Jaiaca, The City of Sunrise

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OUR CONCERN IN THIS PAPER is a pretty problem set up by a pair of Old English dialogues, primarily occupied with Biblical lore but occasionally wandering off into other kinds of arcane knowledge. One of them is the prose *Salomon and Saturn*, found in the first portion of MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv, which is dated by Max Förster "auf das zweite Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts,"[1] and its two Middle English translations, *The Maister of Oxford's Catechism*, found in MSS Lansdowne 762 (late XV or early XVI century) and Harley 1304 (XV century).[2] The other is *Adrian and Ritheus*, found in MS Cotton Julius A. ii, which is perhaps of the twelfth century.[3] Both of them are related and derive in some measure from the well-known continental *Joca Monachorum*. Their *personae*

[1] *Die Beowulf Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1919 (*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, Bd. 71, Heft 4), p. 53. This fragment containing *Salomon and Saturn* was once owned by the Augustinian priory of the Blessed Virgin at Southwick, and has been gratuitously joined to the second portion of Cotton Vitellius, which contains the *Beowulf*. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, London: Royal Historical Society, 1941, p. 100, accepts Förster's conclusions about date and provenience.

[2] Lansdowne has been edited by C. Horstmann, "Questiones By-Twene the Maister of Oxenford and His Clerke, "*Englische Studien*, VIII (1885), 284–287; Harley by John M. Kemble, *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*, London: Aelfric Society, 1848, pp. 216–227, as an appendage to *Salomon and Saturn*, which he edits on pp. 178–193.

[3] Also edited by Kemble, pp. 198–207. This date is on the authority of J. H. Herbert in a letter to Walther Suchier, referred to in his discussion of the relationships of our four dialogues in *Das Mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten* (*Joca Monachorum*), Tübingen: Max Niemayer, pp. 75–76. Max Förster, „Zu Adrian und Ritheus," *Englische Studien*, XXIII [91897[0]], 431–436, dates the Julius manuscript in the middle of the thirteenth century on the authority of "Nehab and Schleich." See also my forthcoming article in *Mediaeval Studies* on *Salomon and Saturn* and "the Tree called Chy." Photostats for an edition of these related dialogues are on hand.

derive, no doubt, from the better known poetical *Salomon and Saturn* and the several dialogues centering around the name of Epictetus and the Emperor Hadrian, but with these pieces they share little else.

The question which concerns us runs as follows. Salomon asks, "And hwaet hátte seó burh, ðær sunne úp on morgen gáð?" Saturn replies "Iaiaca," a puzzling answer, which is lacking in both manuscripts of the *Maister* through an obvious eye-skip. But it is present in *Adrian and Ritheus*, where Hadrian's informant says with obvious assurance "Ic ðe secge, Jaiaca heó hatte." Then Salomon asks "hwǽr gáð seó sunne on æfen tó setle?" The answer is "Garita," which appears in the Harley *Maister* as "Garica," and in Lansdowne as "Sarica." *Adrian and Ritheus* has "Janita."[4]

Oddly enough, this medley of variants about the darkening sun and its city is less puzzling than the name of the city of the sunrise. The essential agreement between *Salomon* and the Harley *Maister* in Garita: Garica, and the ease of paleographical derivation of Sarica and Janita (the latter no doubt with a *J-* from the preceding question and answer), all tend to establish a form like Garita. This is plainly the classical Gades or Gadeira (land of the Gaditanae), usually identified with Cadiz, of which Strabo, for instance, has much to say in his *Geography*. Cadiz lies close to the Strait of Gibraltar and the Pillars of Hercules, which the ancients commonly called the western boundary of the world.[5] Though there is some question about the exact identity of the Pillars,[6] they are most frequently identified with the rocks Calpe and Abyla on either side of the Strait.[7] The conventional view of the Pillars as western boundary is that of Strabo's predecessor Eratosthenes, and Strabo himself reveals much critical doubt on the subject.[8]

But the place where the sun sets should be interesting, and Strabo makes it so. His most striking comment is as follows:

> Posidonius tells us the common people say that in the countries next the ocean the sun appears larger

[4] The crucial questions appear in Kemble, pp. 186, 202, 218; Horstmann, p. 285.

[5] Strabo ii. i. 4., ii. 5. 14.; H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, tr., *The Geography of Strabo*, London, 1854–57, I, 131, 179.

[6] iii. 5. 5; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 255–256.

[7] Hamilton and Falconer, I, 255.

[8] ii. 5. 14; iii. 1. 4; iii. 5. 6. Hamilton and Falconer, I, 180, 206–207, 258.

> as he sets, and makes a noise resembling the sound of hot metal in cold water, as though the sea were hissing as the sun was submerged in its depths. The statement [of Artemidorus] is also false, that night follows immediately .... Posidonius tells us that, having himself passed thirty days at Gades, during which time he carefully observed the setting of the sun, he is convinced of the falsity of Artemidorus's statement.-

His salutary skepticism proceeds farther. He allows that, though the habitable earth resembles a chlamys or soldier's cloak, extending in one direction from the Spanish Pillars to the Eastern Ocean or Bay of Bengal,[10] "if the extent of the Atlantic Ocean were not an obstacle, we might easily pass from Iberia to India, still keeping the same parallel."[11] Columbus could have found no better encouragement. Isidore of Seville is less bold. He speaks of "Calpes mons in ultimis finibus Oceani, qui dirimit Europam ab Africa, quem Athlantis finem esse dicunt."[12] The Pillars, he says, are near Gades, which Hercules thought the limit of the earth; that city was built by the Phoenicians under Cadmus: "ipsi postremo in ultima orbis tendentes urbem in Oceano construxerunt, eamque lingua sua Gades nominaverunt."[13]

We are approaching, therefore, the concept of a flat earth, a view fairly common in the Middle Ages, though Columbus was by no means unique in believing he could reach the Indies by a Western Passage.[14] One did not need too arid a literalism to read a flat earth out of the Fiftieth Psalm, which opens with the powerful words: "The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof." In ninth-century Byzantium Georgius Syncellus can speak of both

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[9] iii. 1. 5; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 207–208.

[10] ii. 5. 14; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 179.

[11] i. 4. 6; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 101.

[12] *Etymologiae* xiv. 8. 17.,I use the unpaged edition of W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarvm sive Originvm Libri XX*, 2 vols., Oxonii: Clarendon, 1911.

[13] xiv. 5. 7, 13. 2; xv. 1. 29.

[14] For a brief summary of the arguments on both sides in Christian Europe before 1100 see John K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, 1925, pp. 53–54, 380. My discussion confines itself to a few exponents of the flat earth not mentioned by Wright.

sun and moon as rising from Paradise,[15] and an Old English tract, *The Marvels of the East*, which appears in the same binding as our *Salomon and Saturn* (though in the second or *Beowulf* portion of the Cotton codex, dated, unlike the first, somewhere in the tenth century), has plentiful lore on the subject. Its Latin original speaks of a temple of Bel at Heliopolis or Beliobiles, where the sun rises, and continues, "Est et uinea aurea in oriente *ad solis ortum* que habet uuas pedum .CL. de qua nascentes pendent margarite," or, as the Old English puts it, "at sunnan upgonge."[16] James, the editor of both Latin and Old English, believes the Latin is based on another tract which goes under the name of Fermes, and that it "comes into the succession somewhere between the Alexander-romances (cent. iii) and Isidore (cent. vii), and Fermes comes after the Alexander-romances." The temple and the marvellous vine appear in other early tracts, such as the *Historia de Proeliis*.[17] Much later the papal legate John Marignolli, who visited the court of the Great Khan at the beginning of the fourteenth century, shows that similar beliefs about a flat earth were still alive even in the face of expanding geographical knowledge, for he mentions authorities who would place Paradise in China beyond the rising of the sun.[18] It is plain, then, that our dialogues do reflect the idea of a planiform earth, with the sun setting in the ocean beyond Cadiz or "Garita."[19]

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[15] B. G. Niehbur, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1829 ff., I, 27. According to the dialogues the sun is red at evening because it is approaching hell or Leviathan, and red at morning for various reasons, including modesty. See Kemble, pp. 190–194, 197, 198–201, 220; Horstmann, p. 286; and for the source in a tenth-century *Joca Monachorum*, Suchier, p. 123. Nothing is said, however, about Paradise.

[16] Montague R. James, ed., *Marvels of the East*, Oxford: Roxburghe Club, pp. 28–29, 47, 57–58. The marvellous vine can be seen in James's reproductions of the Latin Cotton Tiberius B. v, f. 84a; Bodey 614, f. 44a, and the Old English Cotton Vitellius A. xv, f. 104b. On the *Marvels* see also Förster, *Die Beowulf Handschrift*, pp. 78–80.

[17] James, pp. 35, 40.

[18] Colonel Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, new edition rev. by Henry Cordier, 4 vols., London, 1913–1915 (Hakluyt Society, Series II, nos. 33, 37, 38, 41), III, 197.

[19] Though portions of the British Isles lie west of Cadiz, we cannot depend on personal observation to scotch the ancient fable, since no doubt the original text was continental. If anyone had looked at a Ptolemaic map, such as that reproduced in Emerson D. Fite and Archibald Freeman, *A Book of Old Maps*, Harvard Uni-

With that point settled, we might assume that Jaiaca would be equally easy to identify. It is not, and so far as I can gather, the eastern counterpart of Gades-Cadiz has never been properly studied. The continental dialogues like *Adrian et Epictitus* and *Joca Monachorum*,[20] which usually lie behind these English catechisms, are silent about Garita and Jaiaca. Yet we must assume that our dialogists had some source, since Old English authors were not given to creating such arcane knowledge out of whole cloth. All we can do is to indicate some obvious possibilities, none of them capable of final demonstration, with the hope that others may further elucidate this city which is the source of the world's light. Such possibilities may be conveniently grouped under two headings: real places and imaginary places.

Considering the ways of medieval scribes with proper names not fully attested, there is a great likelihood that some real eastern place known to our dialogists was garbled into the name Jaiaca. All that is needed is a few letters in common.

India, for instance, is a common locus for the eastern limits of the world. Strabo somewhat doubtfully cites Eratosthenes as stating that the Pillars of Hercules are the boundary of the habitable earth to the West, while to the East the boundary is "the farthest ridges of those mountains which bound India on the North" (Mount Taurus, often described in the Middle Ages as stretching across Asia from east to west).[21] Elsewhere he speaks of Iberia and India as eastern and western extremes of the earth,[22] and we have already seen him use the Bay of Bengal as an eastern boundary. Old maps often show India as east of China,[23] and the Ravennese Geographer

versity Press, 1926, No. 1 (from Todescho's *Geographia*, Firenze, 1478[?]), he would see that the curve of the longitudes allows Cadiz to be read as essentially west of Britain.

[20] The question does not appear in any of Suchier's texts, or in the excellent collection of Byzantine dialogues of C. F. Georg Heinrici, "Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher und Verwandtes aus Sammelhandschriften," *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XVIII, no. 8 (1911), pp. 1–98. I have been unable as yet to obtain a copy of Krasnoselcev's collection of fourteen similar dialogues in Greek (Odessa, 1899), which Heinrici carefully compares with his own group.

[21] ii. 1. 1; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 105.

[22] ii. 5. 1; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 165.

[23] See, for instance, the Lenox Globe of 1503–07(?), in Fite and Freeman, No. 7, and C[harles] R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 3 vols., New York:

(*ca.* 650) calls Britain and India the limits of the earth.[24] A seventh-century view is found in Isidore of Seville: "India vocata ab indo flumine, quo ex parte occidentali clauditur. Haec a meridiano mari porrecta usque ad ortum Solis, et a septentrione usque ad montem Caucasum pervenit...."[25] Beliefs within India itself may have contributed to such a notion. The seventeenth-century traveller François Bernier speaks of the "Gentiles" of India as holding that the sun retires at night behind Someire, "an imaginary mountain placed in the centre of the earth, in form like an inverted sugar-loaf, and an altitude of I know not how many leagues."[26] This is the Golden Meru, or Hindu Olympus, and though those who dwell in India are thus shown not to share the western belief that the sun sets at Gades, we welcome the evidence that they too speculated on our subject. If it be answered to our proposal that India is a sub-continent and not a city like Jaiaca, with which it shares a few letters, we may note that Fermes, the source of the *Marvels of the East* already cited, calls it a city.[27]

Or could Jaiaca be a corruption of the river Ganges, which Eratosthenes and Strabo and several medieval cartographers thought of as flowing into the eastern sea?[28] Certainly we find the river cited as an eastern limit in later times which are much better informed. Chapman uses the conventional expression "from Gades to Aurora and Ganges,"[29] and Marvell transforms it into better poetry in his address to his coy mistress:

> Thou by the *Indian Ganges* side
> Shoud'st Rubies find: I by the Tide
> of *Humber* would complain.

From Ganges to Jaiaca is orthographically rather far, but not impossible.

Peter Smith, 1949 [reprint of the 1897 edition], I, plates facing pp. 376 and 390; II, plate facing p. 560. The last is from the tenth-century Cotton Tiberius B. v, which also contains the Latin *Marvels of the East* of which we haven spoken. See also Yule, III, 130.

[24] Beazley, I, 308–309.

[25] xiv. 2. 5.

[26] *Travels in the Mogul Empire A. D. 1656–1668*, tr.Archibald Constable, London: Oxford University Press, 1914, p. 340.

[27] James, p. 42.

[28] Strabo i. 4. 5 and xv. 1. 11; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 100 and III, 78.

[29] Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism, Second Series*, ed. S. R. Littlewood, London: Macmillan, 1956, p. 22.

There is always Cathay, a place widely known, by rumor at least, to the Middle Ages. My good friend Dr. A. R. Nykl once did a good job for me of deriving "Garita" from Cataia by paleographic shifts. The only trouble is that Garita needs no such derivation, being the place where the sun goes down. Jaiaca, however, might go back to a form like Arrian's Kataia, the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf, or to some other variant name for the land and people called Khitai by Russians and Mongols.[30] This wondrous land of silks and spices, with which the West was once so anxious to trade, deserves mention, simply because it is the first place which we should call Far East today. One might seek for help in the fantastic cosmographer, Cosmas Indikopleustes, who in the sixth century of our era composed a remarkable book, ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΕ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, which is perhaps the most outspoken account of the flat earth hypothesis in history. He places Paradise in the Far East, in what amounts to a second earth beyond the waters. Man lived in its vicinity until the deluge, when the ark floated Noah and his family across the Great Ocean to this present earth. Cosmas does help us a bit, for he describes Tzinitza as the easternmost land of the present earth, and Outer Gades as the westernmost.[31] But on matters concerning the sun we can't trust him too far, for he explains the night by the sun's passing behind a mythical mountain in the North, a solution which is far from that of our dialogists.[32]

Java also might do. It was known to lie far to the east in the Middle Ages, and its various transformations into Jana and Fana

[30] Yule, I, cxvi.

[31] Yule I, 26, 215; Beazley, I, 193, and J. W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indikopleustes*, London, 1897 (Hakluyt Society 98), pp. 47–50. Reproductions of his famous miniatures are found in Beazley; for better ones see E. K. Riedin, *Khristianskaia Topografiia Kosmoy Indikoplova po Grečeskim i Russkim Spiskam*, Part I, Moscow, 1916 (portions of the book have been translated for me by the kind help of my colleague, Mrs. Justina Epp.) For further treatment of Cosmas see Beazley, I, 190–196, 273–303, and the valuable recent bibliography in Milton V. Anastos, "The Alexandrian Origin of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indikopleustes," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 3 (1946), 73–80.

[32] McCrindle identifies Tzinitza with South China; Beazley calls it Cochin-China. It seems in some measure to be distinct from Cathay. I do not know whether it has ever been suggested that Cosmas's mountain of the sun bears a resemblance to the Meru about which Bernier heard reports, mentioned above, and that this might bear on the question of the authenticity of Cosmas's travels to India.

and Tana and the like are excellent testimonies to the ways of medieval scribes.[33] Beyond this we cannot go.

Of other well-known eastern places we must cite Japan, properly no doubt in its medieval form of Cipangu or Zipangu. How such a form might be converted into Jaiaca is not clear, but in favor of the island is its genuinely easternmost position, as far as Eurasia is concerned, and above all its name, which in Chinese has the form Jih-pên-kwé, "Kingdom of the Rising Sun."[34] Apparently the Japanese in early times were not so skeptical as Strabo's Posidonius, and they and their Chinese neighbors recognized their pre-eminent position *ad solis ortum*. In a map giving the views of the Ravennese Geographer, an island off the coast of India Serica in the Eastern Ocean is called Paradise, and this holds the position which corresponds to Japan on modern maps.[35] We have seen how Syncellus, *The Marvels of the East*, and certain informants of Marignolli have associated Paradise (*ignotum ex ignoto*) with the rising of the sun. For what good it may do us, we may mention also that Sinbad the Sailor called Japan Wak-Wak.[36]

Other real places, less known to us today, may have come to the attention of *Salomon and Saturn* or its source. The river Jaxartes, for instance, lay far to the east, and was known to early Christian centuries.[37] A port in China called Zayton was widely known to eastern travellers; it is hard to identify, though Yule suggests the cities Chang-chau or Ts'wan-chau and describes the many debates over its identity. Its variant forms and position are tempting, though scarcely conclusive.[38] Another port, known to Marco Polo as Yangui, with variants like Iamzai, Jancus, and Yangio, might

[33] Ivar Hallberg, *L'Extreme Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'occident des xiii^e^, xiv^e^, et xv^e^ siècles*, Göteborg, 1906, pp. 274–280. This excellent book arranges medieval geographical terms in alphabetical order, and is therefore a valuable supplement to Yule-Cordier and to Beazley.

[34] Hallberg, pp. 497–498, with a long list of variant spellings; Yule, III, 129 with the etymology.

[35] Beazley, I, plate facing p. 390.

[36] Beazley, I, 443.

[37] Yule, I, 201; see also John K. Wright, *The Leardo Map of the World, 1452 or 1453*, New York: American Geographical Society, 1928, p. 40.

[38] Wright, *Leardo Map*, p. 38; Beazley, III, 295, 561; Carroll Camden, "Spenser's 'Little Fish, That Men call *Remora*'," *Rice Institute Pamphlet*, XLIV (1957), 3 (Rabelais calls it Satin, according to Camden); Yule II, 183, 310; III, 100; IV, 117–118.

have been converted into our Old English Jaiaca. According to Yule it is the first great city north of the Kiang river, but I know of no tradition which places it at the upgoing of the sun.[39] Then there is Jamkût, about which the Arabic geographer Abulfeda (1273-1331) has a revealing comment: "Jamkût is the farthest inhabited eastern land: it is at the extreme eastern limit, just like the Eternal Islands which are stated to be at the extreme western limit. East of Jamkût, no habitable land is to be found. Persians call this country Jamâkud. This country is on the equator and has no latitude.[40] Though no city, Jamkût is at least positively identified with the right position.

Of such little-known places the best candidate from the point of view of spelling, perhaps, is one called Jaec. It would be a better candidate if it were a city and not a river, and if its position were farther to the east, so that it could be more readily identified with the *Oriens* or rising sun. Apparently it flows into the Caspian and Black Seas and the Sea of Azov, all at once. The Armenian Prince Haiton called it Aëk, Carpini Jaec, Marco Polo Jaiac, and Friar William Rubruck Jagat; other variants are Aïek, Iaïk, Jagac, Jagag, Jaicho, Jaincho, Jaych, and Layech.[41] On the principle that most such words suffer considerable alteration in place and time, we might be skeptical of such a pat equation of letters as Polo's Jaiac and our Jaiaca. Moreover, most of the notices are too late for the twelfth century, as is the case with several of the names mentioned in the last paragraph. Yet Jaec cannot be ignored in this roster of possibilities, and a documental juncture might clinch the case, if one were found.

Let us turn now to a more fabulous group of possibilities. The first of these is a people called the Coniaci or Coliaci, who lived near Cape Comorin in the extreme east of India, according to Strabo.[42] Just as there were an eastern and a western race of Iberi, in Spain and somewhere in the Caucasus,[43] so there were eastern

[39] Yule, II, 209, 217 (and his large map inserted in an envelope at the back showing the Catalan Map of 1375, which places Jangio very far to the East). See also Map 102–103 ("Mediaeval Commerce [Asia]") in William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, New York, 1921, which identifies Zaitun with Tsuen-chau-fu and Yangui with Chang-chau-fu.

[40] Yule, I, 257–258. [41] Hallberg, pp. 270–271.

[42] xv. i. 11; Hamilton and Falconer, I, 80.

[43] xi. 3. 1; Hamilton and Falconer, II, 230.

and western Coniaci, in Spain and in the East.[44] In early times the district of Colchis near Pontus was the eastern limit of the world; it seems to have moved eastward with expanding geographical knowledge, to become a Colchis Indiae, which may be identical with the region of the Coniaci.[45] Whatever the confused traditions, it is clear that *Coniaci* could easily have lost its prefix, especially if the prefix *con-* were a manuscript abbreviation, and the existence of an eastern or western tribe or area by such a name might have suggested that the world was properly bounded by a balanced set of names. Jaiaca might thus have originated to be later juxtaposed to the classical Gadeira or Garita.

A similar pair of balanced names is the Pillars of Hercules, which we have already heard of as lying near Cadiz.[46] Not quite so well-known as the western Pillars, but well-attested nevertheless, are the eastern Pillars found by Alexander in his eastward conquests. The earliest testimony to these monuments is found in "Pseudo-Callisthenes," a semi-fabulous life of Alexander written probably about 300 A. D., but going back possibly to an earlier version written not too long after Alexander's death.[47] Alexander, writing to his mother Olympias, reports that he went to Babylon, and then

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[44] *Ibid.*, also iii. 3. 8;. Hamilton and Falconer, II, 234. See also the article by P. S., "Hercules Columnae," in William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 2 vols., London, 1859, I, 1054–55, and that on "Cantabria," *ibid., I*, 502.

[45] Smith, *Dictionary*, I, 642.

[46] Though the function of such pillars is usually to mark the world's limits, and hence the place of the rising and the setting of the sun (*oriens* and *occidens*), they may represent a rationalization of the widespread concept of world-pillars used to sustain earth and sky. See the following volumes in *The Mythology of All Races* series, ed. Louis H. Gray and John A. MacCulloch, 13 vols., Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 1916–32: II (Eddic), 334; III (Celtic and Slavic), 13; IV (Finno-Ugric, Siberian), 222, 333–340, 344–345, 401; IX (Oceanic), 35, 163; X (North American), 132, 250, 254; XII (Egyptian), 37, 44, 363, 366, 367. In the last reference (Egyptian) the pillars are associated with the sun. Except for Egypt, the place where the world-pillars are most deeply rooted in mythology is Siberia and Eastern Asia. It is not impossible that the West may have obtained a hint from some fragment of lore emanating from that area. For the Pillars of Hercules see Motiv A984 in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Indiana University Press, 1955ff., I, 181; and for world-pillars I, 134 (A665.2) and 164 (A 841).

[47] Elizabeth H. Wright, ed. and tr., *The Life of Alexander*, by Pseudo-Callisthenes, New York: Longmans, Green, 1955, p. 4.

> after having gone many parasangs I came in
> sixty-five days to the Pillars of Heracles.
> For the story is that Heracles set up boundaries
> in the land where he travelled, two stele, one of
> gold, the other of silver, and the height was
> thirteen cubits, and the width two cubits. And
> when I distrusted the story that they were beaten
> out by the hammer, I decided to sacrifice to Heracles
> and to pierce one of the stele. It seemed to me
> solid gold. And I planned to fill up the perforation
> and it was found necessary to use 1500 bars.

From there he went through a wild and rocky region to the Amazons,[48] a detail which may help those who wish to locate the pillars more closely, as I do not.

Another end-point to the story may be sought in the medieval romance of Alexander of Alexandre de Paris. Here the pillars are ascribed to Artus (Hercules) and Libers (Dionysus), both of them fabled eastern travellers. Porrus brings Alexander to the spot:

> Sire, ce dist Porrus, de ça vous herbregiés,
> Ne passés ces ymages, car ce seriot pechiés;
> Onc Artus ne Libers n'orent avant lor piés,
> Desvoiabletés est, tost serés foloiés.
> La mer qui terre clot a les mons si perciés
> Et l'ardor du soleil a si les crués sechiés
> Assés i a teus lieus ou molt tost charriés ....
> Qant Artus et Libers vinrent en Oriant
> Et orent tant alé qu'il ne porent avant,
> Deus ymages d'or firent qui furent de lor grant.

Our medieval Alexander laughs at such idolatry and commands that the pillars be thrown into a fire.[49] John Marignolli was another to visit the Pillars of the East. Of Columbum in the Indian Sea, which Yule thinks is not the Colombo of Ceylon, Marignolli reports:

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 121 (iii. 27).

[49] B. C. Armstrong, ed., *The Mediaeval French Roman d'Alexandre*, II, Princeton University Press, 1937, p. 196. Paul Meyer, *Alexandre Le Grand dans la littérature française du Moyen Age*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886, II, 171, points out that Artus has noting to do with King Arthur, but a mere corruption of Hercules (it appears as *Hercu* in some manuscripts). Strabo iii. 5. 6 also ascribes the Eastern Pillars to Hercules and Dionysus. Armstrong's notes to Alexandre de Paris (Branche III of the romance) have not yet appeared; they will presumably come in volume VI of his monumental edition.

> after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column (in India). For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil![50]

Here the Pillars appear to be confused with another column set up on the Hyphasis by Alexander himself.[51] Many monuments were ascribed to him in the East. The author Dionysius in his *Descriptio Orbis* identifies Kolis with Aornos, and says that Alexander visited that far eastern locality and perhaps erected columns there. Yule believes that Dionysius is really speaking of the Pillars of Bacchus, since Festus Avienus's Latin paraphrase of Dionysius runs in this fashion:

> Oceani Eoi praetenti denique Bacchus
> Littore, et extremâ terrarum victor in orâ
> Ducit laurigeros post Indica bella triumphos,
> Erigit et geminas telluris fine columnas.

Yule also cites a version of Mandeville which speaks of Alexander as setting

> up his token there as far as he had got, like as Hercules did on the Spanish Sea towards the sunset. And the token that Alexander set up towards the sunrising, hard by Paradise, hight Alexander's Gades, and the other hight Hercules's Gades: and these be great Pillars of Stone, that stand upon lofty mountains, for an eternal Sign and Token that no man shall pass beyond those pillars.[52]

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[50] Yule, III, 218–219.

[51] For a discussion of the *stelae* of Alexander, set up variously near the Ganges or at the Caspian Gates, see Andrew R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Enclosed Nations*, Cambridge, Mass., Mediaevel Academy of America, 1932, pp. 42–43.

[52] Yule, III, 218–219, supplies most of this information, in the most complete account I have been able to find of the Eastern Pillars. The version of Mandeville he quotes from a German edition by Meinert which I have been unable to consult. Yule says it is not in Wright's edition of Mandeville, and it also appears to be absent from the edition of P. Hamelius, *Mandeville's Travels*, 2 vols., London, 1919, 1923 (Early English Text Society, Original Series, 153–154). Neither Meinert nor the Pillars are mentioned in the recent study by Josephine W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, New York: Modern Language Association, 1954.

The Koran rounds out this balanced picture for us. Speaking of Dhu'l Qarnâin, usually identified with Alexander, it says "he followed a way until when he reached the setting of the sun, he found it setting in a black muddy spring, and he found thereat a people .... Then he followed a way until when he reached the rising of the sun, he found it rise upon a people to whom we had given no shelter therefrom." Nothing, however, is said about the Pillars.[53] Though all this lore about the Eastern Pillars provides us with no name to correspond to our Old English Jaiaca, there is ample evidence that Gades or Garita had its eastern counterpart, also complete with pillars. To such a legend as this may have been attached any one of the names we have put forward.

One more such name remains. My friend William F. MacDonald has shown me that a classicist can always complement the findings of a medievalist. He met my query about Jaiaca with the following quotation from the *Odyssey*, which I should have known by heart:

> ... Αἰαίην δθι, τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης
> οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο.[54]

Rouse translates "Aiaia, where Dawn has her dwelling and her dancing lawns, and Helios his place of rising." MacDonald points out that Aiaia has the variant forms Αἶα and Γαῖα, both of them associated with "earth" and the Earth-Goddess. Since the Greek *gamma* regularly becomes in medieval Greek a tailed-*i* or *j*, the variant Γαῖα may lie behind our Jaiaca, which could have derived its *c* also from Greek as an adjectival *kappa*. The mention in the Homeric passage of Eos, goddess of the Dawn, recalls the passage from Avienus cited above, and her dwelling-place Aiaia would be an excellent candidate for "seó burh, ðǽr sunne úp on morgen gá ð."

[53] Sura xvii. 84–89, translated in E. H. Palmer, *The Qur'ân*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1900, II, 24. The commentator Bâidhâvį says the muddy pool or spring is the dark ocean, which we might equate with Homer's wine-dark sea. The quoted passages all lead up to a third and more vicious people, Gog and Magog, which Alexander penned up beyond the Caspian Gates; in the Koran, then, these Gates are clearly another place than the Rising of the Sun. See Beazley, I, 407.

[54] xii. 3–4; *The Story of Odysseus, A New Translation*, by W. H. D. Rouse, New York: Modern Age Books, 1937, p. 143. On Eos and Aiaia see Mythology of *All Races*, I, 245–246; and the articles "Aia" and "Eos" in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols., 1884–1934, I, cols. 108–109, 1256. Aiaia, a part of Homer's outer geography", may be connected with that elusive land known to the ancients as Aithiopia.

There is no certainty in our demonstrations, but it may be something to have started a hare that has lain in covert since the twelfth century, and to have subjected the fabulous beast to some critical examination. My favorites in this series of suggestions are the Pillars of Hercules or Alexander, Aiaia land of the Dawn, and the almost letterperfect Jaiac of Marco Polo, but any of the others might on new evidence be ushered into prominence. We must forgive our Anglo-Saxon dialogists any distortion which may have crept into the names of the sun's two cities, and perhaps some forgiveness will remain for a modern speculating student. As Mandeville said: "Of paradys ne can i not speken propurly for I was not þere; it is fer beȝonde and þat forthinketh me. And also I was not worthi."

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Island of Mount Desert. – "On the boat [approaching Boston Harbor] I picked up a piece of a Bar Harbor newspaper, in which it was stated that the island of Mount Desert was named in honor of De Mons, a French officer. I knew this was absurd, and so looked up the name in Champlain, and here copy what he says of it in the edition of 1632 ...' ... Je l'ay nommée l'isle des Montsdeserts' (island of the barren mountains, or barren-mountain island – for 'desert' really means a mixture of barren and uninhabited, or that which is uninhabited because it is barren). You see that the theory that the mountains have been laid bare by fire, will not hold water, – that is, unless it was done before 1607 ..." (Letter of J. D. Whitney, August 25, 1885.)