

# MEDIEVAL DISTORTIONS: THE PROJECTIONS OF ANCIENT MAPS

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**ABSTRACT.** Estimates of the map projection employed for an ancient map is a prerequisite for a variety of other studies. The preliminary evaluation presented here has yielded empirical equations for the Hereford map and illustrated the agreement of a Portolan chart with an oblique Mercator projection.

THE study of ancient maps provides one of the fascinating aspects of historical geography. Such maps can be analyzed for many purposes and from several points of view. The following comments refer only to the estimation of the map projection implied by the ancient mappamundi and portolan charts. Evaluation of the map projection of these old maps is of assistance in the determination of the accuracy of the maps, and may provide insight into their method of construction. Modern theories regarding the ancients' perception of the world also may require consideration of the map projection employed for maps.

The maps in the two classes under investigation do not contain any indication of the terrestrial graticule of latitude and longitude. This has led some students to conclude that the maps are not based on any map projection.<sup>1</sup> This point requires clarification. Certainly the lack of the graticule does not imply the absence of a projection. Even modern maps are occasionally published without this grid.<sup>2</sup> More telling is the high probability the sphericity of the earth was unknown to, or was not considered relevant by, the individuals who constructed the maps. If this is the case the maps would be constructed as though the earth were flat. Inconsistencies between the plotting and the observational information then might arise; these inconsistencies could be attributed to the (unavoidable) errors in one or the other, or both. For a small

area the errors and inconsistencies might be quite small and could go unnoticed. Inconsistencies are not necessary or inevitable, however. No set of observational information specifying the location of any terrestrial position by not more than two independent measures will lead to inconsistencies when plotted. This is true whether the earth is considered round or flat. In either of the above events it is correct to say that the map is not based on a map projection *only* in the sense that the cartographer involved was not consciously employing a map projection.<sup>3</sup> But, as one learns from any elementary work on map making, every map requires a map projection. The ancient maps therefore are implicitly referred to some map projection.

The next difficulty, it seems, occurs if it is assumed that this implicit projection is one of the now-known projections. For example, the portolan charts have been compared with charts drawn on Mercator's projection and on the square projection.<sup>4</sup> Suppose that the match is sufficiently poor to conclude that the chart is not drawn on either of these two pro-

<sup>3</sup> Similar comments apply to an engineering survey of a small area.

<sup>4</sup> H. Wagner, "Das Ratsel der Kompasskarten im Lichte der Gesamtentwicklung der Seekarten," *Verhandlungen*, XI Deutsches Geographentages, Bremen, 1895, pp. 65-87; E. Steger, "Untersuchung über italienische Seekarten des Mittelalters auf Grund der kartometrischen Methode" Dissertation, Göttingen, 1896; M. Fiorini, *Le proiezioni delle carte geografiche*, Bologna, 1881; A. Breusing, "Zur Geschichte der Kartographie," *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Geographie*, II (1881), p. 168 ff; M. A. Clos-Arceuduc, "L'Enigme des Portulans: Etude sur la Projection et le mode de construction des cartes a rumb du XIV<sup>e</sup> et du XV<sup>e</sup> Siecle," *Bulletin*, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section de Geographie, LXIX (1956), pp. 215-31. The square projection is also known by the names plate carrée, simple cylindrical, and cylindrical equal-spaced projection.

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<sup>1</sup> A. E. Nordenskiöld refers to these maps as paratropical; *Periplus*, An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-Directions (Stockholm: Bather translation, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> R. E. Dahlberg, "Maps without Projections," *The Journal of Geography*, vol. 60 (1961), pp. 213-18.

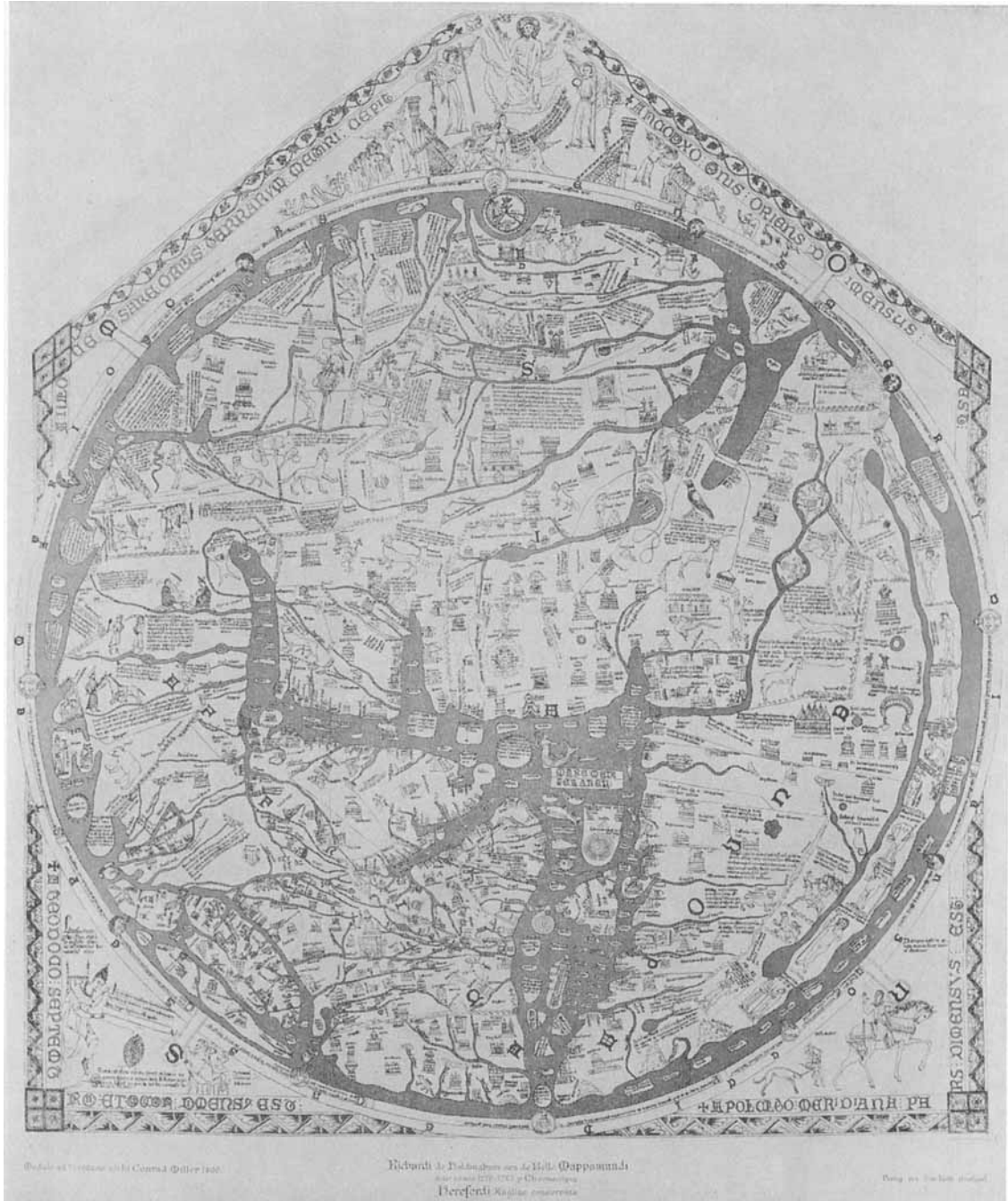


FIG. 1. Konrad Miller's edition of the Hereford Map.

jections. This does not prove that the chart is not based on a map projection; such a conclusion can in fact never be drawn if one accepts the notion of an implicit map projection. The search, then, must continue for a

map projection, which may be any of the several hundred now known, or may be one which is completely unknown today. The problem can be attacked from several directions. Most helpful is an examination of the

method of construction of the maps, if this is known. Typically this turns out to be inconclusive, and is in fact one of the questions which many have attempted to answer. But there are some hints which allow the range of possible projections to be narrowed down to a relatively limited few. A second obvious approach is to attempt to sketch the lines of latitude and longitude on the map, as estimated by identification of locations shown thereon. Examination of the graticule, its curvature and so on, should provide hints as to a reasonable family of projections.

A crucial point has now been reached. On the basis of some study it is postulated that "this" projection forms the basis for the map. How is this hypothesis to be tested? The test generally consists of superimposing a map drawn on the postulated projection over the original map, with a scale adjustment and shifting until the best average coincidence is obtained. Since one knows that the agreement of the two maps will not be perfect, the question is now one of deciding how much agreement is necessary before the hypothesis is to be accepted. The procedure outlined below does not answer this question, but it does allow one to say, with relative precision, how great the agreement is, and thus permits one to rank, from greatest to least agreement, all projections for which one cares to carry through the necessary operations. The method requires extensive observations and computations but is perfectly general and may be applied whenever it is desired to ascertain the agreement of a questionable map with a particular map projection. The necessary calculations may seem formidable but entail less than five minutes on a modern high-speed digital computer.

To begin it is necessary to identify a large number of points on the map. By identify is meant to record the modern latitudes and longitudes of these points. The next step is to record the map coordinates of these same points. Any system of coordinates will serve but rectangular  $(x, y)$  coordinates are the most convenient. It does not matter in the least what units are used for the coordinates, and it is not necessary to determine the scale of the chart or any distances thereon.<sup>5</sup> Nor does the orien-

<sup>5</sup> Readers of the earlier treatises (especially Wagner, *op. cit.* footnote 4) will recognize this as a distinct advantage.

tation of the grid system matter. The postulated map projection will be defined by a mathematical relation of the form:

$$\begin{aligned} X &= f(\phi, \lambda) \\ Y &= g(\phi, \lambda), \end{aligned}$$

where  $\phi$  is the latitude and  $\lambda$  is the longitude, and  $X$  and  $Y$  are the corresponding map projection coordinates. Using this relation calculate the map projection coordinates of all of the points identified by latitude and longitude. This is where the points should be if the projection were to give a perfect fit. These calculated coordinates  $(X, Y)$  are now to be compared to the observed map coordinates  $(x, y)$ . Since the coordinates employed for the recording of the observations were quite arbitrary, a different result would be obtained for each possible set of recording coordinates. It is therefore necessary to apply the mathematical equivalent of rotation and change of scale, as might be obtained by use of an optical reducing-enlarging instrument, to give the best possible overall average fit. This is given by a least squares Euclidean transformation, which brings the numbers given the recorded observations into the same units as the calculated map projection coordinates (see Appendix). The comparison of the map projection with the map is now made by calculating the difference between the observed and calculated locations for corresponding points. The correlation coefficient between the two sets of coordinates gives the amount of agreement, and areas of greatest disagreement may provide hints as to a more suitable map projection. With the same observational information the entire procedure can be repeated a second time for a new map projection, and so on.

As one already has recorded, for the foregoing operations, the latitudes and longitudes of a large number of places along with the map locations (in some arbitrary coordinate system) of these same identified points, one can continue by obtaining an empirical estimate of the equations defining the map projection. The problem can be phrased thus: find the equations which, when entered with any specific latitude and longitude value, result in the observed  $x$  and  $y$  coordinate values. The mathematical theory indicates that this can always be achieved with a sufficiently complicated equation. In practice it is

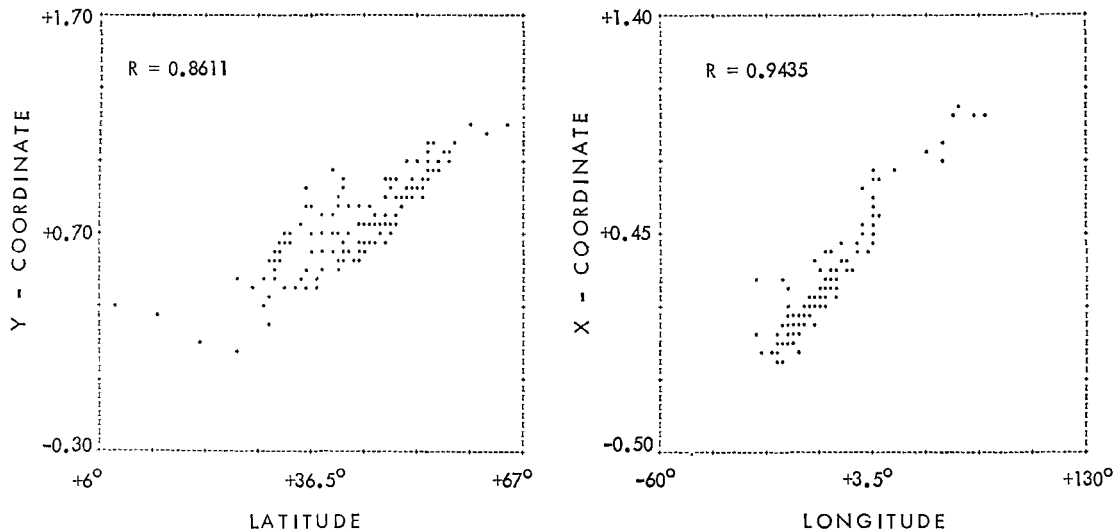


FIG. 2. Scatter diagrams illustrating the correlation between latitude and longitude and rectangular coordinates (after rotation and scaling) on the Hereford Map.

difficult to obtain a perfect fit and one is generally content with an equation which reproduces the observations with a high degree of reliability. This is reasonable since it is not desired to reproduce minor errors, such as might be caused by the shrinkage which has occurred on a 500-year-old map. The mathematical fitting procedure generally employed is the method of least squares polynomial or Fourier series curve fitting.<sup>6</sup> The equations obtained in this manner enable one to calculate, and draw, the latitude and longitude graticule at any desired interval. Equally importantly, they allow calculation of Tissot's measures of map projection distortion.<sup>7</sup> Formulation of the problem in terms of the distortion is independent of any hypothesis regarding the specific map projection, but can be employed to infer whether or not the projection has specific properties. This in turn may be of assistance in determining the projection. A word of caution is necessary here since the necessary differentiation of the empirical

equations may be subject to large errors.<sup>8</sup> The same comment holds true if a graphic determination of Tissot's measures is applied to visually sketched lines of latitude and longitude.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE HEREFORD MAP

The Hereford map<sup>10</sup> is one of the most famous of the surviving medieval mappae-mundi (Fig. 1). Certainly it is one of the largest (53 × 65 inches). It is a product of the later Middle Ages, *circa* 1283, and is still in the cathedral at Hereford, England. In many respects the map represents a culmination of 1,000 years of mapping efforts, having precedents from Roman times. The map has been the subject of at least one book, and several monographs and articles.<sup>11</sup> At least three large

<sup>8</sup> Cf., B. Arden, *An Introduction to Digital Computing* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> G. A. Ginzburg, "A Practical Method of Determining Distortion on Maps," *Geodest* (Moscow), 10 (1935), pp. 49-57.

<sup>10</sup> The materials in this section are summarized from: S. Jones, "The Hereford Map Projection," M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1964, 39 pp., and are used with the kind permission of Miss Jones.

<sup>11</sup> W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, *Medieval Geography; An Essay in Illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi* (London: 1873); K. Miller, *Die Herefordkarte* (Stuttgart, 1903); G. R. Crone, *The World Map by Richard of Haldingham* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1954) (with an extensive set of references).

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of curve fitting see any elementary work on numerical analysis or an intermediate work on statistical methods. If there are some locations which can be identified with a greater degree of reliability than others, a weighting procedure may be employed.

<sup>7</sup> M. A. Tissot, *Memoire sur la Representation des Surfaces* (Paris: Gautier-Villars, 1881).

reproductions of the map have been published. A detailed description of the map, therefore, is not necessary. The form of the map follows the typical circular T-in-O style, with Jerusalem in the center and Asia (paradise) at the top. In many respects the map is more a representation of religious reality than geographical reality. On the other hand, the map preserves most of the topological properties<sup>12</sup> of a map projection; if this were not the case the drawing would not be recognizable as a map.

The Hereford map is believed to have been prepared by copying some other ancient map, with supplementary information obtained from itineraries. This does not provide much assistance in an initial guess at a map projection. The many authors who have discussed the Hereford map have ignored, or rejected, the question of a map projection and no assistance can be gained here, though these authors are extremely valuable in providing identification of names. The form of the map, however, suggests an azimuthal projection, perhaps with a larger scale at the center of the map. The orthographic projection is one (of many) which has these properties. The empirical observations suggest that this is not a poor guess.

Konrad Miller's  $\frac{3}{4}$  size edition of the Hereford map was employed to identify 155 locations. This is a tedious operation and subject to error. Each identification consisted of map coordinates, and modern latitude and longitude.<sup>13</sup> The dispersion of the observations is rather uneven since it proved impossible to identify anything in some parts of the map, particularly the margins. Misidentifications may have occurred, in which event the consequent analysis will be slightly distorted.

Direct correlations between the latitude and the  $y$  coordinate, and between the longitude and the  $x$  coordinate are high (Fig. 2). This is to be expected since the Hereford map preserves most of the topological properties of any map projection. The results of further computations indicate that the square projection provides a seventy-three percent match to the Hereford map, and that an oblique orthographic projection centered at Jerusalem pro-

vides an eighty-four percent match. Using a polynomial approximation the locus of lines of latitude and longitude for the Hereford map can be reproduced with a fidelity of ninety-five percent. A computer print of these calculated lines in fact agrees quite well with a manually interpolated graticule. The details of these results are given in the Appendix.

Comparison of the Hereford map with only two known map projections cannot be said to provide an exhaustive study. Nor can it be said that the map is drawn on the orthographic projection, though this provides a better fit than does the square projection. Examination of the interpolated lines of latitude and longitude does, however, reinforce the hypothesis of European antecedents for the map, on the grounds that the larger scale will be in the vicinity of areas with which the cartographer is most familiar. The only apparent exception is the Jerusalem region.

#### PORTOLAN CHARTS

One of the most interesting classes of maps in the venerable history of cartography are the early sailing charts depicting the vicinity of the Mediterranean Sea. The oldest existent map is estimated to have been drawn in the latter portion of the thirteenth century. The fame of these representations rests in part on their accuracy relative to other European maps of the same period. When contrasted with the contemporaneous T-in-O maps, for example, the charts appear outstandingly more correct. The earliest of these sailing charts do not contain any indication of the terrestrial grid but carry an extensive set of symmetrical, criss-crossing lines. A voluminous though somewhat controversial, literature is available concerning the antecedents, method of compilation, construction, and employment of these charts.<sup>14</sup>

Several authors have come to the conclusion that the portolan charts are not based on a

<sup>12</sup> R. H. Bing, "Elementary Point Set Topology" *American Mathematical Monthly*, 67, 7, part II (Aug./Sept., 1960).

<sup>13</sup> See Table 2.

<sup>14</sup> K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Heft 13 of the Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Meereskunde und des Geographischen Institutes an der Universität Berlin, 1909, 687 pp; A. Cortesao, *Cartografia e Cartografos portugueses dos seculos XV e XVI* (Lisboa: 1935); Y. Kamal, *Hallucinations scientifiques* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), 95 pp; for additional references see: W. W. Ristow, and C. E. LeGear, *A Guide to Historical Cartography*, 2nd ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960).

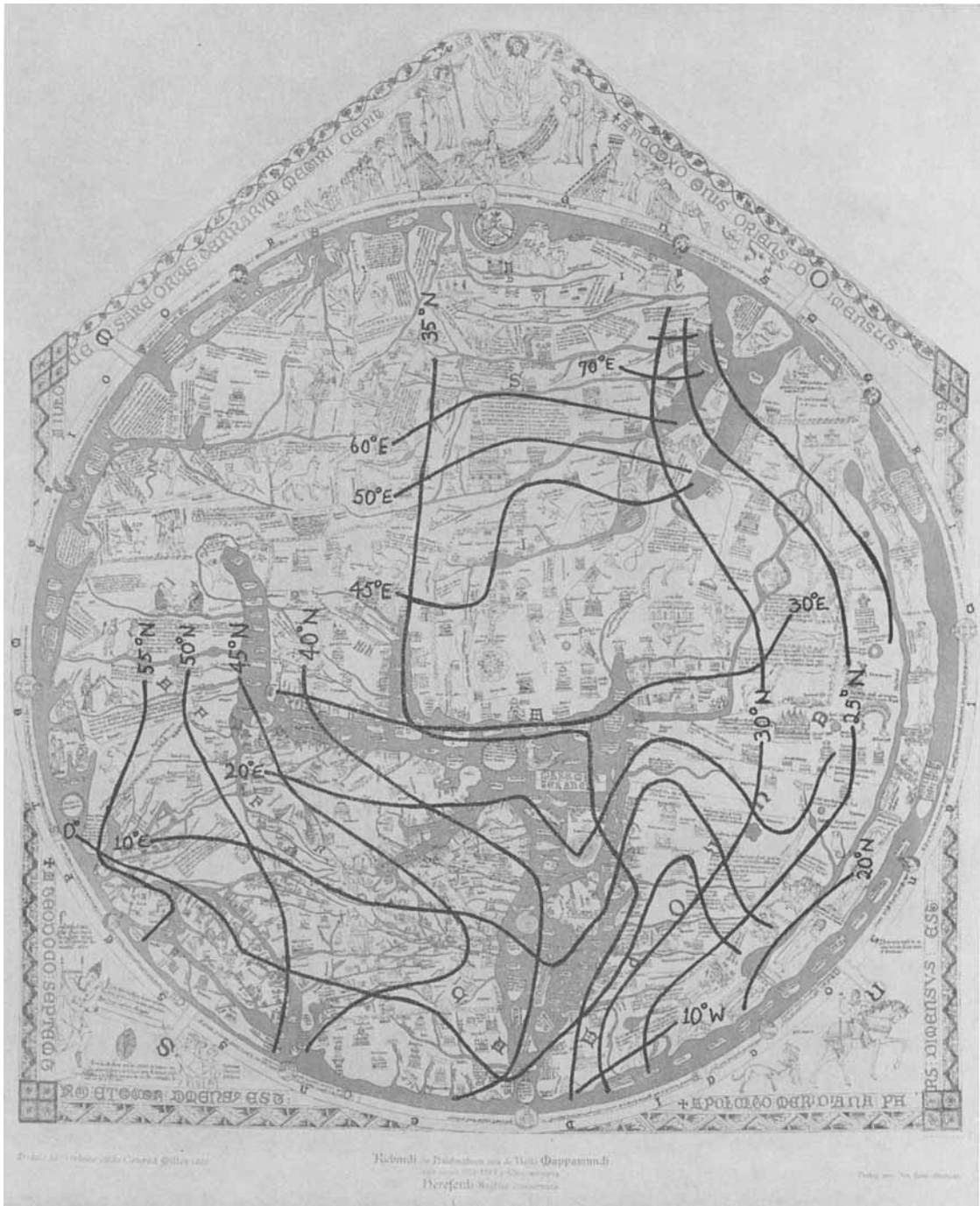


FIG. 3. Sketch of the latitude and longitude graticule as interpolated for the Hereford Map.

map projection.<sup>15</sup> This view has already been rejected here on *a priori* grounds, in accord-

<sup>15</sup> Among these are Nordenskiöld, Wagner, Bagrow, and M. Eckert.

ance with the modern interpretation of map projections.<sup>16</sup> In contradistinction to the T-in-O maps, where the suggestion is usually rejected

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Clos-Arceud, *op. cit.*, footnote 4.

out of hand, the very great accuracy of the portolan charts has prompted questions concerning the map projection of these charts. The method of construction of the portolan charts, though not definitely known, does provide some hints. Perhaps the compass was involved and the observational information available for compilation consisted of loxodromic directions. This suggests Mercator's projection. The magnetic meridians<sup>17</sup> are not coincident with the geographical meridians, however, so that a magnetic error should exist on the maps. A difference between "rose north" and true north can in fact be observed on the charts. Breusing then reasoned that the compass, if it contributed to the development of these charts, would yield readings resulting in a projection with curved parallels. This he took to require a conic projection. Fiorini came to the conclusion that the projection should be an oblique azimuthal equidistant, since both directional and distance information seem to have been available, and since the central rose provides a convenient point of departure for the plotting of the map. Another projection which has been proposed is the square projection. This choice is apparently derived from the subsequent use of this projection for sailing charts.

It should be possible to perform the operations previously outlined and applied in the case of the Hereford map to all of the foregoing projections relative to a portolan chart. The necessary identification is difficult since the maps themselves are rare (even facsimilies are rare), much of the script is difficult to read and translate, and determination of the modern equivalent locations is often impossible, or at best tedious. Unfortunately some previous scholars published only their conclusions, not the detailed observations employed in the analysis. This is especially true of Wagner's otherwise excellent study.<sup>18</sup> Wagner sketched lines of latitude and longitude on detailed tracings of several portolan charts and demonstrated that the length of mile employed differs along the west coast of Europe from that employed in the interior of the

Mediterranean Sea.<sup>19</sup> He also illustrated an abrupt jog in the path of the parallels through Greece on the map and attributed this to a method of construction in which the map is made by piecing together separate, local charts. He concluded that the portolan charts are not based on a map projection, thus rejecting the notion of an implicit map projection. Wagner presented a careful analysis of all of these points. Steger proceeded in a less detailed but similar manner and concluded, on the basis of map interpolations, that the meridians and parallels are straight lines when sketched in on the charts. He thus refuted Breusing's suggestion. Steger's demonstration, however, can be disputed on two grounds. His study did not include the Black Sea, which is where the curvature might be most noticeable, and his meridians and parallels are virtually all determined by only two points. A more recent study of the Portolan Charts by Clos-Arceud compared them to a Mercator chart at approximately the same scale. His reasoning was that Mercator's projection provides a better fit than does the square projection. He further illustrated that the eastern portion of the charts is too far north, only, it must be noted in relation to Mercator's projection.

Computation by the method employed for the Hereford map would allow estimation of the degree of association between the charts and each of the projections. Calculation of Tissot's measures of distortion from an empirical equation should also be of assistance. Thus, if Fiorini's postulate of an oblique azimuthal equidistant projection is correct, one should find that the one value of the linear distortion in some direction is always unity at every point on the map. Similarly if the charts are loxodromic they should be conformal, or very nearly so. A result demonstrating very minor and randomly distributed angular error would provide additional evidence for the use of the compass in the construction of the charts. This procedure, via Tissot's theorem, has the distinct advantage that it is independent of any particular *a priori* hypothesis regarding the nature of the map projection.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. N. Strahler, *The Earth Sciences* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), Figure 9.15, p. 152.

<sup>18</sup> Wagner, *op. cit.*, footnote 4; and also see his "The Origin of the Mediaeval Italian Nautical Charts" (London: Report of the Sixth International Geographical Congress, 1895).

<sup>19</sup> For a plausible explanation of this phenomena which differs from that given by Wagner, see Clos-Arceud, *op. cit.*, footnote 4, p. 226.

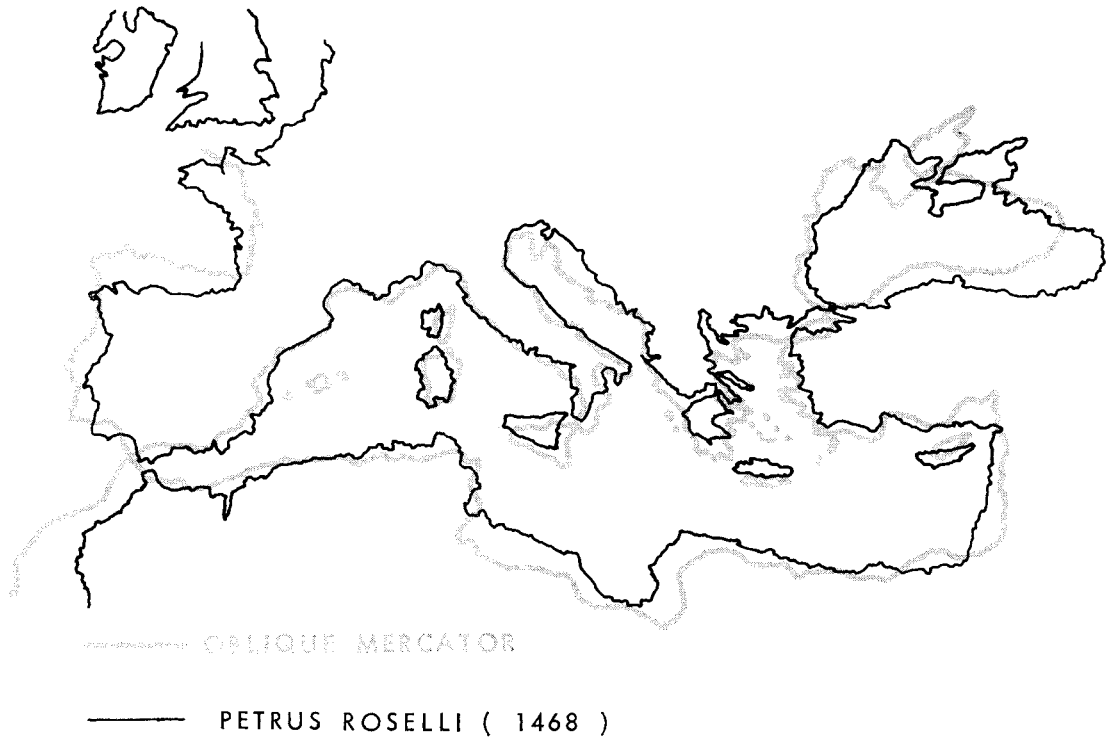


FIG. 4. Comparison of the outline from the Petrus Roselli portolan chart of 1468 with an outline on an oblique Mercator projection.

Two additional projections can be proposed for the portolan charts. The first of these is an oblique Mercator projection. The difference between the rose north and true north can be taken as a guide to the obliquity. One such projection<sup>20</sup> is illustrated and compared with an outline from an early portolan chart in the figure. The discrepancy at the eastern extremity of the map is less than for the previously proposed projections. The meridians converge slightly as required by Breusing. An oblique conical or square projection would yield similar results, however. Comparison of several small tracings of photographs of early portolan charts further indicates that there exists a considerable variation between in-

<sup>20</sup> The oblique Mercator projection has been chosen so that the great circle passing through  $37.77^\circ$  N,  $1^\circ$  W and  $37^\circ$  N,  $30^\circ$  E becomes the projection equator. The axis of the projection is the great circle arc connecting the oblique pole at  $51.55^\circ$  N,  $168.36^\circ$  W with the center of map at  $38.41^\circ$  N,  $14.58^\circ$  E. The angle between grid north and the geographical meridian is  $1^\circ 50'$  E at the center of the map. An earlier attempt with an  $8.25^\circ$  obliquity (as suggested by Clos-Arceuduc) provided a poorer fit.

dividual portolan charts. Suppose one were to take all the known portolan charts which do not contain any indication of latitude and longitude and compare them with some standard chart, perhaps the *Carte Pisane*. In each case the correlation will be somewhat less than perfect. A postulated map projection should not be expected to perform better. Perhaps an appropriate strategy would be to assume that the map projection of the portolan charts is determined if the variance between the postulated map projection is less than or equal to the variance between individual portolan charts.

A final postulated projection might be referred to as an "oblique magnetic Mercator projection." This can be conceived of as a Mercator projection based on magnetic meridians and parallels.<sup>21</sup> On such a map the geographical grid would appear distorted in the vicinity of local magnetic anomalies. This is a very appealing hypothesis, but it is apparently not possible to determine the locus of

<sup>21</sup> This postulate can also be found in Clos-Arceuduc, *op. cit.*, footnote 4, p. 222.



TABLE I. - POLYNOMIAL APPROXIMATION TO THE HERFORD MAP, BASED ON 155 OBSERVATIONS.

Standard errors of the estimate, in radians :  $S_x = 0.05176$  ;  $S_y = 0.05785$

$$X = 0.2174 + 0.4752 \lambda - 0.3383 \lambda^2 + 0.01529 \lambda^3 + 0.4530 \lambda^4 - 0.5129 \lambda^5 - 0.5587 \lambda^6 + 0.6047 \lambda^7 - 1.179 \lambda^8 + 0.09247 \lambda^9 + 0.01191 \lambda^{10}$$

$$Y = 0.4399 + 2.956 \lambda^2 - 2.023 \lambda^3 + 2 \cdot \lambda^4 + 0.0591 \lambda^5 + 2.305 \lambda^6 + 0.92 \lambda^7 - 3 \cdot \lambda^8 - 1.186 \lambda^9 + 0.5789 \lambda^{10} + 0.4399 \lambda^{11}$$

TABLE 2

OBSERVED AND CALCULATED VALUES FOR THE HERFORD MAP

COUNTRY	ACRERN NAME	GEOGRAPHICAL COORDINATES <sup>1</sup>	MAP COORDINATE <sup>2</sup>	SQUARE COORDINATE <sup>3</sup>	VALUES FROM TRIANGULAR INDICATORS <sup>4</sup>			
					X	Y	A	B
1	ORCADES	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	YARLAND	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
3	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
4	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
5	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
6	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
7	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
8	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
9	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
10	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
11	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
12	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
13	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
14	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
15	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
16	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
17	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
18	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
19	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
20	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
21	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
22	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
23	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
24	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
25	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
26	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
27	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
28	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
29	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
30	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
31	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
32	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
33	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
34	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
35	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
36	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
37	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
38	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
39	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
40	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
41	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
42	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
43	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
44	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
45	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
46	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
47	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
48	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
49	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
50	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
51	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
52	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
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54	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
55	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
56	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
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58	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
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61	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
62	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
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64	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
65	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
66	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
67	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
68	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
69	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
70	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
71	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
72	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
73	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
74	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
75	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
76	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
77	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
78	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
79	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
80	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
81	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
82	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
83	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
84	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
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90	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
91	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
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93	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
94	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
95	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
96	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
97	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
98	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
99	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000
100	FL WISBAR	59 00 30.0	2140	1364	1.0000	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000

1) REFERENCE AND SCALING TO GIVE BEST FIT TO THE SQUARE PROJECTION.  
 2) IN RADIAN UNITS.  
 3) IN RADIAN UNITS.  
 4) OBTAINED FROM LUNAR PROJECTION CENTERED AT 23° 56' N, 5° 45' E. COORDINATE ROUNDED AND SCALED TO GIVE BEST FIT TO THE MAP COORDINATES.  
 5) OBTAINED FROM LUNAR PROJECTION OF THE UNWARRANTED POLYNOMIALS.  
 6) OBTAINED FROM LUNAR PROJECTION OF THE UNWARRANTED POLYNOMIALS. VALUES OF X, Y, A AND B ARE COMPUTED BUT NOT LISTED HERE.

the magnetic meridians in the years 1200 to 1300 A.D. so that the empirical curve fitting procedure appears appropriate. Such a magnetic Mercator should be approximately conformal and investigation of the angular distortion is suggested.

Without performing the actual analysis, it is not possible to draw further conclusions concerning the portolan charts. Any such analysis would need to be quite carefully done, since the charts will probably fit several map projections very closely.

#### CONCLUSIONS

It has been possible to answer only a few of the substantive questions concerning the possible methods of preparation of medieval maps. The strategy developed in this preliminary analysis, however, seems to offer some improvement over procedures employed in previous studies. For the student of the history of geography the techniques also allow estimates of the rate of cartographic progress. Imhof, for example, has recently published small illustrations of two old maps of the Canton of Zurich.<sup>22</sup> On the basis of these rather small illustrations, the simple calculations imply an improvement of twenty-eight percent in the mapping of Zurich between 1566 and 1667, and an improvement of only two percent between 1667 and 1965. This result in turn suggests the hypothesis of an S-shaped growth curve for the history of positional accuracy on maps. The same approach as outlined here can be applied, with obvious modifications, to maps which do contain the latitude and longitude graticule, either to determine the perhaps unknown map projection, or to make estimates of the accuracy of the maps if the projection is known.

#### Appendix

The procedure employed in estimating the amount of correlation between the observed map locations and a specific map projection is given here. Let the complex number

<sup>22</sup> E. Imhof, "Beitrage zur Geschichte der topographischen Kartographie" *International Yearbook of Cartography*, 4 (1964), pp. 129-53.

$W_j = x_j + iy_j$ , ( $i^2 = -1$ )  
be the map location of the  $j$ th point of identified latitude and longitude. Let

$$Z_j = X_j + iY_j$$

be the location of this same point on some map projection. Transform the arbitrary map recording coordinates to a new system,

$$\hat{W}_j = \hat{x}_j + i\hat{y}_j,$$

by applying a translation, rotation, and change of scale. This is no more than an assignment of new numbers to the recording coordinates and in no way changes the interrelations of the points. The transformation is of the form

$$\hat{W} = A + BW,$$

where A and B are complex numbers determined by application of the least squares criterion in a manner such that the residual

$$\sum_{j=1}^N |\hat{W}_j - Z_j|^2$$

is a minimum.

The amount of correlation between the transformed observational locations and the locations on the postulated map projection (calculated from the estimated latitudes and longitudes) is then given as the ratio of the regression variance to the total variance, as in ordinary correlation methods. The square of this complex correlation times 100 provides a measure of the percentage agreement between the two maps. This entire procedure is repeated for each postulated map projection. In the case of the Hereford map there were three comparisons; the square projection, the oblique orthographic projection, and the polynomial approximation. The map projection computations were all performed for a sphere of unit radius.

The coefficients of the unweighted polynomial approximation ( $R^2 = 0.9450$ ) to the Hereford map are given in Tables 1 and 2. It is cautioned that terms cannot be dropped from this equation without changing the coefficients. The latitude ( $\phi$ ) and longitude ( $\lambda$ ) values are to be entered in radian units. The computations were performed with the assistance of the University of Michigan computing center.