
FORUM

Ethiopia and India as Neighbours: Notes on the Relevance of Perceptions for Global Historiography

Harald Kleinschmidt

ABSTRACTS

The article examines the changing European perception of the interconnectedness of continents with regard to Africa and Asia. It sets out from the late seventeenth-century criticism of the apparently popular belief that Ethiopia and India were neighbouring areas, and documents that this perception formed part of the legacy of Antiquity. Enshrined in Occidental world maps of the T-O type, the belief in the proximity of Ethiopia and India did not result from confusion or lack of geographical knowledge but was based on the universalist depiction of the inhabitable world as a cohesive and permeable ecumene. The core argument of the article is that this perception became entrenched in the European collective memories far beyond the fundamental transformation of the world picture at the turn of the sixteenth century.

Der Artikel thematisiert den Wandel der europäischen Wahrnehmung der Verbundenheit der Kontinente mit Bezug auf Afrika und Asien. Ausgangspunkt ist die im späten 17. Jahrhundert nachweisbare Kritik an dem Glauben, dass Äthiopien und Indien benachbarte Gegenden seien. Dieser Glaube gehörte zum Erbe der Antike. Er entstand weder aus Verwechslung noch aus Mangel an geografischen Kenntnissen, sondern ihm lag die in abendländischen Weltkarten des T-O Typs visualisierte Wahrnehmung der bewohnbaren Welt als zusammenhängende und begehbare Ökumene zugrunde. Der Artikel zeigt, dass diese Wahrnehmung in das europäische kollektive Gedächtnis eingegraben war und darin weit über den fundamentalen Wandel des Weltkartenbilds an der Wende zum 16. Jahrhundert hinaus fortbestand.

1. Introduction: A Scholar Complained about His Contemporaries

Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704)¹ was a learned man, jurist, Councillor to Duke Ernest I, the Pious, of Saxony-Gotha (in office 1640–1675, since 1672 also of Saxony-Altenburg) and his successors,² subsequently Councillor in Frankfurt, Orientalist, and among the first in the Occident to be fluent not only in Amharic, but also in the ancient Ethiopian liturgical language of Ge'ez. After having been introduced to Hebrew and other West Asian languages while enrolled in the Law School of the university in his home town of Erfurt, he had studied Amharic and Ge'ez by himself, on the basis of the multilingual version of the psalter printed by Johannes Potken (c. 1470–c. 1525),³ until learned Catholic Abbot

- 1 He left his papers to the Frankfurt City Library (now University Library): *Legatum Ludolfianum* (dated 1704), Frankfurt: Universitätsbibliothek (Ms. Ff. H. Ludolf). On Ludolf, see J. H. Heidegger, *Historia vitae et obitus Joh. Henrici Hottingeri*, in: H. Hottinger, *Historiae ecclesiasticae Novi Testamenti*, Pars 9, Zurich 1667, fol. a [1]r–g 2v; fol. d 3v–d 4r: on Ludolf as Hottinger's friend and specialist in Ethiopian, with some notes on Ludolf's work. W. E. Tentzel (ed.), *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annehmlichen Geschichten*, Leipzig 1689, pp. 1037–1043: on Ludolf's stay in Rome, his relations with Abbot Gregorius, Gregorius's visit to Gotha, on Ludolf's writings and on their reception in debates about the age of the world. C. Juncker, *Commentarius de vita scriptisque ac meritis Jobi Ludolfi*, Leipzig/Frankfurt 1710, pp. 189–228: Appendix I. *Excerpta ex epistolis aliquot clarissimorum virorum ad lobvm Ludolfvm*. M. Veyssièrre La Croze (Ed.), *Histoire du christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie*, The Hague 1724, p. 345, praised Ludolf's work as a source on Ethiopia. G. Vockerodt, *Fructuosa et fortunata post fata Jobii Ludolfi studia orientalis litteraturae et consilia de re christiana amplificanda et veritate evangelica inter externos propaganda*, Gotha 1723. J. H. Callenberg, *Oratio de Ernesti pii principis Sax[oniae] Consiliis et conatibus in munienda via doctrinae evangelicae inter externas gentes volgandae et amplificandae*, Halle 1731. G. H. C. Rosenmüller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte neuer berühmter Staatsmänner und Rechtsgelehrten*, Hildburghausen 1800, pp. 107–122: Hiob Ludolf. F. C. Matthiae, *Nachricht von Hiob Ludolfs noch vorhandenem Briefwechsel*, Frankfurt 1818, p. 6: in his last will, dated 31 May 1703, Ludolf inherited those books and manuscripts to Frankfurt City Library that his son Christian Ludolf and his grandson Heinrich Ludwig Avemann could not read; p. 7: Ludolf's papers in that library consist of approximately 850 letters; pp. 8–11: list of correspondents. H. E. Weijers, *Jets over Job Ludolf*, in: *Archief voor Kerk-Geschiednis* 9 (1838). *Briefwechsel zwischen Hiob Ludolf und dem Aethiopier Gregor*, in: *Programm der Lateinischen Hauptschule*, nr 17, Halle 1875–1876. J. Flemming, *Hiob Ludolf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie*, in: *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 1 (1890), pp. 537–582, 2 (1891), pp. 63–110, who edited, transcribed and translated letters by Abbot Gregorius to Ludolf. K. F. Bauer, *Hiob Ludolf. Der Begründer der äthiopischen Sprachwissenschaft und des äthiopischen Buchdrucks*, Frankfurt 1937. E. Hammerschmidt, *A Brief History of German Contributions to the Study of Ethiopia*, in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 1 (1963), pp. 30–48. Hammerschmidt, *Die äthiopischen Studien in Deutschland*, in: *Äthiopische Forschungen* 6 (1965), pp. 255–277. Hammerschmidt, *War Hiob Ludolf Reichshofrat?*, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 104 (1987), pp. 268–276. E. Haberland, *Hiob Ludolf, Father of Ethiopian Studies in Europe*, in: *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1969, pp. 131–146. S. Uhlig, *Ludolfs Deutung der Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts in der 'Schaubühne der Welt'*, in: *Afrika und Übersee*, vol. 71, issue 2 (1988), pp. 267–288. J. Tubach, *Ludolf, Hiob*, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 5, Herzberg 1993, col. 317–325. J. T. Waterman (ed.), *Leibniz and Ludolf on Things Linguistic. Excerpts from Their Correspondence (1688–1703)*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1977, pp. 4–6: Hiob Ludolf.
- 2 A. Beck, *Ernst der Fromme, Herzog von Sachsen-Gotha und Altenburg*, vol. 1, Weimar 1865, pp. 116, 127, 290, 299, 307, 326, 337, 438, 562–584, 621, 715, 736f, 761, 765, 778, 804; vol. 2, pp. 42f. R. Jacobsen, H.-J. Ruge (eds.), *Ernst der Fromme (1601–1675). Staatsmann und Reformator*, Buch bei Jena 2002. A. Klinger, *Der Gothaer Fürstentum. Herrschaft, Konfession und Dynastie unter Herzog Ernst dem Frommen*, Husum 2002, p. 91.
- 3 Johann Potken was priest and printer at Cologne, who published an edition of the psalter in four languages, including a version in Ge'ez; see Potken, *Psalterium in quatuor linguis Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea [Ge'ez], Latina*, Cologne 1518. On Potken, see A. D. von den Brincken, *Johann Potken aus Schwerte, Propst von St. Georg in Köln. Der erste Äthiologe des Abendlandes*, in: H. Blum (ed.), *Aus kölnischer und rheinischer Geschichte. Festgabe Arnold Göttisches*, Cologne 1969, pp. 89–114. Hammerschmidt, *Studien* (note 1), p. 257. H. F. Wijnman, *De studie*

Gregorius [Gorgoryos = Iskinder, 1595–1658] helped Ludolf to advance his knowledge. As a Catholic, Gregorius had had to flee Ethiopia after the Catholic Church had lost its religious autonomy there in 1632, had reached Goa before embarking on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Rome, where he found accommodation in the Collegium Aethiopicum of the Monastery of San Stefano dei Mori, a homestead for Ethiopian pilgrims. Ludolf met him on his journey to Rome in 1648. Upon his return to Gotha, Ludolf started an intensive correspondence with Gregorius⁴ and persuaded Duke Ernest to invite the Abbot to Friedenstein Palace at Gotha. Gregorius arrived there in 1652, conversed with the Duke, sought to convey appropriate knowledge about Ethiopia and again became Ludolf's teacher.⁵ Gregorius left Gotha in the following year, willing to return to Ethiopia, but lack of funds kept him in Rome. In 1658, he finally embarked for the voyage, but the ship sank and he died on his way. In the following decades, Ludolf published several monographs on things Ethiopian, including a broadly conceived statistical survey of Ethiopia, printed in 1681,⁶ encountering considerable difficulties with finding com-

van het Ethiopisch en de ontwikkeling van de Ethiopische typographie in West-Europa in de 16de eeuw, in: *Het Boek*, Series 2, vol. 31 (1955), pp. 225–246, 32 (1956), pp. 326–347. Potken studied Ethiopian in Rome and brought moveable types for the Ethiopian script from there to Cologne. On Ludolf's use of Potken's text, see Juncker, *Commentarius* (note 1), pp. 21–23. Rosenmüller, *Beiträge* (note 1), p. 108. Chronologist J. Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Paris 1583, pp. 324–349: *Computus annalis Aethiopum ex Aethiopico*, at pp. 324–337, printed a chronological table in Ge'ez with a transliteration and a translation into Latin. Peter Heyling Lutheran missionary, reached Ethiopia in 1634 and translated the Gospel of John into Amharic, but his work remained without effect in Europe. On him, see H. Ludolf, *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings*, aus Luebec, und dessen Reise nach Ethiopien. Nebst zulänglicher Berichte von den in selbigem Reiche zu Anfange der naechst-verwichenen Ssaeculi entstandenen Religions-Unruhe. Aus des Sel[igen] H[err]n Geh[eimen] Rath Ludolfs edierten Schriften und andern noch nicht gedruckten Documenten zur gemeinen Nachricht herausgegeben von J. H. Michaelis, Halle 1714. Callenberg, *Oratio* (note 1) pp. 8f. B. Walton, *Introductio ad lectionem linguarum orientalium*, London 1655, pp. 96–101, included an *Introductio ad lectionem linguae Aethiopiae*. E. Brerewood, *Enquiries Touching the History of Languages and Religions through the Chief Parts of the World*, London 1674, pp. 200–208, briefly described essential features of Amharic. The report by Pedro Páez, SJ (1564–1622), *Historia Aethiopiae*, first printed, Rome 1905–1906, who had worked in Ethiopia, was not accessible for Ludolf. For a study, see C. Beccari, *Notizie e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia*, Rome 1903, pp. 77–84. pp. 77–84. H. Pennec, *La mission jésuite en Éthiopie au temps de Pedro Paez (1583–1622)*, in: *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 36 (1994), pp. 77–115, 37 (1995), pp. 135–167, 38 (1996), pp. 139–183.

4 Flemming, Ludolf (note 1), pp. 63–110.

5 On Gregorius, see J. G. A. Galletti, *Geschichte und Beschreibung des Herzogthums Gotha*, Gotha 1779, pp. 260f. Beck, Ernst (note 2), pp. 562–569. R. Pankhurst, *Gregorius and Ludolf*, in: *Ethiopia Observer* 12 (1969), pp. 287–290. W. G. C. Smidt, *Abba Gorgoryos. Ein integer und ernsthafter Mann. Der Besuch eines äthiopischen Gelehrten in Thüringen 1652*, in: K. Volker-Saad/A. Greve (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland*, Munich 2006, pp. 48–57 [English version in: www.itypis.org/Issues-Extra_files/itypis-extra-smidt1.pdf].

6 H. Ludolf [also: Job Leutholf], *Confessio fidei Cladii regis Aethiopiae*, London 1661. Ludolf, *Grammatica Aethiopica nunc primum edita, studio et cura Johannis Michaelis Wanslebii*, London 1661 [further edn s.t.: *Grammatica linguae amharicae*, Frankfurt 1698; partly reprinted and ed. by B. Brentjes, Halle 1986]. Ludolf, *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum*, London 1661. Ludolf, *Lexicon Amharico-Latinum*, London 1661 [further edn, Frankfurt 1698]. Ludolf, *Sciographia historiae Aethiopiae*, Jena 1676. Ludolf, *Analyticae literariae seu cognoscendarum incognitarum scripturarum et linguarum experimentum novum*, Berlin, 1677; includes a response by sinologist Andreas Müller-Greifenhagen. Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopiae*, Frankfurt 1681 [reprint, Osnabrück 1982; abridged Dutch version, ed. by W. Calebis, Utrecht 1687]. Ludolf, *Habessinia seu Abassia Presbyteri Johannis Regio* [map], Amsterdam 1683. Ludolf, *De bello Turcico feliciter conficiendo*, s.l. 1686. Ludolf, *Specimen et summa commentarii Aethiopici lobi Ludolfi ad typum parati in folio vocant*, Frankfurt 1687. Ludolf, *Epistolae samaritanae siche-mitarum ad lobum Ludolfum cum versione Latina et notis*, Jena 1688. Ludolf, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopiae*

petent publishers capable of printing the Ethiopian script at an affordable price.⁷ In the statistical survey, he sought to lay sound foundations for the study of Ethiopian culture and history and complained about his contemporaries' habit of regarding Ethiopia and "India" as neighbouring areas, despite cartographical evidence to the contrary, and of using the name "India" in a broad sense covering Ethiopia among other areas.⁸ Little less than a generation later, Hamburg school teacher and editor of apocryphal New Testament texts Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) joined Ludolf in noting the polysemy of the term "India". The ancients (*veteres*), Fabricius reported, had included into the term some areas in Africa, such as "*Libya, Aegyptus, Parthia, Aethiopia, Arabia et Palaestina*", while people in recent times (*recentibus*) knew only "West India" and "India proper" ("*Indiam occidentalem sive Americam et proprie sic dictam Indiam cis et ultra Gangem*").⁹ Nevertheless, for Ludolf, the polysemy of the term "India" was a contemporary matter in 1681, whereas Fabricius took it to be a matter of the past. How can the continuity of the polysemy of the term "India" be explained at a time when ubiquitously available maps visualised evidence which stood against such equivocity? In what follows, I shall first examine the fundamentals of cartographical world pictures, then trace the changing Occidental image of Ethiopia, before contextualising them with narratives about the rivers of paradise, the fancy of the realm of Prester John and the search for the sources of the Nile in an effort to determine the changing conditions for the polysemy of the term "India". By way of an afterword, I shall discuss the relevance of changes in perceptions for global historiography.

mante hac editam commentarius, Frankfurt 1691. Ludolf, *Relatio nova de hodierno Habeßinae statu*, Frankfurt 1693 [based on a questionnaire answered by Hoja Murad]. Ludolf, *Specimen Psalterii Aethiopici*, Frankfurt 1699. Ludolf, *Psalterium Davidis Aethiopie et Latine*, Frankfurt 1701. Ludolf, *Allgemeine Schaubühne der Welt*, 2 vols, Frankfurt 1699–1701. S. Uhlig (ed.), *Hiob Ludolfs Theologia aethiopica*, Wiesbaden 1983. Ludolf, [Letters to G. W. Leibniz], in: G. W. Leibniz, *Epistolavm slectissimarvm Leibnitii, Schvrtzfleischii, Thomasi, Schilteri, Sebatinaei Schmidii, Jobi Lvdolfi* [...], ed. by F. Gedike, Berlin 1745. Jobi Ludolfi et Godofredi Guilielmi Leibnitii commercium epistolicum, ed. by A. B. Michaelis, Göttingen 1755. Ludolf, *Epistolae duae Sichemitarum ad Jobum Ludolphum*, in: B. Ugolino (ed.), *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum complectens selectissima clarissimorum virorum opuscula, in quibus veterum hebraeorum mores, leges, instituta, ritus sacri et civiles illustrantur*, vol. 22, Venice 1759. Johann Reiske, *Ad virum illustrem* [...] *Jobum Ludolfum alias Leutholf dictum* [...] *epistola, qua exercitationes suas de imaginibus Jesu Christi adversus censuram paullo iniquiorem Jo. Mabillonii vindicate*, Leipzig 1692. For an early survey of Ludolf's work see Juncker, *Commentarius* (note 1), pp. 111–181.

- 7 On 9/19 April 1696, Ludolf complained to his fellow Orientalist Etienne Morin about not being able to print his grammar of Ethiopian, because no publisher would bear the cost (Ms. Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek, Pap. 15); see E. S. Kraft, *Frühe chinesische Studien in Berlin*, in: *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 11 (1976), pp. 92–128, at p. 106.
- 8 Ludolf, *Historia* (note 6), p. 66. On the wide circulation of this work and Ludolf's integration in the late seventeenth-century Europe-wide network of scholars, see Juncker, *Commentarius* (note 1), pp. 111–132, 150–151, 156–161. In his follow-up collection of explanatory essays, published in 1691 under the title *Commentarius* (note 6), p. 63, he insisted: "At Aethiopes proprie dicti nihil tale cum Indis proprie dictis commune unquam habuerunt", and then noted, at pp. 75–78, Nr XXIII: "Aethiopes nostros olim dictos fuisse Indos", thereby categorising the identification of Ethiopians with Indians as a matter of the past. Ludolf was especially critical of the survey by L. de Urreta, *Historia ecclesiastica, politica, natural y moral de los grandes y remotos reynos de Etiopia*, Valencia 1610, whom he called "nugator" (gossip), in: Ludolf, *Commentarius* (note 6), p. 1.
- 9 J. A. Fabricius (ed.), *Acta apostolorum apocrypha sive historica certaminis Apostolici adscripta Abdiae*, in: Fabricius (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti collectus*, Hamburg 1703, pp. 387–742, at p. 669, footnote (a) on nr [I].

2. The Polysemy of “India”

2.1. The Legacy of Alexander of Macedon

Researchers seeking to reconstruct the Occidental image of Ethiopia have long noticed the polysemy of the “India” terminology and have linked it to the heritage of Antiquity,¹⁰ explained it as the result of the lack of geographical knowledge,¹¹ rejected it as a flawed conceptualisation¹² or simply took it to be a mistake.¹³ But these verdicts are unsatisfactory because beliefs in links between South Asia and Northeast Africa were closely tied to comparisons between the Nile and the Indus in Occidental texts ultimately going back to the expeditions of Alexander of Macedon. Reports on these expeditions can hardly have been garbled by lack of geographical knowledge nor can they have mixed up the Nile and the Indus. Indeed, according to Arrian’s *Anabasis*, Alexander, when watching crocodiles in the Indus and noting beans on its shores, concluded that the Nile had obtained a different name after flowing across a wide desert, as Homer had said,¹⁴ that, in other words, the Indus and the Nile were the same river, and he is reported to have claimed to have found the source of the Nile and to have told his mother Olympias about the discovery in a letter. However, Arrian continued stating that scholars in Alexander’s entourage had convinced the king that the Indus flew into the Ocean. Hence, reportedly, Alexander deleted the passage from his letter and gave out command to follow the Indus by ship to the Ocean.¹⁵ That means: Alexander initially took his observations of similarities of flora and fauna between Northeast Africa and South Asia as the basis for his claim to have solved the problem of the sources of the Nile,¹⁶ but was persuaded that these similarities could not support a theory about the origin of the Nile. Nevertheless, empirical observations of apparent similarities between Northeast Africa and South Asia haunted not only

10 N. R. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, Woodbridge 2001, p. 106.

11 J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe*, New York 1925, pp. 302–304.

12 F. Relañó, *The Shaping of Africa. Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot 2002, pp. 53, 82.

13 F. Haubold, *Die Entwicklung des europäischen Äthiopienbildes anhand von Darstellungen auf historischen Karten*, in: K. Volker-Saad/A. Greve (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland*, Munich 2006, pp. 40–47. F. de Medeiros, *L’Occident et l’Afrique. XIIIe–XVe siècles. Images et representation*, Paris 1985, pp. 36–68. R. Simek, *Erde und Kosmos im Mittelalter*, Munich 1992, p. 80.

14 See: Homer, *Odyssey*, IV, V. 581.

15 Arrian, *Anabasis*, Book VI, Chap. 1.

16 On this problem see the Latin manuscript *Incipit liber Aristotilis de inundacione Nili* [περί της του Νεῖλου ἀναβάσεως; Ms. Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek, Paulin. 1305, thirteenth century; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, thirteenth century; Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Amploniana qu. 15, fourteenth century; Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Schloss Friedrichstein, fol. 124, fourteenth century], possibly going back to a lost original work by Aristotle; ed. by V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, Leipzig 1863, pp. 633–643; on this text, see J. Partsch, *Africae veteris itineraria explicantur et emendantur*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Breslau 1874. J. Partsch, *Des Aristoteles Buch “Über das Steigen des Nil”*, in: *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 29 (1909), pp. 551–603. Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis libri tres*, Basle, 1522, pp. 52f., already discussed the swelling of the Nile following Aristotle.

Alexander but appealed to a wide range of classical authors from Virgil¹⁷ to Pliny¹⁸ and Solinus.¹⁹ The polysemy of the term “India” thus links up with empirical comparisons between Northeast Africa and South Asia, may reflect early communications between both areas and, consequently, confirms the need for answers to the question why both parts of the world have for a long time been regarded as neighbouring areas.²⁰

2.2. The Occidental World Picture

The basis for research on the Occidental images of Ethiopia has, as a rule, been the world picture of the twentieth century, as it appears from the point of view of the International Space Station (ISS). It has left unconsidered the point that, up to the fourteenth century and contrary to Arab *mappaemundi*,²¹ the perception of the world according to Occidental,²² as well as East Asian²³ geography and cartography did not feature the

17 Virgil, *Georgica*, Book IV, Chap. 293.

18 Pliny, *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVIII*, Book VIII, Chap. 13, § 35.

19 Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. by T. Mommsen, Berlin 1895, pp. 106f.

20 For studies of the relations between Northeast/East Africa and South Asia, see S. S. Ali, *The African Dispersal in the Deccan. From Medieval to Modern Times*, Hyderabad/London 1996, pp. 7–34. E. A. Alpers, *The African Diapora in the Northwestern Indian Ocean. Reconsideration of an Old Problem*, *New Directions for Research*, in: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 17 (1997), pp. 62–81. Alpers, *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean. A Comparative Perspective*, in: S. de Silva Jayasuriya/R. Pankhurst (eds.), *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*, Trenton 2003, pp. 19–52. A. Athappilly, *An Indian Prototype for Prester John*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 10 (1978), pp. 15–23. J. Aubin, *Le Prêtre Jean devant la censure Portugaise*, in: *Bulletin des études Portugaises et Brésilienues* 41 (1980), pp. 33–57. F. A. Baptiste, *The African Presence in India*, in: *Africa Quarterly* 38 (1998), pp. 75–126. G. Campbell, *The African-Asian Diaspora. Myth or Reality?*, in: *African and Asian Studies* 5 (2006), pp. 305–324. Campbell, *Africa, the Indian Ocean World and the “Early Modern”*, in: *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies* 1 (2017), pp. 24–37. R. R. S. Chauhan, *Africans in India. From Slavery to Royalty*, New Delhi 1995. R. O. Collins, *The African Slave Trade to Asia and the Indian Ocean Islands*, in: S. de Silva Jayasuriya/J.-P. Angenot (eds.), *Uncovering the History of Africans in Asia*, Leiden/Boston 2008, pp. 57–80. S. Gupta, *Contact between East Africa and India in the First Millennium CE*, in: G. Campbell (ed.), *Early Exchange between Africa and the Wider Indian Ocean World*, New York/Basingstoke 2016, pp. 157–172. J. E. Harris, *Malik Ambar. African Regent Minister in India*, in: R. Rashidi/I. V. Sertima (eds.), *The African Presence in Early Asia*, New Brunswick 1985, pp. 146–152. W. Jones, *A Conversation with Abram, an Abyssinian, Concerning the City of Gwender and the Sources of the Nile*, in: *Asiatick Researches* 1 (1788), pp. 383–386. O. Khalidi, *African Diaspora in India. The Case of the Habashis of the Dakan*, in: *Islamic Culture* 53 (1989), pp. 85–107. R. C. Oka/C. M. Kusimba, *Siddi as Mercenary or as African Success Story*, in: J. C. Hawley (ed.), *India in Africa, Africa in India. Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanisms*, Bloomington 2008, pp. 203–230. O. Omondi, *The Siddis of India*, Nairobi 2000. F. M. Rogers, *The Quest for Eastern Christians*, Minneapolis 1962, pp. 136–159. I. V. Sertima/R. Rashidi, *The African Presence in Early Asia*, New York 1985. L. F. R. Thomaz, *O Projecto Imperial Joanino (Tentativo de interpretação global da política ultramarina de D. João II)*, in: *Congresso internacional “Bartolomeu Dias e a sua época”*, Actas, vol. 1, Porto 1989, pp. 81–98.

21 See the twelfth-century *mappamundi* by al-Idrisi. Ms. Oxford: The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Ms Pococke 375, fols 3v–4r.

22 For studies, see J.-G. Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica. Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild*, Munich 1984. A.-D. von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur imago mundi des abendländischen Mittelalters*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1963), pp. 118–186. Brincken, ‘... ut scriberetur universus orbis’. Zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters, in: *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 7 (1978), pp. 249–278. Brincken, *Descriptio terrarum. Zur Repräsentation von bewohntem Raum im späten Mittelalter*, in: P. Moraw (ed.), *Raumerfassung und Raumbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 2002, pp. 11–30. E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, London 1997. B. Levy, *Signes et communications ‘extraterrestres’: Les inscriptions marginales de la mappamonde de Hereford*, in: *Jahrbücher der Reineke-Gesellschaft* 6 (1995), pp. 35–48. B. Englisch, *Ordo orbis terrae. Die Weltsicht in den Mappae mundi des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Berlin

“Indian Ocean” and, up to the early sixteenth century, only slowly integrated it as a waterway separating Africa from South Asia. By contrast, the tripartite schematic depiction of the ecumene as composed of the three continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe encircled by the Ocean, represented the belief in the global unity of humankind together with the finite process of time from Creation to Judgment Day²⁴ and visualised the postulate of the cohesive, that is, permeable ecumene which appeared not to be divided by wide stretches of water except for the Mediterranean.²⁵ According to this world picture, Africa and Asia were directly neighbouring parts of the ecumene²⁶ and, at least theoretically,

2002. P. Gautier Dalché, Tradition et renouvellement dans la représentation de l'espace géographique au IX^e siècle, in: *Studi medievali*, Third Series, vol. 24 (1983), pp. 121–165. Gautier Dalché, Décrire le monde et situer les lieux au XI^e siècle. L'Expositio mappe mundi et la généalogie de la mappemonde de Hereford, in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age*, vol. 113, Rome 2001, pp. 343–409. M. Hoogvliet, *Pictura et scriptura*. Textes, images et herméneutique des mappemondes du Moyen Age long (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles), Turnhout 2007. Kline, Maps (note 10). H. Kugler, *Imago Mundi*. Kartographische Skizze und literarische Beschreibung, in: Wolfgang Harms et al. (eds.), *Mediävistische Komparatistik*. Festschrift für Franz Josef Worstbrock zum 60. Geburtstag, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1997, pp. 77–93. M. Kupfer, Medieval World Maps, in: *Word and Image* 10 (1994), pp. 262–288. D. Lecoq, La “mappemonde” du De arca noe mystica de Hugues de Saint-Victor (1128–1129), in: M. Pelletier (ed.), *Géographie du monde au moyen âge et à la Renaissance*, Paris 1989, pp. 9–29. J. F. Moffitt, Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia, in: *Gesta* 32 (1993), pp. 59–61. J. R. Stone, The Medieval Mappaemundi. Toward an Archaeology of Sacred Cartography, in: *Religion* 23 (1993), pp. 197–216. A. Willing, *Orbis apertus*. Zur Quellenkritik mittelalterlicher Kartographie, in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 86 (2004), pp. 283–314. D. Woodward, Reality, Symbolism, Time and Space in Medieval World Maps, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75 (1980), pp. 510–521.
- 23 Gotenjiku-zu 語天竺圖, map of the world, fourteenth century, but based on seventh-century Buddhist tradition, ed. by E. Klemp, *Asien auf Karten*. Von der Antike bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Weinheim 1989, nr. 5. Nanba M. 南波松太郎, *Old Maps in Japan*, Ōsaka 1973, pp. 160–177. This type of map remained productive until the eighteenth century.
- 24 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De Arca Noe Mystica*, Chap. XIV, ed. by J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series Latina [PL], vol. 176, col. 681–704, at col. 700f: “et spatium quod circumferentia ejus includit est orbis terrae. In hoc spatio mappa mundi depingitur ita ut caput arcae ad orientem convertatur, et finis ejus occidentem contingat, ut mirabili disposition ab eodem principe decurrat situs locorum cum ordine temporum, et idem sit finis mundi, qui est finis seculi.” Newly ed. by P. Sicard, Turnhout 2001; transl. in: Lecoq, *Mappemonde* (note 22), pp. 29f.
- 25 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive originum libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911, Book XIII, Chap. 14, 15, s. p. Similarly: *Situs orbis vel regionum* [Ms. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds Latin 4841; end of the seventh – early ninth century], ed. by P. Gautier Dalché, in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 12/13 (1983), pp. 149–179, at pp. 162f. (= fol 1r), Chap. I: “De Oceano. Oceanum et Greci et Latini ideo nominant eo quod in circuli modum ambiat orbem”, pp. 164f. (= fol. 1r–2v), Chap. V: “Situs orbis siue regionum. § 1. Maiores nostri orbem totius terre oceani limbo circumseptum triquedrum statuere eiusque tres partes, Asiam, Europam et Affricam uocauerunt, quamvis aliqui duos, hoc est Asiam ac deinde Affricam in Europam accipiendam putarent.”
- 26 Throughout the Middle Ages, the globality of the planet was taken for granted not only in scientific theory but also in political imagery, as became visual in the sphaira as a symbol of rule. For studies, see A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die Kugelgestalt der Erde in der Kartographie des Mittelalters*, in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 57 (1976), pp. 77–95. Brincken, *Fines Terrae*. Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten, Hanover 1992, pp. 185–193. R. Finsterwalder, *Die Erdkugel in ebenen Bildern*, in: H. Wolff (ed.), *Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt*, Munich 1992, pp. 161–174. S. Günther, *Die Lehre von der Erdrundung und Erdbewegung im Mittelalter bei den Occidentalen*, in: Günther, *Studien zur Geschichte der mathematischen und physikalischen Geographie*, Halle 1877, pp. 1–56. U. Lindgren, Warum wurde die Erde für eine Kugel gehalten?, in: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 41 (1990), pp. 562–74. Lindgren, *Die Tradierung der Lehre von der Kugelgestalt der Erde von der Antike bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, in: *Focus Behaim Globus*, vol. 1, Nuremberg 1992, pp. 127–130. A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La sfericità della terra nel medioevo*, in: G. Cavallo (ed.), *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, vol. 1, Rome 1992, pp. 65–79. J. H. Parry, *Asia-in-the-West*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 8 (1976), pp. 59–72. J. B. Russell, *Inventing the Flat Earth*. Columbus and Modern Historians, New York/Westport, CT/London 1997, pp.

rivers could connect both parts. If the term “India” had a wider meaning allowing its application to various parts of the ecumene, these parts could be found not only in Asia but, on principle, also in Africa. Within this world picture, the sole condition for applying the term “India” to Africa consisted in supportive empirical observations about similarities between Africa and South or other parts of Asia. Not only Alexander engaged in such observations, but still Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who travelled to Palestine c. 1345 and reported on Ethiopia,²⁷ noted that Ethiopians shared the same beliefs with Indians, while Hieronymus Müntzer (1437–1508) even at the end of the fifteenth century testified to the belief that what Pliny had reported about animals in India and Ethiopia was compatible with findings from his own time.²⁸

3. Locating Ethiopia in Occidental Perception

3.1. The Legacy of Antiquity

Texts close to the biblical canon strengthened beliefs in the vicinity of Ethiopia and “India”. After Herodotus had localised a state in the deep south of the ecumene under the name of the Kingdom of the “Ethiopians”,²⁹ the oldest description of this state came on record during the Hellenistic period in the apocryphal *Book of Jubilees* introducing the land Cush surrounded by the Gihon as one of the rivers of paradise and locating it in Africa as the continent awarded to the descendants from Noah through his grandson Cush. According to the *Book of Jubilees*, the southern border of this continent begins east of the Gihon, placed south of the “Garden of Eden”, follows the Ocean in the direction of the southern “Mountains of the Fire”, turns to the west in the direction of “the sea of ’Atêl [Atlantic] and the sea of Mâ’ûk, the sea into which everything which is not destroyed descends”, then turns to the North until it reaches the border of Gadir at the “lips of the water of the Sea”, that is, the western end of the Mediterranean as the “Great Sea”. The southern coasts of the Great Sea form the northern border of the continent assigned to Ham’s descendants.³⁰ The description identified the Gihon with the Nile and took up the older Greek idea that the Nile connected the Ocean with the Mediterranean

1–26. R. Simek, Die Kugelform der Erde im mittelhochdeutschen Schrifttum, in: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 70 (1988), pp. 361–73. Simek, Erde (note 13), pp. 37–54.

27. Fra N. da Poggibonsi, Libro d’Oltremare, Chap. CCLVII, ed. by A. Bacchi della Lega, vol. 2, Bologna 1881, p. 209.

28. H. Müntzer, Itinerarium Hispanicum (1494–1495), ed. by L. Pfandl, in: Revue Hispanique 48 (1920), pp. 1–179, at p. 80.

29. Herodotus, Histories, Book III, Chap. 25.

30. R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol. 2, Oxford 1913, pp. 25–27, at p. 26. K. Berger, Das Buch der Jubiläen, Gütersloh 1981, pp. 368–377. G. Hölscher, Drei Erdkarten. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums, Heidelberg 1949, pp. 57–73, at p. 70. The Book of Jubilees was translated into Ge’ez and Syrian. For studies, see F. Schmidt, Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, in: A. Kasher/U. Rappaport/G. Fuks (eds.), Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel, Jerusalem 1990, pp. 119–134, at pp. 120, 122. E. Tisserant, Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés, in: Revue biblique 30 (1921), pp. 55–86, 206–232. E. Wajntraub/G. Wajntraub, Noah and His Family on Medieval Maps, in: P. D. A. Harvey (ed.), The Hereford World Map. Medieval World Maps and Their Context, London 2006, pp. 381–388, at pp. 383f.

Sea.³¹ This perception was compatible with the report on the terrestrial paradise in the Book of Genesis, for it allowed the construction of a link between the Gihon as one of the rivers of paradise and the “terra Aethiopiae” (Genesis 2, 13). Given that the terrestrial paradise was most frequently located in Asia,³² that meant, in the uppermost zone of the ecumene as visualised in Occidental *mappaemundi*,³³ the Gihon/Nile ran from the Garden of Eden to the South like the Phison, identified with the Ganges. But while the Phison/Ganges flew into the Ocean, the Gihon/Nile ran further southwestwards until it became or was near the border between Asia and Africa.

- 31 Hekateos of Milet, Fragment 278, ed. by R. H. Klausen, Hecatei Milesi Fragmenta, Berlin 1831, p. 119. Herodotus, Histories, Book II, Chap. 21. For a study, see P. S. Alexander, Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi’ of the Book of Jubilees, in: Journal of Jewish Studies 33 (1982), pp. 197–213, at p. 207. Later in: Bede, De natura rerum, Chap. II: Divisio terrae, in: PL 90, col. 187–278, at col. 276. Still featured in the eleventh-century so-called Macrobius map, in: Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 6362, fol. 74r, printed in: A. Wiczorek/H.-M. Hinz (eds.), Europas Mitte um 1000. Katalog, Stuttgart 2000, p. 17, which shows the main branch of the Nile flowing west of “Africa” into the Ocean, while a side branch flows through “Africa” and mouths into the Mediterranean. For explicit identifications of the Gihon with the Nile, see Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae (note 25), Book XIV, Chap. 3, s. p.; Book XIII, Chap. 21, § 7, s. p. Bede, Libri quatuor in principium Genesis, Book II, Chap. 8, ed. by C. W. Jones, Turnhout 1967, pp. 45f; Book II, Chap. 13f, p. 50. Raban Maur, De universo libri viginti duo, in: PL 111, col. 9–614, Book XI, Chap. 10, at col. 319; Book XII, Chap. 3, at col. 334f. John of Marignola, Chronica Boemorum, ed. by J. Emler, Prameny dejin českých vydání z nadání Palackého péčí Spolku Historického v Praze, Prague 1882, pp. 497f. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De rerum proprietate, Book XV, Chap. CXII, Frankfurt 1601, pp. 680–683, at p. 683.
- 32 On the localisation of the terrestrial paradise, see B. Andriani, La forma del paradiso, Padua 1961. I. Ayer de Vuyppons, Ou plaça-t-on le paradis terrestre?, in: Etudes Franciscaines 36 (1924), pp. 117–140, 37 (1925), pp. 113–145. K. Börner, Auf der Suche nach dem irdischen Paradies, Frankfurt 1984, pp. 17–42. J. Daniélou, Terre et paradis chez les pères de l’Eglise, in: Eranos-Jahrbuch 22 (1953), pp. 433–472. P. G. M. Gilet, Le paradis terrestre et son image dans la littérature de la première moitié du XIe siècle. Ph.D. Diss., typescript (University of Melbourne, 1966). A. Graf, Il mito del paradiso terrestre, Rome 1982. R. R. Grimm, Paradisus coelestis, paradisus terrestris. Zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses im Abendland bis um 1200, Munich 1977, pp. 55–98. R. Hennig, Wo lag das Paradies?, Berlin 1950. R. Kaiser, Der Zaun am Ende der Welt, Frankfurt 1989, pp. 20–33. F. Kämpers, Mittelalterliche Sagen vom Paradiese und vom Holze des Kreuzes Christi, Cologne 1897. B. Pabst, Ideallandschaft und Ursprung der Menschheit. Paradieskonzeptionen und -lokalisierungen des Mittelalters im Wandel, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 38 (2004), pp. 17–53. H. R. Patch, The Other World, New York 1950. E. Peters, Quellen und Charakter der Paradiesvorstellungen in der deutschen Dichtung vom 9.–12. Jahrhundert, Breslau 1915. L. I. Ringbom, Paradisus terrestris. Myt, Bild och Verklighet, Helsingfors 1958. A. Scafi, Mapping Paradise. A History of Heaven on Earth, London 2006, pp. 44–61, 84–253.
- 33 Explicitly: [Versus de rota mundi], vv. 3–5, ed. by K. Strecker, Der rhythmus de Asia et de universi mundi rota, Berlin 1909, p. 14. Hugh of Saint Victor, Arca (note 24), Chap. XIV, col. 700f: “et spatium quod circumferentia ejus includit est orbis terrae. In hoc spatio mappa mundi depingitur ita ut caput arcae ad orientem convertatur, et finis ejus occidentem contingat, ut mirabili dispositione ab eodem principe decurrat situs locorum cum ordine temporum, et idem sit finis mundi, qui est finis seculi. Conus autem ille circuli, qui in capite arcae prominent ad orientem, Paradisus est.” Vincent of Beauvais, De Asia et ejus capite quod est paradisus, in: Vincent, Speculum naturale, Book XXXII, Chap. 2 (= Vincent, Speculum Maius, vol. 1), Douai 1624, col. 2400: De Asia et ejus capite, quod est Paradisus. John Duns Scotus criticised this location because, in his view, the climate was unfavourable; see Duns Scotus, Quaestiones in Librum II Sententiarum, Chap. II, Dist. 17, qu. 24, ed. by L. Wadding, in: Duns Scotus, Opera, vol. 6, Part 2, Lyon 1639, pp. 790–794. John of Marignola, Chronica (note 31), p. 497, took up the criticism by Duns Scotus and placed paradise on an island in the Ocean near what is Sri Lanka today: “Est autem paradisus locus in terra circumvallatus mari oceano in parte orientali ultra Indiam Columbinam, contra montem Seyllanum, locus altissimus super omnem terram, attingens, ut probat Johannes Scotus.”

3.2. Religious Texts, Travel Reports, and Fancy about the Realm of Prester John

The connectedness between South Asia and Northeast Africa, as suggested in the biblical report on the terrestrial paradise, formed the platform for a long-lasting tradition and gave support to the wide-ranging spectre of meanings of the names Ethiopia and “India”. Among the earliest pieces, explicitly subsuming Ethiopia into the wider term of “India” was an apocryphal text featured in Fabricius’s edition, a version of the Acts of the Apostles apparently written by some Abdias in late Antiquity. The text included the formula of the “three Indias”, the first extending from South Asia westwards, the second covering the lands of the Medes, and the third relating to the North of Africa named Ethiopia.³⁴ Conversely, the name Ethiopia could relate to Africa as a whole or to its major parts, as visualised in contemporary *mappaemundi*,³⁵ and become used as a name for South Asia, allegedly in ancient times before being renamed “India”.³⁶ The *Epistola presbiteri Johannis* [c. 1160] took up a variant of the apocryphal formula when referring to the “three Indias” but did not extend the term beyond the western border of Asia.³⁷ Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1097–1141) used the tripartite terminology, applying it to the western part of Asia between the Indus and the Red Sea as “Ethiopica India”. From this he differentiated “Ethiopia” in the narrow sense and localised it as a kingdom of its own in the south of Africa extending towards the Ocean.³⁸ For Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264), Ethiopia

34 Pseudo Abdias, Acta apostolorum apocrypha sive historica certaminis Apostolici adscripta Abdiae, in: Fabricius, ed., Codex (note 9), nr [I], p. 669: “Indiae tres esse ab historiographie asseruntur. Prima est India quae ad Aethiopiam vergit, secunda, quae ad Medos, tertia quae finem facit.”

35 Situs (note 25), p. 173 (= fol. 10r), Chap., VIII, § 7: “Ethiopia dicta ab colore populorum quos solis uicinitas torrat. Est enim ibi iugis estus. Nam quidquid eius est sub meridiano cardine est. Circa occidentem autem eius montuosa, arenosa, in medio, ad orientem uero plagam deserta; cuius situs ab occiduo Atlantis montis ad orientem usque in Egipti fines porrigitur, a meridie oceanum, a septentrione Nilo flumine clauditur.” Subsequently: Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon, ed. by C. Babington, Lib. I, vol. 1, London 1865, p. 156. A. Ca’da Mosto, Le navigazioni atlantiche, ed. by G. B. Ramusio, Navigazioni et viaggi, vol. 1, Venice 1503, fol. 96r–111v [English version, ed. by G. R. Crone, The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century, London 1937, p. 1]. V. Fernandez Aleman, De prima inventione Guineae, ed. by F. A. Schmeller, Ueber Valentin Fernandez Aleman und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508, in: Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Bayerischen Academie der Wissenschaften, vol. 4, nr 3 (1845), pp. 1–73, at p. 18. The application of the name Ethiopia to Africa as a whole was often drawn on the literal meaning of the Greek etymon αἰθίοψ ‘burnt face’. For a study, see P. Überholz, “Requiritur autem mapa duplex”. Die Darstellung Afrikas in der angelsächsischen Geschichtsschreibung und Kartographie des Mittelalters, in: P. Engels (ed.), Aus Überrest und Tradition. Festschrift für Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, Lauf an der Pegnitz 1999, pp. 54–72, at pp. 58–64.

36 J. A. Boemus, Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus, Augsburg 1520, fol. villv: “Aethiopia duplex regio est Asiae et Aphricae: altera, quae et hodie India dicitur, ad orientem solem Rubo et Barbarico mari alluitur.”

37 Epistola presbiteri Johannis: Der Brief des angeblichen Priesterkönigs Johannes, ed. by F. Zarncke, Der Priester Johannes, in: Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-Hist. Kl., 7 (1879), pp. 827–1028, 8 (1883), pp. 1–186, at p. 12: “In tribus Indiis dominatur magnificentia nostra, et transiit terra nostra ab ulteriore India, in qua corpus sancti Thomae apostoli requiescit, per desertum et progreditur ad solis ortum, et redit per declivium in Babilonem desertam iuxta turrim Babel.”

38 Hugh of Saint Victor, Descriptio mappe mundi [Ms. Dijon: Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 561 (322), fol. 162r–170v], ed. by P. Gautier Dalché, La “Descriptio mappe mundi” de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Texte inédit, Paris, 1988), pp. 131–151, at pp. 140f: “A Gange flumine ad austrum usque ad mare Rubrum et ab oceano orientale usque ad Indum fluuium contra occidentem est Ethiopica India, et India que mittit ad Medos et India que mittit ad Part hos. In Ethiopica India sunt ciuitates Polibotra [= Pliny, Historia naturalis, Book VI, Chap. 68] et Leucaton”, p. 146:

covered Africa south of Egypt, facing “India” and named “India minor”,³⁹ while Cardinal Jacob de Vitry (1165–1240) extended Ethiopia across altogether forty kingdoms reaching from the north of Africa to South Asia.⁴⁰ The report on Marco Polo’s travels identified Ethiopia as “Mezzana India chiamata Nabasce [Habash = Abyssinia]”,⁴¹ ranking Ethiopia as a part of India in the wider, apocryphal sense. Methods of facticist hypercriticism would lead to the conclusion that either Marco Polo’s memory failed, as he had actually crossed the “Indian Ocean” on his return from China and passed through the Red Sea, or that Rusticello got him wrong. But the wider term “India” made sense when placed into the context of the medieval Occidental world picture. Thus, the subsumption of Ethiopia unto “India” could become stored in Occidental collective memories. For the transmission outside the Biblical canon of the subsumption of Ethiopia unto “India” can hardly be explained simply as the result of bookish learning, in which the location of Ethiopia would hardly have moved from the first, i. e. westernmost position of the three Indias according to Pseudo-Abdias into the middle position in the report about Marco Polo’s travels.

3.3. Maps, Descriptions of the World, Historiography, and Political Theory

Several Occidental *mappaemundi* placed “India” and Northeast Africa on either sides of the border between Asia and Africa, often identified with the Red Sea.⁴² The *mappa-mundi* by Pietro Vesconte of c. 1320, preserved in the *Liber secretorum* of Marino Sanudo the Elder (1270–1343), named “India parva que est Ethiopia” as a place north of the Indus, separated by the Red Sea from “Ethiopia inferior” and “Ethiopia barbaris” in the remaining parts of Africa west of the sources of the Nile, which appears to spring from the Moon Mountains in the centre of the continent. The map also featured the entry “Habesse terra nigrorum” in Northeast Africa, east of “Nubia”, thus distinguishing between the Greek and the Arab forms of the name Ethiopia.⁴³ Ethiopia and “India” were

“Secunda pars orbis uniuersaliter Affrica uocatur. Hec habet precipuas et maximas regiones uel regna: Ethiopiam, Libiam, Africam Carthaginensem. Ethiopia est ad austrum, ab oceano occidentali uel Esperidum montibus iuxta oceanum australem se extendens usque mare Rubrum ad orientem. [...] In Ethiopia est quidam fluuius, Nilus dicturus, qui etiam alio nomine Gyon dicitur uel Nichul.”

39 Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum* (note 33), Book XXXII, Chap. 14. col. 2409.

40 See C. G. Marinescu, *Le Prêtre Jean, son pays. Explication de son nom*, in: *Bulletin de la Section Historique. Académie Roumaine* 10 (1923), pp. 25–40, at p. 32.

41 Marco Polo, *Liber de consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum*, Chap. XLIII: De regionibus principalioribus Yndie seu mediane Yndie disseramus quae speciali nomine dicuntur Abascia, ed. by F. Pipino, Antwerp 1485, s. fol. Marco Polo, *Il libro di Marco Polo detto Milione*, Chap. CLXI, ed. by D. Ponchirolì, Torino 197411, pp. 204 f.: “Mezzana India chiamata Nabasce.”

42 Cottonian *mappaemundi* (late tenth or early eleventh century); Psalter map (mid thirteenth century); London: British Library, Ms. Add. 28681, fol. 9r, both ed. by: P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, London 1991, pp. 26f. S. Westrem (ed.), *The Hereford Map. A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary*, Turnhout 2001. Based on: *Expositio mappe mundi*, ed. by P. Gautier Dalché, *Décrire le monde et situer les lieux au XIIe siècle. L'Expositio mappe mundi et la généalogie de la mappemonde de Hereford*, in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité – Moyen Age*, vol. 112, Rome 2001, pp. 343–409, edn at pp. 378–396.

43 Printed in: Cavallo, Colombo, vol. 1 (note 26), pp. 250f., from Ms. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 548, fols

also direct neighbours in the fictitious travel report by John de Mandeville, which claims that there was a direct link between Northeast Africa to South Asia.⁴⁴ Likewise, the *Libellus de notitia orbis* by Archbishop John III (de Galonifontibus?), OP, of Sultanyeh (in office 1377–1398), has Ethiopia on the left, that is, west of “India”, the Nile forming the border between both areas. Archbishop John was knowledgeable in things Ethiopian and reported that Ethiopians had their own script and language to which the “Orientals” referred as “Habassy”.⁴⁵ Gregor Reisch (1470–1525)’s world map, included in his *Margarita philosophica nova* of 1515, showed “India” northeast of Ethiopia.⁴⁶ Close ties between Ethiopia and “India” also existed according to the title page of a print appearing in 1494 and in the *Tractatus pulcherrimus de situ et dispositione regionum et insularum totius indie* by Utrecht priest Johannes Witte de Hese of c. 1500. Both texts located the realm of Prester John both in Ethiopia and in “India”,⁴⁷ while geographer Johann Aubens Boemus (Boehme, 1485–1535) conversely insisted in 1520 that the name “Aethiopia” had originally been in use for areas in Africa and Asia but had there subsequently been replaced by “India”.⁴⁸ Even Johannes Potken regarded Ethiopia as a part of “India” in 1518.⁴⁹ During the 1530s and 1540s, when missionary Francisco Álvares (1465–1540)’s account of his activities in Ethiopia from 1520 to 1526, and historian Damião de Goís (1502–1574)’s report on Álvares’s mission appeared in print, the title of Álvares’s book referred to the Kingdom of Ethiopia as the land of “Preste Joam das Indias”, whereas Goís styled the King of Ethiopia “Indorum Imperator Presbyter Ioannis”,⁵⁰ and historian

138v–139r. The appearance of the Moon Mountains in this map may reflect knowledge of Ptolemy’s *Cosmography* before it became widely known in the Occident in the early fifteenth century.

44 Mandeville’s *Travels*, partly edited in: Andreas Mielke (ed.), *Nigra sum et Formosa. Afrikanerinnen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 21.

45 John III (de Galonifontibus?) OP, Archbishop of Sultanyeh, *Libellus de notitia orbis*, partly edited by A. Kern, *Der “Libellus de notitia orbis”*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938), pp. 95–123, at p. 120.

46 Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica nova*, Strasbourg 1515, s. p.

47 Title page showing Prester John on a throne with the title “Presto Giovanni de India et Ethio[pia]”, edited in: G. Dati, *Il secondo cantare dell’India* [Rome 1494], ed. by L. Olschki, *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche*, Florence 1937, plate 1. John Witte de Hese [priest at Utrecht], *Tractatus pulcherrimus de situ et dispositione regionum et insularum totius indie* necnon de rerum mirabilium ac gentium diversitate, Cologne c. 1500; attached to: Ioannis presbyteri maximi Indorum et ethiopum christianorum Imperatoris et patriarche epistola ad Emanuellem Rhome gubernatorem de situ et moribus indorum deque eius potentia, diuicijs et excellentia; fol. d Iv.: “[J] ohanis presbyteri maximi Indorum et ethiopum christianorum patriarche vitam moresque ac pontificatus sui epistola pro moresque ac pontificatus sui epistola pro more suscepto conscribere cupiebam.” For a study see: R. Almagià, *Contributi alla storia della conoscenza dell’Etiopia*, Padua 1941, pp. 51–60.

48 Boemus, *Mores* (note 36), fol. Villv: “Aethiopia duplex regio est Asiae et Africae: altera, quae et hodie India dicitur, ad orientem solem Rubo et Barbarico mari alluitur: [...] alteri iungitur Aethiopae, quae maior est et australis.”

49 Potken, *Psalterivm* (note 3), s. p. (at the end of the book, following the four versions of the psalter): “Io Potken Praepositus Ecclesiae Sancti Georgij Coloniensis Peregrinarum literarum studiosis. [...] Cunque maximam Indie maioris, quae et Aethiopia sub Aegypto est, regis (quem vulgo Presbyterum Iohannem appellam) a puero audissem esse potentiam.”

50 F. Álvares, *Ho Preste Joam das Indias. Verdadera informação das terras do Preste Joam, segundo vio y escrevieo ho Padre Francisco Alvarez capellan del Rey nosso senhor, Coimbra 1540* [German version published s.t.: *Warhafftiger Bericht von den Landen, auch geistlichem vnd weltlichem Regiment des Mechtigen Königs von Ethiopien, den wir Priester Johan nennen, wie solches durch die Kron Portugal mit besondern vleis erkündiget worden; beschrieben durch Herrn Franciscum Aluares, Eisleben 1566, fol.](Illr, explained that at this time, new geographies were locating the lands of Prester John no longer in Asia but in Africa: “das dieser Zeit von den*

Francisco Lopez de Gomara (1511–1564) confirmed that Ethiopia was named “India” in 1553.⁵¹ As late as at the turn of the seventeenth century, philologist and ethicist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) could argue that a war might be possible between Ethiopia and “India”, but it would, should it occur, not raise any concerns in Europe. In making this statement, Lipsius did not explicitly say that Ethiopia and “India” were neighbouring areas; yet, for him, they were close enough to each other in terms of space that they could serve as an example for Lipsius’s theory that wars have negative effects only on areas and population groups near the war theatre.⁵² And theologian Luys de Urreta (1588–1636), Professor at the University of Valencia, could, in his survey of the history of Ethiopia of 1610, claim that parts of Ethiopia extended unto Asia.⁵³ Among the latest pieces of evidence for beliefs in close ties between Northeast Africa and South Asia lurks behind the surprise recorded in a note by British geographer and adventurer Charles Tilstone Beke (1800–1874): “That at present day the natives of Abessinia regard their river, the Abäi, as the Nile, will be conceded; but they likewise believe it to be the Gihon of Genesis!”⁵⁴ In complete ignorance of the changing Occidental image of Ethiopia and without regard of the early translation of the *Book of Jubilees* into Ge’ez, Beke perverted what was a record of Christian tradition into a purported document of the alleged primitivism of “natives”.

3.4. Introducing Arab Seafaring Knowledge

By middle of the fifteenth century, however, knowledge of the existence of a wide stretch of water east of Africa was already disseminating in Europe, mainly through the reception of conventions of Arab cartography, which reflected seafaring knowledge,⁵⁵ as well as

neuen Cosmographis des Priester Johannis Land nicht mehr in Asiam, sondern mitten in Affricam [...] gesetzet wird.“ D. de Gôes [Góis], Legatio magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis ad Emanuele Lusitaniae Regem Anno Domini 1513, Antwerp 1532.

- 51 F. Lopez de Gomara, *Historia general de la Indias*, Antwerp 1554, fol. 22v–23r: Book I, Chap. XVIII: “Porque se llamaron Indias”; fol. 22v: “Y que agora el Preste Gian. Preualecieron tanto alli, que mudo aquella tierra sus antiguas costumbres, y apellido enel que traxeron ellos. Y assi la Ethiopia se llamo India.”
- 52 J. Lipsius, *De constancia libri duo*, Book I, Chap. IX, Antwerp 1584, pp. 24–26, at p. 24.
- 53 Urreta, *Historia* (note 8), p. 2: “segun este parecer, parte de la Etiopia pertenece a la tierra de Asia.”; p. 12: “la India, que es la Etiopia.”
- 54 C. T. Beke, *On the Nile and Its Tributaries*, in: *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 17 (1847), pp. 1–84, pp. 35–36, 72.
- 55 On Arab seafaring, see E. A. Alpers, *Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa c. 1500–1800*, in: *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1976), pp. 22–44. R. J. Barendse, *Trade and State in the Arabian Seas*, in: *Journal of World History* 11 (2000), pp. 177–188. M. Bittner/W. Tomaschek, *Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Mohit*, Vienna 1897. G. Buchon, *A propos de l’inscription de Colombo (1501). Quelques observations sur le premier voyage de João de Nova dans l’Océan Indien*, in: *Revista de Universidade de Coimbra* 28 (1980), pp. 233–270. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, *Changing Patterns of Navigation in the Indian Ocean and Their Impact on Pre-Colonial Sri Lanka*; P. Nag, *The Indian Ocean, India and Africa*, both in: S. Chandra (ed.), *The Indian Ocean. Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics*, Delhi 1987, pp. 54–89, 151–173. S. Conermann, *Muslimische Seefahrt auf dem Indischen Ozean vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*; H. Kulke, *Srivijaya. Ein Großreich der Hanse des Ostens?*, both in: Conermann (ed.), *Der Indische Ozean in historischer Perspektive*, Hamburg 1998, pp. 57–88, 143–180. G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages et texts géographiques arabes, persans et turks, relatifs à l’Extrême Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols, Paris 1913–1914. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1928. C. Guillot/D. Lombard/R. Ptak (eds.), *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea. Miscellaneous Notes*, Wiesbaden 1998. M. Horton, *Early Muslim Trading Settlements on the East*

through reports on journeys by Europeans to South Asia⁵⁶ in conjunction with information gleaned from Ptolemy's *Cosmography*,⁵⁷ Strabo's *Geography* and Pomponius Mela's *De situ orbis libri tres*, who, against Ptolemy, had held Africa to be circumnavigable.⁵⁸ Most prominent was the map produced by Venetian monk Fra Mauro (d. 1459) during the 1450s for King Alfonso V of Portugal (in office 1438–1481). The *mappamundi* seems to present arguments not only for the possibility but also for the priority of the choice of the seaway to Ethiopia and India around Africa over the land route. Fra Mauro's map followed the standard conventions of medieval mapmaking, which had omitted much of the southern extension of the African continent, while also displaying important features of originality. One original feature was the choice of format.⁵⁹ Fra Mauro opted against the Occidental style of placing the east at the top and, instead, followed the Arab convention of displaying the south with Africa in the uppermost zone of his map. This choice of format was more than a formality. It allowed Fra Mauro, *nota bene* an ordained monk, to draw a *mappamundi* without having to provide the theological information which most Occidental *mappaemundi* had hitherto contained, namely that the ecumene was a divinely willed and controlled world in its finite temporal extension between Creation and Judgment Day. To be sure, Fra Mauro did include a picture of paradise into his map, but placed it outside the ecumene in the lower left corner of the map. Removing paradise from the ecumene helped Fra Mauro to present the ecumene as a secular space open to human inquiries. In showing an exclusively secular ecumene, Fra Mauro was able to pur-

African Coast, in: *Antiquaries Journal* 67 (1987), pp. 290–323. Horton, Shanga. *The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the East Coast of Africa*, London 1996. G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, Princeton 1951. F. Irth/W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua. His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, St Petersburg 1911. O. K. Nambiar, *The Kunjalis, Admirals of Calicut*, Kolkata 1963. H. P. Ray/J.-F. Salles (eds.), *Tradition and Archaeology. Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi 1996. A. Schmiedchen, *Die Akteure der mittelalterlichen Kommunikation im Indischen Ozean. Von Gujarat über Ceylon und den Golf von Bengalen bis nach Sumatra*, in: N. Jaspert/M. Borgolte (eds.), *Maritimes Mittelalter. Meere als Kommunikationsräume, Ostfildern 2016*, pp. 283–300. A. Schottenhammer, *China's Gate to the Indian Ocean. Iranian and Arab Long-Distance Traders*, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 76 (2016), pp. 135–179. W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on Early Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coasts of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, in: T'oung Pao, Second Series, vol. 16 (1915), pp. 61–159, 236–271, 374–392, 435–467, 604–626. P. Snow, *The Star Raft. China's Encounter with Africa*, London 1988. A. Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, Muscat 1973. H. T. Wright, *Trade and Politics on the Eastern Littoral of Africa. AD 800–1300*, in: T. Shaw (ed.), *The Archaeology of Africa. Food, Metals and Towns*, London/New York 1993, pp. 658–672.

56 The earliest printed version of Niccolò de' Conti's report is in: G. F. Poggio Bracciolini, *India recognita*, Milan 1492. It has been edited separately by F. Kunstmann, *Die Kenntnis Indiens im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Munich 1863; L. Carrei (ed.), *Relazioni di viaggiatori*, vol. 1, Venice 1841, pp. 235–277, and V. Bellemo, *I viaggi di Nicolò de' Conti*, Milan 1863. For a study, see W. Sensburg, *Poggio Bracciolini und Niccolò de Conti in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geographie des Renaissancezeitalters*, in: *Mitteilungen der K[aiserlich]-K[öniglichen] Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 49 (1906), esp. p. 324. For further early travels by Europeans to South Asia, see R. S. Lopez, *Nouveaux documents sur les marchands italiens en Chine à l'époque mongole*, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1977), pp. 445–457. J. Doria, *Annales ad annum 1291*, in: G. H. Pertz (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, vol. 18, Hanover 1863, p. 335. K. A. N. Sastri (ed.), *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, Madras 1939.

57 C. Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia*, print, Strasbourg 1513, fol. 5v.

58 Strabo, *Geographika*, Book XV, Chap. 1, no 13f.

59 P. Falchetta (ed.), *Fra Mauro's World Map. With a Commentary and translations of the Inscriptions*, Turnhout 2006.

sue the pragmatic purpose of, among other things, displaying the circumnavigability of Africa. He did so in two ways. First, he inserted an inscription at the very top of the map and in proximity to the African coast. In the inscription, Fra Mauro insisted that Africa was circumnavigable and that authors claiming the contrary were wrong.⁶⁰ Second, he used the conventional perception of the ocean as the water strip encircling the three-continental ecumene in order to visualise the argument that there was no land barrier preventing the sea-borne approach to Ethiopia and India from Europe.

Fra Mauro's second original feature relates to his depiction of the East African coast in relation to Asia. Here, he departed most radically from the conventions of Occidental mapmaking. Fra Mauro introduced a wide gulf setting apart the Arabian Peninsula and southern Asia from the East African coasts.⁶¹ Remarkably, he displayed this gulf not as a hypothetical inland lake but as an ocean bay.⁶² Fra Mauro may have known Vesconte's map⁶³ but, if he did, he presented a far wider maritime space between Africa and "India" than Vesconte had allowed. He may also have stood under the influence of sketches that earlier fifteenth-century mapmakers had provided on the basis of reports by contemporary Italian travellers to India. Specifically Andrea Bianco was at work on a *mappamundi* in 1436, preserved in Venice, and followed the Arab style.⁶⁴ Another possible cartographic source for Fra Mauro is the *mappamundi* by Giovanni Leardo of 1448 placing the east at the top but displaying the Indian Ocean in a shape similar to that shown by Fra

60 Ibid., nr 53, pp. 192f. "Alguni autori scriue del mat d'india che'l sia serado come un stagnon e che'l mar ocean non li entri man solin uol che'l sia ocean e che quella parte austrae e del garbin sia nauigabile et io affermo che alcune naue açirca e uolta quel camin."

61 Ibid., nr 19, pp. 178–181.

62 For studies, see I. Baumgärtner, *Weltbild und Empirie. Die Erweiterung des kartographischen Weltbilds durch die Asienreisen des späten Mittelalters*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), pp. 227–253. Baumgärtner, *Kartographie, Reisebericht und Humanismus. Die Erfahrung in der Weltkarte des venezianischen Kamaldulensermonchs Fra Mauro († 1459)*, in: F. E. Reichert (ed.), *Fernreisen im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1998, pp. 161–197. G. R. Crone, *Fra Mauro's Representation of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Islands*, in: *V Centenario della nascita di Cristoforo Colombo. Congresso internazionale di studi colombiani*, Genua 1951, pp. 57–64. E. Edson, *The World Map. 1300–1492. The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation*, Baltimore 2007, pp. 141–164. N. A. Egel, *Die Welt im Übergang. Der diskursive, subjektive und skeptische Charakter der Mappamondo des Fra Mauro*, Heidelberg 2014, pp. 227–280. P. Gautier Dalché, *Weltdarstellung und Selbsterfahrung. Der Kartograph Fra Mauro*, in: H.-D. Heimann/Pierre Monnet (eds.), *Kommunikation mit dem Ich. Signaturen der Selbstzeugnisforschung an europäischen Beispielen des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bochum 2004, pp. 39–52. G. Hamann, *Fra Mauro und die italienische Kartographie seiner Zeit als Quellen zur frühen Entdeckungsgeschichte*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 78 (1970), pp. 358–371. W. Iwańczak, *Entre l'espace ptolémaïque et l'empire. Les cartes de Fra Mauro*, in: *Médiévales* 18 (1990), pp. 53–68. Iwańczak, *Borders and Borderlines in Medieval Cartography*, in: O. Merisalo/P. Pahta (eds.), *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2006, pp. 661–672. J. R. Masson, *Geographical Knowledge and Maps of Southern Africa Before 1500 A.D.*, in: *Terrae Incognitae* 18 (1986), pp. 1–20, at pp. 15f. P. V. Paulitschke, *Die geographische Erforschung der Adäl-Länder und Harâr's in Ost-Afrika*, Leipzig, 1888², pp. 18–26. A. Tenenti, *The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, in: J. R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, London 1973, pp. 17–37. C. Verlinden, *The Indian Ocean*, in: *Rapports. XVIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 19–34. H. Winter, *The Fra Mauro Portolan Chart in the Vatican*, in: *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962), pp. 17–28.

63 See above, note 43.

64 Ms. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. Z. 76, carta 10. Printed in: N. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus. An Essay to the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions*, Stockholm 1897, p. 19 [also in: Cavallo, Colombo, vol. 1 (note 26), p. 415].

Mauro.⁶⁵ Hence, he is likely to have also borrowed from Arab mapmakers not only the basic format of his map, but also the principled suggestion that “India” could be reached via the Ocean.

3.5. Delinking Ethiopia from South Asia

By the 1530s, some cartographers, geographers and authors of statistical handbooks were ready to acknowledge the distinctness of Ethiopia from “India”. Thus, in 1532, Basle theologian Simon Grynaeus (Griner, 1493–1541) included into his handbook of world geography a brief description of Ethiopia without mentioning relations or relatedness to South Asia.⁶⁶ So did Hebraist and Grynaeus’s Basle colleague Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) in his widely read statistical handbook, first published in 1544,⁶⁷ theologian Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) in his chronological survey of the late 1550s,⁶⁸ adventurer and pseudo-patriarch of Ethiopia João Bermudez (d. 1570) in stories about his activities in Ethiopia from 1520 to 1559, written in 1565,⁶⁹ while cosmographer Luca de Linda followed Münster’s lead in 1655.⁷⁰ Without much ado, military officer and antiquary Francis Thynne (c. 1544–1608) placed Ethiopia “in the middle of part of Affrica” in 1652.⁷¹ In sum, there is no recognisable trace in Occidental published writings of the view that Ethiopia and “India” were neighbouring areas after the beginning of the seventeenth century. Hence, Hiob Ludolf can hardly have had recently issued written texts in mind when he, two generations later, chastised his contemporaries for getting wrong essentials of the geography of Ethiopia. Instead, he must have thought of directing his attack against orally transmitted knowledge, deeply entrenched in European collective memories and framed by elements of traditions about rivers of paradise, medieval fancy about the realm of Prester John and the biblical tradition of allocating Africa to the descendants of Ham. Influences from these elements of the context of the Occidental image of Ethiopia shall be examined in turn.

65 Cavallo, Colombo, vol. 1 (note 26), p. 161.

66 S. Grynaeus, *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Book II, Chap. XV, Basle 1532, p. 219. Needless to say that Martin Behaim’s globe of 1492 had already implemented Fra Mauro’s vision of the seaway between Africa and South Asia.

67 S. Münster, *Cosmographia. Beschreibvng aller Lender*, Basle 1544, pp. DCLVIII–DCLIX.

68 P. Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt*, vol. 12, ed. by K. G. Bretschneider, Halle 1844, col. 712–1094: *Chronicon Carionis* [1558–1560], at col. 729.

69 J. Bermudez, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriarcha D. João Bermudez trauxe do imperador da Ethiopia chamedo [...] Preste João dirigida* [1565], Lisbon 1875 [English version s.t.: *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543, as Narrated by Castanhoso. With Some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez and Certain Extracts from Correia*, ed. by R. S. Whiteway, London 1902, pp. 123–257.

70 L. de Linda, *Descriptio orbis omnium rerumpublicarum*, Leiden 1655, pp. 1146–1149.

71 F. Thynne, *The Perfect Ambassador. Treating of the Antiquitie, Priveledges and Behaviour of Men Belonging to That Function*, London 1652, p. 49.

4. The Contexts of the Occidental Image of Ethiopia

4.1. The Rivers of Paradise and the Search for the Sources of the Nile

The belief in the existence of the rivers of paradise was based on trust in the factuality of the contents of the Bible, specifically the Book of Genesis, and remained self-evident well into the sixteenth century.⁷² It not only boosted the perception of the ecumene as a single cohesive and permeable space, but also subjected the ecumene to the unilinear process of universal history beginning with Creation.⁷³ As early as in the ninth century, Occidental knowledge of the early Christian origins of the Ethiopian church confirmed trust in the divinely willed universality of history as mirrored in the perceived expansion of the Christian church.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, whoever was not content with simply relating the names of the Gihon and the Nile to the same river, had to provide answers to three fundamental questions: first, whether all four rivers sprang directly from the fountain located in paradise according to the Book of Genesis or whether only one river left paradise and then branched off into four distinct rivers; second, what the actual course of the river Gihon/Nile was from paradise to Ethiopia; and finally, how the belief in the existence of the rivers of paradise could be reconciled with the rival theory which placed the source of the Nile in Africa.

The first question was theological in kind. Answers to it depended on the choice of the method of interpreting biblical texts. Authors regarding the four rivers of paradise tropologically as manifestations of the four virtues of *prudentia*, *fortitudo*, *temperantia* and *iustitia*, were inclined to the view that all four rivers sprang from paradise. This view seems to have been dominant in the early Middle Ages.⁷⁵ From the high Middle Ages, however, the alternative view seems to have become more widely accepted.⁷⁶ This latter view was of significance insofar as it allowed the loosening of ties between the courses of the four

72 Believing in the reality of the rivers of paradise was, therefore, in agreement with the world picture up to the early sixteenth century. Contra: D. Scruzzi, *Eine Stadt denkt sich die Welt. Wahrnehmung geographischer Räume und Globalisierung in Venedig von 1490 bis 1600*, Berlin 2010, pp. 41f.

73 E.g.: Augustine, Bishop of Hippo Regius, *De genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, Book VI, Chap. 3, ed. by J. Zycha, Prague/Vienna/Leipzig 1894, p. 173: "et plantavit deus paradisum in Eden ad orientem et posuit ibi hominem". Raban Maur, *De universo* (note 31), Book XII, Chap. 3, col. 334f.

74 Raban Maur, *De universo* (note 31), Book XI, Chap. 10, col. 319. John of Marignola, *Chronica* (note 31), pp. 497f.

75 Augustine, Bishop of Hippo Regius, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Book XII, Chap. 13, ed. by D. Weber, Vienna 1998, pp. 133f. Raban Maur, *De universo* (note 31), Book XII, Chap. 3, col. 334f. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, Book I, Chap. 11, ed. by S. E. Banks/James W. Binns, Oxford 2002, pp. 70–72.

76 Peter Abaelard, *Expositio in Hexaemeron*, in: PL 178, col. 731–783, at col. 778. L. Stainreuter, *Die Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, ed. by J. Seemüller [fifteenth century], Berlin 1909, p. 5. I. von Zingerle, *Eine Geographie aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 50, nr 4, Vienna 1856, pp. 371–448, at p. 377, vv. 96–102: "dar ûz kumt gegangen / Tigrîs unde Phîsôn / Eufôrâtes unde Gêôn. / diu vier wazzer flieszent / ûf die erde und begiezent / diu lant und machent mit ir kraft / die erde fiht und berehaft." Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietate*, Book XV, Chap. CXII: *De paradiso*, Frankfurt 1601, pp. 680–683; p. 680: "Paradisus est locus in partibus orientis constitutus"; p. 683: "Ex illo lacu velut ex vno fonte procedunt illa flumina quatuor", adhered to the previous view. Scruzzi, *Stadt* (note 72), pp. 41f., called attention to the diary of Marino Sanuto, the Younger, noting the visit to Venice of a Jewish scholar named David early in the sixteenth century reporting on a river that springs from paradise and then divides into four different rivers.

rivers and the location of paradise and, thereby, opened a wider spectre of possibilities to determine the courses the rivers might have taken. Where earlier authors had argued that the Gihon ran to the eastern shore of the Red Sea, passed underneath it and resurfaced as the Nile on its western shore,⁷⁷ some later authors postulated that the Nile sprang from the Atlas Mountains, flew under the surface to the western shores of the Red Sea and from there to Ethiopia on the surface.⁷⁸ Others tried to solve the problem by extending the African continent eastward in the form of a vast peninsula; under this condition, the Nile might have originated, not in Asia, yet in an area near paradise.⁷⁹

The various arguments concurred in achieving compatibility of specific aspects of the shape of the surface of the planet with its divinely willed spatial and temporal order. Most of these arguments remained faithful to the Book of Genesis and, except for the tradition initiated by Fra Mauro, to the conventions of Occidental mapmaking until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Hence, the postulates of the vicinity of and close relations between Ethiopia and “India” were by no means based on errors or lack of knowledge but formed part of the trust in the divinely ordered world, as it was visualised in *mappaemundi*. However, some aspects of the heritage of Antiquity militated against the foundations of these postulates and were authoritatively manifest in Ptolemy’s *Cosmography* through the claim that the Nile had no connections with Asia but sprang from the Moon Mountains and/or a lake fed by much rainfall in central or southern Africa.⁸⁰ The original text of Ptolemy’s work became known in the Occident by the early fifteenth century and thoroughly influenced Fra Mauro’s *mappamundi*. Fra Mauro decided to follow Ptolemy’s location of the sources of the Nile, while expecting that his contemporaries might reject his decision:

*I think that many will be amazed that here I put the source of the Nile. But certainly, if they approach the question rationally and undertake the same investigations that I have – and with the diligence that I cannot here describe –, they will see that here I am undertaking to demonstrate this thanks to the very clear evidence I have had.*⁸¹

77 Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, Book I, Chap. 2, §§ 27f., ed. by C. Zangemeister, Vienna 1882, p. 16. Situs (note 25), Chap. VI, § 14, p. 167 (= fol. 5r).

78 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, Book I, Chap. 9, ed. by V. I. J. Flint, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 49 (1982), pp. 7–153, at p. 52. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia* (note 75), p. 70. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*, Book XIII, Chap. 3, *Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptorum*, ed. by H. Boese, vol. 1, Berlin/New York 1973, p. 351: “De Gyon. Gyon qui et Nilus non longe a monte Atlante de terra exiens, a terra protinus absorbetur, sub qua latenter fluendo Mare Rubrum pertransiens in Maris Rubri littore incipit iterum apparere, et Ethiopiam circueiens in terram Egypti Nilo se infundens.” It is possible that this view was influenced by the theory, already reported by Herodotus, *Histories*, Book II, Chap. 22, that the Nile flew through Libya eastwards into Egypt. Also shown in thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*; see above, note 42.

79 Psalter map (note 42).

80 Ptolemy, *Geographia* (note 57), Book IV, Chap. 8; for the Aristotelian theory of intense rainfall in the area of the sources of the Nile see above, note 16. For a study of the reception of Ptolemaean geography, see S. Y. Edgerton, *From Mental Matrix to Mappamundi to Christian Empire. The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance*, in: D. Woodward (ed.), *Art and Cartography*, Chicago/London 1987, pp. 27–33.

81 Fra Mauro, *Mappamondo* (note 59), nr 389, pp. 262f.: “Credo che qui molti se meraveierà perchè io meto el nascimento del nilo, ma certo si se moverano cum raxion et vorano investigar quanto ho fato mi e cum quella diligentia che qui dir non passo, l vederano che io me movo a demonstrar questo per evidentissime chiareçe ho

Even though Fra Mauro remained silent about the reason for the critical amazement he expected from among his contemporaries, only one reason can be considered seriously as a motive for his appeal to search for empirical evidence about the location of the sources of the Nile, and that is trust in the Biblical narrative about the rivers of paradise.

In any case, the Moon Mountains appeared more frequently from the later fifteenth century.⁸² As believers shared the view that paradise was inaccessible to humans,⁸³ quests for empirical research in its location would then have been irreconcilable with Church doctrine. While Fra Mauro's call for efforts to collect empirical evidence may have been daring in his own time (and may have induced him to locate paradise outside the ecumene), the early seventeenth century did actually witness such efforts. Missionary Pedro Páez SJ (1564–1622) reached the area of the origin of the Blue Nile in 1618 and reported on his expedition in his then unpublished *Historia Aethiopiae*.⁸⁴ Still, knowledge about his expedition circulated during the eighteenth century,⁸⁵ while narratives about the Moon Mountains were current in the Occident as well as in the Arab world until the latter part of the nineteenth century and presented strong arguments for the separation of Ethiopia from South Asia.⁸⁶ Still, however, Ludolf's criticism of the polysemy of the name "India" indicated that memories of the world picture enshrined in Occidental *mappaemundi* did not disappear from the mind sets, after this type of world map had been abandoned at the turn of the sixteenth century. Beliefs in the rivers of paradise could still be the topic of a doctoral dissertation in the later seventeenth century.⁸⁷ In sum, narratives about the rivers of paradise authoritatively backed the belief in the vicinity of Ethiopia and "India" into the sixteenth century, from whence the Nile no longer became identified with the Gihon, but continued to linger on as sunken cultural good in European collective memories to the end of the seventeenth century, much as locating the source of the Nile continued to remain a controversial matter in the Occident.⁸⁸

habuto"; the translation is Falchetta's. On the frequency of Fra Mauro's use of the first person in the inscriptions of his map, see Gautier Dalché, *Weltdarstellung* (note 62), p. 41.

82 H. Schedel, *Das Buch der Chroniken*, Nuremberg 1493, fol. 12v–13r. For further maps to 1520, see J. de La Cosa, map of the world. 1500; Madrid: Museo Naval, printed in: Cavallo, *Colombo* (note 26), vol. 1, pp. 528f. J. Ruysch, map of the world. 1501; Modena: Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, a Z. 1. 15, printed in: *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 617. G. M. Contarini, map of the world. 1506, printed in: *ibid.*, pp. 614f. M. Waldseemüller, map of the world. 1507, printed in: *ibid.*, pp. 624f. Ptolemy, map of the world, in: Ptolemy, *Cosmographia*, edn Venice 1516, printed in: *ibid.*, pp. 728f. P. Coppo, map of the world. 1520; Bologna: Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Ms. A. 117, printed in: *ibid.*, pp. 782f.

83 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia* (note 75), Book II, Chap. 3, 180–182. John of Marignola, *Chronica* (note 31), p. 497.

84 Páez, *Historia* (note 3, English version), pp. 244–250.

85 J. Lobo, *Voyage historique d'Abissinie*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1728, p. 266. J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773*, 5 vols, Edinburgh/London 1790.

86 C. Meiners, *Kurze Geschichte des Nils*, in: Meiners, *Vermischte philosophische Schriften*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1775, pp. 180–191; at pp. 180–181, he believed that the inundations were the consequence of melting snow in the area around the southern sources of the Nile, and, at p. 186, further assumed that the inundations were the consequence of heavy rainfall in Ethiopia.

87 M. D. Omeis, *Schediasma de quatuor paradisi fluminibus* Gen II, 10, 11.12. DD thesis, University of Altdorf 1675.

88 For one, William Jones, *Conversation* (note 20), employee of the English East India Company and Sanskrit philologist, reported on a conversation with an Ethiopian named Abram about the sources of the Nile, and took the issue up in the separate article: Jones, *On the Course of the Nile*, in: Jones, *The Works*, vol. 4, London 1807, pp. 320–322.

4.2. From Fancy to Diplomacy: The Realm of Prester John

Unrelated to biblical narratives, hopes to find suitable and willing allies against the Muslims⁸⁹ sparked legends that had circulated about Prester John in the Occident since the middle of the twelfth century, following the appearance of some “Johannes patriarcha”, who had apparently arrived in Rome from South Asia in 1120 and confirmed legends about miracles at the tomb of St Thomas.⁹⁰ Subsequently, the earliest notice of Prester John located this ruler in the far eastern part of Asia, east of Persia and Armenia, and turned him into a Nestorian Christian.⁹¹ Already the fictitious *Epistola Presbyteri Johannis* established a link between the legend and crusading plans by explicitly announcing a campaign to liberate the Holy Land.⁹² At about the same time, Pope Alexander III (in office 1159–1181) claimed supremacy over the entire Christian Church in a letter dated 27 September 1177, addressed to “the illustrious and magnificent King of the Indians, Most Sacred of Priests”. The pope seems to have wished to make explicit his request that Christians in eastern Asia should accept his authority.⁹³ A century later, Marco Polo’s report referred to Prester John in East Asia⁹⁴ and the mid-fourteenth-century author of *Mandeville’s Travels* faithfully extrapolated on the sources by locating the realm of Prester John close to the terrestrial paradise.⁹⁵

Late in the fourteenth century, however, the realm believed to be under the control of Prester John was translocated to Ethiopia. In an initial step, Prior John of Hildesheim (d. 1375) oscillated between both locations, describing Prester John as a ruler in “India beyond the Red Sea”, while mentioning a mission that this ruler had sent from Ethiopia

89 Explicit recommendations for an alliance were recorded in: Poème de Héthoum l’Arménien, in: *Flos historiarum terre orientis* [c. 1300], Book IV, Chap. 17, 23, in: *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents latins et français relatifs à l’Arménie*, vol. 2: Documents Arméniens, Paris 1906, pp. 353f., 358. Guillaume Adam, *De modo Saracenos exstirpandi*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 521–555, at p. 551.

90 *Flores temporum*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, in: *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, vol. 24, Hanover 1869, pp. 226–254, at p. 246. Alberich of Troisfontaines, [Chronica] a monacho novi monasterio Hoiensis interpolata, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in: *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, vol. 23, Hanover 1874, pp. 631–950, at p. 824. Odo Abbas S. Remigii Remensis Epistolae [1136], in: PL 172, col. 1331–1334, at col. 1331, 1333f. The so-called Chronik von Weißenstephan, ed. by S. Krämer, Munich 1972, p. 210. T. Ebendorfer, *Chronica Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. by H. Zimmermann, Munich 1994, p. 374.

91 Otto of Freising, *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, Book VII, Chap. 33, ed. by A. Hofmeister, Hanover 1912, pp. 365f.

92 See a fifteenth-century manuscript version preserved in Cod. hist. 61, Göttingen University Library, and the facsimile edition of a printed French version which appeared in Paris c. 1500 by V. Slessarev, Prester John. The Letter and the Legend, Minneapolis 1959, following pp. 65–67. Latin version in: D. Mauricio, Ainda a “Carta do Prestre João” das Índias, in: *Broteria* 72 (1961), pp. 285–303, at pp. 288–294. See also: F. Zarncke, Ueber eine neue, bisher nicht bekannt gewesene lateinische Redaction des Briefes des Priester Johannes, in: *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philol.-Hist. Kl.* 29 (1877), pp. 111–156. Zarncke, Priester Johannes (note 37).

93 Alexander III, Pope, [Letter to a ruler styled ‘illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo’], 27 September 1177], in: PL 200, col. 1148–1150 [also ed. by Zarncke, Priester Johannes (note 37), pp. 933–936].

94 Marco Polo, *Il libro* (note 41, edn by Ponchirolì), Chap. 52, 56, 67, 92f., pp. 52–56, 66–68, 109–111.

95 Jean de Mandeville, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Chap. XXXIV, ed. by C. Deluz, Paris 2000, pp. 472–480. The *Travels Mandeville of Sir John Mandeville. The Version of the Cotton Manuscript in Modern Spelling*, Chap. XXX, London 1905, p. 420.

to Rome.⁹⁶ At the turn of the fifteenth century, the relocation of the believed lands of Prester John to the southern flanks of the Muslim world boosted further efforts to forge an alliance between Christian rulers in the Occident and the Ethiopian king. In a letter dated 1400, King Henry IV of England (in office 1399–1413) approached his colleague in Northeast Africa proposing a crusade and applied to him the title of Prester John.⁹⁷ Yet the letter may not have reached Ethiopia. The use of the title Prester John for the king of Ethiopia does seem to have been an innovation at the time, for a note in the Venetian archives dated 16 July 1402, confirms that the Maggior Consiglio still regarded Prester John as “lord of parts of India” [*dominus partium Indie*] and described him as a wealthy ruler.⁹⁸ So did mapmaker Henricus Martellus soon after 1489 in his *mappamundi*, geographer Jobst Ruchamer in his statistical survey of 1508, an anonymous Strasbourg print of 1509 as well as the Strasbourg editor of Ptolemy’s *Cosmography* of 1522, who placed the following inscription into the map of India west of the Indus River: “*Multi reges indie imperant omnibus tamen prespiter iohannes gubernator*” and thereby suggested that Prester John of was a kind of overlord over rulers in India.⁹⁹ Only from the later fifteenth century did the Occident reluctantly acknowledge Ethiopia as the realm of Prester John. The relocation of the realm of Prester John from India to Ethiopia may have been inspired from the reception of Arab geographical literature on Africa, specifically the work by Abu Hasan Ali al-Masudi (c. 896–956). He had noted the presence of Christian Ethiopian colonists in Sofala (Southeast Africa), thereby possibly linking memories of the biblical gold land Ophir to this part of the continent. Martin Behaim (1459–1507)¹⁰⁰ also placed Prester John in Southeast Africa, styling him “Emperor of Abyssinia”, and Vasco da Gama (c. 1469–1524),¹⁰¹ while staying at Mozambique Island, was reported to have met emissaries believed to have been dispatched by Prester John.¹⁰²

96 John of Hildesheim, *Historia de translatione beatissimorum trium regum*, ed. by E. Christern, Munich 1963, p. 65.

97 F. C. Hingeston (ed.), *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth*, vol. 1, London 1860, pp. 421f. Later taken up by Alfonso V, King of Aragón, [Letter to Zāra Jakub, King of Ethiopia, c. 1450, 1452, 1453]. Ms. Archivio della Corona de Aragón, Reg. 2658, fol. 576, 178r, 57v.

98 *Deliberazioni, Avogaria A*, fol. 11r, printed in N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l’histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, vol. 1, Paris 1899, p. 120.

99 Henricus Martellus: [Ms. London: British Library, Add. Ms. 15760; another manuscript of the map is held by Yale University Library; edited in: P. Whitfield, *The Image of the World*, London 1994, pp. 42f.; W. G. L. Randles, *The Evaluation of Columbus’ “India” Project by Portuguese and Spanish Cosmographers in the Light of the Geographical Science of the Period*, in: *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990), p. 59]. J. Ruchamer, *Neue unbekanntes Land und ein neue weltde in kurtz vergangener zeyte erfunden*, Nuremberg 1508, Book II, Chap. LX, s.p. *Der welt kugel*, Strasbourg 1509, printed by J. Adelphus and J. Grüninger, who followed Henricus Martellus. Strasbourg edn of Ptolemy of 1522, printed in: F. E. Reichert, *Von Mekka nach Malakka? Ludovico de Varthema und sein Itinerar (Rom 1510)*, in: X. von Ertzdorff/Rudolf Schulz (eds.), *Beschreibung der Welt. Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte*, Amsterdam/Atlanta 2000, p. 293.

100 M. Behaim, *Erdapfel*, in: *Focus Behaim Globus*, vol. 1, Nuremberg 1992, plate 14, p. 265.

101 Á. Velho, *Roteiro da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama (1497–1499)*, ed. by A. Fontoura da Costa, Lisbon 1960, p. 22.

102 Abu Hasan Ali al-Masudi, *The Meadows of Gold*, ed. by P. Lunde/C. Stone, London 1989. An excerpt of the work was included in the edition of translated sources by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast. Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1962, pp. 14–17. The argument that the alleged lands of Prester John were relocated from India to Africa because European travellers in Asia had not been able to find Prester John in Asia [see: U. Knefelkamp, *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes*.

In his commentary on Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, posthumously published in 1544, philosopher Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) initiated a new interpretation of the relationship between Ethiopia and “India” in that he assumed westward migration as connecting both areas. Drawing on Tertullian's mentioning of “gymnosophistae”, a group of South Asian ascetics, who apparently had impressed Alexander of Macedon,¹⁰³ Vives posited that the group had migrated from “India” to Ethiopia.¹⁰⁴ In his edition of an Ethiopian computus, published in 1583, chronologist Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), using the report on Marco Polo's travels as a source on Prester John, expanded on this argument, postulating that Ethiopians had originally settled in Asia, but had been driven out by the Mongols and moved to Africa.¹⁰⁵ In the same year, geographer and school principal Michael Neander (1525–1595) more radically classed Ethiopia straightforwardly as an “Indian” settlement colony.¹⁰⁶ And Jesuit theologian Nicoláo Godinho (1559–1616), in his survey on things Ethiopian of 1615, took for granted that scores of people settling in the plains inundated by the Indus had moved away to establish their homes in Ethiopia.¹⁰⁷ Obviously, these were pure speculations for which no evidence has ever existed. Yet, following Biblical narratives, migrationist explanations have long been used as a conventional rationale for answering the question of why people are where they are. In the case of Ethiopia, these explanations came up as some kind of emergency solution in the Occident at the very time when all inherited observations about links between the realms of Prester John in Northeast Africa and in South Asia had been proved wrong.¹⁰⁸

Dargestellt anhand von Reiseberichten und anderen ethnographischen Quellen des 12. bis 17. Jahrhunderts, Gelsenkirchen 1986, pp. 74–85], is based on hindsight knowledge.

103 Tertullian, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginensis Presbyteri Opera omnia*, Chap. XLII, ed. by J. Pamerius, Heidelberg 1608, p. 73.

104 J. L. Vives, *Divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi de civitate dei libri XXII ad priscæ venerandæque vetustatis exemplaria denuo collati, eruditissimeque insuper Commentariis per doctissimum virum Ioannem Lodouicum Viuum illustrati et recogniti*, Book XIV, Chap. 17, Paris 1544, p. 168.

105 Scaliger, *De emendatione* (note 3), pp. 324–349: “Computus annalis Aethiopum ex Aethiopico”, at p. 338.

106 M. Neander [Neumann] (ed.), *Orbis terrarum partium succincta explicatio*, Eisleben 1583, fol. Z 5v.

107 N. Godinho SJ, *De Abassinorum rebus libri tres*, Leiden 1615, p. 7.

108 For studies see, among many: W. Baum, *Die Verwandlungen des Mythos vom Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes*. Rom, Byzanz und die Christen des Orients im Mittelalter, Klagenfurt 1999, pp. 113f., 120–134, 217–302. A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die “Nationes Christianorum Orientalium” im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne/Vienna 1973, pp. 404–411. Brincken, *Presbyter Johannes, Dominus Dominantium. Ein Wunsch-Weltbild des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in: A. Legner (ed.), *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, vol. 1, Cologne 1985, pp. 83–97. U. Eco, *Le royaume du Prêtre Jean*, in: *Alliage* 45/46 (2000) [<http://revel.unice.fr/alliage/index.html?id=3842>]. Egel, *Welt* (note 62), pp. 307–335. M. L. Gosman, *La lettre du Prêtre Jean. Les versions en ancien Français et en ancien Occitan*. Ph. D. thesis, typescript, University of Groningen 1982. I. Hallberg, *L'extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie des 13e, 14e et 15e siècles*, Göteborg 1906, pp. 281–285. K. F. Helleiner, *Prester John's Letter. A Medieval Utopia*, in: *The Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 13 (1959), pp. 47–57. Knefelkamp, *Suche* (note 99). C. G. Marinescu, *Le Prêtre Jean, son pays. Explication de son nom*, in: *Bulletin de la Section Historique. Académie Roumaine* 10 (1923), pp. 25–40. Marinescu, *Encore une fois le problème du Prêtre Jean*, in: *Bulletin de la Section Historique. Académie Roumaine* 26 (1945), pp. 203–222. L. Olschki, *Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 144 (1931), pp. 1–14. G. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte. Ein Beitrag zur Völker- und Kirchengeschichte und zur Heldendichtung des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1864. J. Pirenne, *La légende du “Prêtre Jean”*, Strasbourg 1993. I. de Rachewiltz, *Prester John and Europe's Discovery of East Asia*, Canberra 1972. F. Relaño, *Prester John. The Migration of a Legend*, in: Relaño, *Shaping* (note 12), pp. 51–74. T.

4.3. Ludolf's Complaint and the Original Hamitic Theory

Hiob Ludolf was critical about assuming migration from South Asia to Northeast Africa. Instead, he opted for the rival theory that linked Northeast Africa to western Asia. This was the original Hamitic theory which argued that all Africans as descendants from Ham had come from western Asia.¹⁰⁹ It arose during the fifteenth century and grounded in the Old Testament list of peoples (Genesis 9, 6–21) which listed Ham as Noah's son and, through his sons Cush and Canaan, as ancestor of all "Cushitic" and other inhabitants of Africa. It claimed that, as a result of some divine curse,¹¹⁰ the colour of Ham's descendants' skin had turned black. From the very beginning, it had been employed in Portugal in defence of the deportation of Africans as slaves.¹¹¹ During the first half of the sixteenth century, al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan (1483–1555), who converted to Catholicism and renamed himself Leo Africanus, submitted a report on things African to the Spanish ruler. In this report, he discussed the various theories about the origin of Africans and concluded that, as descendants from Cush, they had migrated from the land of the Philistines in West Asia.¹¹² Polymath Hermann Conring (1606–1661) took up the theory in his statistical survey of 1675.¹¹³ Ludolf, in his explanation of the origin of Ethiopians, used a variant of the theory in his grammar of Amharic, published in 1698, where he testified to the view that Ethiopians had immigrated from the Arabian

Renz, *Das Priesterkönigreich des Johannes*, in: F. Meier/R. H. Schneider (eds.), *Erinnerungsorte – Erinnerungsbrüche. Mittelalterliche Orte, die Geschichte mach(t)en*, Ostfildern 2013, pp. 239–256. J. Richard, *L'Extrême-Orient légendaire au Moyen Age. Roi David et Prêtre Jean*, in: *Annales d'Ethiopie* 2 (1957), pp. 225–244. F. M. Rogers, *The Quest for Eastern Christians*, Minneapolis 1962, pp. 114–315. E. D. Ross, *Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia*, in: A. P. Newton (ed.), *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, London/New York 1926, pp. 174–194. E. Schmid, *Priester Johann oder die Aneignung des Fremden*, in: D. Peschel (ed.), *Germanistik in Erlangen. Hundert Jahre nach der Gründung des Deutschen Seminars*, Erlangen 1983, pp. 75–93. Zarncke, *Priester Johannes* (note 37).

- 109 For studies, see, among others: P. Rohrbacher, *Die Geschichte des Hamiten-Mythos*, Vienna 2002. Rohrbacher, 'Hamitische Wanderungen'. *Die Prähistorie Afrikas zwischen Fiktion und Realität*, in: F. Wiedemann/H.-J. Gehrke/K. P. Hofmann (eds.), 'Vom Wandern der Völker'. *Zur Verknüpfung von Raum und Identität in Migrationserzählungen*, Berlin 2017, pp. 243–276. F. Rottland, *Hamiten, Neger, Négritude. Zur Geschichte einer afrikanistischen Klassifikation*, in: A. Jones/Bernhard Streck (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Afrikaforschung*, Stuttgart 1996, pp. 141–150. E. R. Sanders, *The Hamitic Hypothesis*, in: *Journal of African History* 10 (1969), pp. 521–532. W. G. C. Smidt, *Afrika im Schatten der Aufklärung. Das Afrikabild bei Immanuel Kant und Johann Gottfried Herder*, Bonn 1999, pp. 41–50. B. Streck, *Afrikanische Ambivalenzen. Äthiopien und Hamiten*, in: Streck, *Leo Frobenius. Afrikaforscher, Ethnologe, Abenteurer*, Frankfurt 2014, pp. 69–104.
- 110 Genesis 9, 24–25, which reports the curse, says nothing about the colour of the skin. It also makes no mention of a curse imposed upon Ham, although it has often been supposed that Ham had been punished with the black colouring of his skin; among many, see I. Kant, *Logik, Physische Geographie, Pädagogik* [lecture course, delivered annually from 1756 to 1796] (= Kant, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 9), Berlin/Leipzig 1923, pp. 309–436, at p. 313: "Ham sei der Vater der Mohn und von Gott mit der schwarzen Farbe bestraft."
- 111 G. Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* [1441–1448], ed. by C. R. Beasley/E. Presage, London 1896 [partly edited in: E. Donnan (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Washington 1930, pp. 18–41, at p. 22].
- 112 Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa and of Notable Things Therein Contained*, English version, ed. by R. Brown, vol. 1, London 1896, pp. 129f. Among others, J. Bodin, *Les six livres de la République* [Paris, 1576], ed. by C. Frémont/M.-D. Couzinet/A. Rochais, Paris 1986, p. 671, used Leo's text.
- 113 H. Conring, *Thesavri rerum publicarum Pars prima*, ed. by P. A. Oldenburger, Geneva 1675, p. 800. Conring, *Examen rerum publicarum potiorum totius orbis*, in: Conring, *Opera*, ed. by J. W. von Goebel, vol. 4, Brunswick 1730, pp. 47–548, at pp. 514–516.

Peninsula.¹¹⁴ By implication, in opting for this theory, he rejected the postulate of ancient migrations from South Asia. Already in a letter of 1675, he reflected on the name of Prester John, which he derived from Persian *Prestigian*, meaning emissary (*“Legatum significare”*), and insisted that this ruler was to be found in Asia and, therefore, had no connection with Africa. In doing so, Ludolf also took a harsh stand against the use of the name as a title for the kings of Ethiopia.¹¹⁵ It is noteworthy that up to the end of the eighteenth century, most authors, when using the Hamitic theory, made no racist or otherwise derogatory claims against Africans but applied, in Todorov’s term, racialism as a concept identifying the colour of the skin as a changeable part of the body.¹¹⁶ Among the earliest fanatical racists was philosopher Christoph Meiners (1747–1810) who used the Hamitic theory to pass pejorative aesthetic and moral judgments to the disadvantage of Africans and to defend the slave trade.¹¹⁷

In sum, Ludolf’s complaint about contemporaries linking Ethiopia to “India” was much more than a critical query about *quisquilia*. Instead, under the influence of Abbot Gregorius, he sought to remove mythical elements that had become deeply entrenched in European collective memories relating to Ethiopia. Whereas memories of the biblical rivers of paradise may have been in some people’s minds, they were far too shady to antagonise Ludolf and had lost their role as a device connecting the Nile with Asia. But the legends of Prester John continued to shape Occidental views of Ethiopia strongly enough to solicit the use of the title for the Ethiopian kings, even if unofficially at the end of the seventeenth century. From the 1670s, Ludolf was offended by the implication that those using the title might continue to adhere to what he took to be unfounded beliefs in ancient links between Northeast Africa and South Asia. Postulating such links was specifically disadvantageous in view of efforts, undertaken at the Imperial court in Vienna from 1681 to 1684 and aimed at intensifying trade relations between the Empire and Ethiopia. Ludolf became involved in these efforts and even, at the initiative of Imperial librarian Peter Lambeck (1628–1680), drafted a letter to the Ethiopian king. He had

114 Ludolf, *Grammatica linguae Amharicae* (note 6), praefatio, fol. D(4)r.

115 H. Ludolf, [Concept of a letter to Ludwig Braun (16 December 1675)], in: Frankfurt: Universitätsbibliothek, Ludolf Papers, II H, fol. 33v–34v. Conring, *Thesaurus* (note 113), p. 788 (edn of 1675), already quoted Ludolf’s etymology. By contrast, M. Telles, SJ (ed.), *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta ov Preste loam e do que nella obraram os padres da Companhia de Iesvs composta na mesma Ethiopian pelo Padre Manoel d’Almeida* [based on the report on the mission of Manuel de Almeida], Lisbon 1660, p. 4, had derived the name from Ionia.

116 Among others, see F. Bernier, *Nouvelle division de la terre pour les différentes espèces ou races d’hommes qui l’habitent*, in: *Journal des savants* (24 April 1684), pp. 148–155, at pp. 148–150. G. W. Leibniz, *Otium Hanoveranum. Sive Miscellanea ex ore et schedis illustria viri piaae memoriae*, ed. by J. F. Feller, Leipzig 1718, pp. 158–160. For the concept of racialism, see T. Todorov, *Nous et les autres. La réflexion française sur la diversité humaines*, Paris 1989, pp. 113–119.

117 C. Meiners, *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Lemgo 1785, pp. 116f. Meiners, *Ueber die Rechtmässigkeit des Neger-Handels*, in: *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* 2 (1788), pp. 398–416. Meiners, *Ueber die Natur der afrikanischen Neger und die davon abhängende Befreyung oder Einschränkung der Schwarzen*, in: *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* 6 (1790), pp. 385–456. Meiners, *Von den Varietäten und Abarten der Neger*, in: *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin*, vol. 6, nr 4 (1790), pp. 625–645, at p. 626. Meiners, *Fortgesetzte Betrachtungen über den Clavenhandel und die Freylassung der Neger*, in: *Neues Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* 2 (1793), pp. 1–58.

already recommended his student Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–1679) for a ducal mission to Ethiopia seeking to sort out the possibilities of an alliance. But the mission was ill-fated and did not reach beyond Egypt, mainly because Wansleben lacked the qualifications and skills of a diplomatic envoy.¹¹⁸ Yet, when Ludolf rejected as unfounded the theory of the South Asian origin of Ethiopians, he failed to consider that the Hamitic theory was no less rooted in myth than its rival. Nevertheless, his complaint provided a late record for the continuity, in European collective memories, of a world picture that had ultimately originated in Antiquity. It continued to support the idea of a coherent and permeable ecumene for about 500 years after the first post-Roman European travellers had reached South Asia by sea, and for more than 150 years after this idea had ceased to inform Occidental maps of the world.

5. Global Historiography and the History of Perceptions

The review of changing European images of Ethiopia confirms that global historiography cannot restrict itself to the examination of the *histoire croisée* of relations, transfers and connections,¹¹⁹ but remains incomplete without taking perceptions into consideration.

118 For details, see Juncker, *Commentarius* (note 1), pp. 105–111. Beck, Ernst (note 2), pp. 569–584. H. Stein, *Die Biografie des Orientreisenden Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–1679). Eine 'chronique scandaleuse'?*, in: R. Jacobsen/H.-J. Ruge (eds.), *Ernst der Fromme (161–1675). Staatsmann und Reformator*, Buch bei Jena 2002, pp. 177–194.

119 On the various directions of global historiography see surveys and reviews by: C. Bright/M. Geyer, *Globalgeschichte und die Einheit der Welt im 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Comparativ*, vol 4, issue 5 (1994), pp. 13–45. S. Conrad, *Globalgeschichte*, Munich 2013, pp. 193–247. Conrad/A. Eckert, *Globalgeschichte, Globalisierung, multiple Modernen. Zur Geschichtsschreibung der modernen Welt*, in: Conrad/Eckert/U. Freitag (eds.), *Globalgeschichte. Theorien, Ansätze, Thesen*, Frankfurt/New York 2007, pp. 7–51. P. E. Fäßler, *Globalisierung. Ein historisches Kompendium*, Weimar et al. 2007, pp. 52–97. P. Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism. A New View of Modern World History*, Syracuse 1996, pp. 1–22. B. Hausberger: *Die Verknüpfung der Welt. Geschichte der frühen Globalisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 2015, pp. 9–13. A. G. Hopkins, *The History of Globalization and the Globalization of History?*, in: Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History*, London/New York 2002, pp. 11–45; M. Kintzinger, *Neukonfiguration der Internationalität, Europäisches Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, in: B. Haider-Wilson et al. (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis/International History in Theory and Practice*, Vienna 2017, pp. 123–141, at pp. 130f. A. Komlosy, *Globalgeschichte. Methoden und Theorien*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2011, pp. 9–13, 165–247. T. H. von Laue, *World History, Cultural Relativism and the Global Future*, in: P. Pomper/R. H. Elpick/R. T. Vann (eds.), *World History*, Oxford/Malden, MA 1998, pp. 217–233. P. Manning, *Navigating World History. Historians Create a Global Past*, New York 2003, esp. p. 1. B. Mazlish/R. Buultjens (eds.), *Conceptualizing Global History*, Boulder 1993, esp. pp. 1f. Mazlish, *Comparing Global History to World History*, in: *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (1998), pp. 385–395. M. Middell, *Universalgeschichte, Weltgeschichte, Globalgeschichte, Geschichte der Globalisierung – Ein Streit um Worte?*, in: M. Grandner/D. Rothermund/Wolfgang Schwentker (eds.), *Globalisierung und Globalgeschichte*, Vienna 2005, pp. 60–82. P.-Y. Saunier, *Transnational History*, Basingstoke/New York 2013, pp. 1–11, 117–134. R. Sieder/E. Langthaler, *Einleitung. Was heißt Globalgeschichte*, in: Sieder/Langthaler (eds.), *Globalgeschichte. 1800–2010*, Vienna 2010, pp. 9–38. R. Wenzlhuemer, *Globalgeschichte schreiben*, KConstanztz 2017, pp. 9–38. M. Werner/B. Zimmermann, *Beyond Comparison*, in: *History and Theory* 45 (2006), pp. 30–50. —Loci classici for studies relating to aspects of global history while ignoring perceptions are the collections of essays edited by: B. Barth/S. Gänger/N. P. Petersson (eds.), *Globalgeschichten*, Frankfurt/New York 2014. W. Loth/J. Osterhammel (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte*, Munich 2000; and the review of the history of globalisation by: J. Osterhammel/N. P. Petersson, *Geschichte der Globalisierung*, Munich 2003; see also the positivist discussion among economists Dennis Flynn und Arturo Giráldez on the one side, and Kevin

When Jürgen Osterhammel, looking at the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, defined global history as “the history of the continuous but not steadily incremental intensification of far-reaching interactions and their consolidation into hierarchically stratified networks, mainly those of planetary extension”,¹²⁰ he fell victim to an objectivism that has been based on the unfounded postulates not only of the principal and universal objectifiability of the past throughout ages and cultures, but also of the unalterable continuity of perceptions of the globe. But global historiography, when ignoring the history of perceptions, can neither describe the specific conditions under which the quest for the objectifiability of knowledge about the past originated, nor can it explain the genesis of the globalised perception of the planet that originated in Europe and has been current since the later eighteenth century.

Admittedly, Osterhammel did not include into his definition of global history the history of perceptions of the planet, but only human interactions across some parts of it. Yet it is precisely this limitation that reveals the pitfalls of his objectivism. For human interactions, described as achieving connectivity, must be positioned vis-à-vis retrospectively observing persons in order to become acknowledged as ascertained facts. Only then can these persons become able of producing historiography that is based on generally accessible evidence and can thereby become objectifiable. Put differently, Osterhammel took for granted that the process of the “intensification of far-reaching interactions” across the planet is traceable, not just as a subjective perception, but as an objective fact, and he further assumed that actors in the planetary arena – if only during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – commonly and unequivocally perceived the planet as it appears within the ISS perspective, that is, as an amalgam of land and water with several discrete continents, among which only sea- and airborne traffic is possible. Within this perception of the planet, establishing transcontinental connectivity is indeed conceivable.

O'Rourke und Jeffrey Williamson on the other, about the purported beginning of globalisation with the foundation of Manila in 1571: D. O. Flynn, Comparing the Tokugawa Shogunate with Hapsburg Spain. Two Silver-Based Empires in a Global Setting, in: J. D. Tracy (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Merchant Empires, State Power and World Trade. 1350–1750*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 332–359. Flynn/A. Giráldez, Silk for Silver. Manila-Macao Trade in the 17th Century, in: *Philippine Studies* 4 (1996), pp. 52–68. Flynn/Giráldez, Cycles of Silver. Global Economic Unity through the Mid-18th Century, in: *Journal of World History* 13 (2002), pp. 391–428. Flynn/Giráldez, Cycles of Silver. Globalization as Historical Process, in: *World Economies* 3 (2002), pp. 1–16. Flynn/Giráldez, Path Dependence. Time Lags and the Birth of Globalisation, in: *European Review of Economic History* 8 (2004), pp. 81–108. Flynn/Giráldez, Globalization began in 1571, in: B. K. Gills/W. R. Thompson (eds.), *Globalization and Global History*, London/New York 2006, pp. 232–247. K. O'Rourke/J. G. Williamson, When Did Globalization Begin?, in: *European Review of Economic History* 6 (2002), pp. 23–50. O'Rourke/Williamson, Once More. When Did Globalization Begin, in: *European Review of Economic History* 8 (2004), pp. 109–117.

- 120 J. Osterhammel: *Globalgeschichte*, in: H.-J. Goertz (ed.), *Geschichte. Ein Grundkurs*, Reinbek 2007³, pp. 592–610, at p. 596. Osterhammel, *Alte und neue Zugänge zur Weltgeschichte*, in: Osterhammel (ed.), *Weltgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 9–34, at p. 19. Osterhammel, *Global History in a National Context. The Case of Germany*, in: P. Vries (ed.), *Global History*, vol. 1, Vienna 2009, pp. 40–58, at p. 43. Similarly: H. Büschel, *Internationale Geschichte als Globalgeschichte*, in: I. Schröder/S. Schattenberg/J.-H. Kirsch (eds.), *Internationale Ordnungen und neue Universalismen*, Göttingen 2011, pp. 439–445. Osterhammel's formula is part of a tradition going back to the early twentieth century: D. Schäfer, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1, Berlin 1907, p. 2: “Die Völker sind einander unendlich viel näher gerückt, als noch vor hundert Jahren denkbar erschien. Ihre Beziehungen sind zugleich inniger und lebendiger geworden, die wechselseitigen Einwirkungen rascher und kräftiger.”

able as an incremental process.¹²¹ However, under all other perceptions of the planet, incompatible with that based on views from the ISS and reflected in pictures of a cohesive and permeable ecumene, the possibility of making and maintaining connections was straightforwardly taken as a given feature of the divinely willed world order. That global historiography, so far, has not examined the transformations of perceptions of the planet, comes as a surprise so much more as these transformations have been in the focus of the history of cartography since the eighteenth century, when historians of science at Nuremberg began to analyse Martin Behaim's globe.¹²² At the same time, Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727–1799), noting incompatibilities in geographical terminology that appeared to add to difficulties of his work as a universal historian and statistician, set out to produce what might rank as an initial step towards the conceptual history of space.¹²³ Later on, the nineteenth century up to the Columbus year 1892 witnessed the production of several editions of medieval *mappaemundi* and of much specialised research.¹²⁴ There is no scarcity of well edited sources.

Perceptions were not only important in their own right but also impacted on practical political action. For one, Maximilian I (in office 1486/92–1519), when, early on, responding as Emperor Elect to the Portuguese expeditions towards Asia, demanded self-evidently from traders in Upper Germany that, in search for future markets, they should even go as far as Calicut on the Malabar coast of South Asia. He promptly passed on to the King of Portugal a request by these traders who wished to be allowed to participate in the expeditions against the payment of a fee of 5000 guilders.¹²⁵ Neither Maximilian nor the traders eager to expand their businesses spent much thought on theoretical issues of connectivity, even though they were haunted by perceived practical dangers of long-distance seaborne travel. At a time when the Occidental world picture was fundamen-

121 This has been supposed by: J. Osterhammel, *Vergangenheiten. Über die Zeithorizonte der Geschichte*. Berliner Gespräch, Berlin, Konrad-Adenauer-Haus (17 July 2014) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EjMDP_OuuZB]; visited 13 June 2019.

122 J. G. Doppelmayr, *Historische Nachrichten von den nürnbergischen Mathematicis und Künstlern*, Nuremberg 1739. F. W. Ghillany, *Der Erdglobus des Martin Behaim vom Jahre 1492 und der des Johannes Schöner vom Jahre 1520*, Nuremberg 1842. C. G. von Murr, *Diplomatische Geschichte des portugiesischen berühmten Ritters Martin Behaim*, Nuremberg 1778.

123 J. C. Gatterer, *Einleitung in die synchronistische Universalhistorie zur Erläuterung seiner synchronistischen Tabellen*, Göttingen 1771, p. 16.

124 H. Harsse, *The Discovery of North America*, London 1892. K. Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, Berlin 1892. J. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Brussels 1849. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Brussels 1849. N. A. E. Nordenskjöld, *Facsimile Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, Stockholm 1889. M. F. Vicomte de Santarem, *Atlas composé de mappemondes, de portulans et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques depuis le VIe jusqu'au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1849.

125 Maximilian I, Instruction, dated 29 December 1503, to his Chancellour Cyprian von Serntein, in: Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, Autographen; quoted in: A. Kohler, Maximilian I. und das Reich der "1500 Inseln", in: E. Zeilinger (ed.), *Österreich und die Neue Welt*, Vienna 1993, p. 6. Letter by Juan Francesco de la Faitada to the Venetian emissary in Spain, dated Lisbon, 7 April 1504, who referred to Maximilian's letter [printed in: Marino Sanudo, the Younger, *Diarii*, ed. by G. Berchet, vol. 6, Venice 1881, col. 28]. The correspondence between the Emperor and the King of Portugal is confirmed by Konrad Peutinger in: E. König (ed.), *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, nr 26 [letter, dated 28 December 1504] and nr 27 [letter, dated 13 January 1505], Munich 1923, pp. 48–50. For a study, see H. Kleinschmidt, *Kaiser Maximilians I. Theorie der internationalen Beziehungen*, in: H. Noflatscher/M. A. Chishom/B. Schnerb (eds.), *Maximilian I. 1459–1519. Wahrnehmung, Übersetzungen, Gender*, Innsbruck 2011, pp. 305–320.

tally and rapidly changing, they, jointly with Maximilian, operated under the continuing perception of the ecumene as a space that was no longer permeable throughout but still cohesive to serve as the foundation for designs for universal rule.

Moreover, in at least some parts of the planet, variants of the perception of the ecumene as a cohesive and permeable space continued well into the nineteenth century with substantial implications for politics. In agreement with its Chinese model,¹²⁶ this perception informed the universalist principle in Japan, according to which the territory of a state extended as far as the effective control by its ruler reached. The implementation of this principle left external borders of the state unspecified and did not exclude more far-reaching claims, including the quest for universal rule.¹²⁷ In Chinese as well as in Japanese, this principle found expression in the formula “Tiān xià/Tenka” 天下 (literal meaning: all under heaven). The formula connected with the Confucian juxtaposition of heaven and earth as the postulated natural order of the ecumene as a whole. It came to be applied in political discourse aimed at propagating the duty to accept the subjection of the ruled to rulers as part of the naturally ordered world. Specifically, this was the argument that Neo-Confucian (Zhu Xi/Shushi 朱子学) theorist Hayashi Razan (林羅山, 1583–1657) pursued in his exegesis of the I-Ging hexagram through rationalist deduction:

The way of the ruler and the father is the way of heaven, and the way of the subjects and of the son is the way of the earth. [...] The nobility of the ruler as well as the father and the common status of the subject and the son are comparable to the fact that the places in heaven and on earth are determined and can not be removed from their given order.

Put differently: The relations between ruling persons or institutions and subjects were the same everywhere in the ecumene and stood under the same general law, although the ecumene could politically be arranged in concentric circles of diverse independent states around the ruling centre (Chinese huá-yí; Japanese ka-i 華夷) and even when the perceived well-ordered centre might not be in a position to enforce its control throughout peripheral areas and population groups. Although expansion of rule by means of the deployment of military force might take place, such as in China under Kublai Khan (in office 1271–1294) vis-à-vis Japan, under the Qīng vis-à-vis Jungars in Central Asia early in the eighteenth century or in Japan under Toyotomi Hideyoshi (in office 1582–1598) vis-à-vis Korea, such expansionism by military means was, in no known case, aimed at

126 Wang G.-W., *Renewal. The Chinese State and the New Global History*, Hong Kong 2013, pp. 131–152. S. Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, *Ostasien als Region. Die zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in Ostasien (1800–1899)*, in: M. Grandner/A. Sonderegger (eds.), *Nord-Süd-Ost-West Beziehungen*, Vienna 2015, pp. 148–183, at pp. 150f. The analogy in Europe is in: S. Brandt, *Methodius primum olimpiade et postea Tyri ciuitatum episcopus [...] De reuelatione facta ab angelo beato Methodio in carcere detento*, Basle 1516, fol. iiiir–[vir].

127 Aizawa S. 会沢正志斎, *Shinron 新論*, in: Imai U. 今井宇三郎/Seya Y. 瀬谷義彦/Bitō M. 尾藤正英 (eds.), *Nihon shisō taikēi 日本思想大系*, vol. 53: Mitogaku 水戸学, Tokyo 1973, pp. 49–158, at p. 69: “Tenka” 天下. Translated by V. Stanzel, *Japan, Haupt der Erde. Die “Neuen Erörterungen” des japanischen Philosophen und Theoretikers der Politik Seishisai Aizawa aus dem Jahre 1825*, Würzburg 1982, pp. 135–341, at p. 177; B. T. Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan. The New Theses of 1825*, Cambridge, MA 1986, pp. 147–277, at p. 169.

the subjection of the entire ecumene to the control of one single ruler or ruling institution. The mutual dependence of the perception of the cohesion as well as permeability of the ecumene and ideologies of universal rule, thus, generated ideologies of non-planetary universalism, while, at the same time, these ideologies boosted the perception of the ecumene as their cohesive permeable territorial substrate, which eventually might become the platform for a ruling institution overarching the pluralistic world of states with its multitude of culturally, socially, politically, legally and economically distinct parts.

Already in the early 1950s, research in the history of political thought documented awareness of the parallelism between this East Asian pattern of thought and the Occidental natural law tradition as two culturally specific but widely overlapping variants of universalism. In East Asia as well as in the Occident, adherence to natural law traditions excluded the formulation of ideologies targeted at the erection of effective world rule by means of the use of military force. At no time prior to the nineteenth century did any military conflict come about between rulers or institutions of rule articulating mutually exclusive claims for the universality of their control and seeking the defeat and subsequent exclusion of the rival, even in view of manifold connections, such as between the Occident and East Asia. On the contrary: In both parts of the planet, rival claims to universalism were well known but were left standing as such and were not allowed to obstruct the pragmatic regulation of mutual relations under the demand by natural law to respect the legislative competence of sovereign rulers or ruling institutions.¹²⁸ In short: Every political concept of universalism has rested on the perception of connectivity as a given possibility, if not as an ascertained fact, and the acceptance of some basic rules of natural law in a cohesive and permeable ecumene. Global historiography which does not take into account the Occident's departure from the universalist traditions of natural law in the course of the nineteenth century,¹²⁹ not only waives a crucial instrument of

128 Hayashi Razan, *Chitentai kaigi* 地天泰解義 [explication of the hexagram of heaven and earth]; original in: Razan Hayashi sensei bunshū 羅山林先生文集, Tokyo 1918–1919, Book XXX, p. 334. For studies, see D. F. Henderson, *Law and Political Modernization in Japan*, in: R. E. Ward (ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan*, Princeton 1968, pp. 387–456, at p. 395; Ng W.-M., *The I Ching in Tokugawa Thought and Culture*, Honolulu 2000, pp. 59f. Hayashi, *Keiten daisetsu* 経典題説 (s. a.; digital copy in the National Diet Library Tokyo, Press mark 821–310, unpaginated double page 17): “Wenn [die Unterscheidung zwischen] hoch und niedrig nicht gestört wird und Gehobene und Gemeine nicht vermischt werden, ist die menschliche Gesittung geordnet. Wenn die Gesittung geordnet ist, wird der Staat (kokka 国家) gut regiert. Wenn der Staat gut regiert wird, wird der Weg des Herrschers befolgt. All dies verdeutlicht, dass die Regeln angemessenen Verhaltens [rei 礼] eingehalten werden.” For a study see: Maruyama M. 丸山眞男, *Nihon seiji shisōshi kenkyū* 日本政治思想史研究, Tokyo 1952, p. 204. Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, Tokyo 1974, p. 200. On the parallelism between East Asian and Occidental traditions of natural law, with specific reference to Duns Scotus and William Ockham on the Occidental side, see: Maruyama: *Nihon seiji* (as above), p. 185; Maruyama, *Studies* (as above), pp. 179f., 196, 198, 200. On relations between centre and periphery see: T. Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan. Time, Space, Nation*, New York 1998, pp. 15–18. R. P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, Stanford 1991, pp. 76–83. S. Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, *Zentrum und Peripherie in China und Ostasien*, in: Weigelin-Schwiedrzik/S. Linhart (eds.), *Ostasien 1600–1900*, Vienna 2004, pp. 81–98. P. Ziltener, *Regionale Integration in Ostasien. Eine Untersuchung der historischen und gegenwärtigen Interaktionsweisen einer Weltregion*, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 33–156, esp. p. 99.

129 Thus recently again: W. Egner, *Protektion und Souveränität. Die Entwicklung imperialer Herrschaftsformen und Legitimationsfiguren im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2018, pp. 20–58.

the examination of global conflicts about the globalisation processes, as they have arisen since the nineteenth century, but, more importantly, confines itself to the very legacies of the purported “civilisation missions” and concocted strategies of “development”¹³⁰ it has rightly selected as targets of its criticism.

130 Propagating empires as civilisation missions: H. Münkler, *Imperien*, Berlin 2005, pp. 127–166. Münkler/E. M. Hausteiner, *Einleitung*, in: Münkler/Hausteiner (eds.), *Die Legitimation von Imperien. Strategien und Motive im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/New York 2012, pp. 7–12, at pp. 10f. Paradigmatic for the early use of development terminology: J. C. Bluntschli, *Psychologische Studien über Staat und Kirche*, Zurich 1844, pp. 3–30, esp. p. 15. D. Cameron, *Native Administration in Nigeria and Tanganyika*, Hull 1937, p. 17.