TALKING ABOUT MAPS*

The basis of philosophy, the guidance to common-sense and sound living, is the whole history of mankind. And in the course of its study we learn to understand what natural forces have influenced the development of man; what individual groups of men have to contend with climatically, and thus how a way of living, and an attitude towards living, develops.

Yet because great civilisations have developed over long periods of human existance in widely separated and differential parts of the world, and because great minds and deathless prophets have been no exclusive phenomenon, history and geography as a study have become inseparable.

So it is that in "Talking About Maps" the author, whose own interest for half a lifetime has been centred in this combined study, presents a brief outline of the partnership of Geography and History; and of the pictorial record which describes the geographical discoveries and settlements of men.

I

We suspect that map-making is as old as the dawn of history. Apart from the maps produced by ancient geographers, and the charts of ancient navigators, later travellers by land and sea found guides and pilots among primitive peoples. It might be a plan depicted with stones and sand, or drawn on a palm leaf or the inner surface of bark split from a handy tree. It reminds me of my old gardener who if he wants to explain to me the plan he has in mind of a new pathway through our little wood, or a rearrangement in the garden, drops to his haunches with a twig in hand and draws his plan on the grount at our feet.

With the dawn of civilisation, when the great empires began to rise and fall, when successive confusions calmed and learning was resuscitated and widened, map-making became enshrined with more and yet more skill, and the changing face of maps described the history of human movement and settlement, and the progress of scientific invention which made possible the exactitude of direction and situation. Maps also recall geological history, the changes upon the crust of the Earth, as when, for instance, the disappearance of the Ice Age considerably raised the depth of the oceans; the lower lying islands disappeared, coastlines retreated to a new littoral. Volcanic eruption has altered our maps within living memory. Rivers have changed their courses, forests have disappeared, even climate is not altogether stable; human energy has diverted Nature's plan, and harnessed her forces to its own designs. We remember that it was only because the Dutch East India Company wouldn't foot the bill for it that the Cape Peninsula is not today an island - the seas of Table Bay and False Bay let in to embrace its eastern border; and that during the last few years we have reclaimed from the sea a fraction of new coastline in the foreshore.

Mention of the Dutch East India Company reminds us that it was merchant adventurers who were the earliest discoverers. The story of them begins hundreds of years before the Christian era when the Mediterranean was the centre of the known world and the Phoenicians and the Greeks rival sailors. Egypt employed the Phoenicians trading down the Red Sea, so did King Solomon who came to the throne in 1015 B.C., and for whom King Hiram of Tyre built a fleet of trading ships. In 814 B.C. the Phoenicians founded the trading station of Carthage, to become renowned. From there they were to sail through the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar), and to found the port of Gades (Cadiz) just outside the strait on the coast of Spain, and to establish regular trade with Britain and the Baltic. There was a legend that the Pillars of Hercules were the world's end at that point, flowing into a dark and dangerous oceanic river which surrounded the whole known and imagined surface of the Earth. On the east the Caspian Sea was the extremity, its exit into this flow. Mariners were warned that to venture any distance into it would result in their falling over the edge or being sucked under by suffocating seaweeds or avenging djinns.

The Greeks concentrated upon the eastern half of the Mediterranean though they founded ports on the west, notably Massilia (Marseilles). On the delta of the Nile in the sixt century B.C. they founded the trading port of Naucratis, and in Egypt learned something of map-making. Both Babylonia and Egypt made cadastral surveys of their lands for the purposes • of taxation and other practical affairs. An Egyptian papyrus of the thirteenth century survives, and also one of the city of Babylon in the seventh century B.C. The oldest surviving map of the world is a Babylonian clay tablet of the eighth or ninth century B.C. It is a disc surrounded by an oceanic border. Its explanatory heiroglyphics convey little to the The Babylonians were mathematicians, and, like all ancient lay mind. geographers, astronemers. Charts of the Heavens preceded charts of the Earth. That was how the Earth became the centre of the Universe. The ancient astronomer without feeling any movement of Earth saw the Heavens move around him. Navigation looked to the stars. The organisation of Time developed from the ancient observation of the stars. The Babylonians are credited with the division of time into minutes and seconds. Egypt about 1500 B.C. with an early calendar, presented mankind with the 24hour day, which the Greeks divided into noon and midnight. The seven day week comes to us originally from Babylonia.

A Greek of Miletus, Anaximander, in the sixth century B.C. produced a map of the World, a cylindrical affair suspended in space. A little later a fellow citizen of his, much travelled, drew a map of the World on the old plan with the surrounding oceanic river, but the Red Sea was there, and a coastline indicating southern Arabia, and the mouths of the Euphrates, Tigris and Indus. He also wrote a pilot's handbook entitled *Periodes*. He makes no mention of the expedition sent out in 613 B.C. by Pharoah Necho to circumnavigate Africa, but there is evidence it was successfully accomplished.

During the next three centuries until the birth of Christ (which occurred about three years before we begin to number anno domini), events which are familiar to us are recorded in the Old Testament as well as in the history books. In 509 B.C. Rome becomes a republic and foreshadows the expansion of civilisation in western Europe. From 521 to 485 B.C. King Darius of Persia was the outstanding political figure of his time, ruling from Thrace to the Indus, and northward into southern Russia — Scythia on the old maps — and beyond Samarcand. Traders now had extended their range far beyond the Caspian, which no longer flowed into unknown depths of horror, and a great trade was developing to and from China with a junction at Yarkand, and Chinese traders themselves were reaching Bagdad. The great caravan routes ran north of the Caspian eastward, and south from Memphis through Tyre and Ecbatana to the Indus. Darius preceded the Romans in road construction and the organisation of transport. His great triumph was the so-called Royal Road, which Herodotus -- "father of history" -- tells us about. It ran from Smyrna to Susa at the head of the Persian Gulf, the capital city of the empire which he had established, and where the merchant vessels anchored at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. Inns, guard-houses, and relays of horses furnished the road. He also cleaned out and put into use the old canal between the Nile delta and the Red Sea begun by Pharoah Necho and abandoned after terrible loss of life. Early in his reign when campaigning in the region of the Indus he sent the Greek pilot Scylax to examine the course of the river. Scylax reached the Indian Ocean and sailed along the coast to Ormuz, carefully charting his course.

At this period Carthage sent out an expedition under a Commander named Hanno, to found a colony on the west coast of Africa. The colony did not materialise, the prospective colonists discouraged by a view from the sea of a land blazing in patches to which might be ascribed some sinister agency. (It was, of course, natives assisting Nature by burning the veld.) The ships, however, sailed as far as Sierra Leone. This is one of the navigations recorded by Herodotus, though the map he made reveals less information than one would expect from the bulk of his history. He was the first to delineate three continents, Europe, Asia, and the northern misshapen portion of Africa which was called Libya. There is no sign in this map of the British Isles, nor of India as a peninsula. His coastline eastward goes little beyond the mouth of the Indus. He criticised his fellow Greek Hecataeus of Miletus who had not emancipated himself from the idea of a world surrounded by a gigantic flow of water.

However, the science of cartography was gaining ground. Miletus was not only a port of trade, but also a school of learning, one of several such Grecian colonies emulating the mother city of Athens. Lack of an accurate timekeeper and of precise instruments of projection hindered operations, but the idea of measuring on a meridian, and of latitude and longitude had taken hold. In 330 B.C. Pythias, a Greek trader of Marsilia (Marseilles) voyaged into the Atlantic and north to England's tin mines in Cornwall, and to Kent, and up the coast to Scotland. Still farther north he sighted land which he named Thule, probably a landfall on the Shetlands. He is credited with contributing to geography some observations on latitude.

Erastosthenes of Cyrene, appointed librarian at the school of Alexandria in 247 B.C., contrived to measure, not too wildly, the circumference of the Earth. His map, drawn in 220 B.C., depicted a distorted Britain, a point of Scandinavia, and on the most northern parallel a doubtful Thule. The astronomer Hipparchus at Alexandria in 150 B.C. worked at the problem of longitude by observation of eclipses. He is said to have created trigonometry for the use of astronomers, having a poor opinion of the scientific standard of his contemporaries. He was also famous for his celestial globes.

In 130 B.C. the Greek merchant sailor Hippalus discovered a shorter way to reach India than by hugging the coast. He made note of a steady wind, the monsoon, blowing north-east in winter and in summer southwest. Henceforth it was known as Hippalus's Passage.

I have recalled the school of learning at Alexandria, and must not omit mention of Alexander the Great, founder of this historic city, for the brilliant and handsome young man was something more than a soldier. He had been a pupil of Aristotle. He had some vision of a commonwealth of nations, an Hellenistic commonwealth. Greece herself was in decline, but Hellenism was a great cultural and current heritage — a familiar " heritage in the wide territories of the Persian empire which he had conquered. During his campaign in India he ordered his naval commander Nearchus to examine the coastline as Scylax had done. Nearchus brought the fleet to the head of the Persian Gulf where at Susa he rejoined Alexander with a competent and detailed report, which resulted in the establishment of new ports of call.

Π

The death of Alexander the Great, when the inheritance of his empire was split up, had been Rome's opportunity to battle her way to empire: to battle her way through civil war; war with the tribes of western Europe, war with Carthage, war with Mediterranean pirates. With the fall of Carthage the name "Africa" appears on the map, and Egypt becomes a Roman province. From Spain to the Caspian, from Asia Minor to Britain, Roman provinces dominate the geographical picture. Conquered Greece is treated with respect and privilege — certain cities still govern themselves. Romans gather their culture from Greece; study in her schools of philosophy and art; engage Greek tutors for their sons.

Augustus is emperor — "All roads lead to Rome", with every mile a milestone. Augustus is continually perfecting communications. It is possible now to travel by relays of horse 100 miles a day. His son-in-law, the surveyor Vipsanius Agrippa, who planned the new high-roads in Gaul, is superintending the completion of a great road map of the empire, a map begun in Caesar's time. Augustus had a copy of it stuccoed on the wall in the colonade of his sister's house. It had become the fashion to decorate walls with maps.

Merchandise travelled overland from the north to Rome, and to trading stations on the Black and Caspian seas. From the Black Sea it was distributed through Byzantium (later to become Constantinople), to Alexandria, and from the Caspian to the Far East.

Chinese merchants still brought their wonderful embroideries and silks and pottery and steel to the Balkh trading station, and carried back Baltic amber, Arabian precious stones, perfumes and Persian carpets. Chinese fleets traded to Ceylon. India traded steel, dyed cottons, ivory and precious stones both to the fleets anchoring at Ceylon, and to the Ganges delta at the point where the caravan route reached it. From Britain to the Black Sea came baskets and skins and hunting-dogs and slaves. Large merchant fleets rode at anchor in the port of Byzantium, and at the head of the Red Sea, and with the rise of the Dog Star sailed to Malabar on the monsoon, to return between December and January.

Roman curiosity had already been aroused by the secret geography of Africa. Officers on service in north Africa had done some exploring during the 1st century A.D., crossing the Atlas mountains into the Sahara. King Juba of Numidia, neighbour of Carthage, was a contemporary of Augustus, and had been educated in Rome. He took a great deal of interest in geography. He wrote about Africa, and is said to have originated the long-dying theory that the source of the Nile shared honours with the Niger. In the middle of the 1st century an expedition of Roman officers, armed with letters of introduction from the King of Ethiopia to his fellow rulers, sailed up the White Nile untile the marshes drove them back.

King Juba also threw light upon the islands of the Atlantic. Among the secrets which Rome had extracted from Carthaginian pilots was the existance of the islands to become known as Madeira and Porto Santo. Juba sent out an expedition which discovered the Canaries.

The greatest geographer of this period of time lived in the 2nd century, Claudius Ptolemaeus — familiarly: Ptolemy. He was an astronomer and mathematician and worked in Alexandria. His was the work to be resurrected several centuries later, and to become the basis of cartographical design at the Renaissance. His light only faded in the blaze of Sir Isaac Newton's genius in the latter half of the 17th century. Ptolemy himself appreciated the deficiency in the tools at his disposal and consequently the inadequacy of his powers of observation, and he was apt to interpolate suppositions where fact eluded him, but his map was a vast advance upon those of his predecessors: his cartographical principles were on the right lines. More than half Africa was "terra incognita" to him, but from traders' tales he had gathered that the Nile rose from two lakes, and thus it appears on his map. As far as he knew, the World ended a little south of this latitude; the legend "*Terra incognita*" completed the line. In the north lay the British Isles, a lump of distortion; Scandinavia was a ghost, and the rest *terra incognita*.

An element now appears which was to have no negligible effect upon the knowledge of geography. This was the movement about the world of missionaries, encouraged by the Emperor Constantine's formal toleration of Christianity in the Roman Empire, and the activity of other great religions whose missionaries, and temples, and schools of learning forwarded civilisation. In 65 A.D., before the gospels were written, Buddhist missionaries reached China from India, and for a time Buddhism became China's State religion. It embraced the bulk of Asia. Islam was to play its part in the preservation of learning, and the stories of pilgrims and crusaders were to become familiar entertainment.

The first essay in "Christian topography", as its author described it, was a map by an Alexandrian trader turned monk who used *Cosmos* as his pen-name. After returning from Indian about 535 A.D., he set to work with the pious notion of bringing geography into line with Holy Writ. The Old Testament describes the "four corners of the Eearth", and how "God had set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries". So he drew a rectangular map, and placed Jerusalem in the middle. Into a neat border of flood waters we have the outflow (or inflow, I don't know which), of the Caspian and the Mediterranean, the Nile, the Roman Gulf (Red Sea), and the Gulf of Persia. Outside the flood waters the text explains that "here men dwelt before the flood".

Other and later Christian monks, though provided with more geographical matter, hardly improved upon this retrogressive notion. Two centuries later the Pope rebuked the Bishop of Saltzburg, a scholarly Irishman, for venturing to determine that the world, after all, was a sphere. Beatus, a Benedictine monk of Asturia in the 8th century, drew an appleshaped affair, within which he grouped the habitable world under the sceptres of the twelve apostles, whose busts decorated their respective dominions. A map in Hereford Cathedral dated about 1280 enshrines Jerusalem in the centre. Even as late as 1633 the court of Inquisition punished Galileo for announcing unorthodox behaviour on the part of the heavenly bodies.

Yet, there were indeed monks in time to come, when Europe depended upon the monastic Orders for education, who dealt as faithfully with geography as the knowledge of their time permitted.

When Cosmos brought his map to light in the sixth century A.D., Europe had entered the period of time which tradition describes as the Dark Ages. In the light of investigation we discover the period not to be as dark as all that, but a period of transition in which, as has happened continually in the story of mankind, the torch of progress passes to other hands. Human intelligence, energy, the creative urge to learn, to discover, to reproduce, lives on. We have seen this happen in our own century. A great empire has passed. No greater destruction of life and property has occured in the past; East and West are poised again for domination; Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and the new religion, Communism, (all originally with the basis of the brotherhood of man, of truth, compassion, duty), divide the spirit, and we wonder, as the world wondered a thousand years ago, what is to happen next. We are reminded of the Spanish historian and churchman, Orosius, whose general history appeared early in the 5th century A.D. after Rome had fallen for the first time to the Goths. He wrote at the instance of St Augustine who wished him to prove, in relating the history of man, that the Christian Church was not to blame for Rome's calamity; such calamities had befallen great kingdoms throughout the ages.

Our historical atlasses reveal to our sight so much more quickly than the story can be told by word of mouth, how the Huns, the Goths and the Vandals swept over Europe, split the Roman Empire in two, occupied North Africa and Spain, and were checked only by the Franks in the west and the Roman Emperor in Constantinople, which in 395 became the capital city of the empire.

We remember that these attacking tribes were not all savages. Earlier immigrants into the territory of the Roman Empire when at its widest extent, had become Roman citzens, subscribed to her laws and customs, spoke her languge, and served in her armies. Odoacer, the Visigoth, who in 476 usurped the western seat of Roman government, was a Christian. Discontented mercenaries formed part of his army. He left the church in Rome undisturbed. This in itself made history, for the split in the empire caused a split between the Roman and Greek churches. In time the Italian Papal States will appear on the map, and the power of the popes become as active in political and military affairs as in ecclesiastical. Papal bulls conceded rights to Portuguese and Spanish kings over discovered lands, and issued licences to trade with the infidel. Emissaries of the popes have left us classic stories of travel and of social history. The establishment of communal monastic life, as something very different from the introspective and isolated hermit, contributed towards the opening up and enrichment of territories. The first Christian monastery founded on the lines we still understand today — of industry and public service — was founded by an Egyptian in Egypt, St. Pachomius, early in the 4th century. He founded eight other monasteries before he died in 346. St. Benedict, about the year 500, strengthened and re-organised the system which eliminated fanatic asceticism. As you know, other Orders were founded as time went on. The Ecclesiastical Map of Europe in the Middle Ages, reveals a countless number of monastic institutions.

But the time is not yet. Mohammed died in 632, and his followers are to sweep out upon us from Arabia.

Mohammed's followers at the time of his death in 632 controlled Arabia, and they set about imposing Islam upon the rest of the known world. They were not more violent than the Crusaders were to be later, nor the Frankish monarch Charlemagne in dealing with the pagan Saxons of North Germany. Mohammed had urged them to "seek knowledge, even in China". They faithfully obeyed him there. They also preserved and translated the classics into Arabic. In Damascus, their first capital city established as such in 661, they built an observatory. In 711 they beat the Goths out of Spain and created schools for learning in Cordova and Toledo. After further conquests Bagdad became the capital in 762, and famous for its observatory and its library. Haroun al Raschid, hero of the Arabian Nights Entertainment, succeeded to the caliphate at Bagdad in 786, and after the Pope (on Christmas Day 800), had crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, they had some intercourse, carried on between them by a Jewish envoy. The Caliph presented Charlemagne with the keys of the Holy Sepulchure, a water-clock, a tent, a set of chessmen, and, though it sounds unlikely, an elephant.

The Caliph was not prejudiced against Christianity. He had a Christian tutor for his children — a Nestorian Christian. (Nestorians and Arians were early dissenters from the total dictates of the Roman Church, and were the first Christian missionaries to China.) Charlemagne for his part engaged an English scholar, Alcuin, to establish his "Palace School" for the sons of Frankish nobles. Doubtless their first introduction to maps was the three table-tops, one in copper, one in silver, and the third in gold, which Charlemagne had caused to be engraved respectively with the map of the World, of Rome, and of Constantinople.

The Arabs were great traders. In the 8th century it was they who founded trading posts and colonies on the east coast of Africa — Socotra, Melindi, Mombasa, Mozambique, and in the following century, the city of Cairo. They opened up large areas of Russia, and ran a great trading station on the Volga. Familiar intercourse developed with China. As early as 628 the first mosque was established at Canton by a mission led by Mohammed's uncle. By the 9th century any number of Arab merchants carrying Chinese passports sailed to Hongkong, and huge Chinese junks, long used to Indian seas, rode the river anchorage at Bagdad.

A story goes that as early as the 5th century A.D. Chinese junks had crossed the Pacific and made a landfall on the coast of Mexico or the southern point of California, an exploit indicated several centuries later, on Toscanelli's map — but he marked it Cippangu (Japan).

How much did Islam learn from China? And why were Mohammedans welcomed there? It was because China, at this period, was tolerant of anyone who would share knowledge with her — Islam, Hinduism (Ceylon was at one time her vassal), Jews who in 1163 were permitted to build a synagogue, and, in time to come, Jesuits. Professor Giles wrote of China, in his book *The Civilisation of China*: "The Chinese were a remarkably civilised nation a thousand years B.C."

China produced not only brilliantly intellectual men, but also men of inventive genius. Two centuries B.C. she was using paper and what we call today "Indian Ink" - solid blocks used with brush and water. She had woven silk for centuries. The secret of this process reached Europe only in 550 A.D. when two Persian monks, at the behest of the Emperor Justinian I, smuggled the moth's eggs out of China to Constantinople. Gunpowder was made in China in the 6th century, and she used fingerprints as a system of identification. In the 8th century she engraved her maps on stone or copper; later invented movable clay type, and in the 10th century wood-block printing. She played organised games. In the 5th century her football had improved to a leather-covered bladder. Boxing was a past-time, and by the 8th century she was playing polo, possibly picked up from Persia. Her educational system was highly developed. As early as the 2nd century A.D. Government office was decided by competitive examinations. Entrance was democratic in opportunity. It was not confined to the highly born. The great thing was to have brains. It was also a great thing to have good manners. Courtesy in time to come, in all its creative aspect, was to form the basic principle of the State religion - Confucianism. It is amusing to South Africans to recollect what happened to Lord Macartney, the English Governor appointed to the Cape after he had served a short term as the first English ambassador to China. With infinite courtesy his every approach was discouraged, and he returned home his mission unfulfilled.

Arabs and Chinese found common ground in mathematical and scientific ability, and knowledge of astronomy. The Arabs invented algebra. In 827 they measured the meridian on the plain of Mesopotamia. Both made a purely scientific approach to map-making. In the 3rd century, Chinese had acquired the niceties of the Pythagorian Theorem, and they must have discussed together the antics of the magnetised needle which was to provide the navigator with a compass.

In this place record can be made to two of the best known map-makers and travellers during the last period of Arab ascendency. The first is Abu Raihan Muhammed al-Birini who lived from 973-1048 A.D. He was of Persian parentage, but so well versed in Greek philosophy that he taught for a time in India; wrote history, and treatises on mathematics and astronomy. His map of the World appeared in 1040. Ptolemy's influence therein is very obvious, but we find more accuracy in the coastline from India to the Red Sea. What is surprising is that he shows no enlightenment about the east coast of Africa when, even allowing for commercial secrecy, we should have expected to find some reflection of Arabic enterprise there.

The second geographer and distinguished traveller is Abu Abdullah Muhammed Ibn Edrisi, famed as the "Arabic Ptolemy" who lived from 1099 to 1154. He spent many years pursuing his geographical labours under the aegis of King Roger II of Sicily, a Norman and a Christian, deeply interested in the Arabic pursuit of mathematics and astronomy. Edrisi produced a map of the World, divided into seven "climates", and put together in numerous sheets to accompany his work on geography. For the King he had a map of the World engraved upon a silver disk.

You will wonder perhaps why we find Edrisi at the court of a Norman in Sicily. It was partly because the peak of Arabic intellectual leadership in Bagdad and Cordova had passed, and partly because Sicily had remained a mixture of people and of religions. We must go back a little to catch up with events which took place in the north of Europe while we have dealt with the empire of the Arabs. The map has changed.

When Charlemagne died in 814 and his empire was plit into three it foreshadowed a map of Europe more familiar to us, and the far north has come into the picture. Rurik the Norseman landed in Russia in 862 by way of the Baltic, and made Novgorod his capital. He was welcomed. Colonisation proceeded. Intermarriage and an interchange of language took place, as indeed happened everywhere with Norsemen, for they made themselves assimilable. In Russia they worked their way south to Moscow, and from there to Constantinople, trading and contacting sophistication. Thus the kingdom of Russia was founded. In England, Ireland and Scotland the Norsemen who remained became an element of the nation. Robert Bruce, for instance, was of Norse descent. In 850 Noresmen sighted Greenland, and in 982 Eric the Red founded a colony there. Older people will remember that in 1930 Iceland celebrated the 1000th anniversary of what we now call a parliament.

Indeed, Norsemen were not the first to live upon this island. They found the remains there of dwelling-places used by a group of Irish monks belonging to a hermit-like religious Order.

St. Columbia, an Irishman born, died at the end of the 6th century, having founded several monasteries and two churches, and carried a mission to Scotland where the Picts appear to have been more pagan than the rest. Irish colonists followed Norsemen to Iceland.

In 911 the historical atlas reveals a change in the north of France where we now find the duchy of Normandy: Norse in origin, but of men to be distinguished on the Continent as "Normans". There they adapted themselves to Continental life and politics. Free-booters amongst them gradually appropriated more country, and procured Papal grants to their conquests in exchange for services rendered of one kind or another, and became grandees — for instance, a Duke of Apulia, a Count of Sicily, the latter as a reward from the Pope for driving the Saracen ruler out of the island, promotion which developed into Norman kingship of Sicily and southern Italy.

Most significant discovery of all: Lief the Lucky, son of Rurik, sighted the east coast of North America. The sagas of the Norsemen tell us all these tales. When Columbus was preparing for his first voyage, the record of the Norse discoveries was among the manuscripts he consulted in the Vatican library. We have to recollect at this time, too, the story of the scholarly King Alfred of England (reigning 871-901) who, while he left his landlady's cakes to burn, studied how he might repulse the Danes. He had been educated at Rome, and translated and annotated Orosius for his people. In 1017 Canute, presently to inherit the kingdom of Sweden, became king of England; a large, blond man with a hooked nose, and half Pole. He was a Christian. You will remember the story of his inviting his courtiers, as a lesson in humility, to watch the rising tide of the river Thames at Westminster defy his command to recede. Not that he was peculiarly modest in practical affairs.

Danes and Scandinavians joined thousands of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, not always peacefully. Pilgrims were apt to embroil themselves in purely secular militant argument. The idea of pilgrimage had been instituted by Helena, the pious mother of the Emperor Constantine. Pilgrim traffic along the various routes considerably increased the foundation of towns prepared to cater for, and trade with, the travellers. Mediterranean seaports providing passage to Syria, and already developing towards the city-states they became, prospered exceedingly.

It was at this time that the first guide book was written.

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