, distances, and seasons of the stars are determined. The circles, then, that are necessary for a knowledge of geography are the equator and those parallel or equidistant to it and the meridians. Then, since these circles cannot be expressed in the same way in the plane as they can on a sphere (since the surface of a sphere cannot be depicted in the plane while preserving the same mutual relations of its parts), the reader should know that we have followed the method of projecting the sphere onto the plane that Gemma Frisius discovered in his planisphere, which is by far the best of all. And although the degrees

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grow from the center to the circumference, as you will see in the degrees of latitude, nonetheless the degrees of latitude and of longitude preserve the same mutual proportions at the same distance from the center as they do on the sphere, and the quadrangles between two adjoining parallels and two meridians have a rectangular form, just as on the sphere, so that all regions regardless of their position retain their natural shape, without any tortuous deformation, although their size grows toward the exterior because of the increase of the degrees of longitude and latitude, as I have said. From which it results that parallels, which on the sphere are equidistant from the equator, here appear circular, since the equator is a straight line drawn through the middle of the hemisphere at a middle distance from either pole. It is divided into 180 degrees, that is, one half of the equinox is contained in one circle and the other half in the other, since only half of the surface of the entire sphere can be contained in one circle, not the whole, so that we include in one circle all the continent known to the ancients, namely, Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the New World or New India in another circle, with the southern continent falling in both circles. The equinoctial circle is named for the equinox, which the sun causes crossing it, which happens twice a year, around March 11 and September 14. The sun

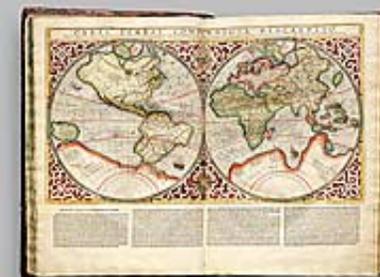
passes through the ecliptic in one year above the poles of the zodiac by its own motion, cutting the equinoctial circle obliquely, going away $13\frac{1}{2}$ degrees from it toward either pole, where the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn are indicated. The meridians are circles drawn through any section of the equinoctial circle and the poles of the world, and are called meridians because the sun being in it, noon [in Latin, *meridies*] occurs for

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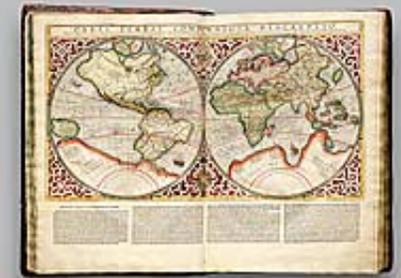
all who live beneath the same meridian in the same hemisphere bounded by the two poles.

Now hear what changes or accidents these circles bring to the regions and diverse parts of the sphere. The meridians indicate the longitude of places and of longitude, or the difference in hours of any two places. Geographers have decided that the starting place of longitudes is that meridian that is drawn through the westernmost of the Canary Islands, and they reckon longitude from there to the east, because the proper motion of the stars (by which the longitudes of places is observed) tends from setting to rising. The difference, then, of longitude between two places is known from the distance of the meridian of each, which is evident in the equinoctial. So, for instance, if their meridians are mutually distant by 30 degrees on the equator, the difference of their longitude will be of 30 degrees, amounting to a difference of two hours, so that when it is the tenth hour in the place farther to the west, it will be the twelfth hour in the eastern one, for the sun goes from the meridian of the one farther to the east in two hours to the meridian of the more western one in its daily motion, and in twenty-four hours circles the whole globe of the earth. Moreover, the meridians are divided into 360 degrees, like the equinoctial circle, and number 90 degrees from the equinoctial to the pole in either direction. Those toward the Arctic Pole indicate northern latitude, those toward the Antarctic Pole, southern. All the places varying in latitude that are along the same meridian in the same hemisphere bounded by the poles always number the same hour at the same moment, so that when one computes it to be the eighth hour and a half, all the rest number it the same. Likewise the circles of the parallels (which they call lesser, since their plane does

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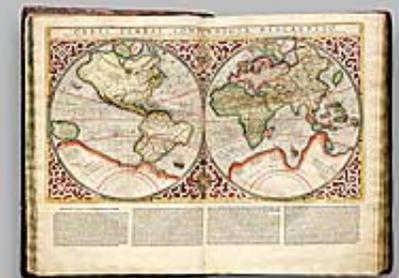
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not pass through the center of the world) are designated by the degrees of the meridian according to their latitude. Thus the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn occur at $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude at all meridians, and the Arctic and Antarctic circles are at $66\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. These circles comprise five zones: they call that located between the two tropics the torrid zone, because the sun, constantly beating down on it, burns [in Latin, *torreat*] everything and brings intense heat; the two located between the tropics and the Arctic and Antarctic circles are called temperate, because they are in an intermediate way between the hottest and the coldest; the remaining two, one above the Arctic Circle, the other below the Antarctic, are frigid, being as remote as possible from the sun. Again, because the length of the day varies from latitude to latitude, they have divided all of latitude from the equinoctial circle all the way to the pole by a certain number of parallels, among which the first indicates the latitude in which the day and night are longest in perpetual equality, which is in the equinoctial and increases by a quarter of one hour; the second, that in which it grows by a half-hour; the third in which it grows by three-quarters; and so forth until at last the nearness of the parallels reflects differences of only a half-hour, and finally by whole hours, days, weeks, and months, so that at the pole one day and one night measure out the whole year. The ancients established five spaces between these parallels, which they called climates: the first, from the third to the fifth parallel; the second thence to the seventh; the third to the ninth; the fourth to the eleventh; and the fifth to the thirteenth. They believed that the world was inhabited only to this point and no farther because of the more intense cold. From the equinoctial circle to the third parallel on either side (which is the middle of the torrid zone), they believed to be

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uninhabitable because of the overwhelming heat. Later writers added three climates toward the pole, and it has finally been discovered that the entire earth is habitable everywhere, and that at the equator, the heat is more temperate than had been thought, because of the briefer presence of the sun, which always remains above the horizon for only twelve hours, while in the most frigid zone because of the very long days the air is warmer than had been thought, and at night, because of the rarity of winds and their weakness, it gets less cold. Farewell, and enjoy.

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[Map of Europe.]

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The Arctic Pole,
and a description of the lands surrounding it.

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Gentle reader, having methodically reviewed and prefaced the general description of the whole globe of the earth and its four parts according to the order of nature, I have decided, in imitation of Ptolemy, the prince of cosmographers, to begin from the pole itself and the regions that lie about it, and then by the geography of each individual region, naturally moving down from the higher to the lower and progressing from west to east, I shall gradually connect the north with the south and the west with the east. I pray and beseech God the greatest and best that this may be successful and auspicious for me and the Christian commonwealth. There is as yet no certain knowledge among Europeans of the governance and state of these lands, especially those closest to the pole, but there is good reason to hope that their location and boundaries shall be discovered more certainly soon by the daily sailings of the English and Dutch as they compete seeking a passage through the northern regions to the Moluccas. Only two dwelling-places are known to us in the northern extremes, so to speak, that is, in Greenland: Alba (11:0.74:45) and the monastery of St. Thomas (16:0.75:12). We have taken the shape that best fitted this part of the globe, and that would reflect the location and surface of the lands as it would be on the sphere. As far as the description goes, we have taken it partly from the navigational observations of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Peter, and Charles Jackman, James Alday, Martin Frobisher, John Davis, and other Englishmen, and partly from the itinerary of James Knox of Bolduc or the Busse, who relates (only what he

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had earlier heard from another), that a certain Minorite Friar, an Englishman of Oxford and a mathematician, had described the lands surrounding the pole and measured them with an astrolabe more or less in the form that follows, as we have gathered it from James. He says that the four rivers called Euripus are borne with such force into an interior whirlpool that ships, once they have entered, cannot be driven back by any wind whatsoever, and that indeed there is never sufficient wind there for driving windmills. Giraldus Cambrensis has stories very similar to these in his book *On the Marvels of Ireland*, for he writes as follows: “Not far from the islands (i.e., the Hebrides and Iceland and so on), and north of them, there is a wonderful whirlpool in the sea, toward which all the marine currents from remote parts flow together as though they were guided, and run together. There, pouring down into the hidden interior of nature, they are swallowed up as though into the abyss. Indeed, if a ship happens to cross this whirlpool, it is seized and drawn in by such violent current that the force of the whirlpool immediately engulfs it irrevocably.”

[Map of the Arctic Pole.]

Iceland.

Iceland is the largest of the several islands in the Western Ocean subject to the kingdom of Norway, and is sparsely settled along the seacoast by men living mostly by fishing and by raising cattle. The interior, however, owing to the harshness of very high mountains covered by almost perpetual snow, is less populated. Every year various merchants bring in their fleets

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twice-baked bread (which, as it is only available imported, the richer sort use, while the rest feed on dried fish in place of bread), flour, cornmeal, beer, iron, copper, English cloth, and peddlers' goods. In return, they take away piles of frozen fish, masses of the sulphur mined there, whale blubber, butter, tallow, cattle hides, rays, and a bread called *warman*. There are two bishops in the whole island, who are sent thither from the University of Copenhagen. One of them has charge of the northern part of the island, with his seat at Halar (3:0.67:14), the other of the southern, with his seat at Schalholt (3:24.65:42). Each has a small Latin school attached to his palace, in which he is required to have twenty-four boys fed and taught at his expense.

In Iceland (according to Georgius Agricola) there are three mountains rising toward the heavens, whose peaks shine with perpetual snow, while their bases rage with eternal fire. The first is called Hecla (6:0.65:39), the other Cross, the third Helga, that is, Holy. Not far from Hecla are the sulphur pits, which provide practically the only merchandise for the inhabitants, and taxes for the island as merchants take their ships away laden with it. The mountain itself, when it rages, resounds as though with frightful thunderclaps, and sends forth huge rocks, and vomits sulphur. The ash that is ejected covers the earth around so far that for twenty miles you cannot find a stone to pick up. Those who wish to contemplate the nature of such a conflagration and therefore approach nearer to the mountain are swallowed up altogether by one or another chasm, for there are many of them, and so well-hidden by ashes that no one can be so cautious as to avoid them. Moreover, nearby fire comes out that consumes water, but does not

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burn flax. Today this island, along with the kingdom of Norway, is subject to the Danish king, and receives a prefect from him, who has his seat in the fortress of Bestede (360:36.65:21 [*sic*]).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 66:30 to the great circle.

[Map of Iceland.]

The British Isles:

England, Scotland, and Ireland, along with the Orkneys, the Hebrides, Man, the Isle of Wight and the surrounding islands, comprehended under the name Britain.

Britain includes in its name all the islands that extend in the great tract of lands along Gaul between Spain and Germany. In recent times, Lloyd wanted it to be called Prudania, and Sir Thomas Elyot, Prytaneia, incited by a zeal for controversy rather than truth, and against the authority and credibility of Aristotle, Lucretius, Julius Caesar, and other ancient writers. Because the Britons of old covered themselves with mud, creating a sky-blue color so that their aspect in battle should be more dreadful, and called anything painted or colored *Brith* in the ancient language of their forefathers, some declare, correctly, that the Greeks (who first conceived of this name), added—from the name of the inhabitants, whom they had learned were called *Brith* or Britons—*Tanea*, that is, “region.” Thus, “Britannia” means the “region of the Britons,” that is, of the painted or colored, just as “Mauritania” means the region of the Mauri, Lusitania of the Lusi, and

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Aquitania of waters [in Latin, *aquarum*]. Moreover, as the early Gauls were called (after Gomer, the son of Iaphet), Gomeraei, Gomeritae, Cimmerii, and, by contraction, Cimbri, so too the Britons in their own language were once called Cumeri or Kimbri. So it is clearly established, from their name, their location, their religion, their customs, and their language, that they are a true progeny of the Gauls. Nature also endowed Britain with all the goods of heaven and earth. There, neither the rigors of winter are too great (as is maintained in the panegyric addressed to Constantine), nor is the summer's heat. There, such is the fecundity of harvests that both the gifts of Ceres and of Bacchus abound; the forests are without savage beasts, and the land is free from poisonous serpents. On the contrary, there is a numberless throng of gentle flocks, swollen with milk and laden with fleece. Indeed, what is loved on account of life, the days are very long, and no night is without a little light, since the extreme flatness of her shores do not draw down shadows, and the face of heaven and of the stars passes the finish line of night like the sun itself, which, although in other regions seems to set, here appears only to pass by. Indeed, Britain is the work of joyous nature; nature seems to have created her like another world outside the world, for the pleasure of the human race, and to have limned her singularly like a shape of utmost beauty and a universal ornament, with such gemlike variety and pleasant painting that the eye of whosoever falls on her is refreshed. I shall not mention the inhabitants, with their perfect physical appearance, most seemly manners, gentlest spirits, and greatest souls, whose virtue, in deeds at peace and in war is most amply attested to throughout the entire world. Among all the British Isles, two excel the rest by far in size, Albion, in which England and Scotland are contained, and Hibernia [Ireland]. Albion

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is first in size, and now alone retains the name Britain, which formerly was common to all. And this name “Albion” is rather one dug out of books than used in common speech, except that the Scots call themselves *Albinach*, and their region *Albin*, to this day. It seems to be formed from “albus,” which among many peoples indicates not only the color white, but also height. Those who imposed this name must, I think, have been influenced by the comparison between England and Ireland, between which one sails across a narrow sea. For while one shore appears to rise everywhere into mountains, and the other lies low and humbly unfolds into flat fields, they called the former Albion or Albius from its height. Whether they gave the other a name from its lowness, the long passage of time and the negligence of the inhabitants in handing down to memory ancient deeds have rendered uncertain. It, then, is called Hibernia, otherwise Ierna, otherwise Inverna, otherwise Iris; the Britons [i.e., Welsh] call it Yverdhon, and the English, Ireland. Since all these names are derived from *Erin*, as the Irish call it, and *Erin* in turn is from *Hiere*, the original word in the Irish language, meaning “western zone,” it is reasonable that Erin was named as the western region, since this island is the region farthest to the west of all Europe. In the middle of the way between Britain and Ireland lies *Mona*, which Ptolemy calls *Monoeda*, as though to say, *Mona eitha*, that is, Farther Mona, to distinguish it from the other one. It is called *Monabia* by Pliny and *Menavia* by Orosius and Bede, *Eubonia* by Gilda, *Menarw* by the Britons, *Maning* by the inhabitants, and the Isle of Man by the English. The island is self-sufficient in cattle, fish, and even grain, and every year exports a great deal, but more by the industry of man than by the goodness of the earth. It is more fortunate in its administration under the illustrious Count

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Derby, at whose expense (and to which he devotes the largest part of his annual income) it is defended by a standing and ready militia against its neighboring enemies. Judges, whom they chose from among their own and call *Deemsters* [*De Emsters*], resolve all controversies without writs or costs. The magistrate takes a stone and gives it to the plaintiff to inscribe; on it he cites his adversary and witnesses. If there is any ambiguity, or in cases of graver import, it is referred to the Twelve, whom they call the Keys of the Island. The island has Crowners [coroners], whom they call *Ancrri*, who fulfill the office of vice-count. Thus the ecclesiastical judge cites, and rules, and they obey within a week, or they are cast into prison. Not a penny is spent by the people on the judge or his formularies. Moreover, because the island is divided into two parts, the south and the north, the former has its language in common with the Scots, the latter with the Irish. The island has its own bishop, whose seat is at 14:48.55:20 (see the third map of England). This, then, should be enough in general terms on the name, origin, and manners of Britain and of its three main islands. The rest, and what pertains to their political status, we will explain later for each map.

The mean meridian is the 15th; the rest tend to this in the ratio of the 52nd and 58th parallels.

[Map of the British Isles.]

Scotland

The kingdom of Scotland is the other, and smaller part of Albion, and is called by its inhabitants *Albon* or *Albin*, and by the Irish *Allabany*, as if to

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say another Hibernia (which is called *Banno*, by the bards). Historians call Ireland Greater Scotland and the kingdom of the Scots in Britain, Lesser Scotland. Those who hold the eastern part are called Lowlandmen, that is, “lower.” By origin they are Anglo-Saxons and speak English. Those who inhabit the western coast are called *Hechtlandmen*, that is, “higher” Scots and speak Hibernian [Irish], and are fierce enemies of the lowlanders who use the English language. The Scots are apparently so called by their neighbors as though they are *Schytae*, just as the Germans call the lowland Schytae and Scots both *Scurteri*, that is, bowmen. It has been noted that both kinds of Britons (i.e., the Irish and the Scots) were called *Y-Scot* by British writers. It is generally agreed that they arose from the Scythians, and came from Spain into Ireland, and thence into that part of Albion that they now hold, and that they have come together with the Picts into one race.

The Scottish people is divided into three orders, the ecclesiastical, the nobility, and the commoners.

The ecclesiastical order has two archbishops, that of Saint Andrew (17:28.57:46), the primate of all Scotland, and that of Glasgow (15:44.57:3).

Under the archbishop of Saint Andrew there are eight episcopates:

Dunkeld (16:20.57:52); Aberdeen (18:12.58:40); Moravia or Elgin (16:36.58:44); Dunblane (16:12.57:25); Brechin (17:38.58:12), Ross (14:30.59:12); Dunrad (16:56.60:9); the Orkneys (17:0.61:0).

Under the archbishop of Glasgow there are three episcopates:

Whithorn; Lismore, or Argyll (14:40.57:34); and Sodore, or of the islands, namely, Jura, Mull, Islay, etc. (13:0.57:24).

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The arrangement of the nobility is as follows: first, the king and the legitimate sons of the king, of whom, if there are more than one, the eldest by birth is called the prince of Scotland, the rest simply princes. The king, when he is publicly installed, solemnly swears to the whole people to maintain the laws, the ancestral rites, and ancient institutions, and to employ the same law that he takes from his ancestors. The dukes hold the second position, and earls the third. Those nobles who are not recognized by other nations beyond the island occupy the fourth position and are called “my lords” by the Scots. This title bears so much dignity that they bestow it even on bishops, earls, and the highest magistrates as an honor. These four ranks you might call the magnates. The fifth place is claimed by the knights [*equites aurati*] or barons, who are customarily called “lords.” In these grades of the nobility, the arrangement is maintained that there is no duke who was not previously styled an earl, no earl who was not “my lord,” no “my lord” who was not a knight or baron. Those who are not distinguished by any particular title, but are born of a noble family, are relegated to the sixth and lowest rank, called “gentlemen” in their tongue, as, for instance, the brothers and younger sons of earls, lords, and knights, who succeed to no share of the inheritance. That, indeed, descends entire by Scottish law to the first-born son for the sake of preserving families. The commoners, however, bestow the title, so to speak, of gentleman on all who are wealthy or have a good reputation for hospitality and patronage. Virtually the whole burden of warfare is borne by this lowest grade of the nobility. This is because, although every Scot regardless of his rank or station is compelled to serve the king as a soldier at his own expense (and is therefore immune from other taxes), these in particular, when they consider what families they come

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from, go to meet the greatest dangers with the highest bravery, so they may show themselves each worthy of his family. This circumstance comprises not only a singular utility to the people as a whole, but the highest and a practically unique wealth for the king, for on this account the king is never obliged to summon foreign military aid at his own expense, since the people themselves more readily rush (on account of their reputation) to smash the attacks of the enemy, as though to extinguish a common conflagration.

The commoners are partly citizens of the first rank, distinguished by their wealth, who exercise the magistracies in their cities; partly merchants; and partly artisans, all of whom, because of the aforementioned freedom from taxes and other obligations, easily achieve riches. Lest the public councils decree something that bears more heavily on one city or another, it is allowed that once the king has summoned three or four citizens from each city, they freely interpose their opinion concerning the matters proposed, along with the other two orders.

On law and the magistracy.

The ecclesiastical order was formerly constrained by the authority of decrees and councils, but now they are ruled like the rest by the laws that the king wrote or orally confirmed establishing the three orders. The book that contains the municipal laws written in Latin is entitled *Regiam Maiestatem*, since those are its opening words. The acts of the councils (which are called “Parliaments”) are inscribed in the Scottish language in other books of laws.

As in other nations, there are many and diverse magistracies in Scotland. Among them, next to and after the king, the royal procurator (whom they call “governor”) is far and away the most important. On him the province

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[First map of Scotland.]

of governing the kingdom lies, if the commonwealth should happen to be deprived of its king, or if the king for a season should be unable to address the business of the kingdom. He is held in such honor that if anyone fails to conform to his order or command, he incurs the stigma of violating the royal majesty. There is also a permanent senate sitting at Edinburgh drawn from the clergy and the nobility in such manner that there is always an equal number of laymen and ecclesiastics. To them is added a president from the number of ecclesiastics, who takes the first place in speaking and voting. Unless the chancellor of the kingdom opposes his judgment, the Scots defer primacy to him in all the affairs of the commonwealth. They call the person appointed to hear capital cases the chief justice; for naval matters, the admiral; for building encampments, the marshal; for judging crimes confined within the walls of the palace, the constable. In each province, which they call viscounties, there are individuals whom they call viscounts, using the ancient term. Their authority in deciding those matters that pertain to civil affairs and capital punishment depends uniquely from a certain hereditary law by which they claim the viscounties for themselves. Thus they may be called viscounts, not as created by the king, but born of their parents according to law. The cities and towns also have their prefects, bailiffs, and other magistrates of the kind, who constrain the citizens in their duties and protect the privileges of the cities themselves. In this way, the republic of the Scots prospers by reason of a fitting disposition of the orders, the sacred majesty of the laws, and the firm authority of the magistrates, and seems to merit the highest praise.

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The duchies, counties, and viscounties of Scotland.

Duchies.

Rothesay (14:38.57:10 f.); Albany (14:40.57:42).

Counties.

Caithness (16:56.60:9); Sutherland (15:30.59:44); Ross (14:30.59:12); Moray or Elgin (16:36.58:44); Buchan (18:48.59:4); Garniach, Garmoran, or Mar (16:56.58:28); Mernis (17:45.58:20); Angus (17:20.58:8); Gowrie (16:28.58:6); Fife (17:0.57:36); March (18:16.57:0); Atholl (15:54.58:0); Strathearn (16:4.57:40); Menteith (15:54.57:20); Lennox (15:47.57:8); Wagion, or Douglas (16:0.56:48); Carrick (14:36.56:32); Crawford (16:8.56:44); Annandale (16:40.56:12); Ourmonth; Huntley.

Viscounties.

Berwick or North Berwick (17:54.58:18); Roxburgh (18:4.56:54); Selkirk (17:31.56:52); Tweeddale (17:20.56:38); Dumfries (16:24.56:16); Niddisdale (16:0.56:18); Wigtown (15:0.56:10); Ayr (15:0.56:49); Lanark (16:14.56:56); perhaps Dunbretten (15:24.57:10); Sterveling (16:10.57:20); Lothian, or Laudon (17:0.57:2); Clackmannan (16:36.57:23 in the third map of Scotland); Kinross (16:44.57:32); Fife (17:0.57:36); Perth (16:8.58:0); Angus (17:20.58:8); Mernis (17:45.58:20); Aberdeen (18:12.58:40); Banff (17:42.59:12); Forres (16:40.59:3 in the second map of Scotland); Inverness (15:48.58:56).

Universities.

Saint Andrews (17:28.57:46); Aberdeen (18:12.58:40); Glasgow (15:44.57:3).

The mean meridian is the 15th; the rest tend to this
in the ratio of the parallels 57:0 and 59:30.

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Scotland

Second map.

In which are the following counties, viscounties, and universities.

Counties: Caithness; Sutherland; Ross; Moray; Buchan; Mar.

Viscounties: Aberdeen; Banff; Fores; Inverness.

Universities: Aberdeen.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 59:30
parallel to the great circle.

[Second map of Scotland.]

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Scotland

Third map.

Containing these duchies, counties, viscounties, and universities.

Duchies.

Rothesay [*Rotsay*] or perhaps Rosay; Albayn [Albany] or perhaps Bread
Albayn [Breadalbane].

Counties.

Buchan; Mar; Mernia; Angus; Gowrie; Fife; March; Atholl; Strathearn;
Menteith; Lennox; Douglas; Carrick; Crawford; Annan.

Viscounties.

Berwick, or North Berwick; Roxburgh; Selkirk; Tivedale; Dumfries;
Nithesdale; Wigton; Ayr; Lanarck or perhaps Lanryk; Donbrytoun; Stri-
uilingia; Laudon; Clackmannan; Kinross; Fife; Perth; Angus; Mernia;
Aberdeen; Banff; Forres; Inverness.

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Universities.

Saint Andrews; Aberdeen; Glasgow; and Edinburgh.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 57:30
to the great circle.

[Third map of Scotland.]

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The Kingdom of Hibernia [Ireland].

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Ireland once had many minor kings, but now it is under English rule and is administered by a viceroy whom they call the lord deputy. It is divided into two parts according to the customs of the inhabitants. Those who refuse to be bound by laws and live more savagely are called *Irishbrie* or, in the vernacular, *Wildirish*, that is, “Irish of the woods.” Those who consider the power of the laws sacred and abide by judgments, are called Anglo-Irish, and their region the English Pale. Those who dwell in the English province differ in food, culture, and language from the Irish, for they differ not even by a finger’s breadth from the ancient manners of the English, speaking English naturally and without corruption, though they know Irish because of their daily commerce. They administer their republic under the authority of the laws of Britain, binding their cities only by mutual affinity, and repudiating their Irish suitors with the most violent strife of spirit. The Irish, however, have certain chieftains as their tyrants, under whose rule many are held, and they do not live under English law and reign except feignedly and as long as English soldiers lay their territory waste. Nonetheless, they pass judgment at certain times and places on depredations and

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nocturnal thefts. There the customary reply of those accused is, "I deny it." If they are convicted, they summon certain judges (whom they call *brehonii*) to assess damages. These are the offspring of a single family, who, although they have no knowledge of the law, are popularly regarded as almost divine because of some arcane wisdom adapted to the local manners. Their soldiery is partly cavalry and partly infantry. The knights have docile horses whom they mount without any aids, even when in armor. Overhead against the enemy they brandish heavy spears held in the middle with their hands. Among the foot soldiers, some are very strong soldiers wearing cloaks, whom they call *galeglasii*. They carry foot-long weapons like axes, two-edged and sharper than a razor, which they have attached to longish spear shafts. These men are the foundation and might of all Irish warfare, and take second place after the knights. The light-armed infantry are knife-bearers, who are called *karni*, and who account no one slain unless his head has been cut off. In the third place are runners, whom they call *daltini*, who advance unarmed and offer themselves as aides to the knights. The whole lot, whether mounted or on foot, cry in a loud voice *Pharro, Pharro!* when combat is joined, and use bagpipes instead of trumpets. Ireland comprises five regions or provinces from its situation or, more probably, from the former number of its leaders (it was once known as the *Pentarchia*), namely, Munster to the south, Leinster to the east, Connaught to the west, Ulster to the north, and Meath in about the middle. These five are now divided into counties, Ireland in all having thirty-three earls. There are four archbishops: of Armagh, primate of all Ireland (12:19.55:46); of Dublin, primate of Ireland (12:40.54:27); of Cashel (11:2.53:7); and of Tuam (9:16.53:28). These four have twenty-nine suffragan bishops, all of whom I shall go over in their

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place and order in the following maps. There are four main cities. Dublin (12:40.54:27) is the capital of all Ireland, the royal and archiepiscopal seat, graced by the church of St. Patrick and the title of “county.” Here the courts and public councils (which are called parliaments in the vernacular) are normally held, and likewise the procurators of the island reside here for the most part. Second place is held by Waterford (11:56.52:48); third by Limerick (10:4.53:14); and fourth by Cork (10:16.52:21). Kilkenny has a school erected at the expense of Peter Butler, Earl of Ormund and Ossery.

The mean meridian is the 11th; the rest tend to this
in the ratio of the parallels 52:30 and 55:30.

[First map of Ireland.]

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Hibernia [Ireland]

Second map.

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In which are Ulster, Connaught, Meath, and part of Leinster.

Ulster (in Latin, *Ultonia*) extends to the north of Ireland to the North Sea. By the English it is called *Ulster*, by the Irish *Cui Gully*, i.e., “of the province Gully,” by the Britons *Ultw*. That it may be held in obedience (having been wont to shatter all the constraints of law, shame, and duty), the nearer part of it is divided into three counties, and the further, into seven.

The counties of nearer Ulster: Louth (12:14.55:18); Down (13:14.55:43); Antrim, perhaps where the lake of Antre is (12:7.56:8).

The counties of further Ulster: Monahan (12:0.55:12); Tyrone (12:18.56:2); Armagh (12:19.55:46); Coltrane (12:18.56:40); Donegal, perhaps Dungall (9:14.55:48); Fermanogh, next to Lake Erne; Cavan (11:24.55:12).

There is one archbishop in Ulster, who has his seat at Armagh (12:19.55:46), and is called primate of all Ireland. He has these suffragan bishops: Maeth and Deren; Ardach or perhaps Arde (12:18.55:2); Kilmore; Clogher (11:52.55:46); Down (13:14.55:43); Conner (13:8.56:0.f.); Cloncknos; Raboo, or perhaps Rapo (11:8.56:18); and Dromore (12:54.55:52).

Connaught (in Latin, *Connatia*) is located in the west of Ireland. It is called *Connagh* by the English, and *Conneghry* by the Irish, and today is divided into six counties: Clare (9:28.53:26); Leitrim (10:6.53:54); Galway (9:17.54:6); Roscommon (10:15.54:37); Mayo (8:53.55:5); Sligo (9:5.55:16).

In it are also the baron of Atterith, the baron of Clare (9:22.54:14), and others. There is one archbishop who resides at Tuam (12:19.55:46), and is adjudged at Munster, under whom are the following.

Suffragan bishops.

Kilmako; Olfine or perhaps Bishops Helphen (10:13.54:49); Avagh-doune; Clonfert (8:20.54:7); Moroo.

Meath (in Latin, *Media*) is called in Irish *Myh* and in English *Meth*, as it is in the middle of the island. Because of the multitude of the people, the strength of the forts and towns, and the peace that was born there, it is called *Camera* in the vernacular. It is divided into East and West Meath. In the east, there is the town of Drogheda (12:34.54:54). In the west is the baron of Delvin (11:38.54:40).

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The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 55:60
to the great circle.

[Second map of Ireland.]

Hibernia [Ireland]

Third map.

In which are the rest of Munster and Leinster.

Munster (in Latin, *Momonía*), is called *Mows* in Irish and *Mounster* in English, and is located in southern Ireland. Today it consists of seven counties.

Kerry, a county Palatine (8:18.52:45); Limerick (10:6.53:13); Cork (10:16.52:21); Tipperary, a county Palatine (10:43.53:11); Holy Cross (10:57.53:17); Waterford (11:55.52:47); and Desmond (9:22.52:14), in which are also: MacCarthy More, an Irish prince and client of England, dwelling along two ports known for the fishery that produces fish sauce, and Bearhaven (8:25.51:52) and Baltimore Bay (8:40.51:30), where there are the earl of Glencar (8:30.52:32) and the baron of Valentia (7:36.52:20).

There is one archbishop resident at Cashel (11:2.53:7), to whom the following bishops are suffragans.

Waterford (11:55.52:47) and Lismore (11:3.52:36); Cork (10:16.52:21); Cloghan (10:50.52:15); Ross (9:37.51:52); Ardigh or perhaps Ardhey [Ardagh] (8:44.52:17); Limerick (10:6.53:13); Emeley; Killaloe (10:4.53:32); Ardfert.

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There is another bishopric in Munster, that of Dunkeran or Dunkyrein (8:42.52:24).

Leinster (in Latin, *Lagenia*) is called *Lagen* in the lives of the ancient saints; the inhabitants call it *Leighnigh*, the Britons, *Lein*, and the English, *Leinster*. It lies entirely on the seashore to the east of Ireland, and is divided into ten counties.

Wexford (12:44.53:0); Catherlagh (11:52.53:36), in which there are the earl of Ormond (11:28.52:57 or perhaps 10:40.53:44), the baron of Ossory (11:10.53:40), the baronet of Rheban, and the baron of Udrona (11:56.53:26); Kilkenny (11:30.53:17); Dublin (12:40.54:27), under which is the baron of Howth (12:55.54:30); Kildare (11:53.54:1); Kingstown, or Philipstown and Offaly, a county of the king (11:24.54:17); Queenstown or Maryborough and Lease, a county of the queen (11:30.53:52); Longfort (10:38.54:50.f); Fernes (12:36.53:21); Wicklow (13:2.53:49).

There is one archbishop in Leinster, who has his seat in Dublin (12:40.54:27) and Glandelachy or perhaps Glandeloyloug (12:28.53:49). He is called the primate of Ireland, having the following suffragan bishops under him.

Elphin or Bishop's Helphen (10:13.54:49 in the second map of Ireland); Kildare (11:53.54:2); Fernes (12:36.53:21); Ossory (11:10.53:40); Leighlin or Laghlyn (11:49.53:29).

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 53:60 to the great circle.

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[Third map of Ireland.]

Hibernia [Ireland]

Fourth map.

Which contains the eastern part of Ulster, and offers the viewer the following territories.

Glandeboy, Tyrone, Arde, Lecale, Evaugh, Arthule, Newry, Mourne, Fuse, Uriel, and several others. Also the cities of Armagh and Downpatrick, of which the former is the seat of the archbishop, and is called the capital of the entire island; the latter is the episcopal seat of Saint Patrick, and is famous for the burial place of Saints Brigit and Columba.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 53:30 to the great circle.

[Fourth map of Ireland.]

Hibernia [Ireland]

Fifth map.

Containing the barony of Udrone, part of Queen's County, and of the domain of Fortonely. In the middle of Udrone is the city of Leighlin or Laghlyn, adorned with an episcopal seat (11:49.53:29).

[Fifth map of Ireland.]

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England

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The kingdom of England, the largest part of Albion, takes its name from the Angles, settled between the Jutes and the Saxons around Schleswig in the Cymbric chersonese (i.e., Jutland). The opinions of the learned vary as to why they are called Angles; let us refer the reader curious to know this to them. The king of England holds the highest power and undivided empire; he is neither a client of the Emperor, nor does he accept higher obedience to be imposed on him by anyone else, nor does he acknowledge any superior aside from God. His subjects are either lay or clergy; or, again, they are either nobles or commoners. The nobles are either greater, such as dukes, earls, and barons, or lesser, such as knights (in Latin, *eques aurati*), squires (in Latin, *armigeri*), and those who are called in the vernacular “gentlemen.” All of them enjoy their titles either by law of succession or are graced with them on account of their virtue by the king. At this time the title of duke is restricted to the eldest son of the king, although previously many others were distinguished by it. The commoners are citizens, who each in his own city fulfills public offices and has a place in the parliamentary councils of England. These are either freeborn, whom the law calls lawful men and who collect a minimum of forty shillings a year from the lands they rightfully hold, or artisans, who sell their work for wages. All of England is divided into counties (which in proper Latin you would call *conventus* or *pagi*), but the English call them by a special name, “shires,” from the Saxon term *scyre*, which means “to partition” or “divide.” The counties in turn are divided into hundreds (which in some places are called “Wapentakes,” from the contact of arms [*a tactu armorum*]), and these are divided into *decuriae*

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or tens. In times of danger, a royal prefect, whom they call a lieutenant, is appointed to protect the commonwealth from harm. Each year, however, one noble man is put in charge from among the locals, whom they call a viscount, as though the vicar of the earl, or in English, a sheriff, that is, one in charge of a shire. In Latin, he could correctly be called the *questor* of the county or province. It is his duty to procure the public monies of his province, collect fines that have been imposed even if levies have been lifted, and take them to the treasury; to attend on the judges, and to carry out their sentences; to gather twelve men together who decide on questions of fact and report to the judges (for in England judges judge only of the law, not of fact); lead the condemned to their punishment; and to adjudge minor disputes. In more important ones, justices (who used to be called circuit judges, and are now called justices of assize) sit as judges. These visit the counties twice each year in order to examine cases and to pass sentence on those imprisoned. They were established by Henry II, or rather were reinstated, and swear to all comers that they will preserve the law unharmed.

These are the names of the counties.

Kent (21:30.51:15); Sussex (20:30.50:50); Surrey (20:20.51:16); Hertford (20:37.51:59); Essex (21:24.51:50); Southampton (19:13.50:56); Wiltshire (18:29.51:15); Dorchester (17:49.50:48); Somerset (17:24.51:20); Devon (16:10.50:54); Cornwall (14:50.50:20); Buckingham (19:38.52:15); Bedford (20:10.52:25); Huntingdon (20:30.52:38); Cambridge (20:49.52:30); Suffolk (22:0.52:40) Norfolk (21:50.53:10); Berkshire (19:30.51:38) Oxford (19:17.52:0); Gloucestershire (18:8.52:13); Monmouth (17:32.52:15); Her-

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eford (17:34.52:32); Wigan (18:10:52:38); Shropshire (17:25.53:20); Stafford (18:10.53:24); Northampton (19:42.52:32); Warwick (18:56.52:39); Leicester (19:28.52:2); Derby (18:58.53:27); Nottingham (19:22.53:28); Lincoln (20:2.53:49); Rutland (19:58.53:4); Yorkshire (19:24.54:43); Durham (18:59.55:45); Northumbria [*sic*] (18:30.56:20); Cumberland (16:50.55:50); Westmoreland (17:20.55:30); Lancashire (17:16.55:1); Middlesex (20:30.51:40); Chesire, a county Palatine (17:8.53:55); Denbigh (16:30.53:57); Flint (16:49.54:0); Montgomery (17:0.53:13); Caernarvonshire (15:22.54:0); Merioneth (16:0.53:28); Anglesey (15:20.54:10); Radnor (17:4.52:50); Brecknock (16:42.52:25); Glamorgan (16:20.52:0); Carmarthenshire (15:29.52:17); Denbrock (14:47.52:8); Cardigan (15:5.52:36).

As to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, England now has two provinces, and two archbishops: that of Canterbury, primate of all England, and that of York. Under them are the following bishops:

Under the archbishop of Canterbury and Rochester are the bishops of: London (20:41.51:34); Chichester (19:55.50:50); Winchester (19:12.51:10); Salisbury (18:34.51:14); Exeter (16:32.50:49); Bath (17:50.51:38) and Wells (17:34.51:25); Gloucester (18:8.52:13); Wigan (18:10.52:38); Hereford (17:34.52:32); Coventry (19:4.52:49) and Litchfield (18:36.53:12); Stafford (18:10.53:24); Derby (18:58.53:27); Lincoln (20:2.53:49); Shrewsbury (17:25.53:20); Ely (21:0.52:45); Norwich (22:10.53:8); Oxford (19:18.52:0); Peterborough (20:26.52:58); Bristol (17:37.51:45); St. David's (14:20.52:25); Llandaff (16:47.51:52); Bangor (15:37.53:5); Asaph or Flint (16:28.54:3).

[First map of England.]

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The bishops subject to the archbishop of York are:

Chester (17:8.53:55); Durham (18:59.55:45); Carlyle (17:14.56:1); and the bishop of the Isle of Man (14:44.55:27).

The tribunals or courts of law of England (which in Latin are called *curiae*) are threefold. Some are ecclesiastical, others temporal, and one is mixed. This they call the parliament; it includes members of the three orders and represents the whole body of England. This is summoned according to the will of the king, and has the highest and holy authority to pass, confirm, antiquate, and interpret the laws, and in all matters regarding the safety of the commonwealth. The temporal courts are of two kinds, namely, of law and of equity. The courts of law are the King's Bench, the Court of the Star Chamber, the Court of Exchequer, the Court of Wards and Liveries, the Court of Admiralty, the Court of Assize and a few other more obscure ones that I omit. The King's Bench is so called because the king himself presides over it, and handles pleas of the crown. The Star Chamber was established in the last century, in order to handle criminal acts such as perjury, imposture, fraud, etc. The Common Bench (or Court of Common Pleas) receives its name from the fact that in it pleas between subjects are treated according to English law, which they call "common." The Exchequer took its name from the square table at which it sits, and all cases pertaining to the treasury are heard there. The Court of Wards has its name from orphans, whose cases it handles. For when someone who has possessions from the king dies, both the heirs and their patrimony and its yields are in the power and keeping of the king until the heir reaches the age of twenty-one. The Court of Admiralty handles maritime matters. The

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Court of Assize, which I have already mentioned, is held in each county twice a year, during which the two justices of assize deputed to it along with the justices of the peace of the county decide cases both civil and criminal. The places and times are announced fifteen days before the assizes in each county by public edict. The courts of equity are the Court of Chancery, the Court of Requests, and the Council of the Boundaries of Wales and the North. Chancery takes its name from the Chancellor, who presides there. In it, judgment is passed according to what is right and good, and the highest law, which seems to be the highest cross, is tempered. The Court of Requests hears cases involving the poor and the servants of the king.

The preeminent ecclesiastical court is the synod, which is called the convocation of the clergy, and is always held simultaneously with parliament. There are also provincial synods in each province. After these come the courts of the archbishop of Canterbury: the Court of Arches (so-called from the place it is held), before which a judge presides, named the Dean of Arches, who responds to the appellations of all in the province of Canterbury; the Court of Audience, which receives all complaints, cases, and appellations of the provincials; the Prerogative Court, in which the commissary judges on inheritances either from someone dying intestate or left by will; the Court of the Faculties, where a prefect is appointed to investigate the desires of those who seek a relaxation of ecclesiastical law, which is sometimes rigid and strict, along with a registrar who makes a written report of the dispensations granted; and the Court of Peculiars, which concerns certain parishes separated from episcopal jurisdiction in some dioceses, and called peculiars of the archbishop of Canterbury.

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There are three universities in England: Oxford (19:18.52:0); Cambridge (20:50.52:31); and London (20:41.51:34).

The mean meridian is 18:20; the rest tend to this in the ratio of the 52nd and 55th parallels.

England

Second map.

[VIEW 66R](#)

Containing Northumberland, the county of Cumbria, and the episcopate of Durham.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 56:15 to the great circle.

[Second map of England.]

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England

Third map.

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Containing the following counties, Westmorland, Lancaster, Cheshire, Caernarvon, Denbigh, Flint, Merioneth, Montgomery, and Shrewsbury.

With these islands:

The Isle of Man, called by Ptolemy *Monoeda*, that is, farther *Mona*, to distinguish it from the other following island, also called *Mona*. It obeys the Earl of Derby, who is called the Lord (*regulus*) of Man.

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Anglesey, that is, the island of England, or Mona, which is called the mother of Wales on account of its fertility. Long ago it was a seat of the Druids, and is separated from the mainland of Britain only by the narrow Menai Straight. It has its own earl.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 54:30 to the great circle.

[Third map of England.]

England

Fourth map.

In which are these counties,

Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Cardigan, Radnor, Brecknock, Hereford, and Worcester.

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the parallel 51:30 to the great circle.

[Fourth map of England.]

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England
Fifth map.

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Contains these counties,
York, Lincoln, Derby, Stafford, Nottingham, Leicestershire, Rutland, and
Norfolk.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 54:30
to the great circle.

[Fifth map of England.]

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England
Sixth map.

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In which are these counties,
Warwick, Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Suffolk, Oxford, Buck-
ingham, Bedford, Hartford, Essex, Berkshire, Middlesex, Southampton,
Surrey, Kent, and Sussex.

Also this island,
Wight (to the English), *Guith* (to the Britons), and formerly *Vecta*. It is
separated from the mainland of Britain by such a moderate flow of the
River Solent (as it was once called), that it seems to have been united with
it, whence the British name *Guith*, which means “divorce,” seems to have
come into use. It is nurse to a warlike people. The bishop of Winchester
has ecclesiastical jurisdiction over them, the Earl of Southampton, civil
jurisdiction.

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The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel 51:45
to the great circle.

[Sixth map of England.]

England
Seventh map.

Includes these four islands under English rule, of which the first two, namely, *Mona*, an ancient seat of the Druids, known to the Britons as *Mon*, *Tirmon*, and *Ynis Dowis*, that is, “dark island,” and to the English as Anglesey (15:20.54:52), and *Vecta*, called by the Britons *Guith*, and in the vernacular *Wight* (19:14.50:40) are near the shore of England. The latter two are Guernsey (17:30.49:16) and Jersey (18:10.48.56), located near the shore of France.

If one should wish to know more about the islands of Britain, one should read George Buchanan, William Camden, John Lesley, Richard Stanihurst, and Raphael Holinshed, who have most diligently described these islands.

[Seventh map of England.]

To the most noble
Lord Heinrich von Rantzau,
Vice-Duke of Denmark,
who is renowned by many names.

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Most noble von Rantzau, although no friendship binds us together, so that, relying on it, I might address you, occupying so lofty a position in the affairs of men, familiarly in this letter, nonetheless your singular humaneness, praised by many learned men, leads me to think that you will not bear it ill if I, as the heir of my father's goods, likewise of his friendship, and as though his familiar successor, attempt to take up some matters with you. Thus, as I examined the geographic labors of my dearest father, Gerardus Mercator, now passed away in Christ, and had decided to commit them to the press in order to obtain some benefit from them, I chanced on some most humanely written letters from you to my father. At the same time, I found certain treatises on the kingdom of Denmark and the political condition of the neighboring regions you sent to my father. I read them through, and have joined them (abridged for my purposes and somewhat interpolated, so they would suit my father's plan) to the maps of the northern globe, which I am now publishing along with the rest of the northern maps. Doing so, I have wished to enter into the inheritance of my father's friendship. For just as history is useful to all men, and especially necessary to those engaged in public affairs, without the certain demonstration of places and times it would be utterly blind and struggle in darkness. Those do aright who diligently join to their reading of histories chronology and geography, like twin torches. My father pursued both zealously as long as he lived, publishing diverse works; whether he attained both, posterity, free from envy, anger, and hatred, will easily judge. Certainly he attempted to attain them with all his might. Thus although he had already recounted chronology, strengthened by certain demonstrations of times, he took it back to the anvil for yet further work; although he had restored the maps

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of Ptolemy, emended to their pristine glory, he immediately betook himself to providing and promulgating a new geography. In order to be mindful of the needs of the republic of letters, he first published maps of France, Germany, Italy, and the others, which, because of the daily changes of the times were then most desirable, and for the same reason laying the way even while lessening the expense. Because my father was always most grateful to those by whom he had been aided, and never wished to deprive anyone of the praise owed him, it is only right that I follow in his footsteps, and dedicate these maps and their inscriptions, which he received from you, in turn to you as a monument of a grateful spirit. Therefore accept, most noble von Rantzau, my father's labors, completed in final old age, and contemplate your Denmark, Norway, and Sweden and the other regions near the northern globe in them. Let the remembrance enter your mind of an old friend who now offers and dedicates to you what he ought and wished to through his son and heir. As I have done this in a benevolent spirit, I kindly pray you will accept it in the same. Farewell. Duisburg of Cleve, 1595.

Most devoted
to your nobility,
Rumoldus Mercator.

Norway and Sweden

The first and second kingdoms of the northern globe.

The northern globe, which the ancients called *Scandia* and *Scandinavia*, and Pliny calls the factory of races and an unknowably vast hull of peoples,

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borders on the northernmost shore of Germany, and has been divided into three kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, for many centuries. Norway was once a separate kingdom, but is now subject to the Danish crown and receives its governors from thence. Its name, Norway, means “northern way.” Its regions are very great and vast, but rugged with mountains, deserts, and rocky wastes, and largely impassable because of pine forests. At this time, there are five royal fortresses overall in it, and as many important prefectures. The first, and southernmost, is Bahus (33:12.59:26). To it are subject the towns of Marstrand (33:15.59:30), on a rocky peninsula and famous for its fishery for the making of alec (a fish sauce); less well-known is Koongeef, or perhaps Congel, near Bahus; and Oddewold (33:12.60:52), unless this should be Odwad (33:4.60:0). The second fortress is Akershus, from whose province the loftiest ships’ masts, oaken and fir stakes, and wood suitable for building are taken in enormous quantity to Spain and other nations every year. The towns subject to it are Anslo, the seat of a bishop (32:4.60:26), Tonsberg or Konsberg, Frederikstad, Saltzburg, and Skien or Schon, where there are copper and iron mines, along with Greater and Lesser Hammar (32:0.61:22), regions once famed for their bishop, but now subject to the inspection of Anslo, separated by the bay of Mjøsa. The third fortress is Bergerhus. Under it are the cities of Bergen (27:14.62:4) and Stavanger (27:14.60:22). Bergen is the most frequented marketplace and granary in all Norway, the seat of the royal prefect and of a bishop. That noble and delicate fish is sold there which, caught along the coast of Norway, is known as the Bergen-fish, since it is distributed hence into many regions by the merchants. The servants of the Vandal and maritime cities are there. Since they pass the whole year

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there to do business, they have taken over a part of the city that the native inhabitants call “The Bridge,” but that the foreigners call their “Record House.” These servants of the merchants do a great quantity of trade every year with the natives, in excess of several tons of gold, but nevertheless their business there lessens by the day, and is not as great today as it was forty years ago, since the industry of the natives grows and increases with the passing years, so that not only can they easily manage their own businesses at home, but indeed are able to supply necessities abundantly and exactly to their neighbors abroad. The city of Stavanger, even though it has the same prefect as Bergen, has its own bishop who resides there. The fourth fortress is, in the vernacular, Trondheim (34:0.65:22) or in Latin, Nidrosia, from the Nider River and from Rosa, so-called from the name of a church. Once it was the seat of the archbishop and the kingdom of Norway. It has a very widespread district in which most fish, once they have been brought to the market at Bergen, and precious hides are collected. The fifth and northernmost fortress of Norway and of the Christian sphere is Wardhus (55:30.62:0) on the small island of Warde. It itself is likewise small and at this time stands in decay; notable for no single fortification or even a tower or castle, nonetheless it has a small village attached to it, which is packed with the huts of fisherman. The royal prefect lives in this fortress, or rather, hut, during the summer, and governs a vast tract of the Noric coast in the frigid zone as far as the boundaries of Russia.

The kingdom of Sweden

Sweden lies to the east of Norway. Although it was bravely and successfully defended and enlarged for several centuries by native and domestic kings,

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it finally came under the rule of the kings of Denmark, under whom for more than 100 years it was at times temporarily obedient, and at times, on the pretext that the laws sworn to in the coronation had not been preserved, rebellious; the country went back and forth in a remarkable manner. Today it has gone again over to its own natives and appointed its king from among them. Of his solemn creation, Olaus Magnus writes (book 8, chapter 1): The glorious constitution of our ancestors, handed down in the name of the municipalities to successive centuries and generations prescribes in its preface that when the native inhabitants are to elect a king in Sweden, the senators, elders, and legates of all the provinces, communities, and cities of the said kingdom are obligated to come together in the archiepiscopal city of Uppsala (40:30.60:52). From here it is not far to a large stone in a field, called by the natives *Morasten*, containing around it in a circle a dozen slightly smaller stones fixed in the earth. In this place, the aforementioned senators or counselors of the kingdom and legates customarily assemble. In the same place the most eminent orator from the senate guardedly proposes how necessary it is for the liberty of the kingdom and of all its inhabitants to consent to one king and prince, as it was very farsightedly observed by the ancestors on such a stone,

[Map of Norway and Sweden.]

which signifies firmness, exhorting them all to honor by name as soon as possible, and by a free vote, whomever they wish. There is no long delay: the man they feel has always protected the public good, the glory of the kingdom, peace and harmony, who has harmed no one in private life, who

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most often was victor in wars, who has attained the favor of the whole people by living justly, who is the greatest lover of law and religion—this man is raised up by the consent of all the provincial legates as fit to be called king, with this reservation alone, that if the son, brother, or other kinsman of the king should have the aforesaid virtues, he is preferred to all the others, not by right of heredity, but by right of election. Once the people have done this, they do not tolerate any other man to claim the royal honors for himself, and the king, thus declared by the people, is compelled to swear in turn on the laws of their native land. His subjects, as in other kingdoms, are partly ecclesiastics, partly laymen, the latter being either noblemen or commoners. Among the nobles, the highest rank is that of the knight (*eques auratus*), solemnly created by the king for his virtue. The prefectures are administered by their inhabitants. There is also a marshal, a chancellor, and the senate of the kingdom. Some of the provinces of this kingdom are Gothic, such as Ostgothia, whose capital is at Linköping (38:33.59:30); Westgothia—separated from Ostgothia by the old lake [or Vättern], of which Skåre (34:56.59:52) is the episcopal seat; Southern Gothia or Sma-landia; Tuischia; Verendia, of which Vexio (37:11.57:56) is the main town; Moringia and the island of Oeland, fortified by the fortress of Borgholm. Others are Noric or Swedish, such as Oplandia, in which are Uppsala (40:30.60:52) and the capital Stockholm (41:34.60:19). Stockholm is built on an island in Lake Mälaren, and at this time is the seat and main fortress of the whole kingdom, renowned for its crowded and most celebrated market. The entry to it opens from the Baltic Sea through the narrow straits of Mälaren by a very deep passageway. The towers of Waxholm and those from the region of Digna so limit the entrance that no ships can either enter

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or leave against the will of the royal prefects who keep watch there. The towns of Sudermannia, on the southern shore of Lake Mälaren, are Telgo (40:34.60:15) and Strängnäs (40:0.60:30). The episcopal seat and fortress of Gripsholm are adjacent. Örebo (39:4.60:30) is the principal fortress of Nericia. Toward the west the region of Wesmannia and the cities of Arosen (39:30.61:0) and Arboga (39:4.60:37) are next to the lake. Thence toward the summer setting lie Westerdal, Osterdal, and Solies Dal (named from Lake Solion). These three provinces are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Sarosia, along with most of the mountain provinces. There are found there mineral deposits that extend to the east to the Baltic Sea and the gulfs of Helsinki and Gioslensian, and to the west stretch through Wermeland to the western ocean practically without interruption, and indeed some silver, copper, lead, iron, steel, and sulphur are extracted there. Closest to Opland to the north is Gestricia, then Helsingia, then after Middelpadia further come northern and southern Angermannia. Thence North Bothnia is divided into West Bothnia and East Bothnia, provinces extending over a wide stretch of lands. Then to the north are Scriefinnia, Lapponia, and Biarmia. The Gulf of Bothnia divides these ancient provinces of the Swedish kingdom, coming out of the Baltic and going north to Toronia, and stretching from Finland beyond the Arctic Circle with a very broad peninsula, whose apex the Aland islands (toward the south) and Abo (45:30.60:34), the episcopal seat, and, to the north, Wiburg (55:58.63:6) bound. Finland is divided into southern and northern regions, to which Upper and Lower Natagundia, Savolosia, Tauastia, and the widely spreading Finnic regions are added. Thence across the Gulf of Finland is Karelia, whose capital is Hexholm or perhaps Kexholm (58:2.62:17). To the south

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is Wotichonia, where there is the outlet of the Lovat River, which flows by Novograd, called *Ny* by the inhabitants. Above Corpora are Ingria and Solonscia, whose main fortresses are respectively Iamagrod (52:30.60:36) and Ivanogrod, from the region of Nerva. Next to these to the south are the Livonian provinces of the Estonians, extending from Nerva to Reval or Talinn (49:0.60:12) and Pernovia. Also Allantacia, Wiria, and Wichia, whose episcopal seats are, respectively, Nerva, Wesenberg, and Habsal (48:0.59:56), and the island of Dagen. Practically all of these regions beyond the Gulf of Finland were first added (according to our own memory) in the year 1581 to the kingdom of Sweden by the virtue and good fortune of King John III, while Reval (Talinn) voluntarily submitted to King Erik XIV of Sweden in 1561. (This information is from David Chytraeus.)

The mean meridian is the 47th, to which the rest tend in the proportion of the 62nd and 68th parallels.

[Index to the general maps of England, Scotland, and Ireland.]

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[Index to the map of Norway and Sweden.]

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Düsseldorf

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Printed by Albert Busius, typographer to the most illustrious Duke of Jülich, Cleve, and Bergen, etc., at the expense of the heirs of Gerardus Mercator of Rupelmonde, 1595.

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Political Status of the Kingdom of Denmark.

VIEW 85R

The kingdom of Denmark, large and very populous, is called *Danemarchia* in the vernacular, that is, the tract or region of the Danes. What the origin of these Danes was, is not agreed upon even among themselves, except that some of them derive it from Danus, their first king, and others from the Dani, a people of Asia. Dudo, an ancient writer on Saint Quintinus cited by William Camden, asserts they came from Scandia into the old settlements of the Cimbri. They also are apparently named from waters, since the word *Aha* means “river” among them, and they call themselves *Danemen*, that is, aquatic or riverine men. The whole country of Denmark is a peninsula, as its description shows.

All of Denmark is divided into 184 prefectures, which they call *Haeret*, and that are administered by as many prefects skilled in Danish law. It has a king rather by election of the aristocrats than by succession of birth. The old custom of electing him was that when they cast their votes, they would sit in an open field on stones, doing so, doubtless, to indicate the constancy of the election by the solidity of the stones they sat on. Now, however, the kings are crowned at Copenhagen in the Church of the Virgin Mary before the altar. They are led into the said church by the senators of the kingdom and the royal insignia are carried before them, namely, a sword, an orb, and a crown. And these are not attributed to individual families, as in practically all other kingdoms, but are bestowed as an honor to each person who excels in bravery and dignity. Next, the king is obliged to swear by prescribed articles that have been in use for some time, that he will strictly preserve the Christian religion and defend the laws and the customs of the kingdom.

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Then he is anointed by the bishop of Roskilde and by all the senators as, first, the crown is placed on his head; then they offer his majesty their oath, if they had not done so previously before the coronation. The king then designates from among the nobility and aristocrats with a light blow of his sword the soldiers or knights (*equites aurati*) who previously have rendered exceptional service either in war or peace. The ancestors of the Danes have thus established the best political state and monarchy, and no other nation has ever completely subdued them, or taken away their ancestral rites and privileges. Indeed, on the contrary, the northern peoples such as the Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians laid waste to almost all of Europe and established kingdoms in many places. The expedition of the Cimbri against Italy is known to all historians, as well as the subjection of Spain by the Goths, the establishment of the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, the settlement of the Normans in France, the erection of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the invasion of Gottfried into Frisia against Charlemagne, and the long subjugation of the English. Canute the Great held five empires, being king of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, and Normandy, as well as being father-in-law to the Emperor Henry III, whence these verses survive:

Cease to wonder at the leaders prating

Greece produces with praise, and of whom proud Rome boasts.

Denmark, that land next to the wintery strait,

has given forth one second to none of the ancients in virtue.

Glorious deeds procured the title 'Great' for me:

five kingdoms were subject to my rule.

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Henry, third of that name, arbiter of the world
and who bore its sceptres, chose me as his son-in-law.
I was eminent for justice and taught mighty kings
to be obedient to their own laws.

From which, all agree (as from the subsequent wars most successfully waged by the kings of the Oldenburg family) that this is the most warlike, populous, and most successful race in crushing its enemies on land and sea. The aristocrats and senators of the kingdom have always had the power of freely electing the king, as they have still, but for the most part they have designated the eldest son of the king, unless they were prevented by sufficient reasons. Nonetheless, they have not deviated from the line of the family of the kings. They have not allowed the kingdom to be divided unless forced to by civil war. They have consigned the younger sons or brothers into other provinces whenever they could not be participants in the kingdom. For this reason so many expeditions were undertaken (since not all of the nobles and the commoners could have an honorable situation in their native land), so that they might get fitter and more opportune places. For the northern peoples are prolific because of the abundance and hotness of their blood, pugnacious and quarrelsome. They eat and drink heartily (the cold air stirring their appetite), and have the best digestions. For this reason, they live long, are handsome, tall in stature, wise, and fiercely loyal. One proof that they are long-lived is that their kings reign a very long time, many for thirty years, and not a few for more than forty years, and some longer still.

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Polity

VIEW 86L

There are five estates or orders in the whole republic of Denmark.

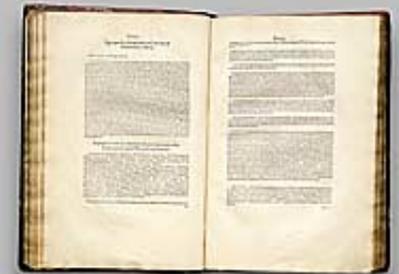
First, that of the royal family.

Second, that of the nobility. It should be noted that among these nobles there are no counts or barons, but they can all prove their nobility through a long series of ancestors. They bear simple arms, which they think it a shame to their antiquity to change or augment. Some families survive to this day who were present at the negotiation between Charlemagne and Hemming, King of the Danes, that took place over the Eider River, such as the Vren and others. They hold their possessions with either less or greater (also called capital) jurisdiction, for they have free power to hunt game and fowl on their lands, just as counts do in Germany. Everywhere in the kingdom, their properties are not held in fee, but are hereditary or alodial. All the castles, farms, and property both chattel and real left by their parents are equally divided among the brothers. Even sisters are admitted to ownership of them by a special privilege, but only thus: the brother receives two parts while the sister receives only one, and fortresses and castles fall to the lot of the sons. Thus, many farms cannot come to the first-born, but are divided. Furthermore, some men, if they come of good family and are endowed with virtue, can be promoted into rich possessions through marriage, with the assistance of their kings. The senators of the kingdom are chosen from this order; their number rarely is more than twenty-eight. There is honorable provision made for all the senators by the king and the kingdom, for they each have their own castles, at least while they enjoy the senatorial dignity, from which they contribute nothing to

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the king. They are only required to maintain a number of knights during times of both peace and war, and to be ready to support the king within the kingdom at their own expense whenever he calls on them. If they are sent as envoys outside of the kingdom, an honorable provision is made for them out of the treasury, so that, as royal legates they may live in princely fashion on their travels. The rest of the nobles also receive honorable support from the king, whether they live at the court or leave it. For the king has estates that in Danish are called *Verlehninge* or benefices, and from them he provides on his own for those meriting well of the kingdom, for life or for a period of some years. From these funds they are required to maintain a number of knights, and to pay a certain sum of money into the treasury each year, but in such a way that they receive some portion of profit for their labor and their particular services. There is moreover a salutary arrangement in the Danish kingdom by which the king is prohibited from buying real estate from the nobles, for this reason, lest any dissension between the king and the chief men of the kingdom should arise. Otherwise, the king might wish to buy some places that the nobles did not wish to sell—through this arrangement, the best provision has been made by the kingdom's aristocrats for such a case. Still, the king is allowed to trade property with the nobles, while, on the other hand, the nobles may not buy property from the king's rustics. For some rustics have hereditary and practically free-hold property, as we said already.

The following are the names of the main families of nobles found in the Danish kingdom:

D. de Kaas, D. Guldenstern, de Munck, de Rosenkranz, de Grubbe, de Walkendorp, de Brahe, de Schram, de Pasberg, de Hardenberg, de

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Ustandt, de Bing, de Below, de Wipfert, de Goce, de Schefeldt, de Ranzow, de Schelen, de Frese, de Iul, de Bilde, de Dresselberch, de Green, de Brockenhusen, de Holke, de Trolle, de Knutzen, de Bjorn. De Schestede, de Jensen, de Stuege, de Mattiessen, de Lunge, de Banner, de Luck, de Rastorp, de Krusen, de Fassi, de Lindeman, de Sunon, de Santbeke, de Quitroun, de Lange, de Gelschut, de Glambecke, de Krabbe, de Maritzer, de Kragge, de Achsel, de Beck, de Ruthede, de Negel, de Witfelt, de Split, de Ofren, de Appelgard, de Iuenam, de Podessen, de Reuter, de Podebussen (who were once barons from the Duchy of Pomerania, whose family is still found there). De Vren (who lived in the time of Charlemagne), de Blick, de Galle, de Wogersen, de Basi, de Solle, de Daae, de Bax, de Baselich, de Wensterman, de Hoken, de Lindow, de Bille, de Ruten, de Hundertmarck, de Heiderstorper, de Wolde, de Papenheimb, de Spar, de Falster, de Narbu, de Worm, de Bilde, de Bockholt, de Budde, de Sunaben, de Santbarch, de Gram, de Lutken, de Vhrup, de Spegel, de Bammelberg, de Rosenspart, de Duue, de Hube, de Schauugard, de Must, de Gris, de Falcke, de Brune, de Laxman, de Duram, de Baggen, de Norman, de Goss, de Matre, de Rosengard, de Totten, de Ronnouu, de Krumpen.

A prefect or master of the palace is elected from this nobility. This office is more or less the same as the major

domo in France. He mostly resides at Copenhagen as the vicar of the king and directs matters assigned to him by the king.

Then a marshal procures things pertaining to military expeditions in times of war and peace. An admiral builds ships, restores old ones, and

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annually puts in order those things relative to making the seas safe and to naval matters. He has another admiral appointed below him, and a prefect of knightly family over individual ships.

A chancellor of the kingdom is named from all the provinces and islands, from whom the right of appeal devolves in turn on the king and the senate of the kingdom.

Each province is divided into *Haerret* (as they call them) or dioceses, under which there are many parishes, where they first dispute over questions of law, if quarrels should occur with each other. Hence, it is possible to appeal to the judge of the land, then to the chancellor, and finally to the king and the senators, where a final sentence is handed down. They have a written law, compiled by Waldemar I, the bishops, and the senators, highly conforming to the law of nature, and differing little from Roman law, except that, by its strength, suits can be settled far more quickly, and sentence, once passed, is instantly executed. If the first judges pass an unjust sentence, they are condemned to pay half their property, of which the king takes half, and, if he is injured by the unjust sentence, the other part. Waldemar I (unless I am mistaken) summoned the bishops before the senators, and Christian III later had them removed because of certain offenses and rebellion.

The royal chancellor, who usually attends on the king in the palace, has seven or eight noble secretaries and scribes attached to him, and all affairs are handled by the king himself. However, if something of great importance comes up, as for instance when a question of peace or war or of friendly

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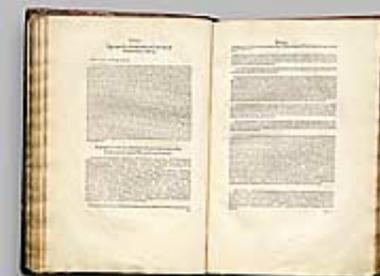
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alliances or defending the borders must be debated, a council of senators is summoned by the king. It is also not lawful for the king to impose any tax on the kingdom or the countryfolk of the nobles without the consent of the senate and the aristocrats.

The prefect of the treasury collects all the revenues of the entire kingdom, whether from castles or from estates, along with both maritime and land tolls, conducts audits, examinations, and inquiries, and returns a quit-tance to those offering money. He has two adjuncts chosen from the nobility and many scribes from the people, and has an annual stipend for this labor.

The third estate is the ecclesiastical, in which there were seven bishops: the archbishop of Lund, and the bishops of Roskilde, Odense, Ribe, Viborg, Århus, and Slesvig, and to which other canons belong as well. These have tithes in the kingdom, which, however, are differently divided in the different provinces: the bishops receive half of the tithes and the king half, or sometimes the canons and pastors receive a part, and a part is contributed for building churches. As far as the law of the popes is concerned, nominations and ordinations for prelacies and episcopates have always been conferred in this kingdom by the kings down to the present (as in France), as is clear from a response of Waldemar I, King of Denmark, as I think, which it has pleased me to subjoin here. When the Roman pope demanded these and other similar things from the king, Waldemar is said to have written back, “We as king have the kingdom from our subjects, life from our parents, and religion from the Roman church. If you are seeking the last, I return it to you by these presents.” And just as the prudent decree of Charles V is cited to the effect that in the future no ecclesiastical

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persons might purchase any real property without the consent of the princes, so Christian III equally prudently declared that ecclesiastics may not sell anything without the express mandate of the king. In other respects the clergy were abundantly provided for throughout the kingdom by Christian III of blessed memory, and special schools were erected in many places, so that even in Iceland there are two, where they even have their own printing house. There is only one university in the whole kingdom, at Copenhagen, which was founded by Christian I with the permission of Pope Sixtus in 1478, and which Frederick II, although he was involved in the Seven Years' War with Sweden, enriched, increasing its income by 60,000 thalers.

The fourth estate is that of citizens and merchants living in cities and towns. These have their own particular privileges that they enjoy, and their own particular fields and forests (confined within boundaries) are assigned to them. They practice trade on land and sea in all parts of Europe. From them (and even from the free peasantry) are elected bishops, canons, pastors, the senators of cities, scribes in castles and fortresses, the masters and helmsmen of ships, and some of them are also in charge of tolls. All minor judgments are ordained by them, sometimes with one of the nobility presiding.

The fifth estate is that of the peasantry. They are of two kinds. The first are called *Freibunden*, that is, "free colonists." They possess hereditary fields, but they pay out only a little from them each year. These also practice trade and fishing. They are not oppressed by having to provide services, nor do they pay tribute except with the consent of the senators of the kingdom.

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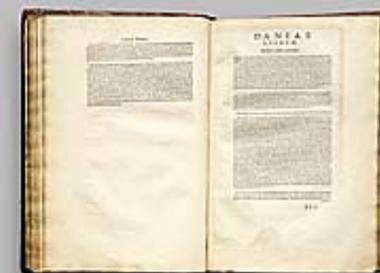
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The other kind is of those who do not possess hereditary property, but lease it from the king, the nobles, or ecclesiastical persons, and are thus obliged to provide many services to their lords, according to their agreements with the lord of their land.

This is more or less all I had to explain about the Danish polity, whence it is evident that the Danish monarchy for the most part has been excellently constituted, and that the nobility has always had the free election of the king (although always from the royal family, as stated above), whence this advantage was gained, that the Danes have not had civil wars or dissensions, except for those that arose among the royal family. These were nonetheless quickly settled by the intercession of some of the nobles, especially since, first, the sons of the kings hold no part of the kingdom, second, because they are all simply nobles of the kingdom, and do not know the names and titles of barons, counts, and dukes, and finally, because no one is so wealthy that, relying on his own property, he would dare to oppose himself to the family of the kings, since the paternal inheritance is always divided between sons and daughters. In Denmark the highest honor is that of the knights, whom they call “golden” on account of the ornaments bestowed on them; but these are granted only to those who have deserved well of the state in times of both peace and war. Thus the kings of Denmark have a most excellently flourishing state, which can easily be defended from its external enemies, since their subjects are able unanimously to resist their foes on land and sea along with their king as their natural lord. In this most prosperous of times, Christian IV is at the head of this kingdom, whom I, along with all the senators and nobles of the entire kingdom, pray from the bottom of

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my soul that God the greatest and most good will preserve unharmed and grant a tranquil and peaceful rule.

The Kingdom of Denmark.

The third of the northern globe.

VIEW 87R

Denmark is connected at only two places to the continent, and is scattered over very many islands. Its inhabitants use their own language, like the Swedes and Norwegians, so that the neighboring peoples do not understand one another. The Danish language is not very different from ancient Saxon, but the Saxon does not understand the Dane, and the Dane does not understand the Saxon, unless they have conversed for a while. The temperate climate (along with the healthful air) gently refreshes the Danes—to use the words of Johann of Kolding, “The sweet consort of birds revives them, the various material of the woods and groves delights them. Among them, innumerable pigs in their wanderings are fattened to their content, now with oaken acorns, now with the fruits of the beech. The multifarious species of animals and the flowering meadows alike afford delight; the richness of the earth nourishes; the confluence of the seas, like an inexhaustible storehouse of food, feeds the Danes along with the greater part of Europe, and since they can lack for nothing needful to life, nature least of all envies the Danes.” The principal parts of Denmark are Jutland (Jylland), Funen (Fyn), Zeland (Sjaelland), and Schonen (Skåne), beside the islands adjacent to the various parts.

Jutland, which some say should be called Gotia, was once the seat of the Cimbri, and is called by the historians and geographers the Cimbric

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chersonese. It is divided into Southern and Northern Jutland. For the divisions of Northern Jutland, see the second map of Denmark. Southern Jutland, once called Nordalbingia, contains the famous duchy of Schleswig, to which may now be added the duchy of Holstein. You will find an ampler description of them in their place, namely, in the third map of Denmark.

Funen is also more particularly described in what follows, included in the fourth map of Denmark.

Zeland is the largest of the remaining islands of Denmark. Some maintain that it is called “the land of the sea” because it is surrounded on all sides by the sea; others, “the land of seed” because it is productive of crops of all kinds without annual fertilization. It has one bishopric, whose leader long ago had Roskilde (34:20.56:24) as his seat. The splendid tombs of many kings and dukes are to be seen there. Zeland is large enough to support fifteen other cities and twelve royal fortresses. Among the cities, Haffnia, or Copenhagen (34:50.56:24), is the most important because of its size, wealth, and the great convenience of its port, which both its incredible depth and the protection of the island of Amager make most secure for sailors. The celebrated university is in this place. When it had come into a ruinous state because of many continual wars, Christian III restored it, conferring great revenues on it, so that not only a dozen professors, both doctors and masters, are supported there, but also an enormous number of poor scholars. Frederick II significantly increased these revenues. From this school a perpetual harvest, so to speak, of doctors and pastors is supplied to satisfy the needs of the churches in both the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway. Above Copenhagen is Elsinore (Helsingør), near the royal fortress of Kron-

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borg (34:50.56:45), to which the similar fortress of Helsingborg on the other side beyond the sea corresponds, with the town of the same name. There Zeland and Schonen, with promontories projecting on both sides, come so close together that there are only a few miles of sea between them, which is called The Sound (Øresund). At this place all ships on an eastward course are forced to come together to the center and to pay an impost to the king. Since a fortress is positioned on either shore, the king, if necessity demands, stationing his ships in the middle, can block these straits so that he can prevent the entry or exit of however numerous a fleet. Hither often 200 or even 300 ships from diverse parts of Europe will come together in a single day. The following islands are under Zeland: Amager; Hven or Ween, on which a school of astronomy and meteorology has been established in the castle of Uraniborg, to emend that divine art with wonderful and unheard-of observations, and most suited by its position and honor to restore it; and Møn, on which is the city of Stege; and many others.

Schonen is quite well known among the provinces of the kingdom of Denmark for the pleasantness and fecundity of its fields, also including Sweden. It was formerly divided into two duchies, Hallandia and Blekingia, and now contains twenty-three prefectures and fifteen cities.

[First map of Denmark.]

Its capital is Lund (35:40.56:45), where the archbishop of the kingdom has fixed his seat. His power was once so great that he did not fear to threaten war even against his own king. Now, however, he has been put in his

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place, like the other bishops, which are seven in number in the kingdom of Denmark. Malmö—also known as Ellebogen—(35:20.56:20) is here, too, an important trading center and the most prominent city of the whole region because of its markets and the bustling trade that the provincials do there. In Hallandia is the fortress of Varberg (34:20.58:45), erected on the highest crests of the mountains. It had been captured by the Swedes in 1565 and reinforced by a garrison stationed there when Daniel von Rantzau, at the command and under the auspices of King Frederick II, attacked, laying siege to it until it was at length forced to surrender. He was killed in 1569 by a ball thrown by a bronze cannon that passed through his head. He was a man very distinguished for his martial virtues and glory, for, designated the supreme leader of King Frederick II of Denmark in the war against the Swedes, he, furnished with only 4,000 men, crushed a force of 26,000 in the field of Astorheide near Falkenberg (35:0.58:14) a few years before his death. The islands of Landø, Hannø, and Bornholm (37:30.55:40) are adjacent to this region. The last is famous, and is divided into four prefectures and contains three cities and one fortress. Gotland (42:20.58:0 in the map of Livonia), on which is the ancient marketplace of Visby, was once very prosperous. But after trade had been transferred to other cities, it now lies much reduced in men and wealth. In addition to grain, cheese, butter, and various hides, it sends forth an abundance of the noblest fir timber, of which there are dense woods there, for making ships' masts, along with stones suitable for building and limestone. Frederick II first appointed a bishop to this island, and decreed others to supply it with a liberal subsidy in perpetuity.

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The mean meridian is the 33rd. The rest tend to this
in the ratio of the 56th and 58th degrees.

Denmark

Second map.

Containing part of North Jutland.

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North Jutland abounds in grain, cattle, and horses. It is divided into four very extensive episcopal sees, consisting of that of Ribe (29:54.56:6); Århus (31:40.57:19); Ålborg (31:33.58:15); and Viborg (30:40.57:40). The diocese of Ribe has thirty prefectures, seven cities, and ten royal fortresses. Queen Dorothea, the widow of Christian III, established a school at Kolding at her own expense. Århus has thirty-one prefectures, seven cities, and five fortresses. Subject to it are the islands of Samsø; Hjelm; Tuen; and Hjarnø or perhaps Gerno (31:20.57:0), famous for the burial place of King Hjarn; Hilgenes; and many others. The diocese of Ålborg (called Vandalic or Burglouiensis) has thirteen prefectures and six cities. Its most well-known parts are Vendsyssel (30:30.58:40), Hanhaeret (29:30.58:40), Thyland (29:10.58:10), and Morsoe (58:6.29:34 [i.e., 29:34.58:6]). Vendsyssel (or Vensilia), i.e., “land and seat of the Vandals,” has six prefectures, three towns, and one fortress. Here is Mount Alberg in which monuments of the giants are visible. The islands Grysholm, Hertzholm, Tydsholm, and others (32:0.58:56) are adjacent. There is a cliff of notable height in Hanhaeret, called the Skarringklint. On its shores, there are sandbanks they call the “Sandores” and “Breeches.” The islands of Olandt and Oxeholm are subject to Hanhaeret. Thya has four prefectures; one town, Thisted by

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name, where Christian III first founded a school for the youth; and one fortress, Orumna. Subject to it are the islands of Handsholm, Ostholm, Jegen, Cisland, Egholm, Bodum, and Morsaea. It has three prefectures and one city, Nykop, and one fortress, Lundslot. One island is adjacent to it, Aggerø. The diocese of Viborg includes sixteen prefectures, three cities, and three fortresses. At Viborg, a general council of three most noble and wise men sits almost all year round to hear and decide civil cases, except when they, fatigued by the bother of their restless office, refresh themselves for a while on their own properties and recover their strength. To this court the cases of the whole Cimbric chersonese (Jutland) are referred, whether disputes over boundaries and arguments over inheritances, or consideration of all capital cases, such as murders, adulteries, thefts, and crimes of poisoning.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel
57:50 to the great circle.

[Second map of Denmark.]

Denmark

Third map,

In which is part of the duchy of Schleswig.

The cities subject to the duchy of Schleswig, since they enjoy the same privileges as the Danes, also follow the same laws as they do. The subjects can appeal from the sentences of the magistrates of each locality to the princes and their senators, and no farther, as is stipulated in their privileges. This duchy is a fief of the kingdom of Denmark. Its prince is obliged

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to maintain the same number of knights and foot soldiers for the Danish kingdom as the duchy of Holstein does for the Holy Roman Empire. The nobles possess their own domains and enjoy the same privileges and laws as the Danes. The duchy has one bishopric, that of Schleswig (32:8.55:13), and two chapters at Haderslev (30:55.56:8 in the first map of Denmark). It has three monasteries and diverse castles, both of the princes and the nobles. The order of senators (of which we have already made mention several times) usually consists of twenty-four persons of the knightly [*equestris*] order, over whom a general chancellor is appointed, along with two doctors of law in the name of each prince. These deliberate on all cases, in times of peace and war, and sit as judges in both duchies. They are supposed to hold session twice each year. The general governance of these duchies lies with the king of Denmark and with Adolf, the Duke of Holstein, and is alternately transferred from one to the other. Therefore, when it devolves on the king, it is administered in the name of his royal majesty by Heinrich von Rantzau, the royal representative. In difficult matters, however, nothing is finally decided except with the prior consensus of all the senators, among whom the bishop of Lübeck and Schleswig holds first place.

The duchy of Holstein.

Holstein is divided into four parts: Dithmarschen, Holstein, Stormarria, and Wagria. These were once counties and then were set up as a duchy by the Emperor Frederick III at the request of Christian I of Denmark, who was thenceforth obliged to supply forty knights and eighty foot soldiers to the Holy Roman Empire. Dithmarschen had been freed first, by several hundred years. Even though it had been conceded by the Emperor Frederick

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I to Christian I as a fiefdom, at that time it still had not been subdued. Then Christian's sons, King John and Duke Frederick, undertook an expedition against it in 1500. But the Dithmars, after the Danish army had been scattered, defended their freedom, until finally Christian I's grandsons, Dukes John and Adolph, along with King Frederick II of Denmark conquered and overcame them in 1559. They had had forty-eight men as presidents over the whole territory, and the nomination to these positions was delegated to each parish. These men sat as judges. But when they were defeated and divided into two parts, in each twelve leading men were chosen from the inhabitants of each land together with a prefect (who usually was a doctor or licentiate of law). These all have respectable salaries from the princes, and to them a scribe is added along with an inspector or president from the nobility of Holstein. Of the prefects, one, on behalf of the king of Denmark is usually the prefect of Steinburg (31:2.54:20); the other, on behalf of Duke Adolph, is the prefect of Gottorp (31:8.55:13). These now preside over the court in each part and handle all cases. The right of free appeal to the princes and senators of each duchy is nonetheless granted to their subjects, both of Schleswig and of Holstein, but no further; this was so settled as part of the capitulation. Previously they had a written law, which has now been somewhat changed and reformed according to common law, and was compiled by Heinrich von Rantzau, the royal deputy, Siegfried von Rantzau, onetime lord in Nienhus (32:14.54:58 or 30:34.54:25), Lord Adam Traziger, and Lord Erasmus Kirslemius. All cases are judged and penalties for crimes are imposed according to this law. They offer no services to the princes, but they are obliged to pay a florin for each acre of wet land; from acres of dry land they pay a half portion for sowing.

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Holstein has four orders: nobles, ecclesiastics, citizens, and peasants, of which there are two kinds. Some possess their own hereditary and free property, the others have their property on hire according to its appraisal and subject to other imposts and services. The nobles hold their castles and manors with full dominion, major and minor, along with rights for hunting, fishing, and birding, which for the most part are alodial and hereditary. Some are held in fee, both masculine and feminine. It is stipulated by the privileges of the Holsteiners that the princes may not burden them with new imposts or duties, just as it is not an integral power of the princes to undertake wars without the consent of the knightly order. The princes are obliged to confirm these privileges and others before the oath of fidelity is rendered to them by their subjects. There are not more than the twenty-four families whose names are enumerated in the chorography of Holstein, whence they may be extracted, but many

[Third map of Denmark.]

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descendants from each line exist. For instance, at this time those of the von Rantzau family hold nearly 150 castles and various possessions, and around the same number of the Alesed and Powisch families are found. Holstein has one episcopate, namely, that of Lübeck (for the bishopric of Hamburg is subject to Bremen). There are three chapters, Lübeck (32:39.54:18), Hamburg (31:30.54:0), and Outin (32:28.54:38). There are three abbeys, namely, Reinfeld (32:23.54:14), Bordesholm (31:39.54:45), and Scismarien (32:55.54:50). There are ten monasteries, three of which are of noble foundation and of great income, which flourish to this day. The rest have mostly been converted into schools and hospitals.

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The suits of the nobles are adjudicated by the judgment of the senate of the duchies, usually with the princes presiding, as is stipulated in the privileges. It is permissible to appeal from a senatorial order to the imperial council if an appropriate surety has been deposited.

The citizens enjoy their own privileges and follow Roman law or that of Lübeck. Fines are usually divided between the princes and the citizens. Mill houses pertain to the princes. The subjects can appeal from sentences passed by the senates of the cities to four cities appointed to exercise special judgment. From these, it is permitted to appeal to the princes and senators of Holstein, and further even to the imperial council, as long as an appropriate surety has been given. The cases of peasants are aired by their advocates outdoors in open fields. Nobles of the locality are present together with prefects and two assessors as witnesses. Whoever thinks he has a dispute against others goes into their midst; once the charges and defenses of each have been heard and weighed, the general assembly of the peasants is ordered to go out to take counsel. When the arguments have been diligently weighed, they come to a consensus and pronounce judgment when the litigators have been summoned. If someone does not wish to abide by the judgment, it is allowable to make an appeal to the twelve appointed judges or to some neighbors, and from these to the senators of that prince to whom the peasants are subject. From these, the free right of appeal is then granted to the common court of Holstein, over which the princes, accompanied by the gathering of senators, preside, and then to the imperial council, as long as the seriousness of the dispute exceeds the sum of 500 Rhenish florins, in virtue of a privilege given to the princes of Holstein by Emperor Ferdinand.

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The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 54:30
to the great circle.

Denmark

Fourth map.

Containing Funen and the adjacent islands.

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Funen, distinguished alike by the pleasantness of its appearance and situation, means “beautiful” in the vernacular. It is fruitful in many gifts of nature and agricultural goods, and ready with the richness of the necessities of life. Its capital is Odense (31:52.56:24), where the bishop of Funen has his seat. In this city of Odense there is an uncommon marketplace for the whole island, in which there is a great gathering of the islanders and especially of the nobles around the feast of the Epiphany, just as there customarily is at Kiel (31:47.54:57) in Holstein. There are two famous churches here, one dedicated to Saint Canute and the other to Saint Francis. In the latter King John was buried in 1513, as was his son Christian, after spending thirty-seven years in exile and captivity, in 1559. Around the former is a broad and spacious square in which the king of Denmark and the dukes of Holstein and Schleswig renewed their ancient pact in 1580. Funen is divided into twenty-four prefectures, sixteen cities, and six royal fortresses. Ninety subject islands are contained within it, situated to the south and mostly habitable, of which the more noted facing the Vandalic cities are these:

Langland, where the city Rudkeping is (32:47.55:53); Lawland
(33:30.55:20); Falstria (34:1.55:2); Arra (32:20.55:50); Alsa

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(31:31.55:50); and Tosing, where the city of Nyborg, known for its customs house, is (32:30.56:1).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 56:15 to the great circle.

[Fourth map of Denmark.]

Borussia or Prussia.

Borussia (whose name perhaps comes from its proximity to Russia) is in our day divided into royal and ducal Prussia. The king of Poland currently is sole possessor of either bank of the Vistula as far as its mouth. The island included between the Vistula and the Nogat, and all the towns up to the Vistula Lagoon (Frisches Haff, Sinus Recens) and the fortresses of Elbing (Elblag) (42:42.54:11), Tolkemit (42:56.54:21), Frauenberg (43:6.54:22), and Braunsberg (Braniewo) (54:23.43:15) to the port of Passaria and all the domain of the diocese of Warmia (Ermland), ample to the south and heavily settled with towns and fields, in the form of a bladder hanging down in the middle of ducal Prussia, are solely in the king's power. And as this Prussia is immediately subject to the king, it is included in the same kingdom with the Poles. However, it has its own public council, laws, courts (from which, however, there is a right of appeal to the king), treasury, and means of waging war. There are fourteen counselors of this Prussia: two bishops, that of Warmia, who has his seat in Braunsberg (54:23.43:15) and that of Kulm (Chelm) (41:50.53:0); three Palatine electors, that of Kulm, of Marienburg (Malbork) (42:16.54:2), and that of Pomerania; three chate-

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lains, of Kulm, Elbing (42:42.54:11), and of Danzig (Gdansk) (41:50.54:22); as many subchamberlains; and the three main cities, Torun (41:50.52:46 in the map of Germany), Elbing (42:42.54:11), and Danzig (41:50.54:22). They convene twice a year to deliberate and render judgment, in March at Marienburg (42:16.54:2.f) and at Graudenz (Grudziadz) (41:50.53:22) at the feast of St. Michael. The captains or prefects of the fortresses and royal revenues are eighteen in number: that of Marienburg and, in the Palatinate, of Stuhm (Sztuma) (42:15.53:53); Gnesen (Gniezno), Meva (41:58.53:46); and of Stargard (41:48.53:54). In Pomerania, at Slochovia above Tuchola along the river Bro (Brda); at Sueza (41:32.53:15); at Tuchola (40:30.53:13). At Dersania and Pusus in the province of Kulm; at Graudenz (41:50.53:22); at Radina (perhaps Reden) (42:2.53:16), unless it should be at G. Raden (42:48.53:21); at Golbia in the map of Germany (42:10.52:46); and at Rogahasen (Rogozno) (42:4.53:22); and three more.

Ducal Prussia, once belonging to the order of the Teutonic Knights, was converted into an hereditary duchy under Albert Brandenburg, master of the order, and, having been seized from the Holy Roman Empire, was conceded to the faith and protection of the King of Poland in 1525. Its prince holds the first place, next to that of the king in the councils, assemblies, and other gatherings before the king of Poland. If disputes arise between the king and the duke, they are settled by the counselors of the king, bound by a new oath to render justice faithfully, either at Marienburg or Elbing. If nobles or others have an action pending against the duke, they bring it before the vassals of the duke, deputed to pass judgment; from them, there is free right of appeal to the counselors of the king and the duke, sitting at Marienburg. Furthermore, each person is to be convened in judgment where his property

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is located, or where the accused has his dwelling, nor is it possible to be brought before foreign courts or detained by arrest. Four native nobles and three jurisconsults administer judgment at the court. Judges are established in the provinces so that the prince chooses one from three nominated by each province, to pass judgment according to the law of Kulm and the constitutions of the province. If the prince should do something contrary to the privileges, liberties, laws, or customs, and he does not emend his deed according to the prayers of his subjects, it is granted to the orders of the province, absent any fault of rebellion or sedition, to seek refuge under the protection of the royal majesty of Poland, and to demand of it defense of their privileges by strength of the pacts entered into between the king and the duke.

There are two bishops in ducal Prussia, the Sambian, who sits at *Regiusmons*, in the vernacular Königsberg (44:5.54:42) and the Pomeranian, at Marienwerder (42:4.53:40). To them is granted full and unimpeded ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the university, the consistory, the churches, pastors, schools, and all ecclesiastical and matrimonial cases, along with the right of annually visiting the individual synods to hold them in agreement over doctrine, rites, and discipline. The political crimes of the bishops are heard and punished by the duke; ecclesiastical ones, if they trespass in doctrine or rites, by the general synod. The provinces of ducal Prussia are: Natangia; Sambia, which is graced with the great city of Königsberg (44:5.54:42), the seat of the court of the duke and notable for its university and its very celebrated market; Nadravia; Sclavonia; Sudovia; Galindia; Bartonia; Pogesania; Pomesania (the largest province); and Sossavia.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 54th parallel
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[Map of Prussia.]

Livonia or Liefland.

Livonia, or Liefland, was led to the Christian faith 400 years ago by the labors of merchants of Bremen and especially of soldiers of the order of the Teutonic Knights. Although it had endured many dangerous wars, both external and internal, and the calamities of those wars, and was, so to speak, booty for its neighboring kings and dynasts, at last in 1559, under Gothard Ketler, last master of the Teutonic Knights, it was received as a feudal vassal by Sigismond August, King of Poland, as a member of the kingdom and of the grand duchy of Lithuania. So, when on March 5, in 1562, in the fortress of Riga, the master of the order, Gotthard, had resigned his order before the commissioner of the King of Poland, Nicholaus Radziwill, the elector palatine of Vilnius, surrendering and transferring first the cross, then the seal, then all the letters and diplomas that the order had received from the emperors and the popes; along with the keys of the fortress of Riga and the gates of the city, the office of commander, the right of minting money, the tax on fishes, and all other rights of his own and his order to the King of Poland, he, Gotthard, as soon as he resigned, was publicly proclaimed duke of Kurland and Semigallia by the aforesaid elector palatine in the name of his majesty the king; and the nobles of Kurland and Semigallia instantly proffered their solemn oath to him as their hereditary lord. On the next day, the duke of Kurland, publicly proclaimed in the senate of Riga the high lieutenant of his royal majesty and governor of Livonia, received the keys of the fortress and of the gate of the city. All his rights and privileges were

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restored and confirmed by the nobility and the citizens, as appears in letters to be found in the history of David Chytraeus. Livonia is divided into three parts, distinct both in position and language, namely, into Estia, Lettia, and Kurland. The province of the Estonians includes Harria, whose capital is Reval (Talinn) (49:4.60:7); Viria, in which are Weisenburg (50:7.60:8), Tolsberg (50:18.60:22), Borchholm, the seat of the bishop of Reval (50:25.59:50); Allantakia, within which is Narva (51:15.60:20) and Nyschlot (51:15.60:0); Odenpoa, in which are Derbatum (50:55.59:2), Wernebec (51:20.59:5), Helmed (50:14.58:42), and Ringen (50:20.58:52); Jervia, in which are Wittenstein (50:5.59:35), Lais (51:0.59:30), Overpolen (50:30.59:26), and Vellin (49:38.59:0); Wichia, in which are Habseel (47:55.59:52), Leal (47:54.59:35), Lode (48:20.59:48), and Parnovia (48:30.59:0). The islands of Osilia, Dageden, Mona, Wormse, Vrangen, and Kien are adjacent to the Estonians, along with many others, in which they partly speak Estonian, partly Swedish. The cities of the Letts are: Riga (47:57.57:35), Kokenhusen (49:35.57:7), Wenden (49:50.58:0), Wolmar (50:15.58:10), and all the diocese of Riga. Those who inhabited the shoreline from Riga and the mouth of the Daugava toward Salin and the river Parnovia are called *Livi*. The towns and fortresses of Kurland are: Goldingen (45:45.56:55); Canda (46:26.57:9); Wenden (45:25.57:32); Durben (45:11.56:35); Srunda (45:45.56:16); Grubin (45:5.56:28); Pilten (45:46.57:15); Amboten (45:43.56:8); and Hasenpot (45:24.56:50). The cities of Semigallia are: Mitovia (47:20.57:2); Selburg, the seat of the court of the dukes of Kurland (49:55.57:0); Bauschenburg (47:40.56:20); Doblen (46:46.56:48); and Dalem (47:57.57:28). The Daugava River divides Semigallia and Kurland from the people of the Letts and the rest of Livonia. Although Livonia

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(as we have said) is now subject to the king of Poland, nonetheless the Muscovite and the king of Sweden and others occupied many fortresses and cities in it, and hold them to this day, each one those closer to himself, even those that Poland sought to restore to its body.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the 58th parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Livonia.]

Russia.

The regions of Russia or Muscovy are very broad. All of it, cities, towns, fortresses, estates, woods, fields, lakes, and rivers are subject to the rule and command of one prince, whom the inhabitants call the great czar, that is, “king” or “emperor.” Whatever useful things each bears, they gather into the treasury of this one prince. There are no dukes or counts such as might possess useful lordship freely over feudal properties and transmit them to their heirs. The czar assigns estates and fields to some, indeed, but nonetheless he enjoys the labors of the peasants and takes them back as he wishes, so that he has absolute rule in all matters over his subjects, and, in turn, is worshipped as a god by them, and obedience is given him in all matters without any protest. He attends to the business of government and the administration of justice through twelve counselors who constantly are in attendance at court. The prefectures of the fortresses and cities in all the empire of Muscovy are distributed among these. They accept letters and petitions inscribed to the prince, and respond in his name. The prince

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himself accepts no letters, nor does he sign any letters by his own hand to his subjects or even to other princes.

The bishops are chosen from the monks (whose monasteries are very common in the empire of Muscovy, all, however, of the same garb and order, which they ascribe to Saint Basil), as though from men of a more holy kind of living. In the whole empire of Muscovy there are eleven bishops, whom they call *Vladiccae*, that is, *oikonomoi* or “dispensers,” in their tongue. There are also priests or presbyters, popes, and archpopes. Their metropolitan (who used to be confirmed by the patriarch of Constantinople, but now is chosen by the grand duke alone, and is consecrated by two or three bishops and removed by the prince at his will) resides at Moscow (65:40.55:30), which is the royal city of the grand duke of Muscovy. There are two archbishops subject to this metropolitan, one at Novgorod on the Volkhov River (57:0.60:18), the other at Rostov (66:47.57:20). The seats of the remaining eight bishops are at Smolensk (57:20.55:26), on the borders of Lithuania; Casanum on the Volga (80:48.56:20); Tuveria, beside the Volga (63:0.56:57); Razan (68:0.54:40); Susdala (68:20.57:0); Vologda (68:0.59:57); Columna (66:17.34:47); and Cortiza on the Moskva (66:40.54:57). These bishops rarely or never visit their dioceses, lest they offer any suspicion of conspiracy with their subjects to the prince, but rather have *begoumenoi* or prefects in the monasteries and in some towns, observing the life of the priests. Boys in the schools are taught only to read and to write. There are no universities or colleges in the whole empire of Muscovy, in order to nip in the bud the occasions for heresies that those eminent for learning might think up and devise; and also so that no one may seem wiser or more learned than the prince himself, who the subjects believe alone

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knows all things, especially what pertains to the religions of all peoples, and is able to untangle all knots and difficulties with a single word.

This information is from David Chytraeus.

The mean meridian is the 70th. The rest tend to this in the ratio of the 50th and 60th.

[Map of Russia.]

The Duchy of Lithuania:

Samogitia, Russia, and Volhinia.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania is divided into ten palatinates or main provinces, of which the capital and now chief is Vilnius (49:50.55:10), which was founded in 1305 by Duke Gediminas at the confluence of the Neris and Vilnia rivers. It is now the seat of the first palatinate among the Lithuanians, and of a Catholic bishop subject to the archbishop of Limburg and to the metropolitan of Russia. He has seven bishops of the Greek rite under him: at Polatsk (54:0.56:28); Volodomir (47:53.50:40); Luczko in Volhinia; Pinsk on the Pripet (50:11.51:51); Kiev (56:30.51:7); Przemysl (45:30.49:30); and Limburg (46:33.49:13). The second palatinate is that of Trocensis, whose towns are Grodno (Hrodna) on the Neman (Cronium) (48:40.54:0), where King Stephen of Poland died; Launa at the confluence of the Neman and the Neris at Kaunas (47:50.55:0); Lida; and Upita. The third palatinate is that of Minsk, where there is the city and fortress of Minsk (53:0.54:48); Keidanov (52:0.54:20); Radaskov; Borissov (54:20.54:35); Lohoisko (53:13.53:24); Swislocz (54:20.53:20); Bodroisko

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(55:13.52:40.f); and Odruczko (55:45.54:20). The fourth palatinate is that of Novogrod, in which is Novogrodeck, an ample city built of wood (51:40.53:40); Slonim (50:30.53:30); Wolkovisko (49:20.53:15); and many other towns. The fifth palatinate is that of Brest, named for Brest, an ample town built of wood (47:50.52:10); in this is the city of Pinsk (50:10.51:50). The sixth palatinate is that of Volhinia, in which are: Luczko, seat of a bishop (48:33.50:20); Volodomiria (47:53.50:40); and Cremenecia (49:0.50:0). The seventh palatinate is that of Kiev (56:27.51:5), a city most ample and very ancient, as the ruins, which extend six miles around, clearly indicate, located on the Dnieper. In it are the towns of Carcas (59:3.51:2); Kaniow (57:47.50:40); and Moser (53:0.52:0). The eighth palatinate is that of Miecislavia on the Sossam and Dnieper on the borders of Muscovy. There are Miecislavia (57:38.53:40); Doambrouna (56:40.54:26); Kopycz (56:45.53:47); the county of Sklov (56:23.53:35); Mohilov (56:48.53:23); Bychov (56:40.53:0); and Reczyca. The towns of Strisin are located along with fortresses. The ninth palatinate is that of Vitebsk, in which are: the city of Vitebsk (55:36.56:40), located on the Dagauva; and Orsha on the Dnieper (56:10.54:17). The tenth palatinate is that of Poloczko (53:50.56:30), which takes its name from Poloczko, located at the confluence of the Polota and the Dagauva between Vitebsk and Livonia. There the towns of Disna (53:25.56:26); Drissa (53:0.56:34); and Druha (52:38.56:35) are seen with their fortresses. King Sigismund Augustus of Poland united the palatines and chatelains of these provinces in the assembly at Lublin into one republic along with the Poles, and assigned a certain place and order in the senate of the kingdom to each of the Lithuanian elders, bishops, palatines, and chatelains, so that from the whole kingdom of Poland and all

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the provinces joined to it there are in the senate fifteen bishops, thirty-one palatines, thirty greater chatelains, and fifty lesser ones, along with those who are named as officials of the kingdom, namely, the marshal of the kingdom and the chancellors and vice-chancellors of the court and the two treasurers. We will say more of these in the chapter on Poland.

The mean meridian is the 53rd. The rest tend to this
in the ratio of the 52nd and 56th parallels.

[Map of Lithuania.]

Transylvania or Siebenburgen.

Transylvania, which the Romans anciently called *Dacia septem castrensis*, is divided into three nations, differing among themselves in manners and laws, inhabiting each a separate province, namely, into the Saxons, the Ciculi, and the Hungarians. The Transylvanian Saxons like all the other Germanic nations have their own dialect, not much differing from the common tongue of Cologne. They dwell in heavily fortified cities and fortresses, and surpass the other nations. Their seats are seven in number, namely, Zarwaria (46:57.46:36); Zabia, i.e., Millenbach (47:7.46:46); Reusmark; Segesburg, perhaps Schesburg; Olczna; Schenkerstul (48:21.47:5); and Rupe, or perhaps Reys. These each hold a number of districts subject. The Ciculi, closest to Moldavia and taking their origin from the Scythians, live according to their own laws and customs, and distribute offices by lot. Among them, no one is thought to be ignoble, even if he pulls the plough

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by hand or presides over a flock of goats. They are divided into seven regions, which they call seats. Their names are: Sepsi (48:40.47:37); Orbai (49:17.47:28); Kysdi (48:58.47:57); Czyk (48.43.47:40); Gyrgio (48:0.47:39); Marcuszeek (46:58.47:55); and Araniaszeek. The Hungarians and the nobles of Transylvania are everywhere intermixed with the Saxons and Siculi [*sic*], to the degree that they agree as much in language as in garb and arms. All the Transylvanians supply 90,000 and more armed men. There are seven rather famous cities in Transylvania, distant from each other at equal intervals. Among them are Cibinium, called Harmanstadt, which is the capital and has a parochial cathedral (47:48.46:52); Brasov or Cronstadt, where there is a university and a famous library (49:10.47:8); Bistrita or Nosenstadt (46:39.47:48); Segewaria or Schesburg (47:54.47:27); Megies or Mydwisch (47:34.47:16); Zabesus or Zaaarsebes (Millenbach) (47:7.46:46); and Cluj or Clausenburg (46:28.47:15). There is also located there Alba Julia (Weissenburg), seat of a bishop, once called Tarmis (47:0.46:50). This was the palace of King Decebal in the time of Trajan. Formerly Transylvania, as a member of the kingdom, received a prefect from Hungary, whom the inhabitants call the *vaivode*. Now, made a tributary state to the emperor of the Turks, they ask him for their vaivode or beglerbeg. But they live according to their own laws and customs, abounding in gold, silver, iron, salt, and wine. So far as the payment of taxes goes, eight principal parochial chapters are counted in Transylvania, which they also call a university. The Bistrician chapter has Bistritsa with twenty-three royal districts; the Regense chapter or perhaps Reghin (47:16.47:44) has more than thirty districts. The Barcense chapter at Barzazag (48:46.47:8) has the city of Corona with thirteen royal districts. The Kisdense chapter has Sigishoara

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and forty-eight districts. The chapter of Two Seats includes the city of Megium with thirty-six districts. There are two chapters of Cibinum, of which one has Cibinum and thirty-three districts. The other Cibinan chapter, which they call Surrogativa, contains around twenty-two districts. The chapter of Zabesiense has Zhabye with seventeen districts.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 47th parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Transylvania.]

The Tauric Chersonese [Crimea].

The Tauric chersonese, which today they call Praecop and Lesser Tartary, is an ample peninsula, extending between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to the Bosphorus, which separates Europe from Asia. It is divided in the middle by rugged and steep mountains into northern and southern regions, just as Italy is divided by the Apennines. In 1475, Mahomet occupied the southern part, whose capital is Capha (63:38.47:15), formerly called Theodosia, famous for its market, and made it a tributary state. In the northern part the Tartars, commonly called Crimeans, wandering through the very wide plains between the Dnieper and the Don, changing their pasture lands from time to time, had the town of Crimeum (63:18.47:38) as their royal seat for almost 400 years, whence they were known as Crimean Tartars. Later, when the Tauric isthmus had been dug through into the form of an island, after they had founded a city as their royal seat around this trench, which they call Praecop, and given the city (62:12.48:12) the

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same name, they were called from it the Praecopian Tartars. Their king, after joining together as an ally with the Turks, and after he had dismissed his own brothers by whom he was sought in war (at the Turks' instigation) and besieged Capha, was treacherously cut down (along with his two sons) by his own counselors, who had been bribed with ample gifts to this end, offering a sad example of Ottoman friendship. After his murder the Tartars, who to this point had been free and unconquered, went from being allies and brothers of the Ottomans to being their slaves. Like the other provinces of the Turks, they were forced to accept not a king but a *beglerbeg*, i.e., a viceroy. Concerning the character of Turkish rule, let us not do what has been done; it can easily be learned from what we have prefaced to Greece and Wallachia, and for the sake of brevity we refer the reader there. Aside from the kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan, belonging to the Tartars who tend the fields and live in the houses and who are now subject to Muscovy, and besides the said Precopian Tartars, there are other Tartars of the fields, who live in bands in the fields, observing no boundaries. They are divided into hordes as though into certain provinces, from which they take their names. We shall discuss them in their place, namely, in the maps of Asia.

The mean meridian is the 63rd. The rest tend to this
in the ratio of the 48th and 52nd parallels.

[Map of Crimea.]

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Geographic Maps of
Gaul

By

Gerardus Mercator
Cosmographer of the

Most Illustrious Duke of Jülich
Cleve and Bergen

Published at Duisburg in Cleve

With grace and permission.

To the Studious and Benevolent Reader.

Since we are not born for ourselves alone, but everyone is born to contribute to the common good as far as he is able, and is equally liable to its demands by the will of the most beneficent creator and parent of the human race, I have considered it just to make this geographical work (part of which we set forth here) as useful as possible to the commonwealth. The use and utility of geography in reading and remembering histories are too apt and too well-known for them to need any proof or recommendation from me. But geography has another and much more eminent dignity (if it is rightly directed where it is valid), namely, in that it will contribute greatly to the knowledge of political regimes, providing that it describe not only the position of various places, but also their nature or legitimate condition, which the duty of the geographer always demands. For just as a painter who limns a man according to the proportions of his members, but, regardless of colors

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and physiognomical signs, does not investigate his nature and emotions, fails to satisfy the requirements of his profession, so too a geographer will fashion, so to speak, a dead geographic corpse, by simply placing locations according to their distances, without indicating their mutual political relationships. For this reason, I have thought it of the highest importance to preface my maps in each region with a discussion, suitably distributed, of the nature and order of the forms of governance of their dependent locations, so that our work might contribute something to students of political division and the forms of commonwealths. But if our description should be in many ways imperfect and deficient, at times even erroneous, the reader will not be surprised. The forms of commonwealths do not exist in written form for every jurisdiction, nor has it been a central part of my plan to thoroughly investigate them everywhere. Only insofar as I have been able to ascertain them from reading histories have I gathered a certain form and the rudiments of their political status, so that you may understand the relations and order of the matter discussed, and will be able to supplement and correct what is lacking in your own region. And if you will not regard it as a burden to do this, and it please you to share your results with me, I will report that I have received the information from you, with an honorable mention in the frontispiece of the corrected map. And if someone in every country should provide this, no one would believe the great benefit that would accrue to all students from geography.

Since there are three principal headings to be considered in the administration of kingdoms, principates, and provinces, namely, the ecclesiastical estate, the political estate, and the administration of justice and the law, I will first of all survey under the title of the region described in the map the number of members of the political estate there are in that region, according

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to the order of their dignity as observed there. Then, in distinguishing the places of nobles (since rule is predominantly held by the nobles), I will first enumerate those places that are fiefs of the prince, then those that are free, doing so in descending order from the highest ranks of the nobility (i.e., from duchies, to counties, to baronies, to domains). Thirdly, I will say how the region is divided into prefectures. And I think the political state will be sufficiently described in these three stages. In the administration of justice, the juridical dioceses and the higher senates to which appeal is made are to be noted. Then, in the ecclesiastical estate, archbishops (if there are any) are to be placed first in order, then their suffragan bishops, and then those who are suffragans to others. It is indeed my aim to enumerate all of these things, but, in fact, since sources are lacking, they will be given for only a few regions. I will offer what I can, if only to provoke the champions of their native lands to provide better and more complete information. Each place will be designated with numbers so that it may be immediately found in the following map: the first number will be the degrees and minutes of longitude, which are found at the northern or southern edge of the map, and the second will be the numbers of its latitude, to be found on the western or eastern side. You will find the place in question by extending these endpoints, of longitude and latitude respectively, to their intersection. As for places mentioned in the indexes of the general maps, their location is to be found there. But if some names are not found in the related map, that is due to the fault of the mapmaker who drew it earlier, since the designation of principates and dominions was not to be omitted from the indexes.

Since the dominion and rule of the regions is lodged with the nobility, it is a useful and pleasing thing to distinguish its degrees in order and

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the conditions proper to each. The highest degree is the imperial or royal, following below which are, in order, the duke, the count, the baron, and the military tribune (whom the Belgians call *Banderheer*, meaning lord of a *Benda*, i.e., a squadron that he leads under his own banner, i.e., his knightly insignia). Then comes the knight (*equus auratus*), or one who has attained the dignity of the knightly order, whom the French call *chevalier*, the Belgians, *Ridder*. In the lowest position is the *écuyer*, that is, a shield-bearing noble or squire, who bears the insignia of nobility, but in reality has not yet attained the public dignity of the order. Then, there are three degrees of counts: the French call the first *vicomte*, i.e., in Latin, I think, *procomes* or “prince count,” who takes precedence in his duke’s presence over the rest in dignity and privileges. Ludovico Guicciardini thinks these are today called “burgraves.” And it may be that this order of counts has fallen that far, but that in the beginning, their dignity was more lofty, as their description will shortly indicate. In the second degree is the provincial count (in Belgian, *Landgrave*). In the third, the marquis, or *Margrave*. These are the degrees and rank of the greater nobility, according to which rule over each region is distributed. There are some other differences in the subdivisions of these degrees, but they are distinguished more in their privileges than by the form of rule. I shall recount the legitimate differences and conditions of this order that I have recited as I found them in a French book entitled *La Division du monde*, deducing the creation of the other degrees from the lowest rank of the nobility, whence their properties and the order of the regime are most elegantly set forth.

A knight, the author says, or *chevalier* is created from a shield-bearing noble or *écuyer* in this way: if he, long engaged in warfare, shall have borne

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arms and been present at many battles, and be possessed of the means whereby he may honorably sustain the status of the order, and come from a great and wealthy family, he shall then in some battle make known his petition to the general of the army, or to a vigorous and well-born knight. At the end of the battle, he shall approach the aforesaid general or knight, and in his presence pray in the name of God and Saint George to be granted the insignia of the order. Hearing these words, the general or knight will draw his sword and strike the supplicant three times, saying, "I make thee knight (*chevalier*) in the name of God and Saint George,

faithfully to preserve the faith, justice, the church, widows, and orphans." But if the supplicant, however vigorous, is poor, he is not to be admitted to the order, unless annual revenues are assigned or granted to him sufficient to maintain the honor and dignity of the order. And this is the first degree of the nobility from the bottom.

A military tribune (or *Banderbeer*) is created from a knight, if, long engaged in warfare, he possesses enough land and revenues to keep and maintain on stipends fifty nobles, i.e., one benda, which will follow his knightly insignia into military service. No one, moreover, may raise an insignia or banner unless he can lead a squadron (or *Benda*) of a minimum of fifty nobles who are stipendiaries at his expense.

A baron can be created from a knight (or even a noble squire) when he possesses in his domain four castellans having (as they say) high, middle, and low jurisdiction, for then the king can confer on him the banner of a barony. However, it cannot be conferred unless he has done brave deeds in

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wartime. Thus, the equestrian or knightly rank comes from a first battle, that of military tribune from a second, that of baron from a third.

A count comes next in ascending order, and, first, a count of the border, whom we call a marquis, that is, a margrave. To be created such, he must possess two or three baronies in one duchy. He can be created by his duke, in whose jurisdiction he possesses them.

Next, a provincial count, i.e., a Landgrave, can be created if he has four baronies included in one duchy. The duke creates him a count, or the king at the instance and with the permission of the duke.

A viscount or prince count can be created if he holds five counties or more in one duchy, or situated immediately adjoining. He can be created with the permission of the king by the duke with great solemnity; but if the king himself is present, the principate is even more honorable.

A duke who is to be created from a count must particularly possess in the kingdom in which he is to be crowned four principal counties, having in each of them another four counties or baronies bound to the four principal counties in fealty and clientship. He will thus have free right to attain the ducal dignity. He is to be crowned by the king or emperor to whom he is subject, with a helmet adorned with the most precious pearls and jewels, in the most prosperous city under his jurisdiction, at a great gathering of princes, dukes, counts, and barons, celebrated with a solemn feast, as is customary at the coronation of kings.

Whoever is to be a king must have four duchies united together and immediately subject to him; in each duchy there must be four cities over which he himself has sole dominion. In each of these cities is to be one archbishop, and subject in turn to him ten provincial bishops. Endowed

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and arrayed with these dominions and dignities he shall go to the imperial majesty as to his superior, or he shall invite by an honorable legation the emperor to come to him, and have himself be crowned by him.

This seems to be a more recent law for electing the king and the rest of the princes, inasmuch as the wandering nations such as the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and many others brought their kings with them, and measured the royal dignity not from broad possession of lands but from their forces and the multitude of people they brought with them. For the selection of dukes that began to be established first by Longinus the exarch of Ravenna in 569 and shortly thereafter by the Lombards was by nothing other than for their strength and their prudence in administering affairs. To this should be added the testimony of Paulus Aemilius: In the beginning, dukes and counts were placed over peoples and cities by kings according to this rule: whenever it was advantageous, they were dismissed or changed. Nor could the aforesaid laws of creating princes (since they spell out and demand the hereditary possession of lands) have been established as long as duchies and counties were conferred by kings and emperors as only temporary benefits. Therefore, although the exact time of this institution cannot be indicated (and the French book gives no note of it), it is still altogether likely that this means of establishing and confirming dignities was ordained by monarchs in the time of Emperor Otto II, or around the year 1000 or a little later. For up until the time of Otto II, each prince, according to his power and ambition aspired to a greater dignity and royal majesty. Thus, from the single kingdom of Lotharingia, extending from the Rhine to the Schelde and ending in the sea of Frisia, belonging to Lothar, son of Louis the Pious, many others were later born, namely, transjuran

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Burgundy, which, extending from the Juras to the Alps contained all of Switzerland, and the lands of the Rauraci, Allobroges, and transjuran Burgundians, and the kingdom of Provence, which at the same time included parts of Burgundy and Savoy and was later called the kingdom of Arles, whose elector at Trier is even today called archchancellor, along with the kingdom of Lotharingia, which is now called Lorraine, and then contained the remaining lands between the Rhine and the Schelde to the Frisian sea, and was once called Austrasia. Then Charles the Bald and his brother Louis divided this same kingdom of Lotharingia between themselves, each retaining the title of king. I omit mention of the other kingdoms that arose in the same century out of the passion to rule. But Emperor Otto II removed the name of kingdom from Lotharingia, distinguishing it into nine duchies and counties, like the members of a body torn apart and divided, as Cuspinianus says. After the division was made, in 981, he made Charles, the brother of the French king Lothar, the first duke of what is now Lotharingia, as Richard Waffenburg treats at greater length. From this time the arbitrary creation of kingdoms and principates seems to have ceased, as all monarchs sought to settle all things in a stable empire, which is anchored especially in a just proportion and harmony of the parts of the empire, just as in the proportions of a man's limbs to his head, so that thus a certain order in principalities and the administration of affairs should be perpetually preserved; and thus I think that the said laws were thought up around the time I have said.

Here, reader, you have the distinct degrees of the nobility as a whole and the differences of their dignities. Now observe in each several kingdom the way in which the provinces are divided according to their relation; how

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and in what proportion the rule and governance of the whole are distributed among these degrees, so that the proper duty falls to each; what is the arrangement and connection of each to the other and especially to the head. You shall see a remarkable harmony tending to peace and tranquillity, to strength and power, to riches and magnificence, to virtue and wisdom, to the majesty of the kingdom, to the extension of boundaries; or contrariwise to instability, to decline and extinction, or whatever else, according to the various arrangements of their administration. What you shall see or judge succeeding less well, will be a source of contemplation for you; what you find the good and happy in their outcome, ask after their causes; and thus you will discover the best polity in the administration of kingdoms, and you will have investigated things geographical in the most useful fashion. That you may embark on this speculation in the best way,

I will subjoin a foundation, as it were, of the entire business, namely, a compendium of the political status of the kingdom of France, which at my request a man most eminent for his nobility and erudition, Lord Dominic de Burmann, wrote and shared as an ornament for this work and a favor for students. It is above all to be hoped that learned men will follow his example for other kingdoms and republics, so that all the variations of administering commonwealths may be brought under consideration.

On the Political Status of the Kingdom of France.

The French, in the opinion of all authorities the wisest and most warlike people, seeking to establish the best political status for themselves chose a royal monarchy, for they perceived that it was arranged by nature that

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men revere and fear one single person for his excellence and dignity more than an arbitrary number of chosen people who change over the course of time. Reason itself also prescribes the desirability of turning by necessity to one person in all affairs as though to a head and origin, and that the commonwealth is full of inconvenience and danger when several people simultaneously have command. Moreover, example shows that monarchies, even should they be changed by the death of princes or some other human misfortune are longer lived and more peaceful than either the aristocracies or democracies, as for instance among the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Parthians, or, to use closer examples, in Britain, Spain, and our own France, to which countries no other republics can be compared for longevity. Indeed, it usually happens that the rule of the best, which is called aristocracy, changes to an oligarchy, that is, the domination of a few, when, from the best and first of the citizens a few divide all honors and emoluments among themselves (as when there has been a successful conspiracy), and aim to increase their own private fortunes while neglecting the common good, which alone and above all they should care for. The other kind, pertaining to the common mob, which is called a popular state or democracy, has always been held to be tumultuous and full of peril and hostile to the most outstanding men. Very wisely, therefore, the French people have always held that the highest power was to be entrusted rather to one person (whom they believed excelled the rest in virtue and justice) than to several outstanding citizens or to the multitude, since an individual person, alone in command of affairs, can more easily and more promptly remedy misfortunes and dangers than could many equal in degree and dignity. They did not transfer an unbridled power to their king, however,

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but one most wisely limited and constrained by certain laws and conditions, so that no occasion for tyranny should be given, as we shall show later.

However, just as nothing in human actions is stable and perpetual, but, rather, all things crumble with the passage of time or change according to the evil of the ages, so too in France, even though the state has always been the same, namely, a royal monarchy, the manner of its governance has not always been the same at all times. We shall explain all this in order, briefly and clearly, from the beginning of the establishment of the kingdom, as far as we have been able to gather by reading various authors.

Prior to its reduction to provincial status under the Romans, the French or Gaulish state was such that it was neither ruled as a whole by one, nor were individual cities either in the power of the people or of the aristocrats; rather, it was so divided that most were governed by a council of the best men (these were called “free cities”), while others had kings. All, however, maintained the institution by which, at a certain time of the year, they held a public council of the people in which they decided whatever they thought pertained to the best interest of the commonwealth. Tacitus (book 3) enumerates sixty-four cities, that is, (as appears from Caesar), regions, employing not only the same language, manners, and institutions, but also the same magistrates as, e.g., the cities of the Aedui, the Arverni, and the Rheni, whom he especially mentions in many places.

At that time the Gauls gave the name of king, or, rather, princeling, to those who held royal power (over however small a territory) perpetually, as opposed to the magistrates of the cities who held it temporarily. The unchanged custom of the times calls these princes dukes, counts, and marquesses.

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These kings were not hereditary, but were instead chosen by the people because of their reputation for justice. Neither did they possess an infinite, absolute, and unbridled power, but one that was circumscribed by certain laws, so that there was no less power and dominion in them over the people than there was in the people over them, so that these kingdoms seem practically nothing other than perpetual magistracies. As proof of this, Caesar calls many people private citizens whose parents and ancestors had obtained the kingdom. And so those to whom the people granted this power were constrained (as though by reins) by the authority of the best and chosen men, which was the best form of commonwealth according to Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Cicero.

Then when Gaul was reduced to a province by the Romans, their kings were chosen and appointed by the judgment and vote of the whole people, for their virtue and nobility, on the model of the Germans, according to Tacitus. Of these, there are only three families whose reign has lasted up to this day, almost 1,200 years:

1. The Merovingians, who beginning from Merowig [*Meroveo*] extended their line for 283 years.
2. The Carolingians, who beginning from Charlemagne produced offspring for 337 years.
3. The Capetians, the descendants of Hugh Capet, who have held the kingdom for almost 590 years. For although the judgment and decision passing down the kingdom had always been vested in the assembly of the orders and the public council of the whole people (and remains legally so today), they mostly left it as a prerogative to the sons and those who (in the case of kings without heirs) were of his line, because of their nobility

(after the fashion of the Germans) and a certain innate virtue, so that they preferred them hereditarily, so to speak, to others of equal virtue. There was one exception, that if the sons of the dead king were less than twenty-four years old,

it was unlawful to create them kings, and in this case it was necessary to create another of legitimate age. (An example is found in the case of King Clovis in 309 [*sic*]; and the kingdom called Francogallia, which was divided among several sons of deceased kings by the will and decision of the leading men of the kingdom, provides many more.) However, if the people chose another person, having repudiated the son (as frequently happened), the properties owned by the king himself and, to use the legal term, those that were patrimonial, were left to the repudiated son so that he could maintain his dignity, and they could not be alienated except by the public council of the people. The rest, which belonged to the kingdom and the commonwealth (and are so called), were assigned to him to whom the kingdom was transferred, along with the properties called “of the fisc,” which were assigned partly to the maintenance of his dignity and partly to the unexpected needs of the commonwealth, such as duchies and the various counties that were granted to them in the assemblies of the people. Secondly, it was always observed that daughters should be removed from succession to the kingdom. (This was established not by the Salic law, as some wrongly think, since that applies only to private patrimonies, and not to feudal possessions, but by the law of alodial inheritances, written by Salagastus, one of the leading men of the kingdom, and called Salic from his name.) The daughters, then, being passed over, the kingdom was always

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to be passed on to brothers or uncles or even to outsiders by the leading men. This information is from *On Kings*, chapter 1. But before I go on to the rest concerning the election of the king, his council and that of the commonwealth, and the method of governing the kingdom, I think it will be worthwhile if I first briefly describe those members of the kingdom who (we have said) have the power of appointing and dismissing the king. In this way the sweet harmony according to which this kingdom was established—most prudently—by our ancestors will more clearly be seen.

This is the most important thing of all: the royal power and all the other orders of the kingdom are so bound and, I might say, cemented together by agreeable and just relations that it is scarcely possible for a dispute of any magnitude to arise among them. There are, then, three main orders among the French, among whom the legitimate council of the people and the ability to establish and dissolve the kingdom has resided for all time: the nobles, the citizenry, and the commoners. Each of these has and uses its own laws and institutions according to its condition, and they are mutually joined so fitly, that they scarcely have the means, the ones of oppressing the others, or on the other hand, of conspiring against the king. (We will discuss later the ecclesiastical order, which can be considered as the fourth order—even though it has grown to such power today that it has first place.)

The nobility, then, of France, or the knightly order, enjoys the greatest advantages and privileges, and thus it happens that they embrace the king with very great affection, and sacrifice their lives for his safety and that of their country. They pay no tribute, and are permitted to bear arms wherever they may be. They have ample provisions for living, so that they have no need of practicing any illiberal or gainful art; this, indeed, is least of all

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granted to them by our customs, lest they stay home and attend their own affairs. However, if they wish to attend on the king, they possess the means to support themselves honorably, for there are many offices in the household and court of the king that are only assigned to nobles. Each spends part of the year in managing them, and they have the rest of their time free and available for administering their private and domestic affairs. All of them receive an annual stipend from the king, and have abundant occasions for hoping for more. The leading men and those of the greater rank, since they experience the beneficence of the king and attend to some part of the public business often share food and other things with nobles whose private wealth is less. Further, the kings maintain a permanent and enormous force of cavalry, for the sake of supporting and exercising the nobility, and in such a number of cavalry there are many prefectures that are divided among the nobles; this arrangement holds in peacetime as well as in war. The greater nobles of each place, each according to his own status and virtue, are in charge of the knights; of the rest, some are legates, some standard-bearers, some bowmen. Those who cannot bear arms because of their age serve the others, and if there is no war, they are allowed to stay at home and to save by their parsimony no small part of their master's stipend. Add to this, that no one would believe the number of (so to speak) urban prefectures throughout France, which are assigned only to the nobility, for some are in charge of provinces, some of borders, some of castles and fortresses, yet others of villages, to say nothing of those greater offices that are given only to the most eminent men, such as what they call constables, marshals, admirals, and others of this kind. Further, the kings customarily bestow from their largesse annual wages or a certain honorarium on many nobles

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who serve in no office. These men they call pensioners. From what I have said, then, it is sufficiently clear that the knightly order is maintained very honorably and liberally among the French—rightly, since they defend their country from its enemies and are naturally superior to the rest. This is a tribute not to them alone, but also to the merits and virtue of their ancestors.

The second order has its own, not inconsiderable, advantages. To it belong the merchants, who make greater profits inasmuch as they are allowed to travel and do business safely throughout France, and also because the nobles do not practice trade of any kind, while they are clothed splendidly and at great expense. The offices of the treasury, positions as judges, and all that pertain to jurisdiction are suitable to this order and are bestowed on them, in which, to be sure, there is great honor and profit. In this kingdom there are (in my opinion) far more ministers of the law, judges, advocates, prosecutors, scribes, and others of this sort than in all the other provinces of the Christian world, a more than fortunate circumstance for those who, forsaking trade, wish to perform such duties. And this order is so profitable that even the nobles, although they certainly exceed the others in rank and splendor, envy them. And those of the next order strive to join this one, as we shall afterward discuss.

The crowd and common multitude of men is in the third order, who till the fields and practice all manner of crafts. It is not advisable for these to enjoy excessive liberty or to become particularly rich or, indeed, to train themselves in arms. For since all men hate the condition of servitude, and by their nature strive to better their fortunes, it easily happens that they take up arms, and oppress the more powerful, a thing that (as is known) has happened in France and other places more than once. Thus, it is necessary

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that there be such orders or degrees in every commonwealth, just as we see the weaker and less noble members of the human body serving the more worthy. Nonetheless, it is not the case that those of the third order deplore their status and bear it indignantly. The law is equally applied to them, and they enjoy the same liberty they received from their ancestors, and they are summoned to many offices of the commonwealth and can, by virtue alone and industry and application, rise to the second order, even while the second order is not allowed

to rise to the first, unless by the singular kindness of the king, which he is accustomed to grant to those who have either already done or who seem able to do some great service to the commonwealth. This is wisely established, first in order to preserve the knightly order, diminished as it is in warfare, and barely sustaining its expenses, secondly so that men, aroused by such prizes, will contend in virtue and struggle for the highest rank. Relying on such hope, those of the plebeian and lowest order aspire to the second, and then, should they sometime have attained it, to the first. Thus it is that there is less envy and ill will between the orders, since they see that the way to the highest honors is open to virtue and merit, while danger is put in the way should they strive to win them by evil means. If, however, the attempt were too difficult and there were no hope of attaining greater things, then those of the middle and lowest degrees, but high-spirited, would seize the occasion of stirring up disturbances and arming the men of their own order against the more powerful. As it is, though, the means of advancement are not at all difficult, and we see how many, often from a lowly station, reach the highest pitch of success. The Romans once diligently followed this

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same method, establishing a stepping-stone from the plebeian order to the equestrian, and thence entry was open to the patrician and senatorial dignity.

There is also the ecclesiastical order, open to anyone who will but apply his mind to it. In accordance with French custom, it often chanced that even plebeian men, outstanding for their virtue and learning, attain its greatest honors, the cardinal's hat or even the papacy, something that surely can inspire men to virtue and to scholarship.

From what we have said, it is evident how fittingly and elegantly all the orders of the kingdom are united with each other. If someone from one of them transgresses in some way, the remedy is easy. For if the nobles do injury to the rest, they are constrained by those who administer the law, whose authority is such that even the greatest princes are obliged to obey their decrees. But if the people or mob rouses up some trouble (as happens not infrequently), it is not hard for the nobility to lead them back to justice and duty through their power and the use of arms. Thus it is that all are bound within the limits and, so to speak, barriers of their own affairs, and they each cultivate peace with the others, since they have neither cause for complaint nor the capability of attempting anything, and see that the highest danger is precisely in doing so. Likewise, all embrace and love the king, author of so great a benefit. When the occasion arises, they perform his commands most willingly and most zealously come to the aid of public needs. And if some people depart privately from their duty, the remedies are at hand, so that the evil can spread no further. This, then, is enough about the state of the orders of the kingdom.

From all this, it is indeed clear how harmoniously this monarchy is tempered and administered according to distributive justice, both aristocrati-

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cally, that is, by the rule of the best, and democratically, that is, by the intercession of the whole people, especially since the path to all honors lies open. This commonwealth is indeed that one all the philosophers so highly commend for the sweet harmony and mixture of all kinds of commonwealth; one in which that ancient golden law has its place: “Let the good health of the people be the highest law.”

But to return to where we left off. From these three orders or estates of the kingdom it is customary to hold a public and solemn council (in French, *parlement*) every year on May 1, and, in addition, whenever some matter of great import occurs. The king presides, seated on a golden throne. Below him sit first the principal magistrates of the kingdom, and then, in a lower place, the delegates from individual cities, whom they call deputies. The king used to be brought into the hall on a chariot drawn by oxen driven with a goad by a driver. When he had come into the hall or rather into the sanctuary of the commonwealth, the princes would seat the king on a golden throne, and the rest (as we have said) would sit below, each in his own place and order, and only then in state and sanctuary would the royal majesty be declared.

This council held at all times the highest authority, and these were the things that customarily were transacted in it above all: first, the creation or rejection of the king; then, questions of war and peace, of public laws, of the highest honors, of the prefectures and procurators of the commonwealth; of assigning part of the patrimony of the dead king to his children, or of establishing the dowry for his daughters, which they called (using a Germanic word) *Abannagium*, i.e., “the exclusory part.” Then, over all matters that are even now popularly called affairs of the estates, since it

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was illegal (as I have said) to handle matters concerning any part of the commonwealth except in the council of the estates or orders. Likewise, if a prince born to a more prominent position should be accused of a crime, he was summoned before this council for judgment and there forced to state his case. Moreover, if the king at some time were to have decided to make major expenditures, for instance, in building churches or founding monasteries, he would seek a council of the orders. Finally (and this should not be omitted), the authority of this council among other nations has been such that even foreign princes, if they were in some dispute, would from time to time entrust it to the decision and judgment of this council.

Historians usually call this council a senate or assembly, other times a *parlement*, other times a *placitum* [or court of pleas], because once a matter had been inquired into and weighed by this council of many, it eventually would be settled as it pleased and agreed with them. (Whence Cicero and others speak of the *placita* [or maxims] of the philosophers.) And this also appears to be the source of the phrase used today in decrees and letters of the king, "*Quoniam ita placitum est*," which is now incorrectly translated by French scribes as "*Car tel est notre plaisir*" [that is, "For such is our pleasure"].

The prefects of the commonwealth (who in Merovingian times were called major domos, i.e., mayors of the palace) were also chosen in the same council or assembly of the orders. Their power was as great with the kings as that of the praetorian prefects, who also were called prefects of the palace, with the Roman emperor. They, since they had obtained the royal authority for some time because of the inactivity of the kings, having achieved the same power, usurped and occupied it for their own benefit. For once they were undertaking practically all public offices and were in command of the

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armies in case of war, the kings, content with their bare and empty title, lived idly at home because of their sloth. Things went so far in this direction that when Childeric, the eighteenth king, ascended the throne, Pepin, the mayor of the palace, after waging great and lengthy wars in the name of the king and defeating the Saxons and bringing them under his power, did not refuse the opportunity presented to him of assuming the title of king, furnished as he was with an army especially and as a glorious victor. This great power of the prefects began (as I have said) in the time of Clotaire II, around A.D. 588, that is, about 130 years after the establishment of the Frankish kingdom.

Afterward, this Pepin was raised to the throne after Childeric was deposed. On this subject, the reader should consult the appendix by Hunibaldus in Johannes Trithemius' work, along with chapter 6 of Marsilius of Padua's *On the Transfer of Empire*. In the same year

Trithemius says that the leaders of the whole kingdom, assembling together over the abrogation of the useless King Childeric, began to hold a council, and it was agreed in common by all that they depose King Childeric, as having neither the experience nor the power for reigning, and they should elevate Pepin (who held the highest authority of the whole kingdom) to the throne. But Pepin was unwilling to assent to this before consulting the opinion of Pope Zachary, alleging the causes moving him.

It seems that the successors to the position of mayor of the palace were the counts of the stable, in French, *connétables* [constables]. "Count" was the title given to all who had achieved the highest honors in the royal court and administered the commonwealth as deputies. The constable held about the

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same position as the master of the horse among the Romans, that is, he was in charge of the cavalry and the horse guards (in French, *écuyers* [*scarieri*]) obeyed him. He is called the marshal by the Germans, and today holds the same rank as the praetorian prefect did long ago, or (as I have said) as the mayor of the palace. Under him today are four marshals, that is, masters of the horse, to whom suits of military law are addressed.

Afterward, in the times of Hugh Capet, the peers of France were created (although there is some disagreement among the authorities about their origin). He, once he had seized the throne after the legitimate heir had been set aside, thought that some of the nobles should be bound to him by a new honor and benefit, for all agree that he did something of the sort.

It seems that there were two reasons for establishing these peers. First, so that they would preside over the royal inauguration and (as they said then) investment. That is, so that in an assembly of the princes and best men, they would solemnly deck the king with the insignia and badges of his supreme power. Secondly, so that if any of the powerful men and princes of France were accused of a capital crime, they would pass judgment on him. For although such judgments were passed of old in the public council of the nation (as already stated), and this ancient custom, by the design of the Capetians, had begun bit by bit to be transferred to the juridical *parlement*, the princes of the realm did not think that their fates ought to be committed lightly to this *parlement*, and the kings themselves believed that it would be most suited to their own purposes to establish such a consensus of peers alongside the court of *parlement*. This was given the name of court of the peers, although both the order and number of its members varied for a while. For they were not always twelve in number (as some think), but at

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times more, at times fewer, according as seemed fit to the king, by whom this magistracy was conferred as the highest honor and benefit. This could be proved by various examples, just as the rank of peer was often assigned to different princes, and some others were customarily consulted on their judgments from the nobles, governors, and bishops of France. Later, even foreign kings and princes were among their number.

Furthermore, even if, by the establishment of the peers and the fact that Hugh Capet, in order to reconcile and bind to himself (as I have said) the inclinations of the nobles, made those ranks that before had been temporary—such as dukes and counts of the realm—permanent, the king cleverly encroached upon the authority of the public council in no small degree (although with its own consent); nonetheless, everything else still depended according to custom on the council. For instance (as Budé and Charles Molineus relate), the law of currency, that is, the power of increasing or decreasing the amount of coinage, always was in the hands of the Frankish people. The war declared for the public good by the nobles of the kingdom, stirred by the incessant complaints and expostulations of the people, against King Louis XI is memorable. Nor should we neglect to mention that a public council was held at Tours on April 1, 1467, under the same Louis, in which it was decreed that thirty-six tried and true men should be chosen from each order as protectors of the commonwealth, to establish the commonwealth and watch over law and justice, namely, twelve from the clergy (who by now constituted one order), and as many from the knights and again from men experienced in the law and justice [i.e., jurists] chosen from the people, and that the king, by his royal declaration and promise, pledged to approve whatever these thirty-six men decided.

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This was, in general, the scheme of governing the whole commonwealth or administering the kingdom down to the time of the Capetians. We have reviewed the positions of the officers of the kingdom; those who holding or enjoying them are properly called administrators of the realm or of the crown, officials, or wise men, such as, in the first place, those whom we have said established the public council. Likewise, the peers of France, then the constable, admiral, chancellor, treasurer general of France, etc. At all times, there were other royal counselors and officers who administered the kings' private affairs and served the king, such as chamberlains and the other ministers and officials of the royal court.

Besides these public offices, various juridical *parlements* were established over the passage of time. In this area, one should know that up to about the time of the Capetians, there was a simple and easy method of handing down the law and that lawsuits were overall quite rare. This can be seen from the fact that Louis the Rich [i.e., Louis IX], who reigned around 1230 (as Joinville, who recorded his life, agrees), either decided controversies himself or entrusted the affair to be decided to several of his retinue. The same thing is told of Charlemagne, who would resolve lawsuits while he was having his shoes or cloak put on. Such a law is extant in the capitulary: "Let our messengers make it known to the counts and to the people that we have determined to sit one day every week to hear cases." Then, as the wickedness of the times grew, along with the number of lawsuits, the magnificent law court of Louis X, or, as some believe, of Philip [IV] the Fair, was built around 1292. Then, because of the small number of judges, three courts of ten were established: those of the great chamber; of inquisitions; and of demands. But in 1522 Francis [I] added a fourth chamber with twenty new

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counselors, and, again, the same king created another twenty counselors in 1543. This assembly of judges, however, was not permanent and perennial as it is today, but was indictive and customarily sat only at the express order of the prince. The edict was proposed by the king on Saint Martin's Day, that is, November 11, when the authority to begin a *parlement* is given by the king to the judges.

Gradually the authority of this assembly or *parlement* grew so great that no royal statute or constitution would be ratified unless these counselors had been its authors and supporters. Then, since there was in all of France no magistracy, either civic or military, that could be entered into without this assembly, and that

did not have to swear on laws before them, and also since there was no right of appeal from their judgments, which were rather approved and fixed as their decrees, at last whatever power, dominion, or authority we have said belonged to the public council and the *parlement* of the estates (whose name and authority the assembly obtained)—all this had been transferred to this senate.

Today, however, when the king alone, according to his own judgment, decides anything with his secret and private council, it has been changed into an ordinary juridical council, and is no longer occupied with the commonwealth and the affairs of state, and has its permanent seat in Paris.

It indeed is very widely accessible, and has the broadest jurisdiction over the other regular courts or *parlements*, of which there are now seven throughout France. They investigate individual matters concerning all cases and criminals, and whatever they decide individually must be abided by.

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This Parisian council has the advantage over the rest that kings themselves used to come to it whenever they wished to make any important decision, whether it concerned war or peace. To this day, the treaties of kings and everything relevant to the constitution of the kingdom are recited before it and inserted into the public record, of which it has charge.

Thus those things that from the farthest past and origins of the Frankish kingdom were referred to the public gatherings of the orders and then, after their abolition, to the senate or *parlement* of Paris have today been transferred to the king alone, and to those he chooses to summon to advise him. But to proceed.

In this kingdom there is another established council, called the great council, which consists of those men truly first and preeminent in the court and kingdom. In the time of kings Charles VII and VIII it was normally concerned only with matters affecting the state of the realm and the safety of the commonwealth itself. It, too, was overwhelmed in the course of time by the multitude of cases and lawsuits, so that Charles VIII created from it an ordinary council of seventeen counselors. Louis XII increased their number to twenty, with the addition of the chancellor as president of the council, so that under Francis [I] the rank of chancellor itself was elevated to a presidency. From that time, they had time only to hear extraordinary cases entrusted to them by the private council and to regular appeals of the prefect of the hospital, as he is known.

Besides the seven ordinary judicial *parlements* (to use the familiar name) already mentioned and the great council, the king privately has another council, which is permanent and ordinary, and which usually accompanies the king and normally is occupied especially with the business of the realm,

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although today it too has been converted, more or less, to an ordinary council, since it is open to cases involving cities and *parlements*, and often even cases of no great importance involving other private individuals. The result is that these noble and illustrious men, occupied by other matters, have all but lost knowledge and care for public business and that concerning the state of the kingdom. The entire administration and care of the kingdom seem today to have been handed over to the will of the king and the judgment of a few chosen men, who are called the *Secretum Consilium* ["Secret Council"], where all deliberations concerning the highest matters occur, which used to be weighed by the private council of finances, if they were the kinds of things requiring the particular attention of the king. In this council, all the royal benefices, letters, and orders are signed, the letters of other princes, legates, commanders, and captains are referred to it, and responses to them are thought up and passed on to the secretaries of state.

There is also another council, called that of finances, which manages the care of the entire treasury of the king and of the kingdom, to which intendants, as they call them, are attached, along with secretaries of finances and (to use the Latin term) quaestors of the treasury.

Advice on Using the Maps.

Since it was my plan to reduce universal geography to celestial standards, so that the true distances between places as they are on the spherical form of the earth should be preserved as nearly as possible in their representation in the plane, it was necessary to establish the proper proportion between degrees of longitude and of meridian, or latitude. Therefore, when the proposed map contains only a few degrees of latitude, I have reduced this

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proportion to approximately the mean parallel of each map, so that the ratio of that parallel to the meridian should be in the same proportion as that of degrees of longitude in that same parallel to the degrees of meridian or latitude. And then all meridians are parallel to each other. But when there were more degrees of latitude, since in that case there is a great difference between the proportions of the highest and lowest parallels to the meridian, in order not to depart too far from the truth, i.e., the measurement of distances between places, I have chosen two parallels roughly equidistant from the mean and the extremes, and have established the meridian designators of degrees of longitude proportionally to them. These then are not parallel, but according to the greater or lesser distance between the proposed parallels are inclined more or less to each other and to the mean meridian of the map. I have shown, moreover, in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, how to find the designation of the meridians.

You will find the degrees of latitude and longitude designated at the sides of the maps; most often the degrees of latitude are at each side, and those of longitude at the top and bottom, whenever, that is, it is possible to place North at the top of the map, in accordance with the customary usage of geographers. But if the region to be described extends farther from north to south than east to west, then I have placed West at the top. In either case, the eastern and western sides will represent degrees of latitude, and the other two degrees of longitude. Each degree is divided into sixty parts, called minutes, sometimes into individual minutes and, when size allows, into half-, fifth-, and even tenth-minutes.

Based on this foundation, I have followed the best descriptions available in delineating the regions. In this, the distinguished surveyor and most

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skilled geographer of the King of Spain, Christian Sgrothenius, was of great assistance to me. He has traversed many regions and described them more amply and exactly than others. In addition, Abraham Ortelius, the most diligent geographer of that same majesty, and candor and humaneness itself,

generously shared with me whatever maps he has found, as though he were a partner with me in the same undertaking. I will mention others who afforded me assistance each in his own place, so they may gain the proper praise among scholars for their kind offices, and I not be found ungrateful. I have compared everything offered to me and that that I myself could discover most diligently in order to display the most perfectly corrected descriptions possible. One thing, however, which was first among my wishes, was lacking, namely, the more exact enumeration and designation of the locations of principalities and noble places, which is the greatest desideratum in maps hitherto published. But, reader, you will pardon this defect of ours, and if you deign to come to my assistance in celebrating the political order of the nobility by indicating such places, their positions, names, and quality, the glory will be to your name.

Small circles mark the true position of each place, and distances are to be measured from them. Other signs are joined to these to distinguish between places. Simple districts of no distinction are content with just the small circles; where known castles occur, we indicate them with a hook joined to a circle; monasteries, by a circle with a cross, while towns have at least two towers, and noble districts, one. We have observed these things so far as they were known to us, and chose signs that are simple to make so that anyone can easily supply what has been omitted.

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If you wish to determine the longitude and latitude of some place, on maps where the meridians are parallel you will do this by taking its distance from the side with a compass and applying the compass thus extended to the other side. For instance, if you have taken the distance from the eastern side, the compass measurement from that side applied to the northern side will show the degree and minute of longitude. If you have the distance from the northern side, applying it to the eastern side will indicate the latitude. Where the meridians are not parallel, the latitude of a place is found in the same way, but in the general maps where the parallels are circular, having taken the distance of a place from the nearest parallel will show the same thing on the eastern side. The longitude is to be found by placing a string or ruler over the place and turning it until it indicates the same degree and minute on the northern and southern sides; whichever that is, will be the longitude of the given place.

The miles used in different regions differ substantially. Therefore if you wish to compare them in turn, compare them using a compass to degrees of meridian and investigate how many are contained in one degree by turning the compass; you will see how many miles of one or another region add up to a degree. Thus you will find that the common German mile (of which there are fifteen in a degree) is four times the common Italian mile and roughly twice the Swiss and Westphalian miles.

A simple line sometimes occurs joined to the small circle; this indicates the name belonging to a place, and is added so that there should be no ambiguity about what place has what name because of the density of places in an area.

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I have found nothing in this geographic work that could offend the ears of the pious, and therefore recommend that it be published.

Which I, Jacob Coemans von Horst, Doctor of Sacred Theology and Scholar of the Cathedral of Saint Bavon in Ghent, swear to.

To the most illustrious
and most clement prince
Johann Wilhelm the Younger,
Duke of Jülich, Cleve,
and Bergen, Count
of Marchia and Ravensburg, Lord in
Ravensstein, etc.,

To His Most Clement Lord:

As I began a great and laborious work, most illustrious prince, what usually happens to an honest citizen of modest fortune when he plans to build a comfortable and grand dwelling for himself happened to me. Namely, when rising costs or the difficulty in building the edifice as planned prolong the work over several years, he takes care first to build what is immediately needed for maintaining his household, such as a kitchen, a store for food, bedrooms, cisterns, or perennial wells. The rest, which concern entertaining, the amenities of life, ornament, and magnificence, such as porticos, halls, courts, dining rooms, a third floor, pleasure gardens, and orchards, he builds on as time passes and opportunity and convenience arise, according to the plan of the whole work as it was drawn up at first. Thus, too, when I

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was contemplating the description of the whole world, a certain distribution and order for the whole work was requisite, so that I first would treat of the fabric of the world and the general disposition of its parts; next of the order and motion of the celestial bodies; thirdly of their nature, radiation, and confluence in their workings, in order to inquire more truly into astrology; fourthly of the elements; fifthly of kingdoms and a description of the whole earth; sixthly of the genealogies of princes from the creation of the world, in order to investigate the migrations of peoples, the first inhabitations of the earth, and the times of discoveries and antiquities. For this is the natural order of things, which easily demonstrates their causes and origins and is the best guide to true knowledge and wisdom. But because this fabric weighs on my shoulders alone, and I am able to take advantage of the assistance of no others (except those who engrave the plates) in completing it (as a person building does, who entrusts everything to the hands of masons, carpenters, and others), and, moreover, since there were not enough engravers to finish the work as planned in a few years, I was reduced to the necessity of beginning from the middle of the work to be built. Nor would it have been just to deprive students of the use of that part that I have now finished, even if I could have suppressed everything until the completion of the whole. For this reason, I judged that those maps of the *New Geography* that I am now preparing should be prepared and published first by which I considered I might best serve the commonwealth at this time, namely, those of Gaul and Germany. In them I have accomplished the diligent task of reducing all to their proper proportion and just measurement, as far as was possible from collected observations, journeys, and printed or manuscript maps. Thus all places that lie closest to the margins of each map are repeated in the

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neighboring maps, and in every case they have the same longitude, latitude, and distances, so that the passages and journeys from one map to the next are equally

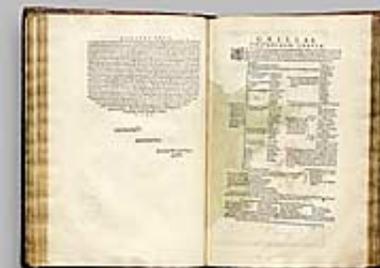
recognizable and perceptible as if there were one continuous map containing both descriptions. There is only this one difference, that often the maps are not compared to the same magnitude of celestial degree, so that the space of one mile (to which a compass is to be narrowed or spread when we seek the path to a given place from one map to another) is larger in one than in the other. Just as I dedicated the first edition of the *Cosmography* made with maps (I mean in volume one of my *Geography* of Ptolemy) to your most illustrious parent, my most clement lord, so it is right to devote this next part of my publication to your most illustrious name, so that I may give public testimony to father and son alike of the just reverence, obedience, and gratitude for the favors that your illustrious parent heaped upon me. You are my most illustrious and most clement and, moreover, natural lords, seeing that I was conceived under your protection in the territory of Jülich by parents from Jülich, and educated there from my earliest years (notwithstanding that I was born in Flanders). Thus posterity may recognize your benign clemency and beneficence toward scholars who labor to be useful to the commonwealth; to celebrate which in the future, I strive with all my might and will labor so long as I live, in considering what will forever be useful and pleasing to the commonwealth. Illustrious prince, most beloved of students of the liberal arts, I therefore pray you will give your support to these parts of the *New Geography* I have begun, and enjoy them as a foretaste of the rest, until the whole work of cosmography appears, set

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in its proper order, which was destined from the outset to your illustrious parent in eternal memory of his favors and patronage, and equally to your eternal name. I strenuously pray God the greatest and best that you, illustrious princes, will see to it that I may fortunately finish it, most illustrious princes, my most clement lords, in good health and with pleasure, so that it may be done the sooner.

Duisburg, in the month August, Year
1585.

The most devoted client of your
most illustrious highness,
Gerardus Mercator, Cosmographer.

Gaul
General map.

[VIEW II3R](#)

For the most part, two very powerful kings have obtained possession of Gaul: the king of Spain that of lower Belgium (whose principalities I will explain second); while the kingdom of Gaul, which contains the larger part of Gaul, obeys the king of France, whose capital is at Paris. The primary division of this kingdom into its members and offices is as follows (I shall use vernacular names).

Eighteen dukes are subject to the kingdom and crown of France, along with their thirty-five client counties, as a perpetual patrimony and inheritance:
Orléans.

Burgundy, whose client counties are: Nevers and Charolais (but see the map of the duchy of Burgundy for this).

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Narbonne.

Britanny, to whom these counts have fealty: Pontieure and Porthoix.

Anjou, to whom these counts owe fealty: Maine, Vendôme, Beaufort,
and Laval.

Berry, to whom the count of Sancerre has fealty.

Normandy, to whom are subject these counties: Alençon, Mortaigne,
Harcourt, Evreux, Malle, Tenquarville, Longueville, Chau-
mont, Montpensier, Dauphin, Auvergne, Vie, and Eu.

Terre d'Auvergne, to which these counts owe homage or fealty:
Clermont, Vaudemont.

Guyenne, to which are bound by fealty these counts: Pithon, Rhodes,
Armagnac, Marche, Perdriac, Angoulême, Perigord, Venta-
dour, Benon, Limoges.

Tours.

Bar-le-duc.

Valois.

Nemoux.

Alençon.

Reims.

Lâon.

Langres.

Bourbon, to which the count Forêt is subject.

There were sixteen counties that are immediately subject to the crown of
France and are the patrimony of the kingdom, of which there are now
fourteen:

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France; Dampmartin; Beaumont; Champagne; Vermandois; Messy; Chartres; Montfort; Melun; Perche; Evreux; Étampes; Dunois; Toulouse.

Artois and Flanders were once under the French crown, and now belong to the domains of the king of Spain.

There are twelve peers of France, created by Hugh Capet to have the power of creating the king, when there is a controversy over the succession:

Secular: the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guyenne or Aquitaine, and the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse.

Ecclesiastical: the duke-archbishop of Reims and the duke-bishops of Lâon and Langres, and the count-bishops of Noyon, Beauvais, and Châlons.

The counties of Flanders. Charles V, having made a treaty with François Valois, exempted him from the allegiance by which he was bound to the kings of France. The dukes and the rest of the secular counts, as they are now subject to the crown, may not wield the power of peers; only the ecclesiastics, as ecclesiastics, retain their position, and when necessary the other secular princes are summoned according to their pleasure.

The civil state: there are seven high senates throughout France, which they call in the vernacular *parlements*, from which there is no right of appeal:

Paris, of which there are eighty permanent judges of appeals, according to Jean Auban. It is divided into four courts: the Grand

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Chambre, having four presidents and thirty counselors; the Chambre d'Enquêtes; the Chambre d'Arêts; and the Chambre de Requêtes.

Toulouse.

Rouen.

Dijon.

Bordeaux.

Aix-en-Provence.

Grenoble.

Universities in the kingdom of France are these: Paris, Poitiers, Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Nantes, Lyon, Orléans, Montpellier, Cahors, Grenoble, Valence, Reims, Angers, Caen (called Cadomensis), Nîmes, Romans.

Ecclesiastical state.

There are twelve archbishops, whose suffragan bishops I will indicate in the individual maps.

Lyon; Aix-en-Provence; Vienne; Reims; Narbonne; Toulouse; Bordeaux; Auxerre; Bourges; Tours; Rouen; Sens.

Where to find duchies and counties named above will be indicated in the index following the map. I have constructed it so that at least the more notable places of France can be quickly found, since to describe which are in the particular maps would be an immense effort, and not really necessary.

The mean meridian of the map is the 23rd; the rest tend to this according to the ratio of the 44th and 49th parallels.

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[General map of Gaul.]

Britanny, Normandy,
Beausse, Poitou, Berry.

Brittany:

Lower Britanny has the domains of Grello, whose principal place is the Château Andron (17:38.48:22), the Pais de Gueel, Baignon, Montfort, the Vannetais (17:28.47:12), and the viscounty of Rohan (17:13.47:41).

Upper Britanny, in which are Pais de Brieuç, Jugon (28:6.48:22), Plerel, Pontigny, S. Julien de Vouantes, Auseuy, Lamballe (17:54.48:21), St. Malo, Jocelin, Redon, Rennes, Clisson (in which are included the Pais de Rhez, the Clissonais, and Chantaussy), Montcountoul, Dinan, Malestroit, St. Aulbin (19:6.48:0), and Nantes.

Ecclesiastical state of Britanny.

The archbishop of Dol in Dol has these bishops under him: Nantes, Vannes, and St. Brieuç (in these three they speak both French [*Gallice*] and Breton [*Britannice*]).

Corneville (17:23.48:22), St. Pol de Léon, and Treguir (in which only the Breton language is in use, which they believe is the ancient tongue of the Trojans); and St. Malo and Rennes (in these, along with Dol, they only speak French).

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Normandy:

Upper, in which are: the dukes of Alençon, Aumalle (22:39.49:50), and Longueville; the counts of Eu (partially, since part is in France), Harcourt, Evreux, Tancarville (21:26.47:22), Mauleurier, Mortain (19:34.48:39), and Montgomery; half of Vulx, whose chief estate is Gisors, a county and bailliage (22:59.47:8); and the barony of L'Aigle (21:50.48:47).

Lower, in which are the Pais de Calais (22:0.49:30); the Pais de Bessim (20:20.49:6); the Constantin, whose capital is Coutances; Houivet; the Kingdom of Yvetot (21:51.49:36); and the Vaulx de Vire.

Ecclesiastical state of Normandy.

The archbishop is at Rouen. Under him are the bishops of Sées (21:16.48:42), Coutances, Lisieux (20:10.47:4), Avranches, Bayeux, and Evreux.

Beauce is divided in three:

Upper Beauce, in which are: the Chartrain, the duchy and county of Chartres, in which are the counties of Dreux and Montfort; the duchy of Anjou, under which is the county of Maine; and the county of Perche, in which are Perche Gouet, whose principal town is Nogent-le-Rotrou; and Haulte Perche, in which Mortaigne is the principal town.

Lower Beauce, in which are the Pais d'Orléans, Solongne, and Lorris (23:26.47:56).

Middle Beauce, in which are: the counties of Blois, under which is the county of Dunois, whose principal city is Chateaudun

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and the county of Tonnoire; the county of Vendôme; and the duchy of Touraine.

Ecclesiastical state of Beauce.

The archbishop is at Tours. Under him he has Le Mans and Angers.

The bishop of Chartres is subject to the archbishop of Sens in Champagne; likewise, the bishop of Orléans.

Poitou and Berry will be described in their individual maps.

I collected this information for the most part from the itinerary of Gaul called *La Guide des chemins de France*.

The mean meridian is the 19th; the rest tend to this in the ratio of the parallels 46:40 and 49:0.

[Map of Brittany, Normandy, Beausse, Poitou, and Berry.]

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Southern Aquitaine.

[VIEW II7R](#)

The rest of Aquitaine to the Loire River is included in the maps of Poitou and Berry.

In the entire duchy of Aquitaine are:

Duchies: Gascony or Guyenne; Auvergne; Angoulême; Berry;
Tours.

Counties: Toulouse; Narbonne; Albret (20:30.44:0); Armagnac
(21:0.43:30); Bigorre, a fief of Toulouse (20:0.43:0); Beat
(21:45.42:40); Estrac; Comminges, a fief of Toulouse

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(22:0.42:25); Foix, a fief of Toulouse (22:15.42:50); Ventadour; Pompadour; Montignac, in Poitou; Perigord; Esparre; Limoges; Pictou; Marche; Fronssac Viconte (20:30.44:54); Tours; Aulnay.

Domains: Basque; Planes (20:0.44:20); Grave; Chaloces; Sain-
tonge; Aulnis.

Ecclesiastical state.

There are five archbishops:

Narbonne, under whom there are ten suffragan bishops: Carcassone, Agde, St. Pons, Aleth, Maguelone (24:37.42:44), Ealne, Béziers (23:50.42:41), Ledevè, Nîmes, Uzès.

Bourges, under whom there are ten bishops: Clermont, Rhodes, Limoges, Mandè, Albi, Cahors, Castros, Tullès, St. Flour, Le Puy, which is exempt. All are in the index of Gaul.

Bordeaux, under whom are eight bishops: Poitiers, Lucon, Maillezais, Saintes, Angoulême, Agen, Codon, Sarlac (21:47.44:52).

Toulouse, under whom are seven bishops: Pamiers, Mirepoys, Montauban, Lavaur, Rieux (22:6.43:7), Lombes (21:48.43:15), St. Papons (23:3.43:3).

Auxerre, under whom are: Comminges, Tarbes, Basas, Lescure, Letoure, Conserans, Oléron, Bayonne, Adure (to others Ayre).

This information is taken largely from the *Annals of Aquitaine*
by Jean Bouchet.

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The Kingdom of Arles.

Embraced are the regions between the Rhône and the Alps that formerly belonged to the Empire, whence the elector of Trier still styles himself archchancellor throughout Gaul and the kingdom of Arles.

In this region are:

The duchy of Savoy.

The Dauphiné, a county owned by the son of the king or the nearest heir to the kingdom of France.

The county of Provence.

Ecclesiastical state.

There are five archbishops:

The Tarentaise in Savoy, to whom two bishops are subject, that of Sitten and that of Augusta (St. Paul-des-trois-châteaux).

Ambrun, to whom nine are subject: Digne, Grasse, Zena, Niza, St.

Glaud (27:31.46:8), Vap (to others Gap), Briançon, St. Pol.

Vienne, with six suffragans: Valence-et-Dye, Viviers, St. Jean de

Morienne (28:15.44:27), Geneva, Grenoble, Romans.

Aix-en-Provence, to whom five are subject: Aps, Fréjus, Sesteron,

Erès, Vapinte.

Arles, to whom are subject: Marseilles, Vaison, Tricastre, Cavaillon

(25:48.43:1), Avignon, Orange, Carpentras (25:53.43:20),

Toulon.

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In the province and city of Lyon the archbishop of Lyon and primate of France resides, having four suffragan bishops under him: Autun; Mâcon; Chalon-sur-Saône; Langres.

The mean meridian is 23:50; the rest tend to this in the ratio of the 43rd and 46th parallels.

[Map of southern Aquitaine and Arles.]

Francia, True Picardy, and Champagne.

Francia, in which are:

The provosty and viscounty of Paris, which is divided into four jurisdictions: that of Paris, whose capital is Paris; that of La Goelle, in which is the county of Dammartin (23:45.48:49); L'Île de France, located between St. Denis (23:21.48:43), Montmorency (23:21.49:0), and the Seine River; and Vulx, located between Clermont in the Beauvais and the Seine River.

The duchy of Valois, whose capital is Senlis, a provosty and bailliage.

The county of Beauvais is subject to this duchy.

Hurepoix, containing the viscounty and bailliage of Melun.

The Gastinais, containing two duchies, Étampes and Nemours.

True Picardy (which is described more fully with the Artois), under which are:

The duchy of Thierarche, whose capital is Guise.

The county and vidameship of Amiens.

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The county of Vermand, under which are four other counties: Soisson, Noyon, St. Quentin, and Laon.

The county of Rethelais, whose capital is Rethel.

Champagne, in which are:

Subject counties: Bar-sur-Seine; Auxerre (a viscounty); Tonnerre (25:19.47:36); Poursuivant; Braine (25:51.49:13); Grandpré (26:18.49:0); Mailly (25:34.48:27); Vertus (25:18.48:46); Roussy; Retel; Ivigny; Brie (23:37.48:28).

Independent duchies: Reims; Langres.

Independent counties: Ligny; La Mothe; Chalon.

Baronies: Jainville.

Ecclesiastical state of this part of France.

The archbishop of Reims, to whom these bishops are subject in this area:

Soisson, Chalon, Amiens, Noyon, Senlis, Beauvais, Laon; and in other parts of Belgium, those of Cambrai, Tournai, Théroouanne, and Arras.

The archbishop of Sens, to whom are subject: the bishops of Paris, Meaux, Troyes, Chartres (which is in Haute Beauce), Nevers, Orléans, and Auxerre.

This information was gathered partly from the *Guide des chemins de France* and partly from the little book entitled *La Division du monde*.

The mean meridian is 24:40; the rest tend to this in the ratio of the parallels 48:0 and 49:30.

[Map of Francia, True Picardy, and Champagne.]

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The County of Boulogne.

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Included are the counties of Guines and Ardres and the barony of Fiennes, along with the bishopric of Tourcoing, to which these jurisdictions are subject in spiritual matters.

The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel 50:45.

[Map of Boulogne.]

[VIEW I22L](#)

The Duchy of Anjou.

[VIEW I22R](#)

The duchy of Anjou has counties, baronies, and domains, such as that of Craon (18:56.47:34) and others, which I have not yet discovered or been able to distinguish. Four counties render it homage or the fealty of clients: Maine, Vendôme, Beaufort, and La Val.

Jurisdiction.

The presidential seat of the whole duchy is at Angers. Under it are individual judicial seats at Angers, Saumur, Bauge (19:45.47:25), and Beaufort-en-Vallée (19:40.47:16).

Ecclesiastical state

It has one bishop, that of Angers, subject to the archbishop of Tours.

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the parallel 47:15 to the great circle.

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[Map of Anjou.]

The Duchy of Berry.

The capital of the duchy is Bourges, a royal city and a university town. Its prefect has under him:

The county of Sancerre (23:56.47:15), which has under it five cha-
tellanies or municipal magistracies: Sancergue (23:56.47:4);
Beaufeu; Chapelle d'Angillon (23:27.47:19); and Boncard.

The county of St. Aignan.

The barony of Montfalcon (23:12.46:56), which has under it the
domains of Baugy (23:45.46:56) and Gron (23:46.47:1).

And these chatellanies: Aais d'Angillon (23:31.47:10); Sury-en-Vaux
(23:54.47:17); St. Soulange (23:31.47:7); St. Palais
(23:24.47:14); La Salle-le-Roy; Bueil; Quantilly (23:25.47:12);
Fomorigny; Francheville (22:38.47:14); La Chapelle
(23:40.47:16); Nançay (23:10.47:16); Doye; Leurox
(22:36.46:53); Beaulieu (23:56.47:26); Brecy (23:40.47:15);
Bengy (23:44.46:56); St. Fleurant (23:15.46:57); Neufvi-
sur-Baranion (23:13.47:14); Morthonnier (23:42.47:1); Mar-
maignes (23:16.47:3); Maubranes (23:33.47:4); St. Ursin;
Tillai (22:59.47:14); Briliers; Vatan (22:46.46:59); St. Satur
(23:59.47:13); Lury (23:0.47:4); Estrechyes boys (23:46.47:5);
Maulpas; Villeneuve (23:11.47:0); St. Crapaix (23:12.46:57);
Ascilly; Jussy-le-Chauldrier (23:36.46:56); La Corne; Les
Chaizes; Vauvilles; Les Cloyes; and Bouge (22:35.46:58).

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This capital has five other dioceses under it:

1. Issoudun (23:0.46:54), a royal city and bailliage or diocese, having under it:
Baronies: Châteauroux; Graçay; Ste. Sévère (23:4.46:27); Lynières (23:40.46:40), on which the chatellany of Rizay is dependent; Argenton, in which is the sénéchausée of Rivarennnes (22:20.46:35); and the provosty of Servignet.
Chatellanies: Boussac (23:4.46:19); Château Meillant (23:10.46:31); Mareul (23:7.46:49); Neuffvy-St.-Sépulchre (22:46.46:51); Rully (23:1.47:2); Pauldy (22:55.46:59); Massay (23:23.46:27); Cahors (22:14.46:38); Perouse; Chastellet; Masseuvre; Augurande; St. Chartier (23:1.46:39); Un Lepalleteau; Bommières (23:0.46:43); Châtre; Mothe Fully (23:3.46:29); Voullon (32:57.46:44); Charroux (23:7.46:55); Laferte; Nohaut; and Villedieu (22:34.46:44).
2. Dun-le-roy, a royal city, to which are subject these chatellanies: Pra, called Cullant, a barony (23:21.46:30); Châteauneuf-sur-Cher (23:18.46:47); and St. Julian.
3. Vierzon, a royal city and diocese having under it these domains: Champre; Motte d'Aisy; Saragosse; Brinay (23:5.47:5); and Mery (22:57.47:10).
4. Méhun (23:10.47:6), a diocese and royal city, having under it these chatellanies: Loue and Fouecy (23:6.47:6).
5. Concessault or Concoursault, a royal place and diocese, having these chatellanies under it: Vailly (23:44.47:23); Argent (23:29.47:28); Clemon (23:26.47:32); and Beaujeu.

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Ecclesiastical state.

The archbishop of Bourges has these ten suffragan bishops:

Clermont; Rodez; Limoges; Mende; Albi; Cahors; Castres; Tulle;
St. Flour. The bishop of Le Puy is exempt.

All these bishops are shown in the map of Aquitaine.

This information is taken from the *History of Bourges* by Jean Chaumeau, an advocate of Bourges. I have not been able to show the coordinates of those places that are not in his map since there is no fuller description of this duchy.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 46:50.

[Map of Berry.]

[VIEW I25](#)

The County of Poitou.

[VIEW I26R](#)

The county of Poitou has under it:

Viscounties: Touars; Brosse; Bridiers; Rochechouart; Chastelheraud
(now a duchy).

Principalities: Thalmont; Roche-sur-Yon.

Baronies.

Many domains—Mirebeau, Chavigny, Montmorillon, Chastéaumur,
etc.—which, however, I am unable to distinguish as counties,
baronies, etc.

Jurisdiction. The capital and royal city of this county is Poitiers, the presidential seat of the whole province, having under it these individual

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royal seats of jurisdiction: Poitiers, Niort, Fontenay-le-Comte (19:29.46:11), Montmorillon (21:36.46:34), Lusignan (20:40.46:32), Chastelleraud, La basse Marche (ca. 21:40.46:25), Dorat, Siuray (21:11.46:11), St. Maixent.

Ecclesiastical state. It has three bishoprics, subject to the archbishop of Toulouse:

Poitiers, in which there are twenty-seven abbeys.

Luçon, in which there are ten abbeys.

Mailezay, in which there are four abbeys.

This information was gathered from the *Annals of Aquitaine* by Jean Bouchet.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 46:30 to the great circle.

[Map of Poitou.]

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The Duchy of Lorraine

Northern part.

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Counties named in the histories of Lorraine: Vaudemont (27:31.48:19); Chaligny (27:33.48:35); Salm (28:56.48:24); Amance (27:49.48:44); Toul (27:11.48:39); Metz (27:40.49:9; but this has been changed into a perpetual advocacy); Richecourt (28:30.48:38); Remiremont (28:10.47:47); Blammont (28:27.48:31); Kirchingen (28:1.49:6); La Mothe (27:9.48:3); Mommeny (27:44.48:54), which is a marquisate.

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Domains: Marsal (28:11.48:46); Remereville (27:57.48:42); St. Bellemont (27:27.48:3); Rambertville (28:16.48:13); Rozières (27:53.48:32); Homburg (28:31.49:12); Mariemont (28:22.48:42); Sandacourt (27:17.48:10).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 48:40 to the great circle.

[Map of northern Lorraine.]

The Duchy of Lorraine

Southern part.

The duke of Lorraine is a prince belonging to the fifth circle of the Empire.

Likewise the bishops of Metz and of Toul, and the counties of Salm, Blammont or Blanckenberg, and Kirchingen, and the imperial cities of Metz, Toul, Kauffmans, and Saarbrücken.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 48:40 to the great circle.

[Map of southern Lorraine.]

The Duchy of Burgundy.

These are in Burgundy and on its borders:

Counties: Dijon, the capital and royal *parlement* and highest senate; Autun; Tonnerre (24:51.47:25); Chalon-sur-Saône (the river

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was called the Anar by the ancients); Mâcon; St. Martin; Nevers; Langres; Auxerre; St. Jangou.

Charolais. Concerning this county, there was a great controversy between Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France over the question of to whom it should legally be suited, until they established a solid and perpetual peace with each other on the marriage between Henry's eldest daughter, Isabella, and Philip. The arguments of the Spanish prevailed, and what had been held back by Henry was then restored anew to the Spanish king. From that time, as before, judicial appeals devolve on the royal *parlement* at Dole as belonging to its supreme lord, and there they are settled. The eldest son of the duke of Burgundy was distinguished by the title of this county during the life of his father, as for instance Charles the Bold while his father Philip survived, and Charles V while his father Philip lived. I have as witness for these things a very learned man, and one most observant of political matters, Johannes Metellus of Burgundy. What is noted about this county in the general discussion of France follows the earlier periods and writings.

Domains: Chagni (perhaps Chagny; 26:2.46:15); Monliet (perhaps Montit; 25:13.47:9); Auxone; Rogemont (25:18.47:26); Mussy (25:45.47:43); Brestemont; Sées; Mombys; Sennegnon; Gilly (25:23.47:32); Valenion; Tirecourt; Chevigny; Aineville; Esprirey (perhaps Epiryn; 25:42.46:11); Tarvant; Brosey (perhaps Brasse; 25:45.45:50); Rochefort (25:58.47:23); Aincourt or Agincourt (26:5.46:37); and Viteau. To which are added:

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Arlay (26:30.46:15); Ragny (24:56.47:7); Challigny; Mommartin; Longey; Beauchamp; Couches (26:0.46:47). These added last I have found named dominions in Burgundy, although they are not indicated in the maps.

The bishops of Autun, Mâcon, Chalon, and Langres are subject to the archbishop of Lyon.

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the parallel 46:49 to the great circle.

[Map of Burgundy.]

Upper Burgundy,
or the Free County (*Franche Comté* in the vernacular).

The county of Burgundy is divided into three dioceses and prefectures or bailliages for the easier administration of justice, namely, into the upper, whose seat is at Vesoul; the lower, whose seat is at Poligny; and that of Dole, whose seat is at Dole. The county is called “free” because its prince and count, in the name of the province, acknowledges no superior; and also because the province, being subject only to the count, is free from all tributes and exactions.

When the provincial assembly is held, three estates come together, with the Prince of Orange summoning them in the name of the count, with Lord de Nozeret and Arley as marshal, to wit, the nobility, the ecclesiastics and the cities:

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Of the upper diocese:

Counts: Montbelliard, Roche, and Varax, Montrivel, Thalamey and Vaulgrenans, Vergey, Rey, Listenois.

Abbots: Croissant, Charité, Bitaine, Corneu, Tulley, Clarfont, Luxeuil, Bellevaulx Gracedieu, Charleu, *Trium regum* ["Three Kings"].

Priors: Vaucluse, Lantenans, Cursance, Marteret, Jussey, Port-sur-Sâone, Monthereul-sur-Sâone, St. Marcellus.

Canons: Calemostier and others elsewhere.

Cities: Gray, Vesoul, Montbozon, Jussey, Palma, Port-sur-Sâone, Cromary, Mont Justin, Faucogney.

Lords: Montmorot, and St. Loup, St. Martin, Taulens, Villeneuve, Rupt, Montgeuelle, Chastillon and Belvoye, Conflandey, Monbailon, Velleson, Duey, Ygny and Chemylly, D'Oizelet, Cicon, Trasves, Rainconnières, Costebrune, Sombernom, Vallefault, Bermont, D'Avilley, Mugnay, Vereur, Touraize, Citey, Provanchières, Grandmont, Velle Chevrelous, Voysey, Dampierre, Frotey, Beutal, Matay, Noironde, Tromarey, Millesey, Mailleroncourt, Myon, Bennenge, Vellerot le boz, Clerc, Bétoncourt, Montaillote, D'Amondans, and de Fraisine, Chavirey, Montot, Mons St. Legier, Cuvry, Montereul, Sorans, and Lambry, and very many others.

Of the lower diocese:

Counts: Russey and St. Aulbin, and the baron Chevreaul.

Abbots: St. Eugendus, Baume, Balerne, Mont Ste. Marie, Mont Benoit, Beyllen, Rausières.

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Priors: Mainnaul, Vaucluse, Bonlieu, Mente, Lonslefaulnier,
Arbois, Mouthe, Syrodi, Val de Poligny, Mortau.

Canons: St. Maurice and St. Anatole and St. Michael, all those at
Salins, and those of Arbois, Poligny, Nozeret, and others
of other cities and places.

Cities: Salins, Arbois, Poligny, Pontarlier, Nozeret, *Castrum
Caroli* ["Camp Charles"], Monmoroti, Orgelet.

Lords: Coulongnia, and Andelest, Courlaou and le Pin,
St. Amour, Argento, Laubespain, Poupet, St. Sorlin,
Darnam and Tramelay, Borsia, Cressia, Fitigny, Cham-
béria, Monténa, Vecles, Rosait, Marigua, Beaufort,
Nasey, L'Aigle, Courboson, Vertamboz, Largilla, Moiron,
L'Estoile, Chasnée, Aresche, Coges, Bar, and Jousseaul,
D'Augéa, Muyre, Charrin, Charlin, Chaumes, Breyteryères,
Fontenay, Cognya, Chaulx, Montvet, Vadans, Villette,
Les Arbois, Aiglepierre, Châtelville, St. Julian, Descrilles,
Verges, Chay, Champagne, Beaulchemin, Villeneuve les
Orglet, Chastes, the prefect of the fortress of Joulx or
Mount Jura, Vincelle, Vismeaulx, and many others.

Of the diocese of Dole:

The lord of Givrey, Longepierre, and Rahon; Clervans.

Abbots: Billon, St. Vincent, St. Paul Bisance, D'Accey.

Priors: Loye, Laval, Damparis, Jouhe, Monterot, Mote-sur-
Omont, Faye, Mostier in Secusia.

Canons: those of Dole, Besançon, and others in other places.

Cities: Dole, Quingey, Ornans, Loya, Rochefort, Vercel.

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Lords: Vauldrey, Rainnes, Rye, Monfort, Montrichard, Fertans, Maillot, Bermont, Cleron, Verchamps, Dossans, Port, Chasteau Roillaut, D'Abbans, and Marchault, Reculot, Chantrans, Mont Grosrain, Mutigney, Chassey, Paressey, Choisey, St. Ilye, Faye, Parrel, Chemin, Rabuf, Champdivers, and Ranslonières, Rainchecourt, Paintre, Montrambart, Salans, Goussans, Chavirey, Ancier, and others.

Four eminent families of the Burgundian nobility are recorded, seeing that they are said to take their origin from the kings and princes of Burgundy, or to have contracted alliances with them. Namely: de Vienne, to which the epithet and title of nobility is allotted; de Vergy, to which the title of vigorous is given; de Chalon, which holds the name of opulence and wealth and the title of prince of Orange; and de Neufchastel, which is a noble fiefdom.

We have copied out all this information practically verbatim from Gilbert Cousin of Nozeret. Because he proceeds by dividing all the domains into three prefectures, the search for places on the map is far from difficult, and so we have omitted the coordinates, especially seeing that when any are sought, as their signs (such as towers and crosses) have been added, they are readily evident. Cousin names many that are not in the map, yet we preferred not to omit them so as to include the entire nobility as he describes it.

Jurisdiction. All appeals from the three dioceses or bailliages are referred to Dole, to the supreme *parlement* of this county.

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Ecclesiastical state. The archbishop of Besançon, to whom are subject three bishops: those of Basel in Germany, and of Helvetia, Lausanne, and Belley in Savoy. The archbishop is the head of the ecclesiastical administration and is a prince of the empire.

The archbishop of Besançon and the city of Besançon, a free imperial city (formerly the largest town of the largest province of the Sequani, and the permanent seat of its prefect) are members of the fifth circle of the empire.

The tenth circle of the empire is called the Burgundian, as it was founded by the house of Burgundy. It includes the chief princes of Belgium, who are: The duke of Burgundy; H. Bergen and Waelhem; The count of Egmont and Iselstein; Count Horne; The count of Nassau in Breda; Count Bergen.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 46:40
to the great circle.

[Map of upper Burgundy.]

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Helvetia [Switzerland]

with the Neighboring Confederated Regions.

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The Helvetian [Swiss] Republic consists of three parts:

The first part are the thirteen districts, which the Italians call *Cantones*, the Germans, *Ort*. These alone have the right, ahead of the other confederates, of deliberating and voting on all matters pertaining to the common republic of the Helvetians in public assemblies, and share in all the advantages and disadvantages of the entire state.



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They administer the prefectures that they have once acquired with the same authority, and participate publicly in other prizes of war on an equal basis. They are numbered in order of accession:

5. Zürich (30:20.46:58), which joined the alliance of three districts in 1351.
8. Bern (29:2.46:38), joined to the Helvetian alliance in 1355.
4. Luzern (29:53.46:42), joined in permanent alliance to the first three districts in 1332.
1. Uri (30:25.46:22);
2. Schwyz (39:25.46:34);
3. Unterwalden (30:3.46:30). These three first established an alliance in 1308.
6. Zug (30:10.46:45), which joined the six districts in 1352.
7. Glarus (30:47.46:32), which entered the alliance at the same time.
11. Basel (29:15.47:29), which confederated itself with the ten districts in 1501.
9. Fribourg (28:44.46:28), and
10. Solothur (29:5.46:57), which were received by common consent into the number of the districts at the same time in 1481, thus making the Helvetian state consist of ten districts.
12. Schaffhausen (30:24.47:26), received into the number of districts in 1501, joining the eleven.
13. Appenzell (31:19.46:52), received into the number of the districts in 1513. The countryside of this district is divided

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into twelve parts or orders, which they call there *Roden*, of which six are joined to the district and are called interior, and the rest, exterior. Twelve senators are chosen in each of the parts who serve as advisors to the whole region, and there are thus 144 senators in all from Apenzell.

The second part are the confederates:

The abbey and town of St. Gall (31:18.47:1) was confederated with four districts of the Helvetians in 1455, and after 1454 it was permanently confederated with the six districts of Zürich, Bern, Luzern, Schwyz, Zug, and Glarus.

The people of the Rhaeti, called Graupundter or Grisons, concluded an eternal alliance with the seven older districts in 1497, while those of Chur (31:26.46:15), whose association is called the House of God, did so in 1498. A third society, called that of the Ten Judges, did not make a compact with the Helvetians, but since it is joined to the former two in an eternal alliance, it also offers the Helvetians friendship and faithful association.

Sion (29:1.45:34), along with all of the Valais, entered into an eternal alliance with Bern in 1475. Later, when religious controversy had arisen, Adrian the bishop of Sion and seven-tenths of the Valaisians made an alliance in 1533 at Fribourg with the seven cantons of Helvetia that were entirely adherent to the Roman church, that is, Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, and Solothurn.

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Rottweil (in the index of Germany) first entered into an alliance with the Helvetians in 1463 for fifteen years. Then, since it had been renewed several times, it was finally made permanent in 1519.

Mulhouse (in the index of Germany) was joined by alliance with the Helvetians in 1468.

Bienne or Biel (28:46.46:52) joined in alliance with Bern in 1303, 1306, 1352, and then very closely in 1367.

Geneva made a pact of civic rights with Bern and affirmed it more closely in 1536. However, it has not been included in the common state of the cantons. It is located at longitude 27:32 latitude 45:48.

The third part is that of the prefectures acquired by arms or by voluntary surrender:

Turgau (29:50.47:0) was subdued to the power of the Helvetians in 1460. The seven older cantons rule over it.

Baden (30:2.47:9) was subjugated in 1415. The first eight cantons rule over it.

Rhegusti (31:30.46:55) was conquered in 1491, and is ruled by the first seven and by the thirteenth cantons.

Sarungans (31:15.46:24) was sold in 1483 by Count George of Werdenbergen to the first seven cantons, by which it is ruled.

The Free Provinces (29:55.47:0) was captured in 1415 and acknowledges the rule of the seven older cantons.

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The four prefectures of Lugano (30:51.45:10), Locarno (30:27.45:15), Mendrisio (30:50.45:6), and Val di Maggia (30:17.45:20) came into the power of the Helvetians in 1513 as a gift of Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan. All the cantons except Appenzell rule over them.

Bellinzona (30:36.45:24), whose rule was assigned to the first three cantons in 1513.

The Valais includes three peoples and three federations:

The first two are those of Verbier and Syon, who are both called the superiors of the free Valais, and are divided into seven assemblies, which they call tenths.

The Veragri, who are also called the inferior Valaisians, obey the rule of the superiors. However, the prince of them all is the bishop of Sion, who holds supreme authority in both ecclesiastical and civil matters, and is called the count and prefect of the Valais.

In this region I find the county of Werdenberg (31:23.46:38) and the barony of Sax (31:23.46:40).

This information is taken from Josias Simler of Zürich, who has described the republic of the Helvetians according to the best method and most learnedly. Some of the items that are here indicated by their coordinates are to be found in the individual maps of Helvetia.

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the parallel 46:20 to the great circle.

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[Map of Switzerland.]

Zürichgau,
and the Province of Basel.

Imperial abbeys in this map that are not in the Swiss circle of the empire and that are not shown in the general map of Germany are: Reichenau; Schaffhausen; Kreuzlingen; Pfeffers, which I think is Pfäffikon.

Besides the city, the district of Zürich has:

Nine major prefectures, which are: the county of Kyburg (30:42.47:3); the prefecture of Groningen (30:35.46:48); Andelfingen (30:27.47:18); Grifensee (30:33.46:56); Eglisau (30:18.47:14); the Free Province; Regensperg (30:15.47:10); Wadischwyl (30:23.46:46); Louffen at the cataract of the Rhine (30:26.47:23).

Twenty-two minor ones.

The towns of Winterthur (30:38.47:8) and Steina (30:40.47:25) are subject to Zürich, but have their own magistrates. They are bound, however, by the edicts of the Zurichers and serve them as soldiers in war, although under their own insignias.

The district of Zug has two parts and four assemblies in them. Nine senators are elected from each assembly as advisors to the region:

The town of Zug itself is considered as the place of two assemblies.

The surrounding countryside has three assemblies: Montanus; the valley Egeria or Aquae regiae (30:20.46:40); the parish of Bara (30:10.46:48).

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The townspeople of Zug rule, by means of prefects who remain in the city, over these places: the town of Cham (30:5.46:46); the neighborhood of St. Andrew; Hunelberg; Wachevile; the district of Stelnhuse (30:6.46:49); St. Wolfgang.

Basel has these prefectures: the fortress of Farnsperg (29:34.47:22); Rinfeld, located on a high mountain (29:28.47:27); the town of Wallenburg (29:23.47:14); Homburg (29:27.47:13); Munchenstein (29:6.47:28); Ramstein (29:15.47:15).

The county of Tog, I think where Togwyl (30:28.46:52) is, is subject to the abbey of St. Gall, while the citizens of Tog are of both Schwyz and Glarus.

The county of Rapperswyl (30:34.46:45).

The county, I think, of Straesberg is at 30:16.47:14, where I believe Straesbeeg is written in error.

The barony of Kilchberg (30:17.46:55).

You have the rest of the districts of Zug and Zürich in the map of Aargau.

This information is from Josias Simler.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 47:10 to the great circle.

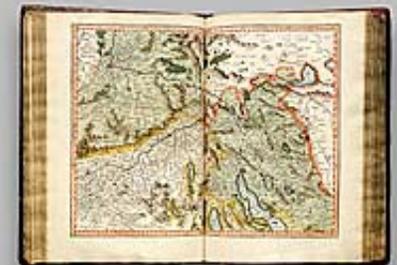
[Map of Zürichgau and the province of Basel.]

Wiflispurgergau.

In this map, almost all of the territory of Bern is contained, and of Fribourg.

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Bern has the following prefectures, some of which are to be found in the general map of Helvetia, some in that of Zurichgau:

Thirty-one German-speaking ones: four suburban ones, over whom an equal number of standard-bearers of the city preside, each prefecture marching to war under their standards; Hasli (29:15.46:45); Undersea, the town of Underseuwen (29:30.46:23); the upper valley of Simmia (29:10.45:55); the lower valley of Simmia (29:10.46:20); Frutigen (29:23.46:14); Sana (29:0.45:58); Aelen; Thun (29:15.46:27); Louppen (28:49.46:35); Signau (29:21.46:37); Drachelwald (29:23.46:43); the valley of the Emme River (29:34.46:32); Brandis (29:20.46:45); Suomiswald (29:24.46:44); Burgdorf (29:11.46:48); Biereneck (29:17.46:52); Landshut (29:6.46:52); Arberg (28:47.46:44); Nidow (28:45.46:51); Erlach (28:35.46:44); Bippium (29:10.47:1); Wangen (29:14.47:0); Arwangen (29:22.46:58); Arburg (29:32.47:4); Biberstein (29:44.47:11); Scenckenberg (29:47.47:16); Lentzburg (29:50.47:7). Also, three free towns in the territory of Orbe acknowledge the rule of Bern: Zoffingen (29:33.47:1); Arau (29:41.47:9), and Bruck (29:55.47:14). Also the nine prefectures of monasteries, of which six also have civil jurisdiction.

Eight French-speaking ones: Wiflispurg (28:33.46:34); Moulden (28:21.46:19); Yverdon (28:10.46:30); Lausanne (28:14.46:5); Morges (28:4.46:2); Nyon (27:47.45:56); Oron (28:28.46:12); Zilia; and Vivey (28:31.45:59). Also three prefectures of monasteries.

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The prefectures of Fribourg, which are shared with the Bernese: Morten (28:39.46:37); Schwartzenburg (28:56.46:24); Granson (28:11.46:33), and Chalans or Scherlin. The Bernese and the Fribourgeois choose prefects for these alternately for five-year terms, so that when a prefect is chosen from one city, appeals go to the other, and the arguments of the prefect are examined by it.

Counties in this region

Nuenberg (28:23.46:44); Nudow (28:45.46:51); Arberg (28:47.46:44); The barony of Balm (28:46.46:38).

This information is from Josias Simler.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 46:20 to the great circle.

[Map of Wiflispurgergau.]

Aargau

This map contains most of the districts of Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Glarus.

Luzern has these prefectures:

Two in which the prefects reside: Wicken (29:34.46:36) and Sem-pach (29:46.46:46). But the prefect of the latter has no jurisdiction in the town, but is in charge only of the lake and of fishing.

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The senators administer the rest, and remain in the city. They are:

Willisau (29:35.46:48); the valley of Entlebuch (29:40.46:29); Rotenburg or perhaps Rott or another place nearby (29:59.46:44); Habspurg (29:53.47:12); Berona with the neighboring countryside of Chelampt, called Michael's prefecture; Merischwanden (30:1.46:56); Weggis (30:11.46:33); Ebicona; Horba; Kriens (29:53.46:34). Also, the two cities of Sursee (29:43.46:49) and Sempach (29:46.46:46) are client states of Luzern, but they have their own councils that judge both civil and criminal cases. However, the leader of the council of Sursee (called the *Schulthess*) swears allegiance to the Luzerners, while that of Sempach, although he is chosen by the senate of Luzern, is nonetheless taken from among the citizens of Sempach.

The district of Uri is divided into ten parts or communities, which they call *Gnossaminen*, partnerships, so to speak, since only the senators elected from them participate in all offices and are summoned to the annual assemblies.

The region of Schwyz is divided into six parts, which they call quarters, retaining the name of the old division for the current one into sixths.

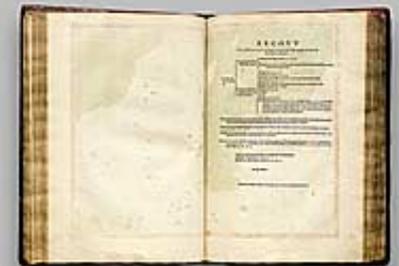
The district of Unterwalden is divided into two assemblies by the forest of the Kernwald, namely, into the upper and lower, even though the entire region is nonetheless included in the name Unterwalden (i.e., Underwood).

Glarus is divided into fifteen parts that they call *Tagwan*. It rules over the county of Werdenbergen (31:22.46:38), which they purchased in 1517. They

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send prefects alternately with Schwyz to Vznach (30:41.46:41) and to the Raetic castle of Wesen (30:43.46:39).

The county of Hamburg is near Schwyz, in the region called Marka.
The barony of Humberg (29:17.46:30).
Ringenberg or (I think) Rinckenberg (30:50.46:12).

This information is from Josias Simler.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 46:20 to the great circle.

[Map of Aargau.]

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[Index to the general map of Gaul.]

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Geographic
Maps of
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By Gerardus Mercator,
Cosmographer of the most illustrious duke of Jülich,
Cleve, etc.

Published at Duisburg.

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To the studious reader.

VIEW I47R

As I am about to describe that part of Gaul that the king of Spain possesses, I ought to follow the same order that I established in the kingdom of France. First, therefore, accept the material concerning the political state of lower Belgium communicated to me as a favor for scholars by the very renowned Lord Dominic de Burmann. Then I shall enumerate and describe the provinces and domains.

The Polity of Belgium under the Burgundians.

According to Julius Caesar, all Gaul is divided into Belgica, Celtica, and Aquitania. As it happens, the king of Spain has possessed one half of Belgica for some centuries now. The other half, namely, Picardy, Champagne, Normandy (although these last two are not entirely included in Belgium), and the remaining part of Belgium belong to the dukes of Lorraine and of Jülich and Cleve, the archbishops of Trier, Mainz, and Cologne, the bishop of Lyon, and others. According to the authority of Caesar, this territory, Belgica, always produced more notable and braver soldiers than the rest of Gaul, so that not only in his time, but also in our own century it has sustained the whole brunt of war.

It contains around 320 fortified cities, about 230 privileged towns, and 12,000 territories, more or less.

Although all of Belgica is wonderfully famous because of various imperial and royal dignities, the electorates, the archbishoprics and bishoprics, the coronations both of his imperial majesty at Aachen and of the kingdom of France at Soissons, still that part that has always obeyed the Catholic

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king [i.e., of Spain] is by far the most noble. First, as the origin and native land of so many monarchs, kings, princes, and dukes; and then because of the populous and exceedingly wealthy cities in it, its infinite towns, and innumerable territories, as well as the marvelous multitude of its inhabitants, their riches, civility, and strength of spirit. They say even the emperor Charles V was so moved by these that he often deliberated whether to raise these provinces into a kingdom, but that because of the diversity of privileges, manners, and laws in the several provinces, along with the difficulties of the continuous wars by which he was beset, he was diverted from his plan.

This part is around 340 Flemish miles (1,000 Italian ones) in circumference, and contains 208 enclosed cities and around 150 towns, scarcely inferior to the cities in their splendor and privileges, along with 6,300 major territories, more or less, and practically an infinity of lesser ones, along with diverse domains and principalities with independent or mixed rule.

The president or governor of all Belgium.

In this Belgium, there is the same scheme of administering the commonwealth and justice as in the kingdom of France, the same names of the magistrates, and the same authority over all the provinces. There is always a single general prefect from the Catholic king with supreme authority, who is also in charge of the county of Burgundy, although he does not have the same power to administer it as the dukes of Burgundy are used to, because of the multitude of kingdoms and provinces in it. For this reason, in the time of Emperor Maximilian [I] and of his son Philip, George, Duke of Saxony, was in charge of affairs for a time, and then in the time of Emperor

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Charles V, first Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, was governor; and then on her death the sister of the said imperial majesty, Mary, Queen of Hungary, from 1531 to 1555, when the imperial majesty renounced all of Belgium in favor of his son Philip, who successively demanded the same provinces to be ruled in his own name by Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, his first cousin (as each was born of one of the two sisters of the King of Lusitania). Emmanuel, restored to his own duchy of Savoy by the king, renounced the governorship, and in his place the king's sister, Margaret of Parma, wife of the duke of Piacenza, was substituted. In addition to the other customary benefits, 36,000 crowns a year were settled on her. Although this governor has the highest and fullest authority throughout all of Belgium, all the major positions and offices, such as that of the president and chancellor of the estates, together with all the laws, decrees, and affairs of state are distributed and emanate in the name of the king. In addition, one ought to know before we say anything about either of the councils separately, that formerly the two councils, that of the estates and of the privy council, were one only, in the court of the prince; this was known as the privy council. However, as the business of state grew, it was necessary to divide it into two different ones.

The council of the estates.

The council of the estates, as they call it, which resides with the governor, consists of an indeterminate number of counselors, as more or fewer of them are chosen according to the will of the prince and the necessities of public affairs. It is composed of various prefects of the provinces of Belgium and of some professors who are chosen from time to time for their

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learning, integrity, and virtues. One judge or president of the council is in charge of this order. The supreme governor of Belgium deliberates with this council concerning the affairs of the prince and public matters, for instance, about war and peace and the general government of the entire country. Such matters come to it for deliberation as are brought to it from all over: thus, for instance, treaties with princes and neighbors, and whether commanders in wartime should be dismissed or retained. Also, matters concerning defenses and fortifications, the provisions of arms, what legates are to be summoned and received, and all the more difficult affairs are referred hither from other councils. Finally, to sum up, whatever concerns the preservation and protection of the entire country, both internally and externally, is deliberated in this council. All the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece are also customarily chosen for extraordinary and especially difficult affairs, and some from the other governors of the provinces and the officers of the king.

The privy council.

The so-called privy or secret council similarly resides with the governor. It ordinarily consists of ten or twelve counselors, who are doctors or licentiates of law chosen by the king or his lieutenant. This council, when it was divided from the preceding council of the estates because of the multitude of affairs, reserved for itself everything pertaining to justice, the law, and the polity, along with oversight of the other councils. Thus the granting of privileges, consent, grace, pardon, and remissions belongs to it; also to establish laws, ordinances, statutes, and edicts, whence they are called masters of pleas. It is also the place of this council to investigate matters of the limits and boundaries of the provinces and of the main parts of the

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domain, and of the superiority and authority of the prince, lords, and others presented at court. Finally, this council is the might and preserver of justice and the overseer of all other matters, although from time to time it may communicate more difficult affairs to the council of the estates; and, in turn, that council may communicate and confer with this one about things that in some way concern the polity and justice. This council also has its own president.

The council of finances.

Another council resides in the same court, which is commonly called that of finances. There have always been three heads as joint prefects over this, men chosen from the more prudent lords of the country. One is the treasurer, one the receiver general, and lastly three commissioners, learned and prudent men, along with two notaries and other officers. This council takes care of the patrimonial property and the revenues of the prince, and of ordinary and extraordinary subsidies of the chamber of accounts, the receivers, and the other officers handling the royal monies. In it taxes are levied and accounts are assigned for paying off whatever concerns peace or war, such as fortifications, defenses, provisions, and all other expenses, ordinary as well as extraordinary, for the preservation of the state of the country. It also rents out the properties of the prince and makes the moderations and restrictions contained in his ordinances. Briefly, it takes entire charge of the royal treasury as a whole.

The council of the chamber of accounts.

There is another royal magistracy at Brussels (which also is a member of the council of finances), which is called the chamber of accounts. There

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is one president in charge of it and seven masters of accounts, namely, four ordinary and three extraordinary ones, along with some other officers. All the treasurers and the receivers of Brabant and of its associated territory render to it an account of the administration of the monies of the king. Also, all the estates of Luxembourg receive their quittances here. In addition to this chamber there are three more chambers of accounts in Belgium, namely, in Flanders, Holland, and Gelderland, all of which are compelled to render a summary account to the council of finances as well as to the inspector of all. These are also councils and magistracies or officers who constantly attend on the governor-general of Belgium or reside with him.

The provincial councils.

In this Belgium there is yet another council in practically each province, which they call the royal *parlement* (although the one of Brabant, at Mechelen, is called the chancery). According to the various places, either twelve, sixteen, or eighteen counselors, who are doctors or licentiates, preside over this jointly, with one president or chancellor as a judge. They are joined equally by the advocate and procurator of the purse, notaries, secretaries, and other officers, all chosen by the royal lieutenant, and paid a salary by the king. This magistracy has the power of supreme authority, having cognizance over all civil and criminal cases and all controversies among these provinces and the royal lords. It has both active and passive cognizance of grounds, borders, and differences that proceed from the preferments and their jurisdictions, with the exception of conveyances (*amortisés* in the vernacular), of which cognizance belongs to the ecclesiastical court. Likewise, it causes privileges, exemptions, offices, benefits, and provisions granted by the prince to be observed, although the particular privileges and

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jurisdictions of places are always preserved. To this council are summoned not only all royal officers and provincial ministers but even the king himself, on whose behalf his procurator and advocate respond; the king's supreme authority and dignity are in no way prejudicial or harmful to anyone.

Indeed, long ago, during the reign of Philip, it happened in Gelderland that when his majesty was overcome in a most serious case against Lord de Anholt, and none of the officers dared to order the sentence to be carried out, that the king himself executed it in real terms. All appeals of the lower judges of each province devolve on this tribunal, and, conversely, it allows of no appeal, but only, strictly speaking, of syndication [or examination], which they call in the vernacular *révision*. Indeed, it happens only somewhat rarely that someone not seeking revision suffers the loss of both his case and the very great expenses that would be incurred on that account. But the execution of the prior sentence is not put off by such a revision. Judgment is passed in all these supreme courts according to common law, although the municipal laws and constitutions of each individual place (which are indeed numerous) and the decrees of the prince are preserved. These last are called *mandements* in the vernacular, and insofar as they do not infringe on privileges are preferred over all other laws. Indeed, before they are published, they are taken up in the deliberation and cognizance of the said council, and are founded in justice to the degree that they agree with written laws.

Besides what has already been said, the governor deputizes in the name of the king a certain number of legates each year throughout most of the provinces, who carry out the duties of revisers, as they revise and investigate the accounts of outlays and revenues and other matters concerning the country.

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The Belgian military.

In times of peace, the king employs only a few defensive troops, and only at the boundaries. These positions are twenty-six in number, and are the ramparts of the greatest importance. Then another mounted force, kept from olden times, was prudently restored and repaired in 1547 by Charles V. This they call the ordinary legions or bands in the vernacular, of 3,000 chosen knights, who are distributed into fourteen bands and entrusted to the most eminent lords of the provinces. These have their own lieutenants and other officers. One is the general quaestor of the army, who pays off these ordinary legions in the name of the king. He was called *Art Molikeman*.

Otherwise, the king maintains virtually no naval fleet readied in time of peace, but, seeing that that all the ports of the kingdom abound in various ships, at times of need he orders all these ships, or as many of them as he pleases, to be brought and fits them out for war at his own expense, having paid the master of the ships what is fair. And to this end he appoints one person to be in charge of all naval matters as leader of the whole fleet; in the vernacular, they call him the admiral. He was Count Beuer, and has his own share of all booty in time of war, and of all confiscations and of all the general shipping that is brought to us under license of the king from enemy ground. The admiral must approve and confirm this license of the king by his own hand before the merchants can claim indemnity for themselves.

There is another prefect of the highest dignity, that of the artillery and whatever concerns that branch of weaponry, which armaments are normally kept at Mechelen. The care of these was demanded by Lord de Glaion, a Knight of the Golden Fleece.

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The domains or patrimonial properties of the prince.

The rights of hunting and fowling and fishing belong to the prince and to the cities and their proper lords throughout these lands in accordance with the distinction of jurisdictions, with the exception of Brabant, where only five woods are kept free for the prince from all hunting and fowling, while throughout the rest of the whole province hunting, fowling, and fishing are free to everyone using dogs or birds, but not nets. The prince has prefects in almost every province for hunting; and namely, throughout Brabant, where this office is held in great esteem. It is normally assigned to the margrave of Bergen, who for this reason is usually called, in the vernacular, the *grand veneur* or great huntsman of Brabant.

All the most important woods of these regions belong to the use of the king, not only for hunting but also for timbering, which constitutes not the least part of their revenues. The remaining revenues consist in the cities, estates, châteaux, lands, mills, and other things assigned to the princes of the country from all antiquity. These are called *domaines* in the vernacular, or more correctly, patrimonial properties. However, certain tolls on merchandise on both land and sea are also numbered among these revenues; and the king likewise has certain revenues in the most important cities, for instance, in Antwerp, where he has (aside from his share of all confiscations) the letting of the mint, the prisons, and of fishing rights, along with others that wonderfully increase the royal *domaine*, as they call it.

The means of convening the estates.

The prince, if he is about to request something or to impose a new tribute or new laws, usually convenes all the orders of the whole of Belgium

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on a certain assigned day and place, which is usually held jointly at Brussels, both because of the royal court and also because the Brabanters deliberate nothing outside their own territory. When they are thus lawfully summoned, they attend without duress, or at any rate in the second case, when more or fewer than the legitimate number are called under pain of a certain monetary penalty, they come together according to the necessity of the case as they have been appealed to. Those who jointly attend at Brussels are usually from Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainaut, Valenciennes, Ryssel, Douai and Orchies, Holland, Utrecht, Zeeland, Namur, Tournai, Tournes, and Mechelen. The orders of the remaining provinces, such as Gelderland, Frisia, and Luxembourg, as they are more remote from their governors, except in the case of the gravest deliberations, are summoned together and deal with it. Furthermore, there are three estates of the general orders: the ecclesiastical, the nobility, and the principal cities. The members of these estates—persons or those deputies who from ancient times have been chosen and established for this purpose—appear themselves or send legates as their deputies, although others, unless they have legitimate excuses, are compelled to appear in person. In this respect, there is not the same usage and custom among all the regions. For instance, those of Brabant, Hainaut, Artois, Namur, and Zeeland settle the matter on various commissaries, i.e., the ecclesiastics delegate an abbot, and the nobility a duke, margrave, prince, baron or nobles, and the cities consuls (*Burgomasters* in the vernacular) and two or three *Scabini*, one the pensionary of the city, and more or fewer according to the exigency of the matter. Those from Flanders appear through only one legate (or commissary in the vernacular), in proportion to the four members, the four members representing all three of the aforesaid

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estates, although these are able to delegate their own representatives separately, to have oversight of the work of the legate of the four members, lest he cause anything prejudicial to them. However, commonly what the four members decide is considered agreed upon and settled. Those of Holland depute legates of only two of the estates, namely, of the nobility and the cities, and they represent the whole province. When the council has gathered in this way in the presence of the king's governor, the president, or one of the counselors of the estates most humanely explains the king's or prince's petition in his name to this most seemly order. They each, after the customary deliberations, consider the matter on their own behalf in writing. If this response is not satisfactory to the king, he tries with many arguments to persuade the orders to agree to his petition. Indeed, even if all the orders but one consent to the king's wish, Antwerp by itself may check and annul this consensus, inasmuch as all the orders are always considered to consent to this law and condition only if all the estates and their individual members approve it and consent to their own portion. Therefore it is an absolute necessity for not only all the orders or estates to have consented generally, but also for each individual member of all the estates to have unanimously given its consent. Thus it usually happens that practically nothing is ever conceded to the king if his remonstrances are not careful and his arguments not just, because of disagreement over his wishes. In such an event, the king patiently acquiesces for the time being, and puts the matter off to a more advantageous time. Still, it rarely occurs that a moderate prince does not eventually gain his wish from his discreet and placid subjects. If they have promised a certain sum of money to the prince, but they are unable to have it to hand conveniently, they undertake another manner of getting it

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among themselves, always with the consent of the prince, by imposing a toll or a similar impost on their common goods temporarily, or in some other suitable way according to the circumstances of place, time, and occasion, which is paid off in its time according to the measure, rates, and customary portion. The ecclesiastics pay their portion separately, while the nobles and cities pay theirs among themselves at the same time because of the affinity of their commerce and interests. Those of Brabant, first in rank because of their antiquity and ducal dignity, pay their share in florins of twenty *stusers*, while those of Flanders, because of their wealth, pay in florins of twenty-four *stusers*. Likewise, the rest of the provinces pay according to their accustomed rates, which are not easily changed or increased.

Index of the Maps of Lower Belgium.

- r. Belgium as a whole.
- s. Flanders.
- t. Brabant.
- u. Holland.
- x. Zeeland.
- y. Gelderland, along with Overijssel in Germany.
- z. Artois.
- &. Hainaut and Namur.
- ct. Luxembourg and Trier.

Frisia, which is first among the maps of Germany at letter B, also belongs to the rule of this Belgium.

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Map of Lower Belgium.

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There are seventeen provinces in Lower Belgium that are the patrimony of the Spanish king:

Duchies: Brabant; Limburg (with the county of Dalem and the domains of Valckenburg and Rode-le-Duc, which are annexed to Brabant, and depend on its justice and chancery); Luxembourg; and Gelderland.

Counties: Vlaanderen; Artois; Hainaut; Holland; Zeeland; Namur; Zutphen; and the margraviate of the empire, which had four principal cities: Nivelles; Louvain; Brussels; and the capital Antwerp, which is now part of Brabant.

Domains: the Great Domain of Frisia; Mechelen; Utrecht; Overysse; and Gröningen, or East Frisia, a free domain.

Some of these provinces, such as Zutphen, Overysse, the Great Domain of Frisia, and East Frisia, although they are located in Germany, are counted here since they are subject to the rule of Lower Belgium, but will be described in the first place in the maps of Germany.

The political state of these jurisdictions (both generally and specifically) is threefold:

First is the ecclesiastical, in which the abbots are the most important.

Secondly, that of the nobility, such as dukes, counts, margraves, princes, barons, and great lords.

Thirdly, that of the cities, which the principal cities of each jurisdiction represent.

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The estates are called together by the prince whenever there is need to deliberate on matters concerning the prince or the principality or the preservation and welfare of the jurisdictions.

The ecclesiastical state. There are four bishoprics in Lower Belgium: Cambrai; Dornick; Atrecht or Arras (these three are French and are subject to the archbishop of Reims); and Utrecht, which is subject to the archbishop of Cologne.

The provinces of Liège and Théroutanne extend into a part of this Belgium. There are two universities of ancient foundation, at Louvain and Douai, to which now a third has been recently added at Leiden.

This information was gathered from Ludovico Guicciardini, who has fully and elegantly described the royal provinces of Belgium.

The mean meridian of the map is the 26th. The rest tend to this in the ratio of the 50th and 52nd parallels of latitude to the great circle.

[Map of Lower Belgium.]

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The County of Flanders or *Vlaanderen*.

[VIEW I52R](#)

The political state of Flanders consists of three members:

The first, of ecclesiastical prelates:

Seven abbots of the Benedictine order: St. Peter and St. Baets in Ghent; St. Winnock in Bergen; St. Andriess (24:23.51:15); St. Peter in Oudenaarde; Eename (24:52.50:51); and Marchienne.



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Five abbots of the order of St. Bernard: Ten Dunen; Bondelo

(25:15.51:13); Doest (24:25.51:20); Clammerez (23:25.50:49);
Marchienne; and the priory in Waerschot (24:50.51:12).

Three abbots of the Premonstratensian order: St. Niclaes in Vuerne;

Dronghene (24:53.51:5); and St. Cornelius in Nienove.

Six abbots of the Canons Regular: Eechoute; Soetendale

(24:37.51:17); Warneston; Sunnebeke (24:10.50:54); Cysoing;
and Falenpijn (24:11.50:52).

Six provosts of the same order: St. Marten in Ieper; Vormeseele

(24:4.50:52); Watene; Loo (23:53.51:2); Eversam (23:51:51:0);
and Pecendale.

The second member, the nobility:

Five viscounties: Ghent; Ieper; Werne; Bergen; Haerlebeke

(24:30.51:53).

Three principates: Steenhuse (25:7.50:52); Gavere; and Espinoy

(24:8.50:29).

Four barons: two in the county, Cysoing and Heyne (24:51.50:24);

and two in the domain, Pamele in Oudenaarde and Boelare
(25:7.50:49).

Military tribunes, *Banderheeren* in the vernacular:

In the Teutonic county, the lords de Neuele (24:46.51:4);

de Dixmude; de Beuren; de Praet near Bruges;

Haesskercke; Watene, Heuerghen (24:56.51:9); Waestine

(23:27.50:48); Caecten (24:22.50:59); Ingelmunster;

Poucke; Gruithuse (24:27.51:10); Male (24:29.51:15); Mal-

degem (24:40.51:16); Oostcamp (24:26.51:12); Winendale;

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Colscamp (24:24.51:3); Ghistele (24:9.51:13); Seuecote (24:6.51:12); Rousselare; Waestene (24:8.50:47); Hondscote; Cassel; Nordvrie (24:22.51:20); Haesskercke; and Halewijn (24:19.50:49).

In the French county, the chatelain de Lille and the lords de Waurin (24:6.50:36) and de Comene.

In the domain of Flanders, the lords de Rode; de Gauere; Sotteghem; Contero (25:2.51:0); Scorisse (24:51.50:48); Potz (24:35.50:46); Liekercke (25:20.50:54); Lumbecke (25:22.50:50); Rotselar in Meerbeke (25:18.50:50); Wedergraet in Neyghem (25:21.50:49); and Steenhuse (25:7.50:52).

The third member consists primarily of cities:

In Teutonic Flanders, four principal cities represent this member:

Ghent, whose lot is followed by: the burgraviate of Ghent and the chatellanies of Kortrijk, Oudenaarde, and Biervliet (24:55.51:23) in the county; and in the domain, fiefdoms of the empire, such as these four, Ambachten, d'Lant van Waes, 't Graffschap, and Aalst, and other free domains such as Bornhem (25:29.51:8), Dendermonde, and Gheerdsberge.

Bruges, whose lot is followed in the census and arms by all from Hulst to Nieuwpoort, all, that is, of the Franconate (or *het Vrie*), its towns both enclosed and open.

Ieper, to which are referred in the census and arms Ieper Ambacht, Bellen Ambacht, and Cassel Ambacht.

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The plain of the Franconate (*het platte Vrie*), whose lot is followed in the census and arms by Wern Ambacht, Bergen Ambacht, and Broucborg Ambacht.

In French Flanders, three main cities: Lille, Douai, and Orchies.

The domain and state of Tournai is annexed to Flanders, and consists in itself of three members, the ecclesiastic, the nobility, and four supreme justices.

The ecclesiastical state. Flanders has one bishop, that of Tournai, subject to the archbishop of Reims, but is divided into five episcopal dioceses. Subject to Maastricht are: Hulst, Axele, Asseuede, Bochoute. Subject to Tournai are Ghent, Kortrijk, Oudenaarde with its chatellanies, the territory of Waes, Bruges, the Franconate, and Lille with its chatellany. That of Arras includes Douai and Orchies. Subject to Cambrai are the domain of Flanders beyond the Scheld to the south. Théroouanne has the chatellanies of Ieper, Cassel, Werne, Berghen, Broucborg, and Belle.

Jurisdiction.

In Teutonic Flanders, there are fourteen main courts feudatory to the count: the *Viesborg* in Ghent; the *Burgus* in Bruges; the *Sala* in Ieper; the *Castellum* in Kortrijk; the *Curia* in Harelbeke and that in Tielt; the *Domus* in Deinze; the *Curia* in Peteghem, called Beaulieu, and subject to the *Domus* in Deinze; the *Tribunal* in Oudenaarde; the *Burgus* in Werne; and the *Curiae* in Berghen, Broucborg, Cassel, and Belle.

In French Flanders, there are three courts feudatory to the count: the *Sala* in Lille; the *Castellum* in Douai; and the *Curia* in Orchies.

In the domain of Flanders, there are four courts feudatory to the count: the

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Tribunal in Aalst; the *Domus* in Dendermonde; the *Praetorium* in Wasia at Saint Nicolas; and the *Castrum* in Beveren.

Appeal from all the aforesaid courts and jurisdictions is made to the provincial council of the prince, which is at Ghent, and from there to the parliament, which is at Mechelen.

This information is taken from Peter Oudegherst, who most diligently wrote about Flemish matters.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the 51st parallel.

[Map of Flanders.]

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Brabant, Jülich, and Cleve.

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The political state of Brabant has three members:

The ecclesiastical, consisting of the abbots of Afflighem (25:22.50:56); Grimbergen (25:39.50:57); Tongerlo (26:14.51:8); Grunendal (25:44.50:47); St. Gertrude at Louvain; St. Bernard (25:36.51:10); Vileer in the index to Belgium; Dieleghem (25:37.50:53); Parck, near Louvain; Vlierbeke, near Louvain; the great prior of the order of St. Augustine in Leewe; and Gemblours (26:0.50:35).

The nobility, consisting of: the count and abbot of Gemblours; the duke of Arschot; the margrave of Bergen op Zoom; the barons of Diest, Breda, Boxtel, Gaesbeeck (25:29.50:49), Wesemael, Boutersem (26:11.50:51), Perveys, Hoochstraten

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(now a count), and Renes (25:42.50:33); and the lords of Asthe, Merchten (25:29.50:58), Vuerne, Gheel, Lummen (26:13.50:46), Thurnout, Oosterwijck, S. Oedenroy, Walem (25:45.51:6), and Duffel.

Cities, of which there are four principal ones: Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, and 's Hertogenbosch.

The ecclesiastical state obeys partly the bishop of Liège, partly that of Cambrai. That of Liège has a court and ecclesiastical magistrate at Louvain; that of Cambrai at Brussels.

Jülich:

The political state consists likewise of three members, which are: the ecclesiastical, namely, abbeys and the colleges of canons and monasteries; the nobility; and the cities.

The prefectures of this jurisdiction are: Caster (28:9.51:0); Bruges (27:35.51:17); Born (27:16.51:2); Boissler (27:51.50:59); Eusskirchen (28:19.50:42); Munstereyffel (28:19.50:36); Monjou (27:50.50:37); Eschwiler (28:17.50:38); Grevenbroich (28:7.51:2); Wassenberg (27:37.51:7); Geilenkirchen (27:40.50:48); Hensbergh; Duren; Thonbergh (28:29.50:36); Berchem (28:11.50:56); Heimbach (28:3.50:39); Wilhemstein; Gladbach (27:49.51:11); Millen (27:31.51:1); Rangenrayd (27:42.51:1); Norvenich; Neunar Graefschaff; Jülich; and Nideken (28:5.50:44).

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Cleve:

The political state similarly has three orders: the ecclesiastical, the nobility, and the cities.

The satrap or prefect of the province of Cleve has eight cities under him: the capital Cleve; Kalkar (27:38.51:45); Sonsbeke, where he resides (27:43.51:36); Santen; Burick (27:56.51:37); Udem (27:35.51:41); Griet (27:40.51:48); and Griethusen (27:31.51:51).

There are fourteen prefectures: Cranenburg (27:22.51:49); Duffel (27:28.51:52); Gennep (27:18.51:44); Goch (27:29.51:42); Orsoy (28:2.51:30); Huessen, near Arnhem; Lymers; Emmerrick; Hetter; Aspel; Ringenburg (27:59.51:44); Bisselick (27:49.51:38); Dinslaken, in which there are four cities, Dinslaken, Wesel, Duisburg, and Schermbeke (28:16.51:43); and Holte (28:11.51:29).

The domain of Ravenstein is annexed to the court of Cleve.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 51:10 to the great circle.

[Map of Brabant, Jülich, and Cleve.]

The County of Holland.

Three orders constitute the political state of Holland:

The first order is of Golden Knights (they call them *Riderheren*), of whom the chief are:

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Count Egmont (25:51.52:44).

Count Ligne, to whom the domains of Wassenaar (25:38.52:15) and Valkenborch (25:40.52:18) belong. He is also the viscount of the city of Leiden.

I also find these counties in Holland: Maeslandt (25:30.52:2); Texel (25:55.53:13); Goylandt (26:27.52:20); Kennemerlandt (25:55.52:45); and Steenberge (25:33.51:39).

The lord and baron Brederode (25:52.52:34) to whom the domain of Vianen (26:25.52:4) also belongs. The barony de Lysfelt.

I also find these domains numbered among the baronies in the *Chronicle of Holland*: Lecke; Sevenbergen (25:52.51:32); Voorn (25:25.51:56); Isselstein (26:21.52:6); Stryen (25:4.51:49); Teylingen (25:45.52:21); Puttem (25:38.51:55); Haarlem (25:53.52:31); Leerdam (26:25.51:58); Asperen (26:27.51:57); Arckel (26:19.51:55); Altena (25:35.52:6); and Biddersloet.

The second is of the lords who customarily appear at the Hague in the name of the estates:

The main ones are: Poelgheest (25:51.52:14); Polanen; Lockhorst; Assendelft (26:0.52:35); Waermont (25:45.52:19); Sparwoude (25:57.52:32); Matenes (25:40.52:0); Schooten (25:54.52:33); Noortwyck (25:41.52:21); Verdoes, perhaps Does (25:48.52:15); Myne van Amstel; Spangen (25:40.52:1); Alkemade (25:44.52:17); Benthuisen; Kenenborch (25:34.52:4); Raaphorst (25:39.52:14); Sweien (25:47.52:14); Heemskercke (25:55.52:39); Ruven (25:41.51:57); and Duyn and Sprangen.

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Besides these, there are the following domains in Holland: Hoesden; Oudthuesden (26:27.51:46); Papendrecht; Wyngarden; Ghysenborch; Ameyde (26:17.52:2); Woerden (26:10.52:11); Waterlant (26:2.52:38); Scagen (26:0.52:56); Purmerende (26:11.53:0); Gouda (25:58.52:6); Naetdtwyck (25:28.52:5); Ryswyck (25:35.52:9); Schoonhoven; Wateringen (25:31.52:7); Soetermeer (25:45.52:9); Heemstede (25:53.52:29); Heichtwonde (26:8.52:51); Merwen (25:59.51:54); Haestrecht (26:2.52:5); Dalen; Spyck; Hardinxvelt; Bardiwyck; and Wyck.

The third order are the six great cities that are called together in the name of all at the Hague:

Dordrecht (or Dort), the capital of all of southern Holland, has a governor and magistrate to whom the citizens are obedient; and a bailiff, whom the territory outside the city obeys in both civil and criminal matters.

Haarlem has a governor and magistrate at home and a bailiff in the countryside, who are in charge of civil and criminal matters.

Delft has a governor and magistrate for its citizens and a bailiff for the country people, who have jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters.

Leiden has a governor and magistrate in charge within the city and a bailiff without, with jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters.

Gouda has a governor and magistrate for the citizens and inhabitants, as well as a bailiff and a prefect of the fortress.

Amsterdam has a governor and magistrate within the city and a bailiff in the countryside, who adjudge civil and criminal matters.

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The region of Utrecht has its own state consisting of three members:

The first member is the primary clergy of the five colleges of the city, of which the primary one is that of the canons of St. Martin (den Dom in the vernacular), whose deacon always summons all the estates to the assembly, puts forth difficulties in the assembly, collects the votes, and closes it. The other colleges are those of: St. Salvator (Oude Munster in the vernacular); the Blessed Mary; St. Peter; and St. John.

The second member is the nobility, of which count Montfort is the head. It also includes the lords Abcoude (26:15.52:23); Culenborch (26:33.52:2), who is now subject to the Gelders; Sulen; Uteneng; de Wael; Nienrode; de Brakel; Amerongen; de Rynevelt; Vecht; Canter; and Vermaten.

The third member is the five capital cities: Utrecht; Amersfoort; Wyck te Duerstede; Rhenen; and Montfort.

Jurisdiction. Appeals are made from all the judicial dioceses in the first instance to the provincial council at the Hague (25:33.52:11), where the highest jurisdiction of Holland is, and to the council of the count. Thence appeal is made to the great council at Mechelen. There is also a parliament in Utrecht, whence there is no appeal, but only review by the same body. Ecclesiastical state. In spiritual matters, all Holland is subject to the archbishop of the see of Utrecht.

This information was first gathered partly from Ludovico Guicciardini and partly from the *Vernacular Chronicle*. It was then reviewed by the most

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eminent lord Godfried von Muisenbroeck, a counselor of Holland, and by
Michael von Isselt of Amersfoort.

You will find southern Holland in the map of Zeeland, since
this map could not contain it.

There, too, some of the places indicated here are to be found.

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the parallel 52:4.

[Map of Holland.]

The County of Zeeland.

And the southern part of Holland.

The political state of Zeeland consists of three members:

One prelate, who fulfills the place of the entire ecclesiastical order,
namely, the abbot of St. Nicholas of the Premonstratensian
Order, in Middelburg.

One noble for the whole order, namely, the margrave de Vere (24:54.51:37).

The community of cities, of which the most important are:

Middelburg, which is the capital of the whole county of Zeeland;
Sierickzee (25:8.51:42); Vere or Vlissingen (24:48.51:30);
Tolen (25:27.51:35); St. Martensdyck (25:20.51:36); Rommerswale
(25:25.51:33); and Goes (25:8.51:34).

All legal cases are referred to the Hague in Holland.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 51:40
to the great circle.

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[Map of Zeeland and southern Holland.]

The Duchy of Geldria (Gelderland)

including the County of Zutphen, and the Domain of Overijssel.

The political state of Gelderland has three members:

Baronies: De Veluwe (27:5.52:15); Die Betouwe (26:30.52:0); Bommerlerwert (26:35.51:52); Lielerwert; the county of Zutphen, under which are the counties of Bronchorst (26:55.52:9) and Eherenberg (27:35.51:55); and Upper Gelderland, in which are Roermond and Gelder.

Nobles: the county of Bronchorst; the county of Eherenberg; and the lords Batenborh (26:59.51:53), Groesbeke (27:17.51:49), Montfort (27:24.51:8 in the map of Brabant), Wel (27:26.51:35 in the map of Brabant), Wachtendonck (27:42.51:25 in the map of Brabant), Grol (28:0.52:8), Aenholt (27:49.51:52), Keppel (27:35.52:4), and Bredefort; the county of Buren (26:41.51:59) has its own law in Gelderland.

Four capital cities: Nijmegen, a viscounty and fief of the empire, a free city and capital of the whole duchy of Gelderland, which has under it Upper and Lower Die Betouwe; Bommelerwert; Tielerwert; and Maeswael, a territory between the Wael and the Meuse; also Roermond, the head of Upper Gelderland, which has beneath it Venlo, Gelder, Vogdte, Stralen, Wachtendonck, Ercklens, Montfort, Echt, Niustatt, Kessel, Midler, and Crieckenbeeck; also Zutphen, under which are

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Doesburg, Doetecom, Lochem, Grol, Bredefort, Bronchorst, and Eherenberge; and Arnhem, under which are Wageningen, Hattem, Harderwijk, Elborch, and all of Veluwe.

Jurisdiction. The prince's parliament and the president of all Gelderland reside at Arnhem. To them the judgments of the aforesaid four cities are referred, with no further right of appeal. Jurisdiction belongs to the cities over the towns and places subject to them.

Ecclesiastical state. Gelderland is subject to four bishops:

Nijmegen and its territory, who is subject to the bishop of Cologne.

Roermond and its territories, subject to the bishop of Liège.

Zutphen and its territories, subject to the bishop of Münster.

Arnhem and its territories, subject to the bishop of Utrecht.

Overijssel

The political state of Overijssel consists of two orders:

The officers of the prince along with the nobility, in which are

Almelo, Ghoer, etc. This is in three parts of jurisdiction:

Ijsseland, Twent, and Drent, which are all described in the map of West Frisia.

Three capital cities: Deventer, which is the capital of the whole province of Overijssel; Swol; Kampen.

Jurisdiction: The highest magistracy and parliament is in Vollenhoue (27:15.52:49), whence there is no appeal.

Ecclesiastical state. All Overijssel obeys the bishop of Utrecht in spiritual matters.

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This information was collected from Guicciardini.

The meridians are distant according to the ration of the parallel 52:20
to the great circle.

[Map of Geldria.]

The County of Artois.

This map also contains true Picardy and the duchy of Cambrai, which is a principality of the empire, ruled by the bishop residing at Cambrai in matters both temporal and spiritual. However, the bishop is subject to the archbishop of Reims in spiritual matters, and in temporal matters is under the protection of the catholic king of Spain.

A most learned man, and one most knowledgeable about this matter, communicated to me the political state of Artois. I shall preserve his history (as it is somewhat lengthy), if perchance others may in the future illustrate the glory of their native land in this way, so that thence a work fit to be printed in itself and most fit for the art of geography may be assembled concerning the estates of the kingdom and the provinces. I shall give all the members that he has indicated, and with what names, according to his arrangement. This will be enough for the clarification of the present map.

The political state in Artois has three orders:

Ecclesiastics, among whom are:

Two bishops: Arras and St. Omer.

Two prefects: Béthune and Aire.

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Twenty abbots, of whom there are these monasteries:

Seven Benedictine: Arras; Auxi (23:54.50:15); St. Omer; Blangy (22:44.49:53); Mont; Hames; Alsiacense.

Seven Augustine: Auriasiense; St. Éloy (23:50.50:19); Chocques (23:42.50:34); Hénin (24:7.50:26); Ville de Rasell; Mareuil (22:58.50:2); Eaucourt (24:0.49:56).

Two Cistercian: Cerchamp (23:12.50:48) and Clommeres (23:24.50:49).

Three Premonstratensian: Dammartin (23:3.50:17); St. André (23:6.50:20); Auguatianum.

Ten colleges of canons: Arras; St. Omer; Béthune; Aire; Hesdins; Lens; St. Pol; Lillers; Fauquembergues; Dourienne.

Nobles, among whom are:

One prince: Espinoy (24:8.50:29).

One marquis: Renty (23:19.50:36).

Seven counts: St. Pol; Fauquembergues (23:12.50:37); Harly (23:46.50:28); Busquetensis; Hénin; Arquensis; Blangy. But these two last long ago lapsed into the endowment of the monasteries of St. Bertigny and Blangy, and are not summoned to the assembly of the orders.

Four main chatelains: Arras; St. Omer; Bapaume; Lens.

The knightly families are these, in alphabetical order: Aussy; Averdoïn; Anbigny (23:42.50:19); Aix (23:51.50:15); Annequin (23:52.50:32); Annezin (23:44.50:33); Averoult; Avion (23:50.50:24); Allennes; Anvin; Bailleul (23:45.50:10); Beaufort (23:40.50:14); Beaumez (23:18.50:3); Beaurams

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(23:7.50:23); Beusart (23:9.50:6); Bellonne (24:11.50:17); Berles; Billy (24:3.50:25); Boffles; Boisieux; Bonnières; Boncourt (23:23.50:37); Boubers (23:10.50:28); Bours (23:34.50:26); Brias; Bussy (24:18.50:5); Caumont (23:9.50:15); Conroy; Contes (23:9.50:21); Coupigny (23:46.50:26); Croisilles (24:6.50:8); Cunchy; Divion; Douvrin (23:46.50:32); Enne; Erin (22:57.50:32); Esquerdes; Estrée; Fosseux; Freuin (23:46.50:18); Fleschin; Gomicourt (24:0.50:4); Gouy (23:47.50:12); Greboual; Geulesin; Habarcq; Hachicourt; Hamelaincourt; Helfault; Houchin; Houdin; La Viesville; La Planque; Lignereul; Licques; Longastre; Malanoy; Maisnil (23:42.50:27); Mammez; Marles; Mes-en-Conture (24:14.49:57); Mingoual; Moiry; Nedoncelles; Neufville (23:53.50:20); Noielle (23:10.50:5); Noircarnes; Ococh; Olham (23:43.50:25); Oignies; Oresmiaux; Plancques (24:13.50:25); Plouich; Pronville (24:11.50:8); Querecques; Ranchicourt (23:40.50:25); Ransart (23:51.50:8); Recourt; Rebecq; Regnauville; Rely (23:30.50:35); Rolancourt (23:17.50:22); Rumenghien; Sains; St. Aldegonde; St. Venant; Sombrein; Souastre (23:46.50:2); Tieuloie; Tramerie; Vaulx (24:8.50:4); Villers (23:50.50:20); Vrolant; Wancourt (24:4.50:14); Warluzelle; Waurans; Willerval.

The main cities:

Seven royal cities: Arras; St. Omer; Béthune; Arien; Hesdin; Lens; Bapaume.

Those belonging to private lords: St. Pol; Perne; Lilliers.

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Twenty-eight major districts enjoying the prerogative of cities, that are likewise called to the assembly of the orders: Arques; Aubigny; Avesnes; Aussy; Beaurains; Blangy-en-Ternois; Busquoy; Carvin (24:8.50:31); Caumont (23:9.50:15); Choques; Dourier (23:0.50:17); Fauquembergues (23:12.50:37); Fressin (23:14.50:23); Fleurbay; Freuene; Frages (23:16.50:33); Gorgue (23:51.50:40); Hénin Liétard; Heuchin; Housdain; Labroie; Libourg (23:23.50:29); Oisy (24:19.50:13); Pas; Richebourg; Tornehem; Ventie; Vitry.

Jurisdiction. The provincial council is at Arras, whence appeals are referred to the parliament in Mechelen.

Ecclesiastical state. The bishop of Arras is in charge of spiritual matters in the whole county, and is subject to the archbishop of Reims.

Certain places are to be sought in the map of Boulogne, signed with the letter E.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 50:10 to the great circle.

[Map of Artois.]

The County of Hainaut.

To which is added the county of Namur.

The political state of Hainaut consists of five members:

1. Twelve peers: Longueville; Lens (25:10.50:34); Filly; Chieure

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(25:3.50:37); Avesne; Chimay; Leroeux; Barbanson

(25:36.50:14); Baudour (25:57.50:29); Rebaux; Waletourt.

2. The ecclesiastical prelates:

One abbot and count, of St. Wauldrut (25:26.50:25).

Twenty-six abbots: St. Guislain (25:5.50:27); Marchennes; Cambron (25:10.50:35); Hasnon; Maroille (25:4.50:6); Ancin (24:24.50:24); Haultmot; Liessy (25:24.50:5); St. Denys (25:18.50:30); Vicongne (24:43.50:24); St. Feullien; Crespin (24:55.50:26); Bonne Espérance (25:25.50:24); St. Jan; St. Aldegonde (25:32.50:26); Geilenghien; Spinleu; Ath; Fontenelle (25:13.50:0); Beaumont; Denain; Quesnoy; Watiebraine; Lolive (25:34.50:28); Belliay; Leture (25:27.50:18).

The colleges of canons.

3. The nobility, among which are:

One principality, Chimay.

Ten counties: Lalain (24.21.50:24); Beaumont (25:32.50:15);

Ostervant, whose capital town is Bouchain; Barbanson;

Avesne; Berlaimont (25:6.50:10); Bossu (25:41.50:15);

Montygni (25:3.50:22); Reux (25:25.50:30); Terrache.

Twenty-two baronies: Enghien; Leuze (24:51.50:37); Haure

(25:18.50:29); Ligne (24:56.50:39); Anioing (24:40.50:35);

Vuerchin; Fontaine (25:38.50:25); Hamaide (24:57.50:42);

Kiurain; Berlaimont; Ville (24:59.50:30); Gomegnie

(24:58.50:15); Ste. Aldégonde; Senzelle; Condet; Haur-

dain (24:32.50:14); Belleule; Fagneille; Bousie; Roesin;

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Frasne (24:50.50:26); Harchies (24:55.50:29).

One marshal; one seneschal; one *grand veneur*; and one permanent chamberlain.

4. The ordinary offices (chatelains, I believe) of Valenchene, etc.
5. The community of the cities.

The political state of the county of Namur consists of three members:

The ecclesiastical order, in which are: the abbots of Floref (26:6.50:26); Granpré (26:22.50:25); Anden (26:29.50:30); Bonef (26:21.50:36); Wassore (26:12.50:13); Hastieis (26:12.50:13).

The nobility: the viscounty of Done (26:12.50:25), etc.

The principal cities: Namur; Bovines; Charlemont; Valencourt or Walecourt (25:46.50:11).

This information is taken partly from Guicciardini, partly from the map titled *Hortulus Hannoniae* [*The Little Garden of Hainaut*].

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 50:20.

[Map of Hainaut and Namur.]

The Duchy of Luxembourg, and the Province of Trier.

The political state, as elsewhere, has three members:

Ecclesiastical order.

Nobility: the counties of Vianden, La Roche-en-Ardenne, Salme (27:29.50:16), Durby (26:59.50:21), Marche (26:46.50:15), St.

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Vit (27:39.50:18), St. Jansberg (27:30.49:31); several baronies; many domains.

Principal cities: Luxembourg; Arlon; Théonville (also called Diedenhove); Rodemarck, or perhaps Rodemacherem (27:42.49:31).

The main council of the king resides at Luxembourg; from it, appeals are made to Mechelen.

In the province of Trier are:

Abbots: Pruium (27:56.50:17); St. Maximinus near Trier; Metloch (28:4.49:34); Himmelrodt (28:11.50:5); Toley (28:30.49:34).

Counties under the jurisdiction of Trier: Manderscheidt (28:15.50:9); Keyhel (28:7.50:5); Veirnenborgh (28:34.50:23); Gerrestein (28:7.50:18); Veldentz (28:26.49:56).

Baronies: Winnenbergh (28:36.50:11) Bilstein (28:41.50:7).

Domains: Passenheim (28:58.50:22); Saffich (28:55.50:24); Zur Leyen (28:55.50:18); Eliz (28:46.50:13); Permont (28:42.50:16); Wildenborgh (28:43.50:9); Eerenborch (28:53.50:13); Waldeck (28:51.50:10); Hertelstein (28:3.50:12); Kerpen (28:15.50:24).

Prefectures: Schoinbergh (28:23.50:21); Schoinecken (37:55.50:14); Hildesheim (28:8.50:22); Daune (28:19.50:15); Over Manderscheidt (28:15.50:9); Kylborch; Ulmen (28:26.50:15); Cochem; Kempenich (28:37.50:28); Meyen (28:43.50:22); Montréal (28:38.50:21); Kaisers Esch (28:35.50:16); Munster Meivelt (28:49.50:16); Over Hammerstein (28:53.50:30); Welsch Billich (27:59.49:56); Broich (28:14.50:1); Pfaltz

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(28:7.49:51); Witlich (28:18.50:2); Sarborch; Grimborch; St. Wendel; Bleiscassel (28:48.49:16); Hunolstein (28:28.49:53); Baldenau (28:35.49:53); Berncastel (28:29.49:57); Cell (28:34.50:3); Baldeneck (28:46.50:5); Schoineck (28:56.50:12); Coblentz; Boppart; Overwesel; Eerenbreitstein; Montabout; Vilmar; Brechen; Caemborch. These six are shown in the third map of Westphalia.

Counties bordering on the province of Trier and included in this map are: Blanckenheim (28:10.50:26); Arnsberg (28:20.50:30); Nuenar (28:40.50:34); Reiferscheidt (28:5.50:30); and Sleiden (28:4.50:33).

Domains: Cronenburg (27:59.50:25) and Smidheim (28:3.50:18).

The rest of the province of Trier, which could not be included in this map, you will find in the third map of Westphalia.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 49:50 to the great circle.

[Map of Luxembourg and Trier.]

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[Index of locations in the general map of Lower Belgium.]

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Geographic Maps of
Germany.

By Gerardus Mercator,
Cosmographer to the illustrious Duke of Jülich,
Cleve, etc.
Published at Duisburg.

With Permission.

Useful Prefatory Instruction to the Maps of Germany.

Since the Roman Empire is in the possession of the Germans, and fully divided politically into its members, I thought it worthwhile to display to your eyes its disposition and order as it exists and is currently in use in the document that they call the *Matricula Imperii* or *Register of the Empire*, and then to show in the maps each of the members of the empire, so that the reader who is interested in political matters may easily be able to find where each one has its seat. I have obtained two copies of the *Register*, one in manuscript, the other printed in Venice in Italian. Both are quite corrupt, and I understand that there is a substantially different version of this *Register* extant in the empire. Thus I ask that no one fault me, and that I will not offend anyone if he finds some places ascribed here to the empire that do not belong to it, or some that are omitted. It is not my intention to definitively pronounce on all the members of the empire, nor was it possible for me to do so, working from such corrupt copies, especially since I know that many places that were once part of the empire have subsequently been

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ceded to the private rule of princes, whether by mutation, pledge, or donation on account of exceptional merits toward the empire, or by redemption, or through other causes. Nor is it my plan to pursue political rather than geographic studies. Rather, from such copies of the *Register* as I had, I seek only this, to display the elegant disposition and distribution of the empire throughout Germany, and disclose how the two branches of study, those of geography and of political administration, can illuminate each other. Therefore, this is the constitution and order of the empire.

The emperor is the head of the empire.

He has three members under him, from whose assemblies he takes counsel and decides all affairs of the empire, namely, the seven electors, who were first established under Gregory X around A.D. 1273, and were confirmed by Emperor Charles IV, as Onuphrius shows in *The Assemblies of the Emperor* and Johannes Aventinus in book 5 of his *History of Bavaria*. The election of the emperor falls to these alone. The second member is composed of the princes, ecclesiastical and secular. The third is composed of the free cities.

The first member of the empire is composed of the seven electors.

The Archbishop of Mainz, Archchancellor of the Roman Empire throughout Germany; the Archbishop of Trier, Archchancellor of the Roman Empire throughout Gaul and the Kingdom of Arles; the Archbishop of Cologne, Archchancellor of the Roman Empire throughout Italy; the King of Bohemia, Arch-cupbearer of the Roman Empire; the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-waiter of the Roman Empire; the Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal of the Roman Empire; and the Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-chamberlain of the Roman Empire.

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The second member is that of the principal men and nobles.

I shall put the names of the places down in the vernacular as they are in the maps, adding the numbers of the circles in which they are repeated below, so that they may be more easily found in the maps.

Archbishops.

Magdeburg 9

Salzburg 2

Besançon 5

Bremen 9

Bishops.

Bamberg 1

Würzburg 1

Worms 5

Speyer 5

Strasbourg 5

Eichstatt 1

Pr. Augsburg 4

Costnitz 4

Hildesheim 9

Paderborn 7

Chur 4

Halberstatt 9, I think

Ferden 7

Münster 7

Osnabrück 7

Passau 2

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Kempfe
Gurck or Göritz 3
Seckau or Segovia 3
Hausandt
Basel 5
Sitten or Wallis 5
Regensburg 2
Meissen 8
Naumburg 8
Minden 7
Lübeck 8, 9
Utrecht 7
Camin 8
Schwerin 9
Geneva 5
Cambrai 7
Verdun 5
Lausanne 5
Metz 5
Toul 5
Luyck 7
Trent 3
Brixen 3
Merspurg 8
Labach 3

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Brandenburg 8
Ratzenburg 9
Schleswig 9
Havelburg 8

Secular Princes and Nobles.

Duke of Bavaria 2
Archduke of Austria 3
Duke of Burgundy 10
Duke of Saxony 8
Palatine of Bavaria 2
Duke of Jülich, Cleve, Berg 7
Margrave of Brandenburg 8
Duke of Brunswick 9
Duke of Lunenburg 9
D. of Pomerania 8
D. Mecklenburg 9
D. Lauenburg 9
D. Holsten 9
D. Lotringen 5
Landgr. Hessen 5
D. Württemberg 4
D. Zweibrug 5
D. and Co. Spanheim 5
Margrave of Baden 4, 5, 7
Landgr. Luchtenberg 2

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Princ. Anhalt 8

Co. Hennenberg 1

Burggr. Meissen

The Gallic Princes.

D. Meiss or Massa

D. Savoye 5

D. Chalon, perhaps Calim in the 5th circle

Ecclesiastics.

Pr. Ab. Fulda 5

Pr. Ab. Hirsfeldt 5

Pr. Ab. Kempten 4

Ab. Reichenau 4

Pr. Praepos. Wissenburg 5

Pr. Ab. St. Gall 4

Pr. Ab. Saltsfeldt 8

Pr. Praepos. Elwangen

Master, Teutonic Order 3

Master, St. John's Order 5

Ab. Weingarten 4

Ab. Salmansweiler 4

Ab. Kreutzlingen 4

Pr. Ab. Murpach 5

Ab. Walkenriedt 8

Ab. Schuttern 4

Ab. Weissenow or Minderau 4

Ab. S. Blase 4

Ab. Maulprun 4
Pr. Ab. Corbey 7
Ab. Schussenriedt 4
Ab. Rittershausen 8
Ab. Stein am Rhein 4
Ab. Schaffhausen 4
Ab. Kempeseck 2
Ab. Waldsachsen 2
Ab. Einsiedeln 4
Ab. Rockenburg 4
Ab. Ochsenhausen 4
Praepos. Seltz 6
Ab. St. Gilgen 1
Ab. Nuenburg
Ab. St. Maximinus near Trier 6
Ab. Heveldshaufen
Ab. St. Johans zu Curtel
Ab. Gengenbach 4
Ab. Königsbrun 4
Ab. Rodt or Roden 2
Ab. Markthal 4
Ab. Rockenhausen
Ab. St. Peter in Schwarzwald 4
Praepos. Odenheim 5
Pr. Ab. Stablo 7
Ab. Disidiense 4

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Ab. Eichingen 4
Ab. Hentzlingen
Ab. Ursenis
Ab. Planckenburg
Ab. Yssni 4
Ab. Pfeffers 4
Ab. St. Johan im Thurtal 4
Ab. Petershausen of Constance 4
Ab. Pruum 5
Praepos. Camberg 1
Ab. Reishaim 2
Ab. St. Heimeran in Ratisbon 2
Pr. Praepos. Berchtolsgaden 2
Ab. St. Gregorie Münster 5
Ab. Mancherode 4
Ab. St. Cornelis Münster 7
Pr. Ab. Werden 7
Ab. Ausperg 4
Ab. Yrse 4
Ab. Brun
Ab. Echternaken 7
Ab. Hervorden 7

Abbesses.

Pr. Quedelburg 8

Essen 7

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Alt Münster to Regensburg 2

Pr. Ober Münster to Regensburg 2

Kauffingen 5

Lindau 4

Pr. Gernrode 8

Buchau 4

Rotenmunster 4

Heppach 4

Gutenzel 4

Beundt 4

Baley Coblentz 6

Baley Elsas 4

Baley Österreich 3

Baley in der Etsch 3

Counts, Barons, and Lords.

Co. Helsenstein 4

Co. Kirchberg 4

H. Tussen 4

Co. Wisenstaig 4

Co. Lauffen 4

Co. Montfort 4

Co. Furstenberg 4

Co. Zimmern 4

B. Gundelfingen 4

H. Stuttgart 4

H. Justingen 4

H. Schenflingen
Margr. Eberstein 4
B. Geroltzeck 4
B. Ober Hewen 4
Co. Öttingen 4
B. Rapoltsstein 5
H. Rapoltskirchen 5
B. Stauffen 2, 4
H. Hohen Rechperg 5
H. Berletzick
H. Hohen Königsberg
H. Hohenfeldt and Tipoltzkirch
Co. Sultz 4
Co. Hohen Zollern 4
H. Braides
B. Sonnenberg 4
Co. Castel 1
Co. Vertheim 1
Co. Rheineck 1
Co. Hohenloe 1
H. Reichelsperg 1
H. Limburg 1
Co. Erpach 1
Co. Leiningen 5
Co. Falckstein 5
Co. Hanau 5

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Co. Luchtenberg 5
 Co. Nassau, Breda, and Dillenburg 10, 7
 Co. Wisbaden and Iltzstain 5
 Co. Sarbrücken 5
 Co. Waldtpurg 4
 Co. Nassau in Weilpurg 5
 Co. Beilstein 6
 Co. Königstein and Epstein 5
 Co. Upper Eisenberg 5
 Co. Lower Eisenberg 6
 Co. Mersen
 Co. Budinghen
 Co. Wirnenberg 7
 Co. Solms 5
 B. Vinnenberg or perhaps Vanenberg 7
 Co. Arnsberg 7
 Rhenish Counts.
 H. Falckenstein 4
 H. Kunseck 4
 H. Kunseckerberg 4
 Co. Horn 10
 Co. Seyn 7
 Co. Vintzlingen
 Co. Reyen
 Co. Bitsch 5
 Co. Salm 5

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Co. Dengen 4
Co. Rappin 8
Co. Hardech 3
Co. Hohenstein 8
Co. Wolkenstein 3
Co. Schaumburg and Giengen 7,3
C. Dierenburg and in Somerau 7
Co. Mansfelt 8
Co. Stolberg 8
Co. Buchlingen 8
Co. Barbey and Mullingen 8
Co. Gleichen 8
Co. Schwartzenburg 1, 8
Co. Suenberg, or Schonberg, I think 8
Co. Jude H. im Ruech

H. Gezau
Co. Pless 5
B. Plauen 8
Co. Weda and Ringelberg 7
H. Reichenstein
Co. Olnbrug
Co. Loebenstain 4
Co. Regenstain
Co. Westfreislandt

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Co. Van der Lippe 7
Co. Oldenburg 7
Co. Delmenhorst 9
Co. Hoya 7
Co. Westenburg 5
H. Muntzenburg 5
Co. Lemgou
Co. Waldeck 5
H. Lossenstein
Co. Diepholt 7
Co. Steinfort 7
Co. Benthem 7
Co. Brunchorst 7
Co. Wittgenstein
Co. Spigelberg
Co. Biversdorff
H. Ridberg 7
Co. Teckelnborg 7
H. Linge
Co. Dortmund 7
Co. Winsdorff
Co. Ortenberg 2
Ro. [*sic*] Rippersnoden
Co. Hagen 2
Co. Hoonfels 2

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Co. Leiseneck 8
Co. Bergen 10
B. Degensberg 2
B. Obersultzberg 2
H. Somiriss
Co. Manderscheid 7
Co. Reiferscheidt 6
Co. Egmont and Isselstein 10
H. Bergen and Waelhem 10
H. Haber, or Havere 5
H. Wildenfels or perhaps Widetsfels 8
B. Tautenberg 8
Co. Tübingen 4
Co. Blankenberg or Blammont 5
Co. Kirchingen 5
H. Senster 3
H. Roggendorff 3
H. Alendorff
H. Kunigfuckerberg
H. Morspurg and Befort 5
H. Brandenstein and Ranss
H. Wolfstein
H. Permout
H. Fronsbeck
H. Flackenstein
H. Witten

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Ritt. Fridberg
Ritt. Gleichausen

In this second member, some are without numbers because they are not repeated later in the circles. Pr. = Princes or *Fürsten* or prelates. D.= Dukes. Co. = Counts. H. = *Herrschaften* or Lords. B. = Barons. [Ab. = Abbot. Ritt. = *Ritter* (Knight).]

The third member of the empire is that of free cities.

Rhine Bank.

Cologne 6, 8
Aachen 7
Worms 5
Speyer 5
Turckheim 5
Hagenau 5
Weissenberg 5
Strasbourg 5
Ober Ebenhaim 5
Rosheim 5
Schlestadt 5
Colmar 5
Altach 5
Basel 5
Kaiserberg 5
Mulhausen im Suntgau 5
St. Gregoris Münster 5

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Metz 5
Toul 5
Verdun 5
Landau 5
Kaufmanns Saarbruck 5
Besançon 5
Cambrai 7
Frankfurt 5
Friedburg in Wederau 5
Gelnhausen 6
Wetzlar 5
Alen 4
Lübeck 9
Hamburg 9
Dortmund 7
Mulhouse in Thuringia 9
Northausen 9
Gosler 9
Göttingen 9
Brakel 7
Wartburg 7
Lemgau 7
Duisburg 7
Danzig 8
Elbinghen 8

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Swabian Bank.

Regensburg	2
Nuremberg	1
Rottenburg an der Tauber	1
Weissenburg an Nortgau	2 (I believe)
Donauwörth	4
Winshaim	1
Schweinfurt	1
Wimpfen	4
Heilbrun	4
Halle in Schwaben	4
Notlingen	4
Dinckelspuel	4
Ulm	4
Augsburg	4
Gengen	4
Bopfingen	4
Schwäbisch Gmünd	4
Esslingen	4
Reutlingen	4
Weyl	4
Pfullendorf	4
Kaufbeuren	4
Northausen	
Überlingen	4
Wangen	4

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Ysni	4
Leukirch	4
Memmingen	4
Kempton	4
Buchorn	4
Ravensburg	4
Biberach	4
Lindau	4
Costnitz	4
Rotweil	4
Ostenburg	4
Gegenbach	4
Zel im Hamersbach	4
Schaffhausen	4
St. Gall	4
Buchau am Federsee	4

Besides this division of the three members, the provinces of the empire are divided into certain jurisdictions in order to avoid schisms in the empire, for the mutual defense of the princes of Germany and to preserve the common peace. They call these “circles,” and the individual imperial councils, namely, of the circles, were established in them, at first six, at Augsburg in 1500, and then ten in 1522 at Nuremberg. Every circle elects a secular prefect for itself from its own body, who should be a prince, baron, or from the outstanding nobility. Four counselors are joined to him from the same body, lay men, honest and prudent. I shall enumerate and distinguish the circles here, and describe their princes and members in the maps.

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The first circle is that of Franconia and will be shown in the map of Franconia marked with the letter P.

Second is that of Bavaria, and will be shown in that map marked with the letter Q.

Third is that of Austria, and will be described in the Austrian map under the letter X.

Fourth is that of Swabia, in the map of Wirtemberg under letter H.

Fifth is the circle of the Rhine, which will be explained in the map of lower Alsace under the letter I.

Sixth is that of the four electors of the Rhine, in the map of the Palatinate, letter G.

Seventh is that of Lower Germany or Westphalia, in the first map of Westphalia, letter D.

Eighth is that of Upper Saxony, in the same map, letter R.

Ninth is that of Lower Saxony, in the same map, letter L.

Tenth is that of Burgundy, in the map of Upper Burgundy, marked letter M.

The imperial chamber.

Aside from these councils of the circles, an imperial chamber was also established at Speyer to lawfully decide graver cases arising throughout the empire. As judge, a prince presides over it, or, at a minimum, a count or baron, and that a secular one, if such can be found less suitable for this. Assessors and co-judges are given to him by his imperial majesty, two from the counts or barons, two from scholars of the law, and two nobles from the knightly order on account of the lands they possess either as an inheritance in the empire or those they have by gift from the empire, that is, six in all.

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To this are also added one from each of the electors and two from each of the circles, of whom half are chosen from scholars of the law and the other half from the knightly order.

Catalogue of the Maps of Germany.

- A. Germany in general
- B. West Frisia
- C. County of Emden.
- D. Westphalia Map 1.
- E. Westphalia Map 2.
- F. Westphalia Map 3.
- F.ii. Waldeck
- G. Palatinate of the Rhine
- H. Württemberg
- I. Lower Alsace
- K. Upper Alsace
- L. Lower Saxony
- M. Brunswick
- N. Hesse
- O. Thuringia
- P. Franconia
- Q. Bavaria
- Q.ii. Bavarian Palatinate; for its northernmost parts see the map of Franconia.
- R. Upper Saxony
- S. Brandenburg

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- T. Bohemia
- V. Moravia
- X. Austria
- Y. Salzburg
- Z. Poland
- AA. Hungary

General Map of Germany.

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The main and primary parts of the German jurisdiction, which will be described under this title with the lesser ones subject or joined to them:

Kingdoms: the electorate of Bohemia; the kingdom of Poland, which, although it is of another language than German, and is not included in the *Register of the Empire*, we will put together with the maps of Germany because it is located within the boundary of ancient Germany, the Vistula River. We will also join the kingdom of Hungary to Germany, because, although it is outside the boundaries of ancient Germany, it gave it many famous emperors, and is dominated in many locations by the empire.

Duchies: Upper Saxony, an electorate; Austria, an archduchy; and the duchies of Holst, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Lunenburg, Lauwenburg, Brunswick, Meissen, Schlesen, Moravia, Cleve, Bergen, Franconia, Bavaria, Wirtenburg, Swabia.

Counties: the Rhenish Palatinate (an electorate); the Bavarian Palatinate (a landgraviate); Hesse; Thuringen; Upper and

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Lower Alsace; the margraviate of Brandenburg (an electorate); Baden; and the counties of Emden, Didenborg, Benthem, Lip, Diepholt, Huy, Mansfelt, Anhalt, Stolberg, Tirol.

Livonia will be counted among the provinces of Germany since it is subject to the Germans. But since it is rather distant, being within Sarmatia, it will be described among those regions.

Seven archbishoprics are numbered throughout Germany, whose provinces, with the exception of Livonia, will be described under this title:

Mainz, to which twelve suffragan bishops are subject: Chur, Costnitz, Strasbourg, Speyer, Wurzburg, Augsburg, Anstett, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Halberstadt, Ferden.

Cologne, having five suffragan bishops: Münster, Utrecht, Liège, Minden, Osnabrück.

Trier, to whom three are suffragan: Metz, Toul in Lorraine, and Verdun.

Magdeburg, the primate of Germany, to whom four are subject: Morspurg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, and Havelburg.

Salzburg has nine bishops under him: Trent, Brixen, Passau, Frisingen, Vienna, Seckau, Gurcz, Lauenmund, Chiemse.

Bremen, which has six suffragans: Lübeck, Schwerin, Lebus, Schleswig, Ratzenburg, Hamburg (once an archbishop).

Riga has four under it: Reval (Talinn), Curiensis, Oesel, Derptensis.

The free and exempt bishops are those of Meissen, Bamberg, and Regensburg (Ratisbon).

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The universities of Germany are: Basel, Cologne, Dillingen, Mainz, Marburg, Leipzig, Ingolstadt, Heidelberg, Greifswald, Fribourg, Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Erfurt, Prague, Rostock, Königsberg, Trier, Tübingen, Vienna in Austria, Breslau, Wittenberg, Wurzburg.

The mean meridian is the thirty-fourth. The rest tend to it in the ratio of the 48th and 53rd parallels.

[General map of Germany.]

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West Frisia.

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The political state of Frisia has three main parts:

The county of Oestergoe, whose capital is Leeuwarden, is divided into these *Grieteneyen*, i.e., “prefectures”:

Leeuwarderadeel, in which is Leeuwarden (26:58.53:22).

Tiezercksterdeel, in which is Tietzarck (27:6.53:22).

Ydarderdeel, in which is Ydaert (26:59.53:17).

Rauwerderahem, in which is Rauwert (26:57.53:15).

Ferwerderadeel, in which is Ferwert (26:59.53:30).

Dongerdeel, in which is Wetzens (27:12.53:31).

Dantummedeel, in which is Dantumawole (27:11.53:27).

Acht Kerspelen, in which is Suyrhusum (27:22.53:22).

Colmerlandt, in which is Collum (27:20.53:27).

Vesterlandt, in which is Beetz (27:13.53:14).

Smalingerlandt, in which is Smalingerlee, an abbey of the Benedictine order (27:11.53:16).

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The county of Westergoe, in which the *Grieteneyen* are:

Wonseradeel, in which is Witmarssum (26:39.53:16).

Franickeradeel, in which is Franicker (26:44.53:21).

Banadeel in which is Mimersgae (26:47.53:24).

Meynaldummadeel, in which is Meynaldum (26:50.53:23).

Baerderadeel, in which is Baerd (26:51.53:18).

Hennaradeel, in which is Hennaert (26:48.53:16).

Weynbritzeradeel, in which is Gauwe (26:53.53:13).

Gheesterlandt, in which is Wickel (26:49.53:3).

The county of Seven Wolden, in which the *Grieteneyen* are:

Donyerwerstal, in which is Donigae (26:55.53:4).

Lemster vihsgae, in which is Lemmer (26:53.53:1).

Aenghwert, in which is Carhrybant (27:7.53:9).

Schotterlandt, in which are Nye and Olde Schotten (27:9.53:6).

Wittingerdeel, in which is Oldehorn (27:5.53:12).

Hasscher vijsgae, in which is Hasscherhorn (27:1.53:7).

Jurisdiction. The supreme council and parliament of Frisia is at Leeuwarden, to which the lesser jurisdictions are referred without right of further appeal.

Ecclesiastical state. All of West Frisia is subject (along with the inhabitants of Gröningen) to the bishop of Utrecht.

Gröningen has its own state, established in two members, those of the city and those of the surrounding region.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the parallel 53:50
to the great circle.

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[Map of West Frisia.]

The Counties of Emden and Oldenborch.

Both of these counties are members of the empire in the seventh circle, that of Westphalia. Because we have no knowledge of their political state (as in the case of many principalities of Germany), I shall rather indicate the state and the members of the empire afterward, so as not to pass over meanwhile the most important matter to know, and the great principalities that are known to me in the appropriate place.

In this map are the county of Delmenhorst (30:6.53:21) and the domains of Ezes (28:43.53:56), Norden (28:24.53:47), Aurick (28:41.53:41), Jever (29:5.53:53), Wredeburg (29:0.53:42), Ovelgunne (29:39.53:51) and Rheyde (28:38.53:4).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 43:40
to the great circle.

[Map of Emden and Oldenborch.]

Westphalia

First map.

The county of the counties of Oldenburg, Hoya, Diepholt, and the neighboring domains.

The seventh circle of the empire, the Westphalian, or that of
Lower Germany.

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1. The ecclesiastical order.

Bishops: Paderborn; Liège; Utrecht; Münster; Cambrai; Osnabrück; Verdun; Minden.

Abbots: Werden; Stablo; St. Cornelis Münster (27:42.50:43 in the map of Brabant); Echternaken (27:51.49:51 in the map of Luxembourg); Corbey and Herworden (31:15.51:48 and 30:15.52:12 respectively in the second map of Westphalia).

Abbeys: Essen (28:26.51:25 in the second map of Westphalia).

2. The order of princes.

Princes, counts, and lords: the duke of Cleve and count of Marchia; the duke of Jülich and Bergen; the margrave of Baden in Luxembourg; the count of West Frisia or of Emden; the count of Sein (29:6.50:27 in the third map of Westphalia); the count of Dillenburg; the count of Vernenberg (28:34.50:24 in the map of Luxembourg); the count of Manderscheid (28:15.50:9 in the map of Luxembourg); the count of Weida (29:0.50:29 in the third map of Westphalia) and Ringelberg; H. Brunschorst (27:35.53:9 in the map of Gelderland); the count of Steinfeld (29:48.52:51); the count of Bentheim; the count of Dortmund; the count of Oldenburg; H. Ridburg; the count of Hoya (30:50.53:53.5 [*sic*]); the count of Diepholt (30:4.52:53); the count of Schaumburg (31:6.52:18 in the second map of Westphalia); H. Spiegelburg (31:22.52:13 in the map of Brunswick); H. Vanenberg; the count of Arenberg; the count of Dierenberg, H. in Somerauss; the count de Lip.

3. The order of free cities.

Cologne; Aachen; Cambrai; Dortmund; Duisburg; Brakel; Warburg (30:49.53:0); Lemgo.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 53:45 to the great circle.

[First map of Westphalia.]

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Westphalia

Second map.

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In this map are:

Counties:

Lemgo; Benthem; Lingen; Tecklenborch; Diepholt; Schaumburg; Ravensberg, in which there are four prefectures, Sporenberg (30:7.52:2), Ravensberg (29:56.52:11), Vlothem (30:41.52:17) and Limberg (30:6.52:23); Lippe.

Bishoprics:

Münster, in which are the prefectures of Walbeck (29:14.51:58); Sassenburg (29:34.52:1); Stromberg (a burgraviate; 29:46.51:49); Werne (29:5.51:37); Bocholt (28:0.51:51); Ahus (28:31.52:7); Horstmar (28:45.52:10); Beuergern (29:7.52:25); Rheine (28:58.52:23); Meppen (28:49.52:52); Nienhuis (28:40.53:13); Cloppenburg (29:29.53:7); Wilshusen (29:56.53:10); Vecht (29:51.52:58); the two counties of Steenvordt (28:51.52:16) and Gemen

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(29:7.51:3); and the archmarshalship of Nortkercken

(29:4.52:45).

Osnabrück (29:36.52:25).

Minden (30:37.52:24).

Paderborn (30:30.51:46).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 52:20
to the great circle.

[Second map of Westphalia.]

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Westphalia

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Third map.

Included in this map are:

Duchies:

Bergen, in which are the following twenty *Ämter*, i.e., “prefectures”: Blanckenborg (28:51.50:4); Lewenberg (28:46.50:43); Huickeswagen (28:58.51:5); Bornfeldt; Salighen (28:35.51:8); Lantzberg; Düsseldorf; Steinbach (29:5.51:0); Byenborch (28:55.51:11); Meysenlo; Medman (28:23.51:15); Windeck; Syberg; Nuwenborg (29:3.50:59); Portz; Lulstorff (28:36.50:48); Monheim (28:23.51:4); Angermond (28:12.51:19); Erverfeldt (28:39.51:13); and Borch (28:36.51:6).

Counties:

Mark, in which are these fourteen prefectures: Swartenberg (29:38.50:8); Nustat (29:18.50:54); Iserenloe (29:20.51:21);

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Huerde (28:57.51:29 in the second map of Westphalia);
Altena (29:20.51:17); Bochum (28:42.51:27 in the second
map of Westphalia); Wetter (28:57.51:22); Ham; Swerten
(29:6.51:25); Lunen; Unna; Blanckenstein (28:44.51:19);
Raede; Werden; Camen.

Waldeck.

Nassau (29:20.50:15) and Dillenburg.

Seyen (29:5.50:27).

Siegen.

Limburg (29:37.50:21).

Altena in the county of Mark.

Arnsberg, which is subject to the bishop of Cologne.

Kunigstein (30:7.50:8).

Hanau (30:27.50:5).

Isenberg (29:9.50:29).

The bishopric (*Stift*) of Cologne, in which there are these ten pre-
fectures: Arnsberg; Fredeborch (29:59.51:4); Beilstein near
Brilen at the source of the Medebach; Friedehardeskirchen;
Hovestatt; Werle (29:29.51:33 in the second map of Westpha-
lia); Nehem (30:21.51:25); Balve (29:36.51:17).

Domains: Wildenberg (29:26.50:50); Homberg (29:11.50:49);

Hachnberg (29:29.50:40); Hardenberg (28:31.51:18).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 50:40
to the great circle.

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[Third map of Westphalia.]

The County of Waldeck.

The man who first described and published this map, Jodocus Moers von Korbach, enumerates two orders of nobles under the count of Waldeck, a free one abiding within the county, the other bound in fee to the count both within and without the county. Therefore, I shall enumerate these orders here, since I have nothing else, and indicate where their houses are on the map.

Noble lineages free within the county are: Virmunt (30:31.51:2); Meissenburg, Gogreben, Zertzen, Volmerichausen (30:50.51:26); Dalwig (30:6.51:13); Eppe (30:27.51:11); Rodehausen, Reen (30:29.51:4); Schonstat, Hertinghausen, Twist (30:41.51:19); Hanxtleden, Geismar (31:4.51:9); Koman, Dorfelt.

Feudal lineages within and without the county are: Witstein, Reitesel, Spiegel, Calenberg, Westfal, Canstein, Malspurg; Lebenstein (30:54.51:2); Mengersen, Meschede (29:56.51:19); Beinenburg, Papenheim, Wulft (30:13.51:25); Volckenberg, Urf (30:57.51:3); Juden.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 51:15 to the great circle.

[Map of Waldeck.]

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The Palatinate of the Rhine.

It is the sixth circle of the empire and has four electors.

Electors.

Count palatine of the Rhine; Archbishop of Mainz; Archbishop of Trier; Archbishop of Cologne.

Free cities.

Mainz; Cologne; Trier; Gelnhausen (30:45.50:5).

Principalities and domains.

The palatinate with its territory; Counties of Nassau and Beilstein (28:41.50:8); H. Reiferscheidt (28:5.50:30 in the map of Luxembourg); H. Rheineck (28:49.50:31 in the map of Luxembourg); Master of the Teutonic Order in Koblenz; Abbot of St. Maximinus near Trier; Prefect of Seltz (29:48.48:44); H. Nieder Eisenburg (29:7.49:45).

The meridians are separated in the ratio of the parallel 49:20 to the great circle.

[Map of the palatinate of the Rhine.]

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The Duchy of Württemberg.

This duchy is the main part of the Swabian imperial circle; as it is the only one among the rest for which we have a more accurate description (by George Garder and David Seltzlin), I shall lay out the whole Swabian circle arranged in order here, and shall indicate the places I can.

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The fourth circle of the empire, the Swabian.

1. Ecclesiastical order.

Bishops: Chur, Constance, Augsburg.

Abbots: Kempten; Reichenau (in the map of Zurichgau); St. Gall in Helvetia; Salmanweiler (31:11.47:27 in the map of Helvetia); Weingarten (31:29.47:41); Weissenau; St. Blaise (29:51.47:40 in the map of Zurichgau); St. Peter (29:48.47:53); Maulbronn (30:33.48:53); Schaffhausen; Stain-am-Rhein and Kreuzlingen (in the map of Zurichgau); Petershusen, near Constanz and the Rhine, to the north; Einsiedeln (30:26.46:35 in the map of Helvetia); Pfeffers, i.e., Pfäffikon, I think, in the map of Zurichgau; St. John in Thurtal, in the map of Helvetia; Schussenriedt (31:35.47:44); Rockenburg (32:13.48:11); Ochsenhausen (31:57.47:56); Kunigsbrun (31:59.48:42); Marchtal (31:26.48:1); Elchingen (32:8.48:22); Ysne (31:55.47:26 in the map of Helvetia); Munchrod (32:2.48:0); Aursperg (32:25.48:15); Yrsee (32:33.47:48); Gengenbach (29:40.48:17); Schuttern (29:36.48:15); Disidisen.

Abbesses: Lindau; Rotten Münster (30:28.47:55); Buchau (31:36.47:54); Guttzell (31:47.48:3); Beundt (31:26.47:44); Heppach (31:26.48:5); the Master of the Teutonic Order in Alsace and Burgundy.

2. Order of princes.

Fürsten and *Herren*: the duke of Württemberg; the margrave of Baden (29:51.48:59); Co. Helfenstein (31:40.48:25); Co. Wisen-

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staig (31:33.48:23); Co. Öttingen (32:41.48:56); Co. Lauffen (30:59.48:57); Co. Montfort; Co. Fürstenberg (30:18.47:43); the margrave of Eberstain (30:6.48:32); Co. Zollern (30:53.48:7); Co. Bultz (30:29.48:7); Co. Loebenstein (31:13.49:2); Co. Tübingen (30:55.48:17); Co. Kirchberg (31:59.48:11); Co. Tengen or Dongen (30:0.47:26 in the map of Zurichgau); B. Gundelfinghen (32:23.48:32); H. Stuttgart; H. Tussen (32:5.48:32); Fr. Waldtpurg (31:35.47:32 in the map of Helvetia); H. Sonneberg; B. Stauffen (32:15.48:32); H. Valkenstein (31:58.48:33); H. Kunseck (31:28.47:48); H. Kunseckerperg (31:28.47:50); B. Geroltzeck (29:41.48:13); B. Ober Helwen (30:36.47:37 in the map of Zurichgau). [Co. = Count; Mar. = Margrave; B. = Baron; H. = Herr; Fr. = Freiherr.]

3. Order of the free cities.

Augsburg; Kaufbeurn; Ulm; Memmingen; Kempten; Biberach; Leukirch (31:47.47:35); Ysne (31:55.47:26 in the map of Helvetia); Wangen (31:44.47:28 in the map of Helvetia); Lindau; Ravensburg; Buchhorn (31:15.47:23) and Überlingen (31:7.47:30, both in the map of Helvetia); Constance; Pfullendorff; St. Gall (31:19.47:0 in the map of Helvetia); Schaffhausen (30:25.47:25 in the map of Helvetia); Reutlingen; Eslingen; Gmünd; Weyl (31:26.48:27); Heilbron (30:56.49:4); Wimpfen; Hal im Schwaben; Dinckelspuel; Bopfingen; Gengen; Alen; Nordlingen; Donauwörth; Buchau (31:36.47:54); Offenburg (29:38.48:27); Gengenbach (29:40.48:17); Zell im Hamerspach (29:44.48:16); Rottweil.

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The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 48:30
to the great circle.

[Map of Württemberg.]

Lower Alsace

The fifth circle of the empire is that of the Rhine.

1. Ecclesiastical order.

Bishops: Worms; Speyer; Strasbourg; Basel; Besançon in the county of Burgundy; the province of Wallis in which Sitten is the capital; Geneva; Lausanne; Metz; Toul; Verdun.

Abbots: Fulda; Hirsfeld; Morbach (28:52.47:47 in the map of Upper Alsace); St. Gregoris Münster (28:52.47:54).

2. Princes.

Princes, counts, and secular lords: the duke of Lorraine; the duke of Savoy; the duke and count of Spanheim (29:7.49:50 in the map of the Palatinate); margrave of Baden; duke of Zweibrücken; Co. Veldentz; Landgr. Hessen; the prince of Calim; Co. Nassau in Saarbrücken (28:47.49:2); the counts of the Rhine; H. Rapoltzkirchen near Rapoltzstain; Co. Biesch (29:13.48:56); Co. Salm (28:56.48:24); Co. Hunau and Lichtenberg (29:14.48:45); Co. Leiningen (29:40.49:24); Co. Falckenstein (29:20.48:51); H. Morspurg (28:53.47:22) and Befort (28:36.47:29); H. Rapoltstain (29:3.48:6); H. Hohen Rechperg (29:3.48:7); H. Blanckenberg (Blammont in Lorraine) (28:27.48:31); Co. Weisbaden (29:47.50:4) and Itzstain

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(29:50.50:8 in the 3rd map of Westphalia); Co. Kunigstain; H. von Eppenstein; Co. Isenburg (29:1.47:48 in Upper Alsace); Co. Solms (30:14.50:35 in the map of Hessen); Co. Nassau in Weilburg (29:55.50:25 in the 3rd map of Westphalia); Co. Senivigen; Co. Havare; H. Muntzenburg; Co. Westenburg (29:34.50:35 in the 3rd map of Westphalia); Co. Wittgenstein (30:14.50:47); Co. Waldeck; Co. Plesse (31:54.51:37 in the map of Brunswick). [Co. = Count; H. = Herr; Landgr. = Landgrave.]

3. Free cities.

Mulhouse in Sundtgau of Upper Alsace; Basel; Colmar; Kaiserperg; Turckheim; St. Gregoris Münster; Ober Ebenhaim (29:12.48:19); Strasbourg; Rosenheim (29:12.48:23); Schletstatt (29:11.48:14); Hagenau (29:31.48:39); Weissenburg (29:40.48:5); Landau (29:50.49:2); Speyer; Worms; Frankfurt; Friedberg in Wederau (30:19.50:10 in the 3rd map of Westphalia); Wetzlar (30:2.50:29 *ibid.*); Metz; Toul; Verdun; Kaufmans Saarbrücken (28:50.48:42 in the map of the Palatinate); Besançon; Castle Friedburg (28:43.47:43); Castle Gleichausen.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 48:39
to the great circle.

[Map of Lower Alsace.]

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Upper Alsace

A landgraviate, and Sundgau and Brisgau.

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In Upper Alsace are:

Counties: Horburg (29:9.47:56); Sulz (28:56.47:46); Egisheim (29:1.47:54).

Domains: Bolwiller (28:59.47:45); Hohen Hatstat (28:47.47:51); Rapoltstain (29:4.48:5); Hohen Lantsperg (29:0.47:55); Hohenack (28:53.47:57).

Imperial cities of the fifth circle: St. Gregoris Münster (28:42.47:54); Durckheim (29:2.47:57); Colmar (29:6.47:57); Mulhouse (29:2.47:39); Kaisersperg (29:0.48:1).

In Sundgau there are:

Counties: Pfirt (29:0.47:25).

Domains: Befort (28:37.47:29); Morspurg (Morsbroich) (28:53.47:22).

In Brisgau there are:

Zering, once a duchy (29:34.47:56).

The county of Friburg (29:34.47:54).

The marquise of Hochberg (29:36.48:3).

The domains of Badenville (29:23.47:42); Stauffen (29:29.47:47); Burcken (29:21.48:0).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 48:10 to the great circle.



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[Map of Upper Alsace.]

Lower Saxony

in which are the duchies:

Lauenburg, Mecklenburg, and Lunenburg.

The ninth circle of the empire, called *Niedersachsen*.

1. Ecclesiastical order.

Archbishops: Bremen; Magdeburg.

Bishops: Hildesheim; Lübeck; Schwerin; Ratzenburg; Schleswig.

2. Secular princes and lords.

The king of Denmark, because of jurisdictions belonging to the empire; Duke of Lauenburg; Duke of Brunswick; Duke of Lunenburg; Duke of Mecklenburg; Duke of Holstein; Counts of Rosheim; Counts of Delmenhorst.

3. Free cities.

Lübeck; Hamburg; Mulhouse in Thuringia; Northausen in Thuringia (32:55.51:36); Goslar; Göttingen.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 53:30 to the great circle.

[Map of Lower Saxony.]

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The Duchy of Brunswick.

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This map contains the following:

Duchies: Grubenhagen, which is part of the empire.

Principalities: (*Fürstentum*) of Anhalt, part of the empire.

Counties: Mansfelt, part of the empire, which has under it

four counties: Wipra (33:26.51:43); Arnstein (33:27.51:45); Wettin (34:5.51:44); and Querfurt (33:52.51:29). Also the counties of Barby (34:7.52:8); Stolberg (33:8.51:42); Hohenstein (32:32.51:32); Regenstein (32:58.52:0); and Plesse (31:54.51:37), all members of the empire.

Ecclesiastical principalities: Magdeburg, an archbishopric and the primate of Germany, part of the empire; the bishoprics of Hildesheim (31:53.52:23), part of the empire; and Halberstadt (33:10.52:7), parts of the empire and subject to Mainz; and the bishoprics (*Stiften*) of Quedlinburg (33:13.51:58) and Gernrode (33:12.51:54), parts of the empire in the eighth circle.

Goslar (32:36.52:55) and Nordhausen (32:55.51:36), which are imperial cities.

The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel 52:10 to the great circle.

[Map of Brunswick.]

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Hesse.

A landgraviate.

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Hesse has a numerous nobility and illustrious places, which it would be good to distinguish from others, but to date I have not chanced to learn anything about them and their state of government. I have, however, found two counties, Solms (30:15.50:35) and Wittgenstein (30:17.50:50).

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the 51st parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Hesse.]

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Thuringia

A landgraviate.

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The nobility and status of this jurisdiction have not yet become known to me. Still, I have found a county, Gleichen (32:50.50:58) and, I think, Kranichfeld (34:17.51:26). Also one bishopric, Merseburg (34:17.51:26).

The meridians are distant from each other in the ratio of the 51st parallel to the equator.

[Map of Thuringia.]

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The Duchy of Franconia.

The first circle of the empire is that of Franconia, in which these are summoned to the council:

1. Ecclesiastics.

Bishop of Bamberg; Bishop of Würzburg; Duke of Franconia; Bishop of Eichstädt; Master of the Teutonic Order; Prefect of Camberg (29:51.50:13 in the 3rd map of Westphalia); Abbot of St. Gilgen in Nuremberg.

2. Secular princes.

Margrave of Brandenburg, burger of Nuremberg; Co[unt]. Hennenberg (32:10.50:34); Co. Castel (33:45.49:21); Co. Wertheim; Co. Rheineck (31:41.50:10); Counts of Hohenloe (31:20.49:10); H[err]. Reichelsperg (31:53.49:33); H. Limburg (31:39.49:3 in the map of Württemberg); Co. Erbach (29:31.49:58); Co. Schwartzenburg (33:13.50:45).

3. Free cities.

Nuremberg; Rottenburg; Winshaim; Schweinfurt.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 50th parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Franconia.]

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The Duchy of Bavaria.

The second circle of the empire, the Bavarian.

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1st Order.

Bishops: Archbishop of Salzburg; Bishop of Passau; Bishop of Freising; Bishop of Regensburg.

Abbots: Prefect of Berchtesgaden; Abbot of Rempeseck; Abbot of Waldsachsen (34:25.49:58 in the map of Franconia); Abbot of Roden, or Rot, I think (34:29.47:51); Abbot of Keishaim (32:53.46:43); Abbot of St. Haymeran in Regensburg.

Abbesses: Alt Münster in Regensburg; Ober Münster in Regensburg.

2nd Order.

Duke of Bavaria; Count palatine of Bavaria; Landgrave of Luchtenberg (34:28.49:35 in the map of Franconia); Co. Hage; Co.

Ortenburg (35:36.48:30); B. in Stauffen, perhaps Thunastauffen (34:22.49:0) or Stauffnegk (35:22.47:35); H. Rimfels, perhaps Rhinfelden in the map of Germany; B. Degenberg (35:8.48:53); Obersulzberg (33:31.49:8).

3rd Order.

Freistädt; Regensburg.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 48th parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Bavaria.]

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The Upper or Bavarian Palatinate.

A principality of the empire.

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In it is the landgraviate of Luchtenberg (33:27.49:35). It belongs to the empire in the second circle. The other nobility are as yet unknown to us.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 49:15 to the great circle.

[Map of the Bavarian palatinate.]

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The Duchy of Upper Saxony

with Misnia and Lusatia.

The eighth circle of the empire (Obersachsen).

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1st Order.

Bishops: Meissen; Merseburg; Naumburg; Brandenburg; Havelburg; Lübeck; Camin.

Abbots: Solveltdt; Rottershausen; Falckenrieten (32:45.51:42).

Abbesses: Quedlinburg (33:13.51:59); Gernrode (33:11.51:54).

2nd Order.

Secular princes and lords: Duke of Saxony, an elector; Margrave of Brandenburg, an elector; Marquesses of Brandenburg; Dukes of Pomerania; Princes of Anhalt (33:19.51:8); Counts of Schwartzenburg (33:13.50:45); Counts of Mansfeld; Counts of Stolberg (33:6.51:43); Co. Hohenstein (32:36.51:35); Co. Buchlingen (33:34.51:19); Co. Rappin; Counts of Mullingen (33:59.52:8 in the

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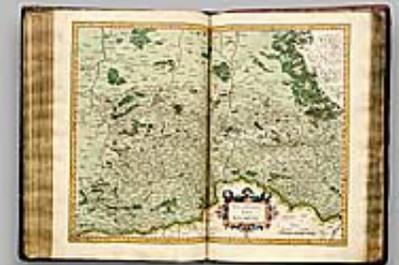
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map of Brunswick); counts of Gleiche (31:51.51:27, or perhaps rather 32:51.50:58); Counts of Leisneck (35:8.51:14); Counts of Widerfels; H.H. [*Herren*] Bernau; B.B. [Barons] de Tautenberg (33:58.51:5); Co. Regenstein (32:57.52:0); Russe de Plau (34:30.53:44), H. de Gratz; H.H. de Schonburg.

3rd Order.

Free states: Danzig; Elbing.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 51:10
to the meridian.

[Map of Upper Saxony.]

Brandenburg

A margraviate and electorate.

That most learned mathematician and professor in the University of Frankfort-an-der-Oder, Elias Camerarius, first and alone furnished this description of the margraviate of Brandenburg. We expected many and most highly desired things in astronomical studies from him, if the Lord had granted him longer life, for he was already very diligent in the observation of the motions of the sun, the moon, and the stars, in order to correct the errors in them that he was discovering with certainty. He drew this map without the use of geometrical instruments, as one to whom this was not proper because of his academic business, but from his own journeys and those of others. He did this so skillfully and circumspectly that he could

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scarcely have attained the measurement of the longitude and latitude of the region any better even if he had measured it by triangles with the aid of the geometer's dioptr. Experience has taught me this, that whenever I would reconcile his description with the maps of the surrounding regions, there was almost never any need for any shrinking or expansion. Rather, they fell in exactly the same longitude and latitude of an external place according to his measurements as the adjacent maps, most diligently corrected and reconciled by me, required. I wondered at his skill, unabetted by the use of any instrument, and I rejoiced to find all things squaring exquisitely with my arrangements. For the latitude of the city of Frankfurt, which he often measured, agreed most elegantly with my measurement and arrangement of the regions. Thus it is that we ought to thank him and cherish his name in pious memory. He surely would have supplied me with a description of the nobility and political state of the region if he had survived. Now, I have no more to say than that the whole jurisdiction of the prince elector is divided into seven or eight provinces, which are Old March, Middle March, New March, Upper March, Pregnitz, the duchy of Crossen, and the domains of Sterneberg and Cottbus. Also part of Lusatia. Among these there is doubtless a certain state and polity of the orders, both for the preservation and care of the whole body as well as for the governing of the peoples.

There are also minor counties in these provinces, such as Rapin (35:14.53:8) and Vierraden (36:54.53:7), and the margraviate of Kustrin (37:14.52:36).

This map also contains:

The duchy of Mecklenburg and most of Pomerania.

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The ecclesiastics in this map are:

The archbishop of Magdeburg, primate of Germany, to whom are subject the bishops of Brandenburg and Havelburg in the margraviate of Brandenburg.

In Mecklenburg, the bishop of Schwerin, subject to Bremen.

In Pomerania, the bishop of Camin.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 53rd parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Brandenburg.]

The Kingdom and Electorate of Bohemia.

The kingdom of Bohemia was divided by Charles (who in 1346 was made king and emperor) into twelve regions that are each presided over each year by captains, one a baron, the other from the knightly order, who, first, hear lesser suits between subjects of the various domains. Secondly, if thieves emerge, they are entitled to call together the neighboring nobility subject to them to catch the robbers. Thirdly, if war should break out, each person betakes himself to his prefect. Aside from this, I find nothing about the state of this kingdom.

In this kingdom certain cities are immediately subject to the king, such as (giving first their Czech, then their German names) Praha (Prag), Plzen (Pilsen), Budejovice (Budweis), Kolin (Koln), Rakovnik (Rakonick), Klatovy (Glatau), Beraun (Bern), Cheb (Eger), Strzibro (Miss), Kutna Hora

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(Kuttenberg), Tabor (Taber), Zarec (Satz), Litomerice (Leitmiritz), Launi (Laun), Most (Brück), Hradec (Grätz), Auscii (Aust), Myto (Maut), Dvor (Hof), Jaromerice (Jeromir). There are around thirty of them altogether; the rest are subject to the nobles of the kingdom.

In the kingdom I find these places named:

The burgraviate of Carlstein (36:2.49:55), where the crown of the king is preserved.

Counties: Lobkowitz; Hassenstain; Litzkau (37:18.48:51); Comethau; Passau; Melnick (36:30.50:20); Rosenberg (36:57.48:49); Hradec (37:8.49:16).

Domains: Hasenburg (36:11.50:18); Leip (36:35.50:44); Perstain; Dobitschau; Walstain; Roschateck; Dachau (34:55.49:42); Totsnick; Wartenberg; Schellenberg; Kost; Schmiritz; Lissau; Kunewalt; Dessau; Schonpeck; Slawa; Grossen Bora; Liebenstain; Joppendorff; Gradec; Colourat. Of these, some are perhaps counties.

Barons: Trachenburg and Millitsch.

Prague was made an archbishopric by the Emperor King Charles of Bohemia; the bishop of Litomerice (38:25.49:52) is suffragan to it.

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the parallel 49:40 to the great circle.

[Map of Bohemia.]

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The Margraviate of Moravia.

(*Marhern* in German.)

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I find named in Moravia:

Counties: Hukenwaldt; Schonberg (39:6.49:54).

Domains: Lomnicz (38:39.49:22); Walstain; Peitnitz; Bozkowitz
(38:51.49:28); Dirnowitz (39:5.49:19); Dubranitz; Gemnicz;
Neuhaus; Telesch; Trebitsch (38:16.49:13); Ragetz.

One bishopric: Olmütz (Olomouc) (39:25.49:30).

The meridians are distant from each other in the ratio of the parallel 49:20
to the great circle.

[Map of Moravia.]

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The Archduchy of Austria.

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The third circle of the empire is the Austrian, in which there are two
orders.

Ecclesiastics: The bishops of Trent, Brixen, Goricia, Seckau, Labach, and
Vienna. The master of the Teutonic Order. The master of the Order
in Etschal.

Secular princes: The archduke of Austria; Count Schaumberg; Baron
Wolkenstain (37:32.47:46); Herr Senster; Herr Roggendorff
(37:48.48:18); Count Hardeck (38:21.48:48).

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Besides the princes of the empire, I find these named in Austria:

Counties: Thurn; Crentz; Ortenburg; Pernec (38:18.48:45); Garb.

Freiherren: Landskron; Wanberg; Hohen Osterwitz; Neuberg;

Guettenhag; Teuffenbach; Mairhofen; Awersperg; Dorneck;

Sarau; Hartenstain; Schwartzenu; Tiernstain; Wachauthall;

Hoffkirchen (36:15.48:19); Eytzing.

Also the domains: Aichelperg; Kaltenprun (38:26.48:26); Mas-

senperg; Stupenperg; Heggenberg; Stahrenberg (36:8.46:6);

Liechtenstain (39:6.48:13); Losenstain; Puchaim; Luetkurt;

Porges; Schonkirchen (39:42.48:33); Schefftenberg; Altens-

perg; Hornstein (38:46.47:50); Seibersdorff.

The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel 48:20
to the great circle.

[Map of Austria.]

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The Archbishopric of Salzburg.

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After Bishop Rupert of Worms (who was of the royal family of the Franks) was driven from his see on the death of King Childebert around A.D. 540, he went to Ravensburg to Duke Theodo of Bavaria, and instructed and baptized him. With his consent, he converted and dedicated many to Christ as he wandered through Noricum. Coming on the desolate ruins of ancient Juvavia, a place suitable for a bishopric, he built a basilica there in honor of St. Peter and added a monastery of the order of St. Benedict, from which afterward many abbots have been called to the lofty eminence

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of bishop. There he ruled the episcopal church for forty-four years, dying in A.D. 623. This information comes from Sebastian Münster. I have no information on the nobility and state of this jurisdiction.

The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel
47:10 to the great circle.

[Map of Salzburg.]

The Kingdom of Poland

The political state of the kingdom of Poland has two members that are summoned to the royal assemblies, and with whom the administration of justice and government is lodged:

The ecclesiastics, among whom are:

Two archbishops, that of Gniezno in Greater Poland and that of Lvov in Russia.

The bishops of Krakow in Little Poland; Plock in Masovia; Chelm in Volhynia; Vladislavov in Cujavia; Pomesania, Warmia, Kulm, and Königsberg in Prussia; Poznan in Greater Poland; Przemysl in Russia; Kamenets in Podolia; Vilnius, Mednic, Lutzcow (which is suffragan to Vilnius) in Lithuania; and Riga, Derpta, Absel, and Reval (Talinn) in Livonia.

The nobles, among whom are:

The chatelain of Krakow.

Palatines: Krakow; Poznan; Sandomierz; Kalisz; Siradia; Lancisia; Brest; Inowladislavia; Russia; Podolia; Lublin; Belze;

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Plock; Masovia; Rava. Also in Lithuania: Vilnius; Trochi; Polosco; Novogrod; Vitellia. And in Prussia: Kulm; Marienburg; Pomerania.

Chatelains: Poznan; Sandomierz; Kalisz; Voynic; Gniezno; Siradia; Lancicia; Brest; Inowladislavia; Lvov; Kamenets; Lublin; Belz; Plock; Gern; Rava; Sandecz; Myedzeris; Vislicza; Biec; Rogostia; Radom; Zawichost; Landeck; Srem; Zarnow; Mologost; Vielun; Przemysl; Haln; Sanoë; Chelm; Dobrna; Polanecia; Premetense; Crisvinnence; Czechovia; Nakel; Rospire; Byechovia; Bydgoszcz; Brezeczine; Crusnicie; Osvecimense; Kamenets; Spicimirie; Inowlodense; Rovalie; Zavoloc; Sochazovie; Warsaw; Gostyn; Visne; Raciez; Sieprecense; Wizogrod; Rypin; Zakrotzin; Chiechanovia; and Lvov. In Lithuania: Vilnius and Trochi. In Prussia: Kulm, Elbing, Pomerania.

Captains, of which office there are very many in the whole kingdom of Poland.

Two marshals, of the kingdom and of the royal court.

The ecclesiastical state of the kingdom of Poland consists of the archbishops and bishops here mentioned.

I have this information from the description of the kingdom of Poland of Blaise de Vigenere. However, because many places are named here that are outside this map, in the regions of Sarmatia, I could not show their latitude and longitude here. But when I get to the maps of Sarmatia, I will repeat

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the kingdom of Poland and describe the whole of it very extensively, and will indicate diligently all the places.

Silesia.

There are in Silesia:

Fifteen duchies:

Those of: Legnica (Liegnitz), Bregen, Teschen, Monsterberg, Olsvic, and Becustad, three of which ancient families still hold, namely, Legnica, Teschen, and Monsterbergensis.

Also Tropavia, Opole, Nysa (Neisse), Wratislavia (or Breslau), Svidnik, Hura, Glatz (Klodzco), Ratisbor (Raciborz), and Sagan (Zagan), which the kings of Bohemia have taken over, since the ancient families were extinct.

Three families of barons, namely, von Trachenberg, Vertenberg, and Plesse.

The supreme tribunal of the king in Silesia is at Wroclaw (Breslau), where there is also an episcopal see just as at Nisse.

This information is taken from Joachim Cureo.

The mean meridian is 41:30, to which the rest tend in the ratio of the 50th and 52nd parallels to the great circle.

[Map of Poland and Silesia.]

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The Kingdom of Hungary.

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The king of Hungary administers his kingdom with the aid of two magistracies that are:

The superior magistracy, divided into three magistracies:

I. That governing the kingdom in the name of the king, in which are:

The palatine of the kingdom, who is next to the king and is the ordinary judge of the king himself, whenever he is accused. He is elected by the common vote of the inhabitants of the kingdom, and the office is not hereditary.

The judge of the court, who is one of the ordinary judges of the kingdom.

The chancellors: the permanent chancellor is the metropolitan of Esztergom (Gran), and is also the primate of the kingdom and is called the highest secretary, and has the prerogative of anointing the elected king, and secures privileges with the great seal; and another appointed by the king's will, who secures other less important letters and, above all, royal commands and those given in the settling of lawsuits, and also signs the decrees of the king.

The master of the court. He is obliged to follow the retinue of the king and is considered his intimate counselor.

The master of the royal offices. He decides the lawsuits concerning gold mines, saltworks and, in brief, those of the cities, districts and castles pertaining to the royal purse.

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2. That treating judgments, in which the officers are:

Three of greater authority: the vicepalatine of the kingdom; the judge of the personal presence, who takes the place of his royal majesty in judgments, and is in charge of the judges; and the vice-judge of the court.

The lesser, who exercise rather the administration of judgments than a magistracy. They are: the two protonotaries of the judge of the personal presence; the protonotary of the vicepalatine; and the protonotary of the vice-judge of the court. These are all commonly called magistrates, and they have the following adjuncts associated in their work: the secretary of the archbishop of Esztergom, who is the director of royal lawsuits and is called the fiscal; twelve assessors; and a certain number of sworn notaries, all from noble families, who preside in their own places separate from the rest.

3. Those ministering to the king. They are: the royal treasurer; the master of the royal chambers; the master of the royal treasures, whom the Germans call the Stallmeister or equerry; the master of the royal waiters; the master of the royal cupbearers; the master of the royal doorkeepers; and other lesser offices.

The lesser magistracy, which is in the judiciary of individual places. Further, since the kingdom is very large, and not all of the lesser judges can come together to the court, nor is the courts sufficient for so many complaints, individual tribunals are established throughout the provinces,

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before whom cases are decided in the first instance. The Hungarians call these counties, and they are as follows:

Above the Danube and west of the Tisza: Posonia; Nitra; Cepusia; Gewinaria; Posthia; Semlinia; Comaria; Lipton; Novigrad; Abavivaria; Bathia; Unghen; Trauchim; Barsia; Hont; Borso-
dia; Bodroghia; Peregia; Turoc; Onvizoli; Tornen; Hevesia;
Zolonoc; Moramarusia.

Above the Danube and east of the Tisza: Ugoghia; Bihoria; Zatmaria;
Orodia; Zabolcz; Chonad (Csanad); Torontal; Temesia.

Between the Danube and the Drava: Musun; Zaladia; Tona; Raab
(Györ); Vesprinia; Strigonia (Esztergom); Sopronia; Alba;
Sinigia; Castriferrensis; Pelisia; Warania.

Between the Drava and the Sava: Valkon; Risia (Rysy); Syrmia
(Srem); Warasdia; Posegia; Zagreb.

The ecclesiastical administration rests with two archbishops, namely:

That of Esztergom, an apostolic legate and the primate of the king-
dom. He has under him the bishops of: Agria; Vacia; Nitra;
Fünfkirchen (Pecs); Vesprinia, who is the chancellor of the
queen, whom he crowns; and Györ, commonly called Raab.

That of Kolosz (Cojocna), under whom are the bishops of: Zagreb;
Transylvania; Voccadra; Svinia; Visegrad; Csanad or Chonad;
Bosnia.

I have taken this information from the map of Hungary by Wolfgang
Lazius. However, since it all pertains only to the governance and regime
of the kingdom, I think there must be another estate between the princes

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and the cities of the kingdom, pertaining to the preservation, use, needs, and protection of the kingdom. But I am unable to produce this since I know nothing of it.

The mean meridian is 42:30, to which the rest tend according to the ratio of the 46th and 48th parallels to the great circle.

[Map of Hungary.]

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[Index of locations in the general map of Germany.]

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Geographic Maps of Italy,
Sclavonia, and
Greece,
By Gerardus
Mercator, Cosmographer
to the Most Illustrious
Duke of Jülich and Cleve, etc.
Published at Duisburg

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With
grace and permission

To the most serene Prince Ferdinando de' Medici,
Cardinal, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Protector of Spain.

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Gerardus Mercator

*Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes
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Even though I had gathered Italy, the flower of the earth, with singular zeal and labor from maps and books as free from error as I was able, most serene prince, it did not seem wise to send it out to the sight of those great men by whom it was requested without an illustrious ornament, that greater authority and splendor might thus be added to it. As I was worrying over this matter, my spirit, avid to celebrate Roman antiquity, drew me to the seat of that most ancient and wise king Janus, Etruria [or Tuscany]. For just as there, under the aegis of Idaean Hercules and of his son Tuscus and his grandson Janus and Janus' tutor, Italian Atlas, the whole glory of Italy arose as though from its earliest cradle, even so I do not doubt that his memory, renewed here, and your own glory and highness as the successor of Janus will commend most highly my work, and reverence for it will suppress the audacity of rivals like another royal Maecenas. Therefore I pray that this work, illustrious prince, will be sacred and commended to your highness, and offer it. I was forcefully driven to such audacity by your favor and protection, with which you embrace all students and those devoted to the arts, so that I believe that I am in your debt (albeit far removed) like all other students, bound to worship and respect your highness. I have added Greece, corrected and enlarged from certain authorities, especially Pausanias. My plan required the addition of Illyria (or Sclavonia) and Thrace, so that, collecting into one the regions that connect and, in some manner, communicate with each other, I may eventually display the whole world in volumes. If anything more should come to pass, especially concerning Italy, whose antiquity I wish above all to celebrate (so far as the hastening feebleness of old age permits), I shall give it in addition to your most

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illustrious highness, who for the sake of the commonwealth I pray may long remain safe. Duisburg, March 13, 1589.

Devoted with every effort

to your most illustrious highness, I am

Gerardus Mercator,

Cosmographer to the illustrious duke of Cleve, etc.

Gentle reader.

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We deliver to you, gentle reader, a new volume of our geography, in which we have included Italy, Slavonia, and the Greek regions of Europe, once jointly governed under the regime of the Roman emperor; and in that order that Ptolemy orders us to observe, namely, proceeding from the west to the east and from the north to the south, so that nothing in between is omitted, and so that finally we shall produce all the regions of the world, as infrequently as possible repeating what has once been described, lest the purchaser be burdened with a superfluous multiplication of maps. I have reduced all things so diligently to the truth that the purchaser need not fear any changes, which would be expensive to him. For the same reason it has been my plan to describe and complete the whole work once and once only, in as pure a form as possible, both in the published and the forthcoming volumes, so as not to make the task greater for myself or to compel the purchasers to incur greater expenses. Farewell. Duisburg, March 13, 1589.

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Italy,

In which the following regions are contained,

Lombardy.

The duchy of Venice.

Liguria and the duchy of Genoa.

The duchy of Friuli.

Istria.

The county of Romandiola.

The duchy of Tuscany.

The duchy of Spoleto.

The marches of Ancona.

Latium, now the *Campagna di Roma*.

Abruzzo, the Samnite territory.

Terra di Lavoro, or *Campagna felice*, a principality.

The kingdom of Apulia [in Latin, *Daunia plana*].

Lucania and Basilicata, a principality.

Terra di Bari [in Latin, *Apulia Peucetia*].

The kingdom of Otranto.

The kingdom of Upper Calabria.

Sicily [in Latin, *Magna Graecia*].

Lower Calabria [in Latin, the *Ager Bruttius*].

The kingdom of Naples includes a great part of these regions.

Because very few counties and domains were known to me throughout Italy and Greece, and most of them cannot be given names and positions in

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these maps because of the imperfection of existing maps, I shall, with a few exceptions, pass over this labor. Any student will easily be able to annotate whichever such he finds. The investigation of political matters would be most pleasing, if the nobility of all these kingdoms and the offices of each of them and the positions of their domains were known. Whoever is offering this in his own native land will merit praise.

The mean meridian is the 36th, to which the rest tend, distant according to the ratio of the 40th and 44th parallels.

[Map of Italy.]

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Lombardy

First map. In which its Alpine and western part is described, along with Vasia, called *Wallis* in the vernacular.

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Sion (29:0.45:34) seat of the bishopric of the Valais, is subject to the archbishopric of Valais in Savoy; likewise Aosta (29:6.45:4).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 45:20 to the great circle.

[First map of Lombardy.]

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Lombardy

Second map. In which these main regions are described, the county of Tirol and the march of Treviso.

These bishoprics are subject to the patriarch of Aquileia: Mantua (32:58.44:38); Cuma; Trento (33:6.45:39); Verona (33:18.45:2); Maravensis, Padua (34:16.45:12); Vicenza (33:40.45:18); Treviso (34:40.46:36); perhaps Ceneda (34:46.45:52); Feltre (34:12.45:48); Belluno (34:21.46:2).

Look for the rest that are subject to the patriarch of Aquileia in the map of Friuli.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel 45:20.

[Second map of Lombardy.]

Lombardy. Third Map.

In which are described the marches of Piedmont and Monferrato and the duchy of Genoa.

Ecclesiastical administration.

The archbishop of Torino (29:30.43:52), to whom are subject: Casale Monferrato (30:19.44:6); Saluzzo (29:22.43:32); Montereale.

Subject to the archbishop of Milan (and shown on the map of Brescia and Milan, the fifth) are the bishops of: Novara; Lodi; Vercelli; Ipporeggio; Asti; Aqua; Alba; Tortona; Savona; Albenga; Ventimiglia; Piacenza; Pavia.

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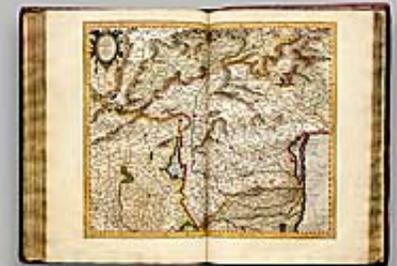
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The archbishop of Genoa (31:8.43:20), to whom are subject the bishops of: Bobbio (30:12.43:32); Brumacensis, Marano; and Ajaccio (30:27.43:42) and Nebbio in Corsica.

The bishop of Albenga is counted among the suffragan bishops of the archbishop of Milan.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 44th parallel.

[Third map of Lombardy.]

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Lombardy

Fourth map. In which are these main regions: Romandiola, Parma, the duchy of Ferrara, and the march of Mantua.

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Ecclesiastical administration.

The archbishop is at Ravenna (34:53.43:54). To him are subject the bishops of: Adria (34:37.44:42); Comacchio (34:52.44:12); Cervio (35:5.43:53); Forlì (34:51.43:46); Forlimpopoli (34:58.43:46); Velimensis, perhaps Fille (34:32.44:4); Cesena (35:5.43:44); Sarsina; Faenza (34:34.43:46); Imola (34:20.43:50); Modena (33:24.43:53); Bologna (34:52.43:52); Regenensis (33:3.43:56); Parma (32:42.44:0); Barcinensis (32:33.43:37).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 44th parallel to the great circle.

[Fourth map of Lombardy.]

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The County of Brescia
and the Duchy of Milan.

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Ecclesiastical administration.

The archbishop of Milan (31:7.44:36) has these suffragan bishops: Bergamo (31:44.44:56); Brescia (34:10.46:23); Cremona (32:9.44:14); Laudensis (31:30.44:26); Novara (30:27.44:28); Vercelli (30:10.44:19 in the third map of Lombardy); Ipporeggio (29:34.44:26); Vigevano; Asti (30:8.43:52); Aqua (30:28.43:42); Alba (30:0.43.34); Tortona (30:49.43:58); Sion (30:32.43:20); Albenga (30:22.42:50); Ventimiglia (29:28.42:40); Piacenza (31:50.44:8); Pavia, which is exempt (31:10.44:17); Ferrara, which is exempt (34:0.44:28).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the
44th parallel.

[Map of Brescia and Milan.]

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The Principality of Verona,
Vicenza and Padua,

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and the main cities of the march of Treviso are fully described.

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the
45th parallel to the meridian.

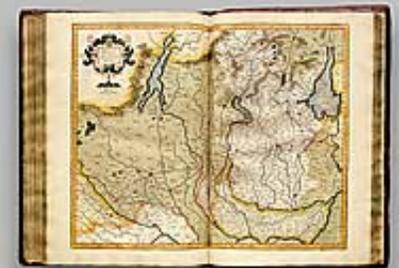
[Map of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua.]

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Friuli and Istria,

Karstia, Carniola, the Windish mark, and the county of Cilia.

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Ecclesiastical administration

The patriarchate of Aquileia (36:10.45:42), under which are these bishoprics: Concordia (35:24.45:17); Pola or Pula (37:20.45:4); Parenzo or Porec (36:46.45:12); Trieste (36:43.45:38); Comacchio; Capo de Istria, in Latin, *Justinopolis* (36:46.45:31); New Madria or Emona.

For the rest of the bishoprics under the patriarch of Aquileia, see the second map of Lombardy.

The patriarchate of Grado (36:12.45:53), under which are the bishops of: Venice; Tercellana (34:54.45:24); Jesolo; Caorle (34:53.49:29 in the map of Verona); Cittanova (35:17.45:30).

The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the 46th parallel to the meridian.

[Map of Friuli, Istria, Karstia, Carniola, the Windish mark, and the county of Cilia.]

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Tuscany.

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The bishoprics of Tuscany.

Nepesino (35:47.41:59); Castellano (35:49.42:11); Montefalcone (35:22.42:12); Viterbo (35:28.42:6); Soano (34:45.42:10); Castellano (35:17.43:6); Volterra (33:43.42:44); Siena, an archbishopric (34:18.42:44); Fiesole (33:51.43:13); Zarzana (32:25.43:8); Sutri (35:41.41:57); Orta (35:40.42:19); Corneto (35:13.41:48); Tuscania (35:16.42:0); Chiusi (35:8.42:41); Arezzo

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(34:49.43:0); Pientinensis, perhaps Pontito (33:3.43:16); Pistoia (33:22.43:14); Bina; Cortona; Civitavecchia (36:3.42:3); Bagnarea; Orvieto (35:12.41:37); Castro (35:0.42:2); Perugia (35:37.42:54); Grosseto (34:7.42:10); Lucca (33:2.43:2); Florence, an archbishopric (33:53.43:8); Luni (32:34.43:4). The archbishopric of Pisa (33:6.24:52), to whom these bishopric are subject: Massa (33:53.42:24); and Civitavecchia and the rest of the bishoprics in Corsica.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel
41:30.

[Map of Tuscany.]

The Marches of Ancona, and the Duchy of Spoleto.

The bishopric of Rimini (35:37.43:51) is subject to the archbishopric of Ravenna.

Bishoprics of the marches of Ancona.

Ascoli (37:42.42:59); Fermo (36:4.43:31); Camarana (36:43.43:7); Osimo (37:35.43:38); Humana (37:21.43:43); Ancona (37:16.43:46); Jesi (37:0.43:35); Senigallia (36:50.43:44); Fano (36:14.43:48); Pesaro (36:7.43:48); Fossombrone (36:12.43:37); Cagli (36:0.43:23); San Leo (36:2.43:35); Macerata (37:16.43:25); Recanati (37:26.43:32).

Bishoprics of the duchy of Spoleto.

Assisi (33:55.42:53); Foligno (36:4.42:50); Nocera Umbra (36:15.43:3); Gubbio (35:48.43:8); Spoleto (36:20.42:43); Todi (36:0.42:38); Amelia (35:40.42:23); Narni (35:58.42:26); Terni (36:8.42:30).

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The meridians are distant according to the ratio of the
43rd parallel.

[Map of Ancona and Spoleto.]

Campagna di Roma,
Anciently called *Latium*.

Ecclesiastical matters derive from the province of the Roman pontiff.

Rome is the head of all churches. Residing in it, the pope has under his authority five so-called patriarchal churches within the city, those of St. John Lateran, the Monastery of St. Peter [St. Peter's], St. Paul Within [*sic*] the Walls [*S. Paolo fuori le mure*], Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the monastery of St. Lawrence [*S. Lorenzo fuori le mure*].

Eight bishops, who at first were called archpresbyters, are assigned to these churches. The first and greatest is the pope, and the rest are subject to him: of Ostia (36:10.41:31), who is the patriarch of Campania, and consecrates the pope, to whom is joined that of Velletri (36:33.41:36); Porta, or Saints Ruffina and Secunda (36:7.41:32); Rieti (36:34.41:43); Palestrina (36:48.41:51); and Albano (37:19.42:1).

Twenty-eight cardinal presbyters are assigned to these same churches, namely, of the title of:

Holy Cross in Jerusalem; Sts. John and Paul; St. Stephen in Monte Celio; St. Susanna; St. Peter in Chains; St. Prisca; St. Siriacus in the Baths; St. Marcellus; St. Balbina; St. Gregory; Sts. Marcellinus and Peter; St. Anastasia; St. Clement; St. Potentiana; St. Martin in the Mountains; St. Praxedes; St. Mark; St. Lawrence in Lucina;

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St. Mary in Trastevere; SS. Quattro Coronati; St. Sabina; Sts. Nereus and Archileus; St. Sixtus; St. Eusebius; St. Vitalis; Basilica of the Twelve Apostles; St. Lawrence in Damasis; St. Cecilia.

Eighteen cardinal deacons are joined to these, namely, those of: St. Lucia in Settisonio; St. Mary in Cosmedin; Sta. Maria Nova; Sta. Maria in via Lata; S. Nicolai in carcere; S. Nicolai inter imagines; St. Mary in Aquiro; St. George at the Golden Sail; St. Hadrian; St. Maria in Portico; St. Mary in Dominica; St. Vitus in Macello; St. Theodorus; Sts. Cosmas and Damian; Sts. George and Bacchus; S. Angelo; St. Eustachius; St. Agatha.

The bishops outside the city in maritime Campania: Anagni (37:2.41:41); Alatri (37:11.41:41); Fondi (37:16.41:6); Tivoli (36:20.42:0); Sagni (36:50.41:30); Terracina (37:2.41:8); Verulo (37:11.41:28); Ferentino (37:5.41:36); Sora (37:20.41:34); Aquino (37:37.41:28).

The pope also has under him four patriarchal churches in other regions of the world, to which churches established there are subject: Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and they will be treated in their own place.

The meridians are distant from each other according to the ratio to the parallel 41:30.

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[Map of Campagna di Roma.]

Abruzzo
and the *Terra di Lavoro*.
Part of the kingdom of Naples.

According to Francesco Sansovino, these are the principalities and domains in the kingdom of Naples:

Ten principalities, namely: Ascoli, Bisignano, Eboli, Malfi, Melfetta, Monchercole, Squilaci, Sligliano, Sulmona, Venosa.

Twenty-three duchies, namely: Andri, Amalfi, Ariano, Asu, Boiano, Castrovillari, Gravina, Martina, Montalto, Monteleone, Nardo, Nocera, Popoli, Rocca di Mondragone, S. Petro in Galatina, Seminara, Sessa, Somma, Sora, Tagliacozzo, Termoli, Terranova, Traietto.

Thirty marquisates, namely: Anna, Arbenzo, Bellate, Bucchiani, Campagna, Capo Urso, Castelvetero, Chierchiato, Cività S. Angeli, Corigliano, Laina, Lavello, Lauro, Licito, Misuraca, Oria, Oriolo, Padula Berventana, Pescara, Pulignano, Quarata, S. Lucito, Terza, Torre di Francolise, Torre Maggiore, Trivico, Tierso, Valle Siciliana, Vasto, Vico.

The are fifty-four counts of the state, fifteen lords, and 443 titled barons—so numerous is the nobility in the kingdom of Naples.

Archbishoprics and suffragan bishops in this map from the *Provinciale Romanum*.

In the province of Abruzzo and Marsico there are these bishoprics: L'Aquila (37:10.42:19); Forcana (37:22.42:18); Marsico (37:30.42:4); Sul-

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mona (37:49.42:23); Chieti (38:22.42:36); Atri (38:18.42:51); Penna (38:24.42:45); Aprutino (38:4.42:49).

The archbishop of Benevento (38:42.41:22), to whom are suffragan the bishops of: Teleso (38:20.41:20); S. Agata (38:0.41:39); Mons Marani, Marino on the map, I think (38:0.41:25); Avellino (38:49.41:7); Vicanensis (39:6.41:29); Ariano (39:12.41:21); Baiano (38:29.41:52); Ascoli Satriano (37:42.42:59); Nocera Inferiore (38:42.40:42); Tertibulensis; Vulturara Appula (39:12.41:18); Alariensis (38:18.42:33); Ferentinensis or Florentinensis; Civitatis (38:37.42:22); Termelensis (39:18.42:8); Lesinensis Fricenti; Trivento (38:58.42:6); Biminensis, perhaps Bomia (38:54.42:17); Vadiensis or Gadiensis, Musanensis; S. Maria (38:40.41:36).

The archbishop of Naples (38:19.40:49), to whom are subject the bishops of: Aversa (38:11.40:53), who is exempt; Nola (38:26.40:55); Pozzuoli (38:11.40:47); Cuma (37:56.40:47); Acerra (30:25.40:58); Iscala.

The archbishop of Capua (38:4.41:0), to whom are obedient the bishops of: Teano (37:50.41:18); Calvi (38:5.41:10); Sessa Aurunca (37:48.41:10); Venafro (37:58.41:35); Aquino (37:38.41:28); Isernia (38:7.41:43); Caserta (38:5.41:52); Caiazzo (37:40.41:35), which is exempt.

The archbishop of Amalfi (38:35.40:32), to whom are subject the bishops of: Capri (38:36.40:23); Scalensis or Camensis, Minorensis (38:29.40:33); Siteranensis.

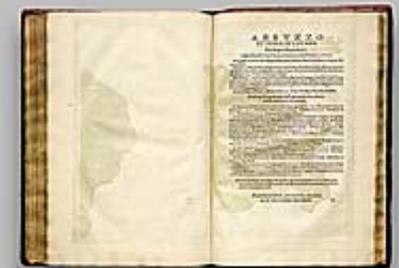
The archbishop of Salerno (38:44.40:33), to whom are subject the bishops of: Capaccio (38:57.40:22); Policastro (38:43.40:50); Ravello (38:32.40:34), which is exempt.

The archbishop of Sorrento (38:20.40:33), to whom are subject the bishops of: Vico Equense (38:22.40:36); Castellammare di Stabia (38:24.40:39).

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Francesco Sansovino says that there are twenty archbishoprics and 124 bishoprics in the kingdom of Naples, but some that are located in the *Provinciale Romanum* he does not have, and he adds others, doubtless as they have been changed or increased in later times.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the parallel
41:40 to the great circle.

[Map of Abruzzo and *Terra di Lavoro*.]

The Apulia Tableland,
the Land of Bari, the Land of
Otranto, Calabria,
and Basilicata.

The second part of the kingdom of Naples.

The archbishop of Reggio di Calabria (40:12.37:52), to whom are subject the bishops of: Locri (40:20.39:10); Crotone (41:56.39:5); Cassano (40:46.30:47); Cittanova (40:34.38:58); Gierazzo (40:40.38:18); Tropea (40:0.38:32); Vibo Valentia (40:8.38:39); Squillace (41:4.38:53).

The archbishop of Cosenza (40:24.39:22), under whom is the bishop of Maturano (40:28.39:7).

The archbishop of Rossano (41:10.39:31) has no suffragan bishops; the bishop of Bisignano (40:51.39:29) is exempt.

The archbishop of Sta. Severina, under whom are the bishops of: Ebriacensis; Strangulensis; Geneocastrensis; St. Leo.

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The archbishop of Larcatinum, under whom are the bishops of: Mutu-
lensis (41:22.40:53); Castellanensis (41:10.40:28).

The archbishop of Brindisi (42:17.46:32), to whom is subject the bishop
of Atria or Ostria.

The archbishop of Hidrontinum (42:59.40:8), to whom are subject
the bishops of: Castro (42:59.49:44); Gallipoli (42:12.39:58); Liciensis
(42:30.40:13); Ugento (42:28.39:56); Lucensis or Lucadensis (Nertonensis),
which is exempt.

The archbishop of Bari (41:5.41:5), to whom are subject the bishops
of: Bitonto (40:56.41:2); Molfetta (40:48.41:11); Giovinazzo (40:51.41:10);
Rubentinensis or Rubensis, now, I think, called Ruvo di Puglia
(40:42.41:7); Salpi (40:8.41:24); Conversano (41:20.40:57); Minervino
(40:0.40:0); Polignano a Mare (41:30.40:59); Cathericensis (39:56.41:9).

The archbishop of Trani (40:38.41:15), to whom are subject the bishops
of: Andria (40:30.41:11); Penensis.

The archbishop of Siponto or Manfredonia (40:1.41:30), to whom are
subject the bishops of: Vescanensis (40:11.41:57), who is exempt; Troia
(39:27.41:27), who is exempt; Melfi (39:36.40:52); Monopoli (41:36.40:56),
who is exempt; Rapolla (39:42.40:56), who is exempt.

The archbishop of Canosa di Puglia (40:14.41:9), under whom are the
bishops of: Aurania; Sarrania; Monteverde; Laquedonia; St. Angelo de
Lombardis; Bisaciensis.

The archbishop of Acerenza (39:41.41:1), to whom are subject
the bishops of: Potenza (40:10.40:35); Tricarico (40:34.40:30); Venosa
(39:51.40:57); Gravina (40:44.40:44); Anglona.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the 41st parallel.

[Map of the Apulia tableland, the Land of Bari, the Land of Otranto, Calabria, and Basilicata.]

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Corsica.

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Bishops in Corsica who are suffragans of the archbishop of Pisa in Tuscany.
Ajaccio (31:9.40:40); Aléria (32:20.41:15); Sagon (31:36.40:42); Cività.

Bishop subject to the archbishop of Genoa in Liguria.
Nebbio (31:45.41:30).

The Kingdom of Sardinia.

The archbishop of Cagliari (31:12.37:30), to whom are subject the bishops of:
Insula di S. Antiocho; Dolianova; Suellensis.

The archbishop of Sassari (31:8.39:15), to whom are subject the bishops of:
Sorrena (31:40.38:58); Plonatensis; Ampuriensis, Gisacensis or
Girardensis; Castrensis; Othavensis or Othaicensis; Bossa (31:6.38:38).

The bishop of Oristano (32:50.38:8), to whom are subject the bishops of:
Osilo; Sta. Giusta (31:4.38:2); Terralba.

The bishops of Cività and Galtelli are exempt.

The meridians are distant in the proportion of the
41st parallel.

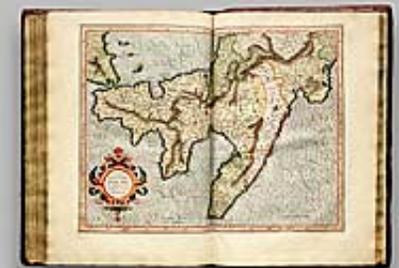
[Map of Corsica and Sardinia.]

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The Kingdom of Sicily.

Ecclesiastical administration.

The archbishopric is located at Palermo (36:56.37:2). To it are subject the bishops of: Agrigento (37:39.36:10); Mazara (36:20.36:24); and Mdina on the island of Malta between Africa and Sicily.

The archbishopric of Mons Regalis (perhaps 37:0.37:18), to which are subject the bishoprics of Syracuse (39:24.36:22) and Catania (39:40.37:0).

The archbishopric of Messina (39:56.37:54), to which are subject the bishoprics of: Cefalù (37:42.37:36); Pacensis (38:58.37:50); Lipari on the island of Lipari (see the general map of Italy to the south of Patti, latitude 38:18); San Marco (38:32.37:45); and Milazzo (39:20.38:1).

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the
37th parallel to the great circle.

[Map of Sicily.]

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Styria

In the vernacular *Steiermark*, made a duchy
by Frederick Barbarossa.

In it are many counties, among them Warasdin on the Drava River, and Lebnau on the Mura River.

The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel
47:10 to the great circle.

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[Map of Styria.]

Sclavonia,
Croatia, Bosnia, and
Part of Dalmatia.

Ecclesiastical administration from the *Provinciale Romanum*.

The archbishop of Zara or Zadar (which now is thought to be called Zaram) (39:23.44:33), to whom are subject the bishops of: Veglia or Krk (38:19.45:10 in the map of Friuli); Arbe or Rab (38:49.44:56).

The archbishop of Spalato or Split (40:54.44:0), under whom are the bishops of: Trau or Trogir (40:40.43:56); Tina (40:34.44:34); Sardona (40:8.44:20); Nona (39:16.44:42); Almisa (41:14.53:54); Sebenico or Sibenik (40:16.44:24); Farenensis.

The archbishop of Ragusa or Dubrovnik (see the map of Greece and Macedonia, 42:52.42:50), under whom are the bishops of: Stagno (42:25.43:12); Rossonensis or Bossononensis, i.e., Risine, I think (43:30.42:44); Trebina or Trebinje (42:58.43:8); Cataro or Kotor (43:40.42:36); Bacensis or Rosensis (42:16.42:30); Budva (43:34.42:16).

The archbishop of Antivari or Bar (43:32.42:12 in the map of Macedonia), under whom are the bishops of: Dulcigno or Ulcinj (43:54.42:6); Drinasco (44:20.42:28); Scutari or Shkodër (44:20.42:24); Sardensis, Surtarensis or Acittarensis or Arbensis.

The mean meridian is 41:30, to which the rest tend in the ratio of the parallels 44:40 and 46:0.

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[Map of Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, and part of Dalmatia.]

Walachia, Servia,
Bulgaria, Romania.

These kingdoms now obey the emperor of the Turks, who has his imperial seat at Constantinople, along with his main palace, called the Seraglio. It is not part of our plan to write about his regime and government or the offices of the court. Johannes Antonius Menavinus of Genua treated them in depth, along with Antonius Geufreus. However, I shall speak briefly of the power of the emperor and the administration of the kingdoms. There are around 200 people whom the Turk ordered every four years to collect male children from every family of the Christians throughout Greece, Walachia, Bosnia, Anatolia, and the rest of his territories, as tithes owed to him. They take them to Constantinople, Pera, and Adrianople, and hand them over to citizens to bring up (except that they entrust the less gentlemanly to farmers in Bursia and Caramania). All of them are called *Azamoglan* or *Iamoglan*, i.e., innocent and simple infants, knowing nothing. When they reach the age of eight, the 500 most gentlemanly and docile are gathered together in the Seraglio, that is, the main palace of the emperor, at Constantinople, and there they are instructed in letters and arms until they complete their twentieth year. From these are chosen (aside from the ministers and officials of the court) the janizaries, of whom the emperor keeps 12,000 as a permanent personal guard. From the more noble janizaries, 3,000 are chosen as *spachoglani*, who guard the right side of the emperor, each serving with four or five horses; and from the same, another

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3,000 *silichtar* are chosen, likewise serving with four or five horses, who protect the left side of the prince.

Behind these two orders, the spachoglani and silichtar, ride 5,000 vlofagi on the right of the emperor and 5,000 on the left, all of whom are chosen from the janizaries or apostate Christians, who have faithfully served their beglerbeg or pasha.

After these, the charipici horsemen, i.e., poor ones, follow hindmost, who assemble from all the provinces of the Turkish empire and from all its diverse nations—Christians, Persians, Moors, Syrians, Arabs, Barbarians, and Tatars—voluntarily in the service of the emperor because of the pay. From these, according to Antonius Geufreus, 2,000 of the more select serve the emperor.

Again, 200 *mutaferacha* ride before the emperor carrying light spears. They have been given their freedom from slavery because of some noble deed, and chosen as nobles of the court. Again (after these, I believe), thirty *chausiler*, i.e., staff bearers, ride before the emperor, who prevent the approach of the people and make a way for the prince, and also receive petitions to be taken before him.

Next behind these 200 solachi or foot soldiers precede the emperor, bearing gilt bows and arrows, with 200 more following him, and thirty accompanying them on either side.

Next to these, and closest to the horse of the prince, 100 peicler, i.e., runners, come, without shin-guards or shoes; these he sends hither and thither in peace and in war.

This constitutes the permanent guard of the emperor. But in war, he also has the asaples, who are extra foot soldiers, and the caripoglani, who

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are extra horsemen. He has other garrisons throughout his territories and provinces as a defense for them. On the borders of his Christian territories there are more than 10,000 janizaries, and another 6,000 are stationed here and there within the Turkish provinces, not subject to any beglerbeg or pasha, but immediately to the emperor, and free from all contributions. Moreover, there are 10,000 other youth scattered through the provinces from whom any deficiencies that might arise in the border and provincial troops can be supplied.

All the other military forces except those I have mentioned are subject to the beglerbeks, who are the rectors of the provinces, of which the emperor has seven: of Greece; Anatolia; Caramania; Amasia and Capadocia; Anacidula; Mesopotamia; and Egypt. We shall speak of these in their place.

The emperor also has three or four supreme counselors whom they call vizier pashas, or simply pashas, because they are the princes of the councils the emperor employs in all more serious matters of peace or war. This is the highest rank of his officers, so that when he wishes to honor beglerbeks with a higher honor, he makes them pashas.

Theodorus Sanduginus in his *Customs of the Turks* calculates that the annual revenue of the Turk is sixty-eight vessels of gold and 58,000 ducats, a vessel of gold containing 100,000 ducats.

Ecclesiastical administration from the *Provinciale Romanum*.

The archbishop of Constantinople has these suffragan bishops: Colubriensis, now perhaps Chiorlich; Naturensis (56:0.43:0); Spigacensis (55:0.42:0); Dorkensis; Pavadensis, perhaps now Pandia (55:0.42:40); and Chalcedon, where Scutari now is out of the region of Constantinople.

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The archbishop of Heraklia (54:20.42:40) has under him: Rodesco (54:30.42:45); Peristaciensis; Gallipoli (54:30.42:16); Darnensis, perhaps the Dardanelles (54:22.41:50); Curlotensis; Archadopolis, perhaps now Arco (54:48.42:8); Missenensis.

The archbishop of Patras, to whom are subject the bishops of Lampsacus and Dinensis de Sellana.

The archbishop Squisicensis beyond the arm of St. George (which, flowing from the Sea of Marmora into the Aegean, divides Europe from Asia), perhaps now Sequino (56:32.42:0), to whom are subject the bishops of Troy, Andrunia, Iacora, Decandimonia, Lupadia, Epigonia, Libaria.

The archbishop of Verisia, to whom are subject the bishops of Rossiana; Aprensis (54:8.42:44); and Ripsalensis, or Cypsela, I think (53:51.42:48).

The archbishop Madricensis, or Mariza, I think (53:30.42:28).

The archbishop of Adrianople (53:4.43:25).

The archbishop of Traianopolis (53:16.42:44), to whom is subject the bishop of Avia.

The archbishop of Malziacensis, under whom is Maronia (53:0.42:16).

The archbishop of Messipolis, under whom is Xanoeiensis.

The archbishop of Philippi (50:52.42:4), under whom is Christopolis (51:44.42:0); Dragonisi; Chrysopolis.

The mean meridian is 50:20. The rest tend to it in the ratio of the parallels 42:40 and 46:0 to the great circle.

[Map of Walachia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Romania.]

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Greece,
Containing the main regions,
Albania, Macedonia,
Epirus, Achaea, and the Morea,

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The rector of Greece is called the *Vromeli Beglerbeg*, i.e., “the king of the Roman princes,” for he is in charge of all the regions the Turk possesses in Europe, which were subject to the New Rome, Constantinople. He has forty *sangiagler* or sanjakbegg under him, who are the captains of the mounted troops, chosen from the *spachoglani*; they are stationed in the main cities of the provinces to keep them in peaceful obedience. To these in turn 150 or more *sobasci* or Cimmeriots are subject, who are distributed as representatives through the smaller towns. There are also 30,000 *spahis* under the sanjakbegg, each worth three or four horses. These *spahis* are distributed into *stamboler*, i.e., “companies,” containing 200, 300, 400, or 500 horsemen.

Among the more powerful sanjakbegg is the rector of Modon, who is in charge of all the Morea, and who leads 1,000 horsemen (whom he keeps devoted to him by a stipend) at the command of the beglerbeg. Also, the governor of Bosnia, with 800 horsemen, and that of Thessaloniki, with 500, of whom he keeps 100 permanently with him and sends the rest, as instructed, to the Turk in aid. In addition, there are under the beglerbeg, subject to the sanjakbegg, 20,000 horsemen who are called timariots, since they have their stipends from the *tymar*, i.e., the treasury of the emperor. There are also 60,000 *akengi* or *acconti*, i.e., “fated” or “endangered,” who are free men and exempt from contributions and serve the horsemen without



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any stipend, the cities they pass through furnishing them with food. They are plunderers, robbers, and ravagers. There are also many feudal subjects called *mosselin*, who sometimes are gathered to the number of 60,000 horsemen and a great number of foot soldiers. There are six beglerbegs in Asia, of whom we shall speak there.

The mean meridian is the 50th. The rest tend
to this in the ratio of the
38th and the 42nd parallels.

[Map of Greece.]

Macedonia,
Epirus, and Achaea,
With which Albania is described.

The main sanjak of Macedonia lives in the city of Thessaloniki. At the command of the beglerbeg, whenever the Turk prepares an expedition, he has 500 well-armed horsemen, of whom he keeps 100 permanently by him to defend his boundaries.

The bishoprics in this map are, according to the *Provinciale Romanum*.

The archbishopric of Philippi (50:52.42:6), whose suffragan bishoprics are those of: Christopolis (51:32.42:1); Dragonisi; Chrysopolis.

The archbishopric of Serres has no suffragan.

The archbishopric of Thessaloniki (40:6.41:32), under whom are the bishoprics of: Chitro or Pydna; Veria (48:28.41:3).

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The archbishopric of Larissa (48:42.39:58), under which are the bishoprics of: Dinutria or Dinutrica; Almurensis or (I believe) Armiro (48:54.39:20); Cardica (49:14.39:4); Mazaroca; Sidonia; Dinuca.

The archbishopric of Neopata, under which is the bishopric of Lariata or Lavaca.

The archbishopric of Thebes (48:56.38:52), under which is the bishopric of Zoroma or Castoria (50:44.38:48).

The archbishopric of Athens (50:20.37:42), under which are the bishoprics of: Thermopylae (48:36.38:38); Davalia; Salona (50:57.37:46); Negroponte (50:28.38:22); Albelonensis, Molgarensis, or, I think, Megara (49:38.37:52); Roona; Aegina.

The archbishopric of Corfu (44:36.39:20).

The archbishopric of Durazzo or Durrës (44:22.41:26).

The meridians are placed in the ratio of the
40th parallel.

[Map of Macedonia, Epirus, and Achaea.]

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The Morea

Formerly the Peloponnese.

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Under the beglerbeg of the Romans or of Greece there are, as I have said, forty sanjakbegg, of whom the most important is the morabegg, the rector of all the Morea, residing at Modon (47:28.35:22). In time of war, he ordinarily leads 1,000 well-armed horsemen at his own expense to the Vromeli, or Roman, beglerbeg.



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In the Morea, there were these bishops, according to the *Provinciale Romanum*.

The archbishop of Corinth (49:8.37:30), under whom was the bishop of Argos (48:58.36:55).

The archbishop of Patras (47:13.37:22), under whom were the bishops of: Modon (47:28.35:22); Corona (47:48.35:23); Amyclae (48:56.35:48); and Androville.

The meridians are distant in the ratio of the
parallel 36:30.

[Map of the Morea.]

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Candia [Crete]

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Candia was first sold to Venice for a great sum by Boniface of Montferrat in A.D. 1194. But it rebelled against the doge Enrico Dandolo, and then, subdued by the doge Andrea in 1343, it is still ruled by the doge and council of Venice through a prefect. (Volteranus, *Geography*, book 9.)

According to the *Provinciale Romanum*, the bishoprics in it were:

The archbishopric of Crete (now Candia, 53:22.34:40), to which the following suffragans are subject: Kiroka, Arcadia, Ierapetra (54:16.34:0); and Siciensis, now Sitia, I think (54:55.34:29); Milopotamos (52:45.34:48); Aria, Calamo, or perhaps Epicalamoso (52:14.34:25); Agia, and Rissania.

The archbishopric of Atrida, under which are the bishoprics of Casa; Skopelos; Naprona; and Margarites.

The archbishopric of Soltania has as suffragans the bishoprics of: Helene; Suda; Monemvassia; Taurisia; and Marrachitania.

The archbishopric of Vosprenia, to whom are suffragan the bishoprics of: Tephelia; Matrehena; and Chersonesos (55:2.33:56).

The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel 34:20.

[Map of Crete.]

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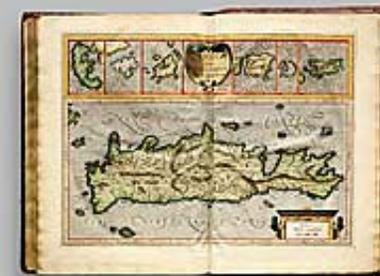
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Advanced Features

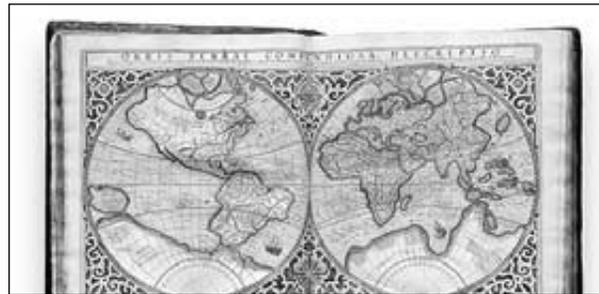
Using Adobe Acrobat's Standard Interface

This Octavo Edition supports special advanced features that are accessible using the standard Adobe Acrobat interface. Its controls allow you to: access and navigate a high-resolution version of the book images to examine minute details; print the book images to black-and-white or color printers; search the text of the book and supplementary materials; and select and copy text or images to use in other software applications.

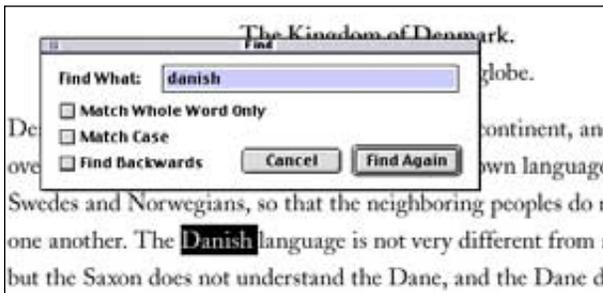
Select a feature below to begin



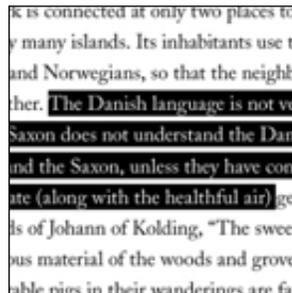
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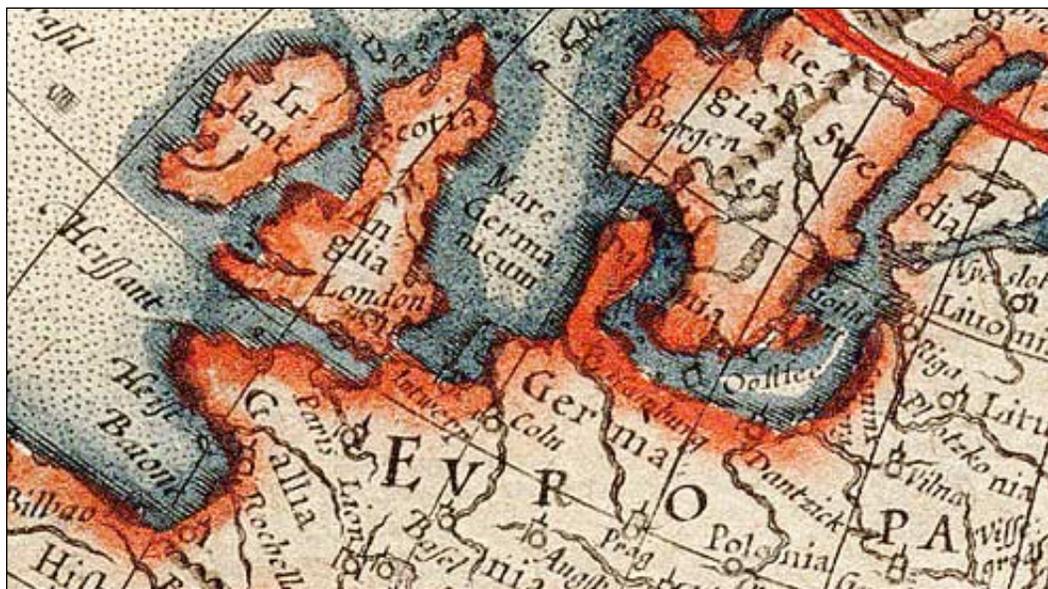
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This Octavo Edition includes a separate high-resolution data file that will allow you to see every detail at up to 400% of the book's original size. Because there is so much data to be read and displayed, this file has been placed on the separate Examine disc, and accessing the pages of the Examine file may be considerably slower than viewing the standard-resolution images on this Read disc. Performance will vary depending on the capabilities of your computer system.



➤ Exit this disc to examine book detail using the Examine disc...

To examine book details: exit from this program, eject this disc, and insert the Examine disc.

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Print the Book

There are many ways to print an Octavo Edition, each specific to the type of printer you are using and the desired results. Selecting one of the following options will open that book file; you can then choose the paper settings for your printer and specify the range of pages you wish to print. These three options cover most needs:

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Choose this method for printing quickly to black-and-white laser printers using letter-sized paper. This is the most practical way to print an entire book.

➤ **Print the book in low-resolution color...**

Choose this method to print to letter-sized or smaller paper on inkjet or low-resolution printers. The speed will be moderate and the quality will be good.

Print the book in high-resolution color

You can also print from the high-resolution image data on the separate Examine disc to print the highest-quality images to any type of printer or onto larger paper sizes. This method may print very slowly, but the images will have the best possible quality. To do so, exit this program, eject this disc, and insert the Examine disc.

For additional help with printing, choose Acrobat Help from the Help menu, or refer to the documentation for your printer.

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Search Text

You can use Acrobat's search features with this Octavo Edition to search the *About this book* text and the translation. Acrobat has two methods for searching: simple and advanced.

Using the simple Find command

The Find command will find the next occurrence of a string of text you specify. At any time while browsing through this Octavo Edition you can press control-F (command-F for Mac OS) to bring up the Find command. The Find command will find only one occurrence at a time, and only within the file being browsed—you can repeat the find using the Find Again command (control-G, or command-G).

➤ [Find within this text now...](#)

Using the advanced Search command

The Search command is much more powerful than the Find command, allowing selection of multiple occurrences of the specified criteria and searching over multiple files. For detailed help using the Search command, refer to Acrobat Help available from the Help menu.

➤ [Search this CD-ROM now...](#)

The original text of this book is not embedded as live text and therefore is not searchable. However, the About the book text and translation are searchable.

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Copy Text or Images

At any time while browsing this Octavo Edition you can select and copy embedded text as well as clip portions of displayed images to use in other software applications. To use these features you should familiarize yourself with Acrobat's standard interface. Additional help is available by choosing Acrobat Help from the Help menu.

Selecting and copying text

1. Choose the Text Selection tool – 
2. Click and drag on the text you want to select.
3. Choose Copy from the Edit menu.

Selecting and copying images

1. Choose the Graphics Selection tool by clicking and holding on the Text Selection tool until a pop-up menu of additional tools is revealed – 
2. Click and drag around the area of the image you want to select.
3. Choose Copy from the Edit menu.

The resolution of the copied image will be the same as that displayed on the screen at the time the copy is made. For higher resolution, first zoom in on the area you want to select and copy.

Please note: the text and images on this CD-ROM are for personal use only and are strictly governed by U.S. and international copyright laws.

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About Octavo

Digital Preservation and Publishing

Octavo is best known for its signature Octavo Digital Editions—the groundbreaking series of digital facsimiles that brings rare books and manuscripts to students, educators, scholars, bibliophiles, and general readers. Octavo is also a key player in the rapidly developing fields of digital imaging and pres-

ervation, virtual exhibition and education, and computer-based archival maintenance and content management. By combining state-of-the-art digital technology with historical rarities from the finest institu-



tional and private collections, Octavo is helping to set the stage for a revolution in the way the past—and present—is understood.

Octavo forms partnerships with libraries, museums, and other cultural institutions to provide effective and innovative solutions for the competing challenges of preservation and access. Institutions charged with collecting and archiving cultural works (especially in the form of rare books, manuscripts, and historical documents) have long borne the heavy responsibility of caring for the security and preservation of rare originals while making

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them accessible to the public. This dilemma is felt more acutely today, as hard experience has demonstrated that historic items can suffer not only from exposure and use, but also from the natural deterioration of the very materials with which they are made.

Octavo's preservation, imaging, and publication programs satisfy library and institutional requirements by accurately reproducing the original, and then making possible the duplication and distribution of the digital data in a variety of inexpensive ways, such as electronic networks, web servers, and CD-ROM media.

The Digital Imaging Company

John Warnock (CEO of Adobe Systems Incorporated) founded Octavo in 1997 as an outgrowth of his personal love of rare books and his professional expertise in the application of technology to communications and publishing processes. Octavo provides scholarly and educational communities, as well as the general public, with inexpensive access to some of the world's priceless cultural materials. Supported by unparalleled content and sterling editorial standards, we integrate the most faithful and accurate digital reproduction technologies available to create the de facto ideal for the presentation of such works in new digital media. By virtue of our accumulated expertise, Octavo now serves the library and museum communities by sharing our knowledge and providing services, while maintaining an ambitious and highly praised digital publication venture.

Octavo's publishing, imaging, and partnerships programs follow the traditional standards of book communities while developing innovations in

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digital media presentation and format. The following criteria and processes define Octavo's achievements in digital preservation.

Materials as Objects The goal of Octavo imaging projects is to present works as they were originally published: in the case of books, as objects whose layout, materials, printing, and typography are integral components of the experience of the content. Octavo images books and manuscripts as they open naturally; each book or manuscript is presented as uncropped page spreads to provide a faithful record of the condition and qualities of the book and its binding.

Comprehensive Records Octavo's imaging methods are robust and thorough. Rare and precious artifacts—every endpaper and leaf (whether or not they bear printed material), foldout, and plate—are imaged and documented, including the binding and any related containers, as well as ephemeral items, such as letters and drawings, that may accompany the principal work.

Technical Metrics and Controls Technical controls are used for color fidelity, accuracy of size and scaling, and full-value light exposure to create the most reliable and permanent digital reproduction of an object. Every image is captured with standard calibration devices for color and dimension.

Handling and Lighting Octavo handling techniques include careful attention to the condition of the artifact. Every object that we image undergoes a systematic evaluation by an expert conservator, both before and after shooting. Octavo's custom-built book cradles and cool lighting enable the capture of fine details while ensuring maximum safety for each book or manuscript.

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Data Storage Each item we image is recorded on multiple sets of digital media in uncompressed data formats. One copy of the raw images is deposited with the originating institution; one copy is kept by Octavo for derivative image creation and use; additional copies are archived off-site in environmentally controlled vaults optimized for the protection of storage media. Archived data is “renewed” annually by controlled digital duplication.

Metadata Octavo digital images are maintained in an active media catalog system with linked metadata information. The system provides flexible and convenient access and retrieval through a variety of descriptive, bibliographic, historic, content-based, and technical databases.

Professional Associations Octavo actively participates in industry-standards organizations within the technological, imaging, software, and bibliographic fields to influence changing standards, evolving processes, and emerging best practices in all the related aspects of our work. We represent the interests of the library and museum communities within those associations not directly involved in the archival preservation of rare materials.

Commercial Services Octavo makes available images of our digitized books and manuscripts in multiple formats and methods, free or for a fee, as appropriate. Octavo pays a royalty and provides source images to the partner institutions that provide originals to us for imaging and publication.

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Digital Imaging Services and Laboratory

Octavo provides solutions and services to libraries, museums, and collectors without the prohibitive expenses (both material and labor) required for professional-grade equipment acquisition, software and data management, and virtual presentation. These services and technologies include:

- Digital imaging (on site, and at Octavo's imaging lab)
- Data management and archiving
- Image preparation, manipulation, and digital publication
- Technical and software development services
- Network access, presentation, and commercial services
- Digital publishing services, rights management, and licensing

Octavo also offers its expertise by licensing the Octavo Digital Imaging Laboratory (ODIL)—a set of physical tools, cameras, lights, and computer hardware, proprietary software programs, and specialized practices and training—to allow institutions to engage in digitizing activities at their own sites.

Digital Editions

Part of our core business since its founding, Octavo Digital Editions are widely acknowledged as the most accomplished and well-integrated digital presentations that have been devised for books and manuscripts. With each successive edition, the series expands the conceptual vocabulary that can be employed by libraries and institutions in this new field. While the full potential for digital publishing is still unknown, these painstakingly crafted products represent an ideal fusion of technological ability and edito-

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rial insight. Our easy-to-navigate interface makes it possible for readers to quickly and easily read and search texts, zoom in to see fine details, and print copies of the original book or the accompanying editorial material.

Building on the unparalleled Octavo digital imaging practices applied to the finest original works available, the editors of Octavo Digital Editions determine the supplemental features—such as searchable electronic texts and translations—appropriate for each title. They also create indices for expanded functionality, and commission or write the collateral, explanatory articles to provide readers with context and interpretation.

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The Library of Congress

Rare Book and Special Collections Division

The Library of Congress is the world's largest library, containing more than 115 million items in nearly every language and format—from ancient Chinese woodblock prints to compact discs. Founded in 1800 to serve the refer-

ence needs of Congress, the Library is now recognized as the national library of the United States, charged with the acquisition, organization, and preservation of a comprehensive record of American history. It has, moreover, grown into an unparalleled treasure-house of human knowledge and creativity, adding materials to its collections at the rate of 10,000 items per working day and making many of these treasures available electronically at www.loc.gov.

Although initially the Library did not create a separate Rare Book Division, Ainsworth Rand Spofford, Librarian of Congress from 1864 to 1897, gathered rare books, pam-



The main reading room at the Library of Congress.

Photo by Michael Dersin.

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phlets, broadsides, and printed ephemera in his office. The institution also actively sought out collections that contained rare materials throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By 1925, when John Boyd Fletcher donated his collection of rare examples of early printing, autographs of notable Europeans, and a sizable gathering of material on the French Revolution, the Library's considerable number of rare books necessitated the creation of a special section to house and care for them; the division moved into its present reading room and stack area.

Since the nineteenth century, special collections have played an important role in the Library's development, beginning with Thomas Jefferson's library, purchased in 1815 and now housed in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division. Included among the many diverse special collections in the Division are books, autographs, manuscripts, photographs, and other material representing the work of Hans Christian Andersen, Susan B. Anthony, Charles Dickens, Sir Francis Drake, Benjamin Franklin, Frederic W. Goudy, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Harry Houdini, Henry James, Rudyard Kipling, Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther, James Madison, William Morris, Bruce Rogers, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, Jules Verne, George Washington, and Walt Whitman.

The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection

The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection is the Library's greatest rare book gift and it represents one of the finest collections of books formed by any individual. The Collection focuses on Western European and American illustrated books with special emphasis on fifteenth-century books, sixteenth-century books printed in the Low Countries, eighteenth-century

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French books, William Blake, twentieth-century *livres d'artiste*, and a small but choice group of twelfth- to sixteenth-century manuscripts. Rosenwald began collecting prints in 1926, branched out to rare books in 1928, and by 1930 was well on his way toward forming collections of international significance.

The initial Rosenwald book donation to the Library of Congress in 1943 numbered about 400 items; of these 200 were incunabula, 37 of which were not reported in any other American collection. In the catalogue, published by the Library in 1977, the entries number 2,653, of which 559 are incunabula. The catalogue's preface includes the following comments by Frederick R. Goff, then Chief of the Rare Book Division: "...the Rosenwald collection is in no sense ordinary; in fact, the adjective must be qualified with extra, for there is something of extraordinary beauty, or grace, or distinction, or illustration, or binding, that marks all of the Rosenwald books with esteem or excellence, and frequently with both."

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About this Edition

This CD-ROM is presented in Octavo's book viewing interface version 2.3, with auto-launching Adobe Acrobat 4.0 Reader, for Mac OS and Microsoft Windows (and compatible with UNIX systems).

TECHNICAL NOTES

Digitally imaged in March 1999 at The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., by Octavo using the Octavo Digital Imaging Laboratory version 1.2.

Master digital images archived by Octavo are each 137.3 megabytes, with a resolution of 301.4 dpi relative to the original. There are 284 images representing this book.

The images on this CD-ROM are JPEG compressed and presented at the following resolutions (relative to the original): 108 dpi for reading at 150%, 216 dpi for examination at 300%, and 72 dpi for printing in black and white.

Color has been optimized for viewing in an RGB gamut typical of VGA computer displays using a custom ICC input profile.

➤ [Information on how to optimize your monitor display settings.](#)

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Typeface used in this interface is Adobe Caslon.

Software used in the creation of this edition included Adobe Photoshop 6.0, Adobe InDesign 1.5, Microsoft Word 98, and Adobe Acrobat 4.0.

Designed, developed, and produced using Apple Macintosh computers: Power Macintosh G3, Power Macintosh G4, iMac, and PowerBook G3.

This CD-ROM edition was produced by Octavo in Oakland, California. Manufactured in the U.S.A. by Warner Media Services.

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First CD-ROM edition, October 2000

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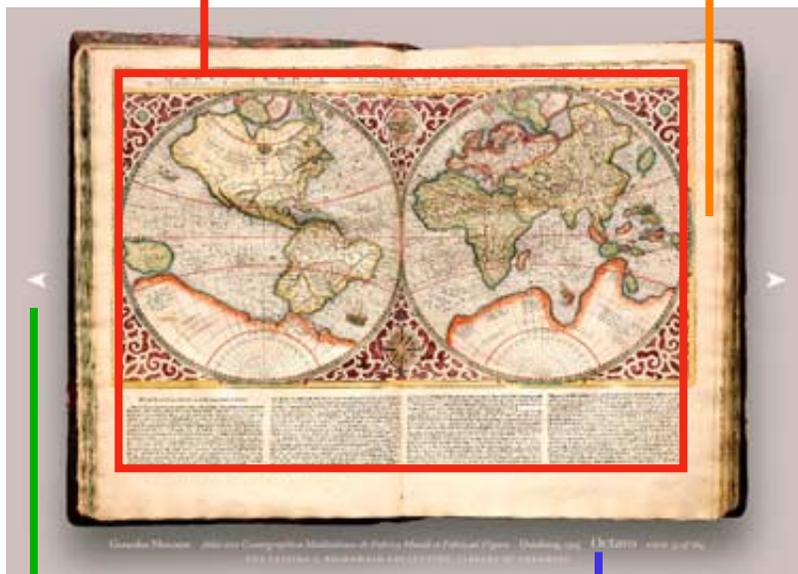
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Exploring This Octavo Edition

When you first open this Octavo Edition you will see the Octavo title screen with the contents menu to the right. Clicking on the headings will display the first page of that particular section. Clicking on the small book image will take you to full-screen images of the book. To explore the book images, use the navigation tips below:

 To zoom in, click on the text area or inside the illustration area of the book image

 To zoom out, click inside any of the margins of the book image



 Clicking on the arrow in the gray area left or right of the book image takes you to the previous or the next page

 Clicking on the text in the gray area below the book image takes you to editorial material about the book

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Keyboard Shortcuts

Use these keyboard shortcuts to quickly navigate this Octavo Edition:

<i>function</i>	<i>keyboard command</i>
Escape to Acrobat's standard interface	<i>esc</i>
Enter full-screen mode	<i>control-L</i>
Display the previous page	<i>page up, left arrow</i>
Display the next page	<i>page down, right arrow</i>
Display the first page	<i>home</i>
Go back to the last page viewed	<i>control-left arrow</i>
Go to a specific page	<i>control-N</i>
Enlarge view (zoom in)	<i>control-+</i>
Shrink view (zoom out)	<i>control--</i>
Fit image to screen	<i>control-0</i>
Hand tool	<i>H</i>
Zoom tool	<i>Z</i>
Text Selection tool	<i>V</i>
Adobe Acrobat help	<i>help</i>
Find a word or phrase of text	<i>control-F</i>
Quit Acrobat	<i>control-Q</i>

(Mac OS users: use the *Command* key instead of the *Control* key.)

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Display Setup

The images on this CD-ROM have been adjusted for viewing on computer displays with a minimum resolution of 1,024 x 768 pixels (15" display) and a color depth of millions of colors (32-bit true-color). To optimize your display for viewing the images in this Octavo Edition, please follow these steps:

Adjust contrast and brightness

To achieve the best contrast and brightness settings on your display:

1. Turn the contrast of your display up to its maximum level.
2. Adjust the brightness of your display until the Octavo logo in the black area at right is just barely visible.



Best display settings

1. Set the resolution of your display to a minimum of 1,024 x 768 pixels (higher resolution is better). 800 x 600 pixel resolution can be used, but lower resolutions such as 640 x 480 may render text difficult to read.
2. Choose a display resolution that allows you to view millions of colors (32-bit true-color). Alternatively, thousands of colors (16-bit color) is sufficient for most use. 256 color (8-bit color) will work but appear pixelated.

Please note: if the color settings of your display are being overridden by color management software such as Adobe Gamma, you will need to make your adjustments within that software.

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