

Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map

By Debra Higgs Strickland

The Hereford World Map, created around 1300 and housed today in the treasury of Hereford Cathedral, is celebrated among extant medieval *mappae mundi* as the only fully preserved, monumental example (Fig. 1). Although it has been well studied and acknowledged as a major work of late medieval English art with profound Christian and historical significance, the relationships between its imagery, audience, and the political and ideological aspirations of Edward I (1239–1307), under whose reign it was produced, have yet to be interrogated. In this study, I examine these relationships in order to explore how an Edwardian reading of the map can advance our understanding of contemporary perception of the king's legacy in relation to the 1290 expulsion of the Jews and the formation of an English nation. I argue that the map's unique Exodus iconography in its wider cartographic context provided *ex post facto* justification for the expulsion as part of a larger contemporary discourse on Edward and a triumphant English nation ultimately grounded in the well-established medieval idea of the *gens Anglorum* as God's chosen people. My broader aims are, first, to expand the Anglo-Jewish dimension of the current debate on the formation of English national identity during the Edwardian period;¹ in particular, by presenting the map as additional evidence of the correlation during this period between the development of ideas about English nationhood and the rise of antisemitism.² Second, I aim to highlight the ex-

I am grateful to Katrin Kogman-Appel and Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby for inviting me to participate in an international workshop sponsored by the Israel Science Foundation on "Maps and Travel: Knowledge, Imagination, and Visual Culture" at Ben Gurion University in the Negev in June 2015, where I presented a preliminary version of this study. I thank Marcia Kupfer, Asa Mittman, and Diarmuid Scully for their support and encouragement; James North, for kindly providing me with excellent digital scans from the Hereford World Map and permission to publish them; and my anonymous reviewers at *Speculum* for their suggestions. Thanks also to the Jacqueline Brown fund of the Medieval Academy of America for support of production costs.

¹ For example, while Thorlac Turville-Petre uses 1290 as a starting date in his seminal work, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996), he does not really engage with the English expulsion in relation to it. On the more general scholarly reluctance to integrate the persecution of the Jews into historical investigations of this period, see Colin Richmond, "Englishness and Medieval Anglo-Jewry," in *The Jewish Heritage in English History: Englishness and Jewishness*, ed. Tony Kushner (Portland, 1992), 42–59.

² That the discourse of antisemitism first emerged during Edward I's reign as a political tool to be deployed in the interests of the English state is the conclusion drawn in Robert C. Stacey, "Anti-Semitism and the Medieval English State," in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Pallister (London, 2000), 163–77. On the negative effects of rising nationalism on the plight of medieval Jews, see also Salo W. Baron, "Medieval Nationalism and Jewish Serfdom," in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, ed. Meir Ben-Horin, Bernard D. Weinryb, and Solomon Zeitlin (Leiden, 1962), 17–48. On the links between ideas of English nationalism and the exclusion of Jews, see Sylvia Tomasz, "Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew," in

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018). Copyright 2018 by the Medieval Academy of America.
DOI: 10.1086/696540, 0038-7134/2018/9302-0004\$10.00.

ceptional suitability of medieval maps for presentations of an authoritative Christian worldview in which both the geographical and conceptual places of individual nations are precisely located for a wide public viewership.³

I begin with a general description of the map and previous interpretative approaches before undertaking a close reading of its detailed Exodus imagery. I then turn to the map's other iconographical features, which together facilitate a cognitive shift from the Old Testament Israelites to contemporary, living Jews. After briefly tracing Edward I's Jewish policies and expansionist activities prior to the 1290 expulsion, I locate the map's Edwardian references and align them with contemporary written commentaries on the king's reputation and reign. I then turn to England's medieval Jewish communities, with a focus on Hereford's Jews and the anti-Jewish agendas of the two bishops most relevant to the map's patronage and original display in Hereford Cathedral, Richard Swinfield (d. 1317) and Thomas de Cantilupe (c. 1220–82). In my conclusions, I bring the map into conversation with current scholarship on medieval cartography and English nationhood in order to highlight the ways in which the complex visual format of the *mappae mundi* can lend exceptional power and "truth value" to divine justifications for a unified English nation accomplished at the expense of England's Jews.

THE MAP

Originally painted in bright colors and gold on creamy white vellum, the present darkened and faded appearance of the map belies its original splendor (Fig. 1).⁴

The Postcolonial Middle Ages, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York, 2000), 243–60; and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Pilgrimages, Travel Writing, and the Medieval Exotic," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elainereharne and Greg Walker (Oxford, 2010), 611–28. For the earlier period, see the important article by Samantha Zacher, "The Chosen People: Spiritual Identities," in Treharne and Walker, *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature*, 457–77, at 475, in which she observes, "medieval writings about Jews did not merely present opportunities to comment on otherness. Rather, discussions of Jews served performatively to elucidate the self-understanding of early English nationhood and, inextricably linked with it, the religious community."

³On this question, see the seminal work by Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000–1534* (Ithaca, 2000).

⁴The map was drawn and painted on the hide of a single, good-sized calf and measures 5 ft. 2 in. × 4 ft. 4 in. (1.59 m × 1.29–1.34 m). See G. R. Crone, *The World Map by Richard of Haldingham in Hereford Cathedral, circa A.D. 1285* (London, 1954); P. D. A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map* (London, 1996); expanded and updated edition published as P. D. A. Harvey, *The Hereford World Map: Introduction* (London, 2010); Valerie I. J. Flint, "The Hereford Map: Its Author(s), Two Scenes and a Border," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 19–44; Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, UK 2001); Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Décrire le monde et situer les lieux au XIIe siècle: L'Expositio mappe mundi et la généalogie de la mappemonde de Hereford," in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 113 (2001): 343–409; Scott Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary*, *Terrarum Orbis* 1 (Turnhout, 2001) (hereafter cited as Westrem); Marcia Kupfer, "Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames," *Word & Image* 10 (2004): 262–87; Dan Terkla, "The Original Placement of the Hereford Mappa Mundi," *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 131–51; *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London, 2006); Thomas de Wesselow, "Locating the Hereford Mappa Mundi," *Imago Mundi* 65 (2013): 180–206; Diarmuid Scully, "Augustus, Rome, Britain, and Ireland on the Hereford *mappa mundi*: Imperium and Salvation," *Peregrinations* 4 (2013): 107–33; and Marcia Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the*

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)



Fig. 1. Hereford World Map. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

The circular space of the inhabited world, or *ecumene*, is filled with representations of land masses and waterways densely covered with Latin and Anglo-Norman inscriptions and a wide assortment of tiny, meticulously drawn and painted images. These include a large number of architectural icons marking the locations of cities, past and

Hereford Map: An English Mappa Mundi c. 1300 (New Haven, 2016). Unless otherwise noted, I have cited Westrem's expanded Latin transcriptions and English translations of the map's inscriptions, and I follow his numerical system for the locations of its images.

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

present, interspersed among remarkably detailed renderings of many of the world's peoples and animals, mostly imaginary. Outside the space of the ecumene, at the map's summit, is a representation of the Last Judgment, with the unusual addition of an upward-gazing Virgin Mary just below Christ as Judge, baring her breasts in a gesture of intercession. In the map's lower left corner, a large, enthroned figure—wearing a papal tiara, yet identified by inscription as Caesar Augustus—displays before three geographers a charter referring to Caesar's decree that the whole world must be enrolled for taxation purposes (Luke 2.1).⁵ Besides the Bible, among the most important of the map's classical and medieval sources are the fifth-century *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem* of Orosius,⁶ whose overall authority is acknowledged in a prominent inscription;⁷ the Alexander legends; and the bestiary and Monstrous Races traditions.⁸

Other features of the map hint at its origins and patronage. To the right of the papal figure of Augustus, and below his charter's great seal, is a versified, Anglo-Norman colophon that names Richard of Haldingham or of Lafford (*Richard de Haldingham o de Lafford*) as the map's creator and designer,⁹ but the precise identity of this Richard—who may or may not be connected to the prominent figure on horseback depicted in the map's lower right corner—remains uncertain.¹⁰ The especially detailed rendering of the city of Lincoln, combined with the colophon's references to the Lincolnshire villages of Haldingham and Sleaford, led to the early hypothesis that the map was made in Lincoln, but it is now believed to have been made in Hereford for original display in the cathedral, where it has remained almost continuously ever since.¹¹

⁵ The three figures, identified as Nicholdoxus, Theodocus, and Policitus, are mentioned again in connection with an earlier Roman mapping of the world in a larger inscription situated along the top left diagonal edge of the map, outside the space of the ecumene. For discussion, see Westrem, 3 (nos. 1–4) and 11 (no. 14); and Scully, “Augustus, Rome,” 116–17.

⁶ Paulus Orosius, *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, ed. Karl Zangemeister (Leipzig, 1889); Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. A. T. Fear (Liverpool, 2010).

⁷ The inscription appears just above the figure on horseback depicted in the map's lower right corner: *Descriptio orosii de ornesta mundi sicut interius ostenditur* (“Orosius's account, *De Ornesta mundi*, as is shown within”): Westrem, 7 (no. 10). Westrem, 6 (no. 10) also notes the alternative translation suggested by G. R. Crone (*World Map*, 2): “Orosius' description of the *ornesta* of the world, as is displayed within,” with *ornesta* interpreted as a reference to *mappae mundi*.

⁸ On the map's sources, see Westrem, xxvii–xxxvii; and Gautier Dalché, “Décrire le monde.” On its relationships to the Alexander, bestiary, and Monstrous Races traditions, see Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, 168–90 (Alexander), 98–139 (bestiary), 146–64 (Monstrous Races); and Naomi Kline, “Alexander Interpreted on the Hereford Mappamundi,” in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 167–83.

⁹ “Tuz ki cest estorie ont / Ou oyront ou lirront ou veront, / Prient a Jhesu en deyte / De Richard de Haldingham o de Lafford eyt pite, / Ki lat fet e compasse, / Ki joie en cel li seit done” (Let all who have this history—or who shall hear, or read, or see it—pray to Jesus in his divinity to have pity on Richard of Holdingham, or of Sleaford, who made it and laid it out, that joy in heaven may be granted to him): Westrem, 11 (no. 15).

¹⁰ Flint, “Hereford Map”; Westrem, xxiv; Nigel Morgan, “The Hereford Map: Art-Historical Aspects,” in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 119–35, at 122–23.

¹¹ See Westrem, xxiii–xxiv (for the earlier Lincoln argument); Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 17–22 (for the more recent Hereford argument); and M. B. Parkes, “The Hereford Map: The Handwriting and Copying of the Text,” in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 107–17, at 115. On the map's brief exhibition in London, see Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 38.

The question of the map's function has long been a topic of scholarly debate. Based on an eighteenth-century drawing and the survival of the map's original oak frame, it is thought to have formed the central panel of a triptych altarpiece, and it has also been argued that it served at certain times as a didactic preaching and teaching aid.¹² More recently, based on proposed relationships between the map and its cathedral context, it has been suggested that it played an important role in the experiences of pilgrims visiting the shrine of Saint Thomas de Cantilupe, who was not canonized until 1320 but whose cult was active by 1287.¹³ Other scholarly work has provided detailed analyses of selections of the map's texts and images, whose anomalies compared to other medieval world maps include the large golden inscriptions of *AFFRICA* and *EUROPA* mismatched to the land masses of Europe and Africa, respectively; the medallions on stalks positioned equidistant at the four cardinal directional points outside the space of the ecumene that together spell *MORS*,¹⁴ and the group of idol worshippers positioned midway along the winding Exodus path, which forms the focus of the present study (Fig. 2).¹⁵

The copious amount of biblical, Christological, and eschatological references on the map have led, quite understandably, to scholarly preoccupation with its pan-European, Christian meanings.¹⁶ Yet, even though it is a securely dated English work of art with a known and remarkably stable location in Hereford, the map has received little consideration in relation to contemporary English social and political concerns. The lack of scholarly attention to this fundamental question is what prompted me to consider the map's texts and images in relation to England, Edward I, and the 1290 expulsion, which at the time of the map's creation around 1300 was a recent English memory. I suggest that the unusual—and unusually prominent—artistic treatment of the Exodus imagery reinforced ideas about Jewish disobedience, culpability, just punishment, and witness that were actively promoted in Hereford by Bishop Richard Swinfield and his friend and predecessor, Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe. To avoid the implication that these anti-Jewish messages were in any way subversive or incompatible with the map's more universal theological and devotional meanings, I explain how the Exodus imagery was expanded and enriched by its cartographic context, which allowed viewers to situate the by now “virtual” Jews of England within the broader conceptual framework

¹² Martin Bailey, “The Mappa Mundi Triptych: The Full Story of the Hereford Cathedral Panel,” *Apollo* 137/376 (1993): 374–78; Kupfer, “Medieval World Maps,” 269–76; Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 23–33.

¹³ Terkla, “Original Placement”; De Wesselow, “Locating the Hereford Mappa Mundi.” On Thomas de Cantilupe and his sainthood, see below.

¹⁴ Marcia Kupfer sheds new analytical light on these and other theological, design, and display issues in *Art and Optics*. My thanks to the author for kindly allowing me to read several chapters of her important study prior to its publication.

¹⁵ Asa Mittman is preparing a detailed analysis of this imagery from a different perspective in *Cartographies of Exclusion: Mapping Jews in the Middle Ages* (in preparation). I thank the author for kindly allowing me to read his introduction prior to publication.

¹⁶ As cited above, n. 4. Such meanings have even been located among the map's geographical forms: see Massimo Rossi, “The Hereford Mappamundi: *Visibile Parlare*,” in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 185–89.



Fig. 2. Jews worshipping an idol. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

of Christian salvation history.¹⁷ I suggest that the designers of the Hereford Map claimed divine authority for English nationhood by encouraging viewers to understand the 1290 expulsion as part of a universal Christian worldview. Besides the Exodus imagery, essential to my reading are the eccentrically presented figures of Augustine of Hippo (Fig. 13) and Caesar Augustus (Fig. 14), which together reinforce the supersessionist theme, to be examined presently, that unites the map's anti-Jewish and triumphant English messages.

EXODUS

The Hereford Map's images of Moses receiving the twin Tablets of the Law (Exod. 31.18), the Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf (Exod. 32), and the path

¹⁷ On the concept of "virtual Jews," see Tomasch, "Postcolonial Chaucer"; and Miriamne Ara Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present*, The New Middle Ages (New York, 2011).

tracing their flight from Egypt are such rare, if not unique, inclusions on a medieval world map that it is reasonable to suppose that they served a special purpose.¹⁸ Situated in the map's upper right quadrant, just below the conjoined, red arms of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, a small group of kneeling figures is worshiping an idol (Fig. 2). Immediately above them, framed between the same waterways, is the figure of Moses, kneeling on Mount Sinai to receive the twin Tablets of the Law directly from the Hand of God. Winding past Moses and the idolaters is the Exodus path, which is the only demarcated itinerary in the entire space of the ecumene (Fig. 3). Originally an olive-brown color, it was further embellished with black cross-hatching, which still survives in places,¹⁹ and appropriate to the Hebrew biblical subjects it links together, it reads from right to left. From Ramesses, it cuts left across the parted Red Sea, drops down to loop three times through the Sinai desert, then rises and crosses the River Jordan to terminate at Jericho. Of the two Exodus scenes, the most prominent one, positioned directly above the path's triple loop, is that of the idolaters, for whom the bright red, downward flowing arms of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea form a visual *nota bene*.

What is striking about the Exodus imagery, as will become apparent in the detailed description below, is the way it operates on different levels. Ostensibly representative of key moments in the biblical story, the iconography in the main scenes and along the itinerary path has been significantly altered through the introduction

¹⁸ Paul Harvey observes, "It is quite possible that Richard of Holdingham himself introduced to the world map the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert and other events from the book of Exodus": P. D. A. Harvey, "The Holy Land on Medieval World Maps," in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 243–52, at 247. However, he also locates the (unillustrated) Exodus itinerary on the Sawley Map (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, CCC MS 66, p. 2), which is closely related to the Hereford map in structure and content. Peter Barber, "Medieval Maps of the World," in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 1–44, at 10, also locates the itinerary on this map, but to my eye, the path—if that is what the unhighlighted lines in question actually represent—is fragmented and therefore distinct from the Hereford Map's version. For an excellent reproduction of the Sawley Map, see P. D. A. Harvey, "The Sawley Map and Other World Maps in Twelfth-Century England," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 33–42, at 34. The Sawley Map, like the Hereford Map and the tiny Psalter Map (London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9), represents the land bridge across the Red Sea, but only the Hereford Map clearly marks the complete Exodus itinerary, and only the Hereford Map includes the narrative images of Moses and the idol worshippers. Asa Mittman, "Gates, Hats, and Naked Jews: Sorting out the Nubian Guards on the Ebstorf Map," *FKW // Zeitschrift für Geschlechterforschung und visuelle Kultur* 54 (2013): 88–101, at 89, hypothesizes that Exodus scenes similar to those on the Hereford Map were also depicted on the monumental Ebstorf Map (Ebstorf, c. 1300)—which was destroyed in 1943—in the area around the Red Sea that was lost to damage before a full-scale, hand-colored reproduction on parchment was made and displayed in Kloster Ebstorf. The omission of such detailed, narrative scenes from the miniature maps cannot be explained by size alone, because the Psalter Map, which measures less than 4 in. (10 cm) across, includes detailed renderings of numerous subjects, including the Caspian Gates, Paradise, and individual Monstrous Races. For broader context, see Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York, 2006), 27–59; P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London, 2012); and Marcia Kupfer, "Reflections in the Ebstorf Map: Cartography, Theology, and *dilectio speculationis*," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge, UK, 2013), 100–126.

¹⁹ Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 86, n. 1. Daniel Birkholz, "Mapping Medieval Utopia: Exercises in Restraint," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36 (2006): 585–618, at 600, observes that "the Hereford Map traces the Exodus with an extraordinarily heavy line."



Fig. 3. Exodus itinerary. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

of unusual features or attributes. Such departures from artistic convention allowed the imagery not only to represent sacred history, but also to address contemporary Christian concerns about Jews that found particular resonance among Christian viewers contemplating the map in a postexpulsion England.

At first take, the idolatry scene is a familiar medieval Christian iconographical representation of Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf (Fig. 2). But comparison with a more typical rendering of this subject painted by William de Brailes, proba-

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

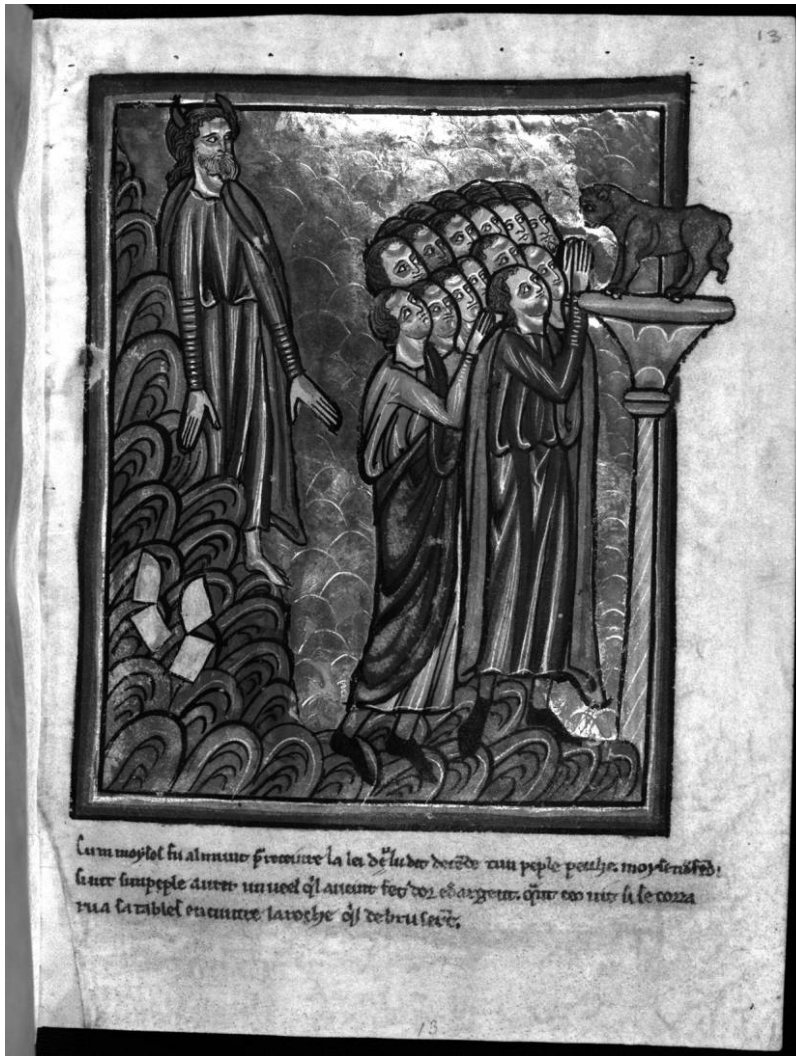


Fig. 4. Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf. Bible pictures by William de Brailes. Oxford, c. 1250. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 106, fol. 13r. (Photo: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.)

bly for a prefatory psalter series, throws into sharp relief several ways in which the Hereford image departs from convention (Fig. 4).²⁰ In the map's version, four robed men, only one of whom is fully visible, kneel in right profile before an ugly little idol, squatting and defecating on an altar. Between the men and the idol is a long, blank,

²⁰ Worship of the golden calf, Bible pictures by William de Brailes (Oxford, c. 1250), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 106, fol. 13r. A digitized facsimile of all twenty-four full-page miniatures and bibliography is available on the Stanford University Library SearchWorks catalog, <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/kj795pq2487>.

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

winding scroll (Fig. 2). In addition to the unusual form of the idol, to which I shall return, the scene exhibits several other verbal and visual anomalies.

The first is the bright red inscription positioned just above the idolaters' heads, which reads simply *Judei*. This is the medieval Latin word used to designate contemporary Jews rather than the ancient Israelites, who are consistently identified in Jerome's translation of the Bible and in other artistic contexts as "sons of Israel" (*filiorum Israhel*), "ancients of Israel" (*seniores Israhel*) or "Israelites" (*Israhelitae*).²¹ On the Hereford Map, in keeping with the language of Exodus itself,²² the Israelites are identified in similarly neutral terms elsewhere along the path: the inscription positioned beside the path's origin in Ramesses refers to the "people of Israel" (*populum Israel*), and the rubricated inscription beside the Red Sea refers to the "children of Israel" (*filiorum Israel*) (Fig. 3); it is only when the Israelites lapse into idolatry that they receive the pejorative *Judei* designation. By contrast, because the French legend that accompanies the psalter leaf identifies the idol worshippers simply as "people" (*peple*), it lacks a linguistic link to contemporary Jews.²³ The use of the term *Judei* on the Hereford Map is thus highly significant, because it instantly transforms a group of ancient, long-dead actors into living ones, and in so doing, transports their idolatrous performance from the biblical past to the fourteenth-century present. By presenting them in the act of disobeying God's commandments not to make graven

²¹ By the time of the New Testament, the term *Judaei* was invariably derogatory, as used in the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse, and subsequent medieval authors, such as Bede, reserved this term for contemporary Jews to differentiate them from the biblical Israelites, referred to as *populo Israehelitico* or *Israehelitica plebs*. See, for example, Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.30, 3.4, and 5.21, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 108, 224, 538. For discussion, see Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Basel, 1946; repr., Paris, 1973), 181–83; Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme* (Louvain, 2007), 38, 59, 85; Shimon Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, trans. Anthony Olcott (Chicago, 1986), 61; Graham Harvey, *The True Israel: Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden, 1996), 62–104; and Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38 (2007): 457–512. Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans," 471–74, identifies Tertullian as the pivotal figure in the early Christian establishment of pejorative connotations for Jews and Judaism in his *Adversus Judaeos* and *Apologeticum*, citing a key passage in the latter work of particular significance for the interpretation of the Hereford Map's legend: "[Totum Judaeis . . .] Dispersi, palabundi, et soli et caeli sui extorres vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine deo rege, quibus nec advenarum iure terram patriam saltim vestigio salutare conceditur" (All of the Jews . . . Scattered, wanderers, exiles from their own sun and sky, they roam the earth without a king, either human or divine; to them is granted not even the foreigner's right to set foot once in their ancestral land): Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 21.4–5, trans. Mason, "Jews, Judaeans," 473.

²² The Latin vulgate translation of Exodus uses the terms *filiorum Israhel* (children of Israel), e.g., Exod. 1.1; and *Hebraeorum* (Hebrews), e.g., Exod. 2.6.

²³ Of the c. 1240 De Brailles Hours (London, British Library, Add. MS 49999), also illuminated by William de Brailles, Carlee Bradbury has argued that the term *iudes* is reserved for the Passion cycle captions in order to collapse the distance between Christ's tormentors and the contemporary Jews of Oxford, where the manuscript was produced and consumed: Carlee A. Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining the Jew in Medieval England" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007), 125–48. On this important manuscript, see also Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1991); and the British Library Digitized Manuscripts website, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999.

things and not to worship strange gods (Exod. 20.3–4), I suggest that the visual transformation of the Israelite figures into contemporary Jews invested the image with the ability to provide proleptic, divine justification for their exile from England in 1290.²⁴

The neutral physiognomical rendering of the Israelite figures in the De Brailes image complements the generic term *peple* used to describe them (Fig. 4). Concomitantly, there are a number of stereotypical “Jewish” pictorial features in the Hereford image that intensify the pejorative *Judei* designation, such as the front figure’s profile positioning, enlarged eye, and hooked nose, all of which are typical of the negative Christian artistic stereotype (Fig. 2). However, his robe more closely resembles monastic than contemporary secular dress, or even the flowing biblical garb worn by the figures in the De Brailes image and in other places on the map.²⁵ In an especially significant departure from the artistic stereotype, none of the *Judei* wear the ubiquitous Jewish hats, but rather are bareheaded, with lowered hoods attached to their robes. But they do display other pejorative features, the most obvious being the fact that they are worshipping an idol, which is depicted neither as a calf nor golden.

This tiny, strange idol demands closer scrutiny. More simian and demonic than bovine, it is squatting upright on the altar, defecating, while glaring at the viewer.²⁶ Its bright red inscription reads *mahu[n]*.²⁷ As equally unexpected in this context as the *Judei* designation, like the latter, the use of this particular word points away from the Exodus episode to more contemporary concerns. This is because the usual Latin inscriptions that accompany images of the Golden Calf in medieval Christian art are *vitulus* (calf) or *simulacrum* (likeness); accordingly, the inscription that accompanies the De Brailes image refers to a *veel* (calf) made of silver and gold (Fig. 4).²⁸

²⁴ As Zacher, “Chosen People,” 459–62, has shown, the fundamental connection between idolatry and “chosenness” is grounded in scripture. In Deuteronomy 7, the idolatrous practices of surrounding nations are the stated reason why they are cut off from the blessings of Israel, and Israel’s elected status is later said to be contingent upon strict observance of God’s command (Deut. 26.16–19), which means that this status is in theory subject to annulment if these commandments are broken.

²⁵ These include the figures populating the Last Judgment scene at the map’s summit and the isolated figure of Augustine of Hippo, dressed as a contemporary bishop (see below and Fig. 13).

²⁶ That the idol is deliberately noncalflike is suggested by comparison to the map’s other, more naturalistically rendered bovines, namely the horned bull (*Buglossa*) situated in southern France and the calf depicted above the island of Lemnos in the Aegean Sea (*Egea*). See Westrem, 295 (no. 748), and 395 (no. 1001).

²⁷ I accept Scott Westrem’s expansion of the *mabū* abbreviation, 121 (no. 269), but another possibility is *mahu[met]* (Muhammad) (see below). For analysis of the image constructed around the latter translation, see Debra Higgs Strickland, “Meanings of Muhammad in Later Medieval Art,” in *The Image of the Prophet Between Ideal and Ideology: A Scholarly Investigation*, ed. Christiane J. Gruber and Avinoam Shalem (Berlin, 2014), 147–63, at 151–52. In an Exodus context, it is an interesting coincidence that *mabū* can also be expanded to *man hu*, the Hebrew phrase for “What is this?,” spoken by the children of Israel on receipt of the heavenly bread (*manna*) (Exod. 16.15). While this reference is inappropriate to the idolatry scene, the question “What is this?” could certainly be asked by viewers of the idol itself! I thank Mia Spiro for bringing the Hebrew translation to my attention.

²⁸ The caption reads, “Moysen d[e]se[n]d li vit sun peple aurer un veel q[u’i]l aveint fet d[’]or e d[’] argent” (Moses descended and saw his people adoring a calf, that they had made of gold and of silver): MS W. 106, fol. 13r.

Although the word *mahun* is used in many medieval literary contexts as a general designation for “idol,”²⁹ it is a word that ultimately points to medieval Christian denigration of Islam, because in many other Christian texts it refers more specifically to imaginary idols of Muhammad, or sometimes even to the Prophet himself.³⁰ But on the Hereford Map, the unusual choice of this term in an Exodus context raises the possibility that the inscription—which, like the nearby *Judei* one, is brightly rubricated—functioned as a negative intensifier by conflating Jews and “Saracens,” both of whom had essential roles to play in the Christian eschatological scenario unfolding across the map’s wider image field.³¹ Key points of reference include the Last Judgment at the summit, the prominent reference to death (*MORS*) that circumscribes the ecumene, and the castellated wall near the Caspian Sea, located in the map’s upper left (northeast) corner (Fig. 1). The latter enframes a verbal account of the cannibalistic atrocities of the “accursed sons of Cain” (*fili caim maledicti*) based on the Alexander legend of Gog and Magog, the imprisoned apocalyptic hoards slated to wage war on Christendom at the end of time (Apoc. 20.7–8),³² who were routinely identified with Cain—and thereby, Jews—on medieval maps.³³

Two more tiny but significant details in the idolatry scene allow it to communicate extra-Exodus meanings. A Eucharistic reference has been identified in the row of minuscule medallions inscribed with crosses that decorate the altar cloth, and thus an argument advanced that from a Christian perspective, the idol is defecating on the body of Christ, which in turn recalls contemporary host desecration accusations made by Christians against Jews (Fig. 2).³⁴ In 1300, the host desecration accusation was a relatively new one: the earliest on record is said to have taken place in 1290 in Paris,³⁵ which would make the Hereford Map reference one of its earliest pictorial

²⁹ Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, UK, 1989), 135, 142; John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), 126–27.

³⁰ John Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008), xii, 71–76. The idea of Muslim idolatry was also developed in pictorial works of art, as in an image rendered by Pierre Remiet in a fourteenth-century copy of Jean de Vignay’s *Miroir historial*, in which several turbaned “Saracens” are kneeling before a golden idol (inscribed “mahumet”) in a scene otherwise clearly modeled on golden calf iconography (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 52, fol. 97r). For a color reproduction and analysis of this image, see Strickland, “Meanings of Muhammad,” 151, 157.

³¹ I have discussed the eschatological roles of Jews and Muslims in medieval art and literature in Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), 211–29.

³² For the text, see Westrem, 69 (no. 101). See also Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, 184–87; and Alexander Runni Anderson, *Alexander’s Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA, 1932).

³³ See Scott Westrem, “Against Gog and Magog,” in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia, 1998), 54–75; Andrew Colin Gow, “Gog and Magog on Mappaemundi and Early Printed World Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 2 (1998): 61–88; Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Rochester, NY, 2009), 79–80; Mittman, “Gates, Hats,” 92–94; and Mittman, *Cartographies of Exclusion*.

³⁴ Mittman, “Gates, Hats,” 89–90.

³⁵ See Miri Rubin, “Desecration of the Host: The Birth of an Accusation,” in *Christianity and Judaism: Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and the 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History* 29 (Oxford, 1992), 169–85; and Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, 1999), 40–48. The Paris

witnesses. Whether or not the fact that there are *three* crossed medallions on the altar cloth strengthens this interpretation, at the very least, the crosses transform the altar into a Christian one, which adds mockery to the sins of disobedience and idolatry communicated by an image of Jews worshiping a defiant, disgusting demon. Reciprocally, the demonic form of the idol emphasizes the gravity of the idolaters' sin, and most importantly, completes the temporal relocation of the episode from the biblical past to the here and now. In effect, the juxtaposition of the *Judei* with a generic, defecating *mahun* transforms the Exodus episode into a scene of contemporary Jewish idol worship at the same time that it exploits the associations frequently made between Jews and demons across medieval Christian art and literature.³⁶

The large, blank scroll that separates the Jewish men from their idol is the only *banderole* in the inhabited world space, and the only blank one on the entire map.³⁷ In an influential early study of representations of Jews in medieval Christian art, blank scrolls held by Jewish figures were identified as a visual sign of their "false arguments" and supposed inability to comprehend their own scriptures.³⁸ The thirteenth-century French moralized Bibles are full of such images. In Bodley 270b, for example, a blank *banderole* is an essential signifier in a pair of roundels depicting Christ cursing Cain (above) and Christ cursing the Jews (below) (Fig. 5).³⁹ In the lower roundel, Jews slink away with a lamb, a money bag, and a blank *banderole* as a trio of shorthand, visual references to Christ killing, avarice (usury), and spiritual blindness, three characteristics perpetually ascribed to Jews by medieval Christian theologians.⁴⁰

A closer comparison for the idolaters' blank *banderole* may be found in a detail of the famous Genesis initial in the late twelfth-century Winchester Bible, in the scene that depicts Moses receiving the twin Tablets of the Law (Fig. 6).⁴¹ That this is a prophetic reference to the New Law is suggested by Moses's stippled halo and the fact that Christ, identifiable by his cruciform halo, rather than the Hand of God, is

story was recorded by an anonymous English Franciscan in the entry for the year 1290 in the late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century *Lanercost Chronicle*. See Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon de Lanercost, M.CC.I.–M.CCC.XLVI* (Edinburgh, 1839), 134–36; trans. Herbert Maxwell, *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272–1346* (Glasgow, 1931; repr. 2010), 72–74.

³⁶ The seminal study of this association is Joshua Trachtenberg's 1943 study, many times reprinted and republished, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, 2nd paperback ed. (Philadelphia, 1983), esp. 11–44. See also Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 122–30.

³⁷ In the Last Judgment scene at the map's summit, two fully inscribed *banderoles* are blown from trumpets by two angels, and a third, proclaiming the Virgin Mary's intercession, is held by another angel. Rendered in charter form in the map's lower left corner, the only other *banderole*, also fully inscribed, is held by the papal Caesar Augustus, as noted above. See Westrem 5 (no. 7), 7 (nos. 8, 9), and 9 (no. 13).

³⁸ Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le juif medieval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1966), 50–53.

³⁹ *Bible moralisée* (Paris, c. 1245), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b, fol. 8r. The images accompany the text and moralization for Gen. 4.10–11. On Bodley 270b, see John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, PA, 2000), 1:139–87, esp. 141–45.

⁴⁰ On these and other recurring motifs in these manuscripts, see Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the "Bible moralisée"* (Berkeley, 1999); esp. 62–66 (on scrolls).

⁴¹ Winchester Bible, vol. 1, fol. 5r (Winchester, c. 1150–60), Winchester Cathedral Library. See Walter Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles* (Oxford, 1981), 71–75, and color plate 3; and Claire Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (Toronto, 1993), 7, 34–35.

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

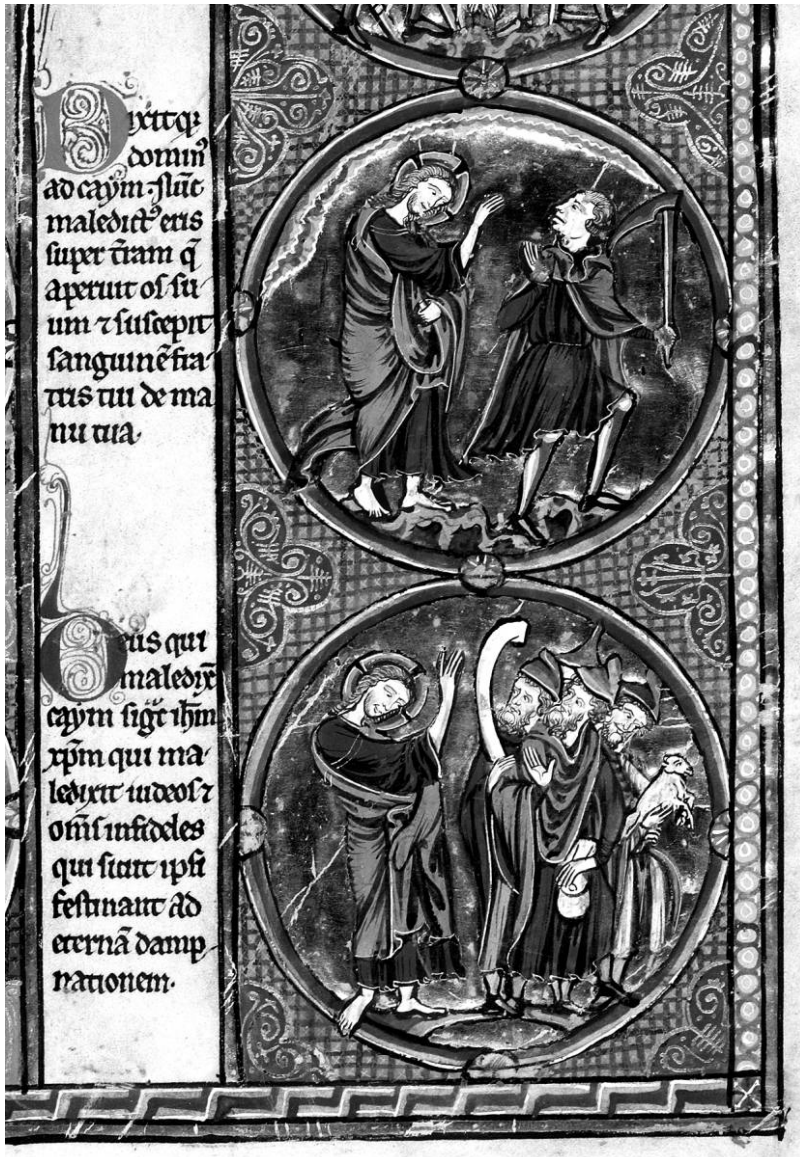


Fig. 5. Christ curses Cain; Christ curses the Jews. *Bible moralisée*. Paris, c. 1245. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b, fol. 8r, detail. (Photo: The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)

the giver of the stone tablets. Although the long, blank scroll that Christ holds in his left hand has been identified iconographically as the scroll of the covenants (Exod. 24),⁴² in the supercessionist context suggested by the presence of Christ, it also forecasts the Old Law's redundancy. On the map, the idolaters' blank scroll,

⁴² Donovan, *Winchester Bible*, 35.



Fig. 6. Moses receiving the Law. Winchester Bible. Winchester, c. 1150–70. Winchester Cathedral Library, vol. 1, fol. 5r, detail. (Photo: © The Dean and Chapter of Winchester 2016. Reproduced by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.)

as a sign of contemporary, Jewish “false doctrine,” operates as a bold, visual antithesis to the Tablets of the Law depicted in the Moses scene directly above, whose full, reddish coloring is a surrogate for the supernatural text inscribed by the finger of God (Fig. 7). From an intervisual perspective, then, the two Exodus images viewed in sequence track the Old Law from receipt (as stone tablets) to redundancy (as a blank scroll), thereby transforming a story about God’s deliverance of his people from Egypt into one of God’s rejection of that people.

Even a figure as emphatically positive as Moses can be read as part of this negative interpretative framework. Although the map’s Moses scene is in a poor state of preservation, the figure’s prominent, pale yellow horns are still visible (Fig. 8). The ubiq-
Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)



Fig. 7. Idolaters and Moses surrounded by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

uitous horned Moses also appears in the idolatry scene and several other Exodus scenes in the William de Brailes prefatory series (Fig. 4).⁴³ Because Moses is the typological forerunner of Christ in medieval Christian exegesis, modern art historians have interpreted his ubiquitous horns as an ideologically neutral mistranslation by Saint Jerome of the Hebrew word *qâran* into the Latin *cornuta* (horned), which allows the figure to retain his positive connotations.⁴⁴ However, it has been emphasized that Jerome’s translation was not so much a mistake as a choice that must be assessed in relation to his other writings, which collectively suggest that he was no friend of the Jews.⁴⁵ Either way, we may confidently assume that among the Hereford Map’s medieval viewers were many who did not know about Jerome’s fourth-century “mistake,” but who almost certainly had seen images of horned de-

⁴³ MS W. 106, fols. 5r, 6r, 7r, 8r, 9r, 12r.

⁴⁴ For full discussion, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley, 1970).

⁴⁵ Stephen Bertman, “The Antisemitic Origin of Michelangelo’s Horned Moses,” *Shofar* 27 (2009): 95–106. I thank the author for providing me with a copy of his study.

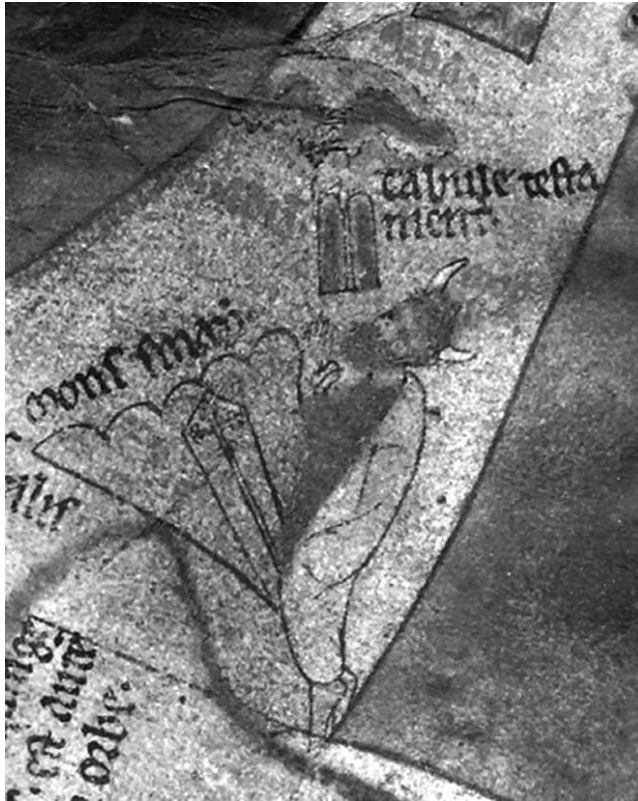


Fig. 8. Moses receiving the twin Tablets of the Law. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

mons in sculpture, stained glass, and wall painting in Hereford Cathedral and elsewhere and perhaps also had heard sermon exempla about the supposed relationships between Jews and demons.⁴⁶ Such exposure would have provided a negative cognitive framework in which to situate a horned Moses, especially one depicted directly above—and facing—a group of Jewish idolaters (Fig. 7). On the Hereford Map, a negative reading of Moses is further intensified by color: the rubricated inscription (*Moyses*), the reddish color of the tablets, and the figure's yellow horns surrounded by red waterways together generate the red-and-yellow color semiotics familiar from pejorative Christian renderings of Jews in many other medieval artistic contexts.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ For representative examples, see Joan Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany, 1997), 98–99, 215–17, 252 n. 46.

⁴⁷ On the use of the colors red and yellow in pictorial representations of Jews, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1993), 1:33–56. Of course, there are many other rubricated legends on the map, but in this case, I am suggesting that the red legend takes on additional meaning in a complementary chromatic context.

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

A positive reading of the map's Moses scene is further compromised by the discordant presence of a coffin decorated with a large cross (Fig. 8). The coffin is positioned at the base of Mount Sinai (*mons sinay*), rendered as a triangular form with delicate red overpainting. In an Exodus context, the coffin might refer to Moses's fulfillment of Joseph's commandment to the Israelites to carry his bones to the Promised Land (Exod. 13.19).⁴⁸ From a contemporary perspective, it is perhaps a reference to the reliquary, venerated by medieval pilgrims to Mount Sinai, that was believed to contain the body of Saint Catherine, ferried to Sinai by angels from the site of her martyrdom in Alexandria.⁴⁹ However, the coffin's physical contact with the body of Moses and the fact that similar coffins are represented among the resurrected souls in the Judgment scene at the map's summit suggest that its signifying power is greater still. A coffin is a receptacle for human remains, but it is also an emblem of death, both physical and metaphorical. For medieval Christian viewers, a cross-inscribed coffin operated as an attribute of Moses in an Exodus context as a proleptic sign of the death of the Old Law and its replacement by the New, and the rejection by God of his once-chosen people.⁵⁰ From a supercessionist perspective, the coffin also recalls Jesus's comparison of the Jews to whitewashed tombs (Matt. 23.27).⁵¹ His identification of the Jews with "children of Hell" (Matt. 23.15) also finds resonance on the map in the positioning of the horned Moses and the *Judei* on the same diagonal axis as the dragons (*dracones*) patrolling the hell mouth in the eschatological scenario arrayed just outside the space of the ecumene (Fig. 9). Once again, a pivotal moment in the Exodus story of God's love for the children of Israel has been visually altered to forecast his rejection of them.

The map's designers pursued the themes of God's rejection of the Jews and the redundancy of Judaism by embellishing the Exodus pathway that connects the idolatry and Moses scenes with additional figural imagery that draws attention to or intensifies their anti-Jewish meanings.⁵² This can be observed by following the entire path, which is organized chronologically and spatially from right to left (Fig. 10). Positioned at its starting point in Ramesses is an architectural icon flanked on the left by a large, staring yale (*eale*), an imaginary, horselike creature familiar from medieval bestiaries; and on the right by a mandrake (*mandragora*), the anthropomorphized plant known from both bestiaries and herbals.⁵³ Calling attention to the

⁴⁸ I owe this observation to Katrin Kogman-Appel (personal communication, 2 June 2015).

⁴⁹ Westrem 120 (no. 267). See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), 2:339.

⁵⁰ For anthropological analysis of collective perceptions of gaining and losing God's favor over time, see Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford, 2003), esp. 54–65 (on the Mosaic covenant) and 117–18 (on Exodus rhetoric).

⁵¹ "Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you are like to whitened sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful, but within are full of dead men's bones, and of all filthiness" (Matt. 23.27). This and all subsequent biblical quotations are taken from the Douay-Rheims edition of the Vulgate. See also E. A. Russell, "The Image of the Jew in Matthew's Gospel," in *Studia Evangelica VII: Papers Presented at the Fifth International Congress of Biblical Studies Held at Oxford, 1973*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Berlin, 1982), 427–42.

⁵² The itinerary is described in Exod. 12.37–41; 13.20–22; 15.23–27; 17.8–16; Num. 13.1–3, 17–33; 20.14–21; 33.5, 8, 50–56; Deut. 2.14, 24–37; 34.1–4.

⁵³ The c. 1200 Aberdeen Bestiary (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 24) includes a representative yale entry, reproduced with translation and commentary on the Aberdeen Bestiary Project



Fig. 9. Idolaters, Moses, dragons, and hell mouth. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

place from where the Israelites began their flight out of Egypt (*terra egipta*),⁵⁴ the yale's moveable horns prefigure the horns of Moses and direct the viewer to the first leg of the journey, while from below, the mandrake's leaves nearly touch the Ramesses icon. From here, the path leads upward and across the land bridge over

website, <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/comment/16v.hti>. Mandrakes are described in bestiaries and are illustrated in herbals: see, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1462, fol. 45r (England, late twelfth century), reproduced on the Bodleian Library's LUNA website, <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/ashmole/1462.htm>.

⁵⁴ The legend above the Ramesses icon reads, "Hic congregatus populus Israel in Ramesse; exiit de Egipto altera die post Pasca" (Here the people of Israel gathered together in Qantir (?) [and] went out of Egypt on the day following the day after Passover): Westrem, 129 (no. 287).

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)



Fig. 10. Exodus itinerary and environs. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

the parted Red Sea, past Moses and Mount Sinai, and drops down sharply to the idolaters, who are overlooked from the right by a large phoenix (*phoenix*).

Famous for rising fully intact from flames, the phoenix also carried decidedly negative Christian meaning. In the bestiaries, the phoenix's self-immolation and rebirth after three days is an allegory for the resurrection of Christ, with reference to Christ's statement in the Gospel of John, "I have the power to lay down my life and take it up again" (John 10.18),⁵⁵ but the bestiarists also report that Christ's words so angered the Jews that they wanted to stone him, thus introducing an anti-

⁵⁵ Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge, UK, 1995), 72–83; Valerie Jones, "The Phoenix and the Resurrection," in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig (New York, 1999), 99–115.

Jewish subplot.⁵⁶ As a symbol of the resurrected Christ, the phoenix's closest cognate images on the map are the figures of the crucified Christ, positioned nearly dead center, just above Jerusalem; and the resurrected Christ seated at its summit. However, staring directly at the *Judei* to invite recollection of its anti-Jewish associations, its presence on the Exodus path reinforces the supercessionist message established by the idolatry and Moses scenes positioned directly above it.

Heading downward from the phoenix, the path itself performs the Exodus narrative by dropping down to make three successive, dizzying loops that lead nowhere, in a cartographic expression of wandering (Fig. 10). The loops have a temporal dimension of forty years,⁵⁷ corresponding to the reported length of time the exiled Israelites roamed the wilderness, surviving on manna, until they reached the borders of the land of Canaan (Exod. 16.35). From the third loop, the path turns sharply upward and then forks, offering the traveler the option of closely passing by—or even joining—the Jewish idolaters, or of keeping a safe distance. After the fork converges, the path crosses a tributary to drop down past the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, rendered as two inverted, crenellated architectural icons surrounded by the circular blue space of the Dead Sea (*mare mortuum*).

Continuing downward, the next figure encountered along the path is a woman standing beside Mount Abarim (*mons albarim*), the mountain from which Moses was commanded by God to view the Promised Land from a distance (Num. 27.12).⁵⁸ This woman, naked and downcast, is identified by an inscription as Lot's wife, turned into a rock of salt (*uxor loth mutata in petra salis*), but her intact physicality and animated demeanor suggest the moment that precipitated that terrible transformation. Covering her shame with her hands, she turns her head to gaze back mournfully at the wicked city of Sodom. Like the idolaters situated at an earlier point on the itinerary, she is depicted in an act of disobedience, in this case, of God's commandment, communicated via two angels, to flee the city, but not to look back (Gen. 19.17–26).⁵⁹

Directly across the path from Lot's wife is a creature identified as a shape-changing marsok (*marsok bestia transmutata*) (Fig. 10).⁶⁰ Unknown to the bestiaries, the marsok has four different types of clearly rendered feet—cloven, webbed, paw, and human. For medieval audiences, a more familiar shape changer was the bestiary hyena, whose habits of feeding on corpses and changing its sex from male to female and back again defined it as unclean, and thus as a figure of the Jews. According to the

⁵⁶ The phoenix entry from the mid-thirteenth-century Northumberland Bestiary (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 100, fols. 41v–42) is representative: “Est aliud uolatile quod dicitur phoenix. . . . Huius figuram gerit Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui dicit in euangelio suo: ‘Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et iterum sumendi eam’. Propter haec uerba irati sunt Iudaei, et uolebant eum lapidare,” ed. and trans. Cynthia White, *From the Ark to the Pulpit: An Edition and Translation of the “Transitional” Northumberland Bestiary (13th Century)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2009), 194–95. On this and other anti-Jewish aspects of the bestiaries, see Debra Higgs Strickland, “The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean in Medieval English Bestiaries,” in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden, 2007), 203–32.

⁵⁷ As observed by Birkholz, “Mapping Medieval Utopia,” 600.

⁵⁸ Westrem, 116 (no. 255).

⁵⁹ On medieval representations of this story, see Madeline Caviness, “Good Girls Don't Look: Lot's Wife and Daughters,” in Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, 2001), 45–81.

⁶⁰ Westrem, 115 (no. 249).

bestiarists, “The children of Israel are like this beast; at first they served the living God but later fell prey to riches and easy living and worshipped idols. Hence the prophets likened the Jewish people to an unclean beast, saying ‘Mine heritage is become as the hyena’s lair’” (Jer. 12.8).⁶¹ Because the hyena moralization chimes with the map’s image of the idolatrous *Judei*, and because hyenas are pictorially rendered in the bestiaries and other artistic contexts as similarly fantastic quadrupeds (albeit with unremarkable paws),⁶² the marsok’s proximity to the Exodus path and direct alignment with the bestiary phoenix might have encouraged misrecognition of the unfamiliar marsok as the more familiar hyena to intensify the anti-Jewish climate of the Exodus itinerary. The hyena’s appearance on a map would not have been unexpected, as the hyena (*hiena*) was depicted on other English *mappae mundi*, such as the thirteenth-century Duchy of Cornwall fragment.⁶³

An Exodus context for the hyena was not unknown, either. The image of the hyena was paired with a split image of a horned Moses and the Israelites before the burning bush and Jews worshipping the golden calf in a late thirteenth-century English copy of Guillaume le Clerc’s versified *Bestiaire*, whose texts and commentary illustrations are distinctly anti-Jewish (Figs. 11, 12). Like the Hereford Map’s *Judei*, the Israelites in the top register of the commentary image, as well as the idolaters in the lower image, have been transformed into contemporary Jews by their physiognomy and costume, in this case, the stereotypical Jewish hats. As well, a prominent supercessionist theme is introduced by the cruciform-haloed head of Christ in the upper register scene of the burning bush.⁶⁴

It has been suggested that the marsok’s positioning on the Hereford Map between Lot’s wife and the Tower of Babel (*turris babel*) on the other side of the River Euphrates (*eufrates fluvius*) complements the tower’s negative theological connotations

⁶¹ “Huic assimilantur filii Israel, qui ab inicio Deo uiuo seruierunt. Postea diuitiis [et] luxurie dediti idola coluerunt. Ideo [p]rop[h]et[is] comp[ar]auit synagogam in mundo animali, dicens, ‘Facta est michi hereditas mea q[uasi] spelunca yene’”: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, fol. 15r; trans. Richard Barber, *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 764* (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), 46–47. For a facsimile of this bestiary, which was probably produced c. 1250 in Salisbury, see Christopher de Hamel, *A Book of Beasts: A Facsimile of Ms. Bodley 764* (Oxford, 2008). The illustrated folios are also accessible on the Bodleian Library’s LUNA website, <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/browseByCategory>. On the anti-Jewish dimensions of bestiary hyena texts and images, see Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 145–55; and Strickland, “Jews, Leviticus,” 209–11. See also Anthony Bale, “Fictions of Judaism in England before 1290,” in *Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge, UK, 2003), 129–44, at 141–42; and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Inventing with Animals in the Middle Ages,” in *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser (Notre Dame, 2008), 39–62, at 46–50.

⁶² For comparison, see the reproductions of twelve contemporary English bestiary hyena images in Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, figures 148–59.

⁶³ On this map, see below.

⁶⁴ Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 14969, fols. 29v (commentary illustration), 30r (hyena). On this manuscript, see Xenia Muratova, “Les miniatures du manuscrit fr. 14969 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Le *Bestiaire* du Guillaume le Clerc) et la tradition iconographique franciscaine,” *Marche romane* 28 (1978): 141–48. On the hyena commentary image, see Suzanne Lewis, “*Tractatus aduersus Iudaeos* in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse,” *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 543–66, at 349; Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 165–66; and Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 151.

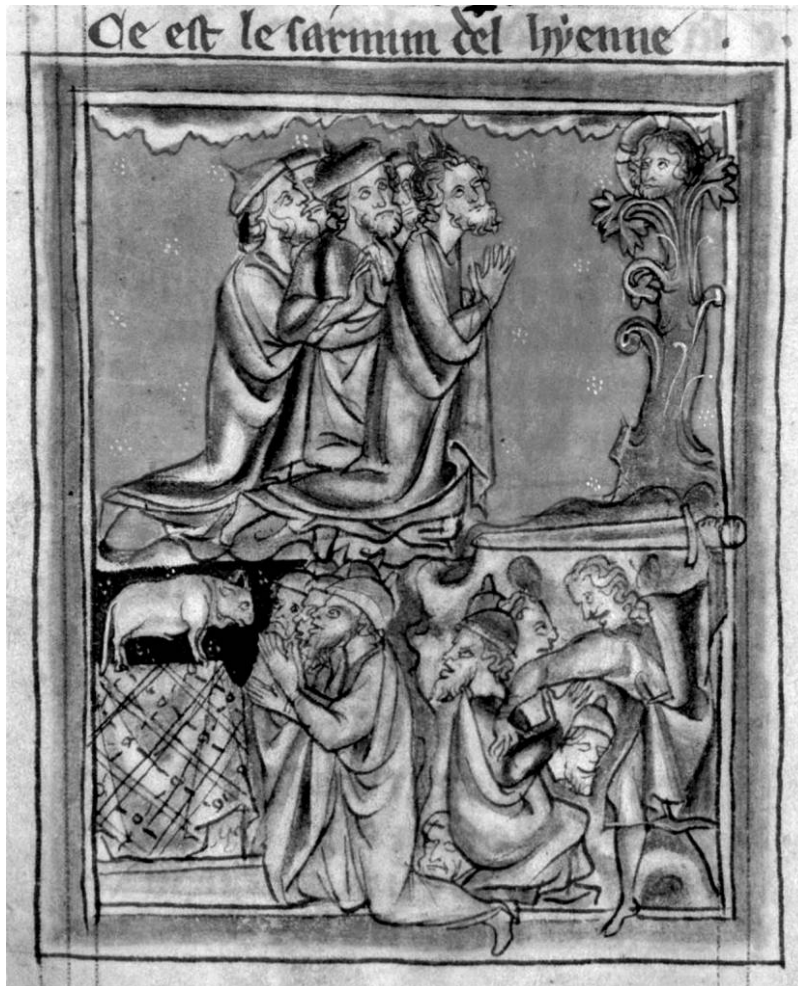


Fig. 11. Moses and Jews before the burning bush; Jews worshipping the golden calf. Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 14969, fol. 29v, detail, c. 1265–70. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

(Fig. 10).⁶⁵ This suggests that an additional function of the marsok is to connect the Exodus episode to the infamous structure interpreted by medieval exegetes as a monument not only to linguistic confusion but also to the deadly sin of pride, which inspired Nimrod to build it (Gen. 11.1–9).⁶⁶ The tower's lengthy inscription, based

⁶⁵ Margriet Hoogvliet, "Animals in Context: Beasts on the Hereford Map and Medieval Natural History," in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 153–65, at 159–60.

⁶⁶ For a detailed and influential medieval account of the episode, see Augustine, *City of God*, 16.3–5. See also Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK, 2003), 127–48. Murdoch notes that late medieval English vernacular sources consistently identify Nimrod's sins as pride (for which he is sometimes compared to Lucifer) and vainglory, citing among other examples the fourteenth-century *Cursor mundi*, especially lines 2191–2303, whose *Speculum* 93/2 (April 2018)



Fig. 12. Hyena violating a sepulchre. Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 14969, fol. 30, detail, c. 1265–70. (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

on Orosius, describes its construction.⁶⁷ As the largest architectural icon on the entire map, with the aid of the marsok, the Tower of Babel disrupts the Exodus itinerary by rising towards the map's much longer, conceptual path to salvation charted along the main vertical axis, which begins with the Transgression of Adam and Eve depicted inside the circular space of Paradise at the top of the ecumene; continues back down past the Tower to the crucified Christ near the map's center, and goes all the way back up again, to the theater of Judgment at the map's summit (Fig. 1).⁶⁸

The Exodus path traveler who resists the Tower of Babel detour crosses the River Jordan (*Iordan fluius*) to arrive at the twin-towered architectural icon that marks the city of Jericho, which the accompanying inscription identifies as the endpoint of the journey of the people of Israel (*populus Israel*).⁶⁹ From here, it is just a short, unmarked journey downward to the crucified Christ, whose nailed-up left arm points back up to the Exodus path to the Jewish idolaters representing both the an-

reference in line 2276 to a “stori” might be to Orosius’s *Historiarum adversum paganos* (as in note 6). See Richard Morris, ed., *Cursus mundi (The Cursus o the world): A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century*, Early English Text Society, o. s. 57, 99, 101 (London, 1874–93), vol. 1.

⁶⁷ Westrem, 86–87 (no. 18). See Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos* 2.6.8–10; trans. Fear, *Seven Books against the Pagans*, 84.

⁶⁸ I have interpreted the Tower of Babel’s large size and central alignment on the Hereford Map as an emblem of the world’s diversity in Debra Higgs Strickland, “The Exotic in the Late Middle Ages: New Critical Approaches,” *Literature Compass* 4 (2007): 1–15, at 1. On the map’s representation of Paradise and the expulsion of Adam and Eve, see Westrem, 34–37 (nos. 64–71).

⁶⁹ The inscription reads, “vsque ad ciuitatem ierico ducebat moyses populus Israel” (as far as the city of Jericho Moses led the people of Israel). See Westrem, 165 (no. 381).

cestors and descendants of his crucifiers, in line with the contemporary Christian conception of Jews as “Christ killers.”⁷⁰

The Hereford Map’s only marked itinerary, then, reports the historical Exodus, but glossed by its proximate imagery,⁷¹ it also makes available to viewers a more complex and detailed lesson about the rejected status and punishment of Jews, first for disobeying God’s commandments and then for crucifying him. In so doing, it points beyond the biblical Exodus to the place of the Jews in Christian salvation history, which, as the visual transformation of the Israelites into contemporary Jews makes clear, necessarily involves their exile in the here and now.

For the map’s more learned viewers, the messages of the Moses, the idolatrous *Judei*, and the Exodus path’s intensifiers were further glossed by other pictorial features, especially the figure of Saint Augustine (*sancti augustini*), identified by his inscription as Bishop of Hippo (Fig. 13).⁷² Positioned far below the Exodus path in the Roman province of Numidia, and wearing a contemporary bishop’s miter, Augustine stands in left profile, raising his hand in a gesture of blessing. As the only post-biblical, historically verifiable figure in the entire space of the ecumene, he is visually emphasized by his gravity-defying, horizontal orientation inside his own Gothic architectural enclosure, with a bright red interior, that marks the city of Hippo (*Ippone*).⁷³ That one of Augustine’s disciples was Paulus Orosius, whose *Historiarum adversus paganos* was one of the Hereford Map’s designers’ main sources, could alone explain the inclusion on the map of this particular church father, who does not appear on any other extant medieval *mappae mundi*. But as a foundational contributor to the *adversus Judaeos* literature, the figure of Augustine can also be read against the Jews.⁷⁴ Although Augustine and the *Judei* are not in close enough proximity to compel viewers to read them together, color and cartographic directional strategies create strong visual connections. The bright red interior of Augustine’s aedicule links it to the Red Sea, on whose vertical axis it is aligned; and its odd, ninety-degree rotation forces the figure inside to gaze upward in the direction of the idolaters, which suggests that it was positioned at this odd angle for that specific purpose (Fig. 1).

⁷⁰ On the origins and development of this trope, see Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford, 2007).

⁷¹ Marcia Kupfer has called attention to the juxtaposition, parallelism, and opposition of signs in the generation of meaning on medieval maps: see Kupfer, “The Noachide Dispersion in English *mappae mundi*, c. 960–c. 1130,” *Peregrinations* 4 (2013): 81–106, at 106; and Asa Mittman has identified proximity as “one of the main operative principles of cartography”: see Mittman, “Gates, Hats,” 93.

⁷² The inscription reads, “Ippone regnum et ciuitas sancti augustini episcopi” (Hippo, the kingdom and city of Saint Augustine, the bishop). See Westrem, 359 (no. 918).

⁷³ The only other figure enclosed inside an architectural structure is positioned between Babylon and the Persian Gulf. Depicted as a crowned, bearded bust, he is thought to represent Abraham based on the inscription’s reference to his home at Ur in Chaldea (“hur habet et patria et caldea”). See Westrem, 88–89 (no. 183).

⁷⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *Adversus Judaeos*, trans. Charles T. Willcox, “In Answer to the Jews,” in *Saint Augustine, Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects*, Fathers of the Church 27 (Washington, DC, 1965), 391–416. See also Bernhard Blumenkranz, “Augustin et les juifs, Augustin et le judaïsme,” *Recherches augustiniennes* 1 (1958): 225–41; Jeremy Cohen, “The Jews as Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, from St. Augustine to the Friars,” *Traditio* 39 (1983): 1–27; and A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird’s-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge, UK, 1935; repr. 2012).

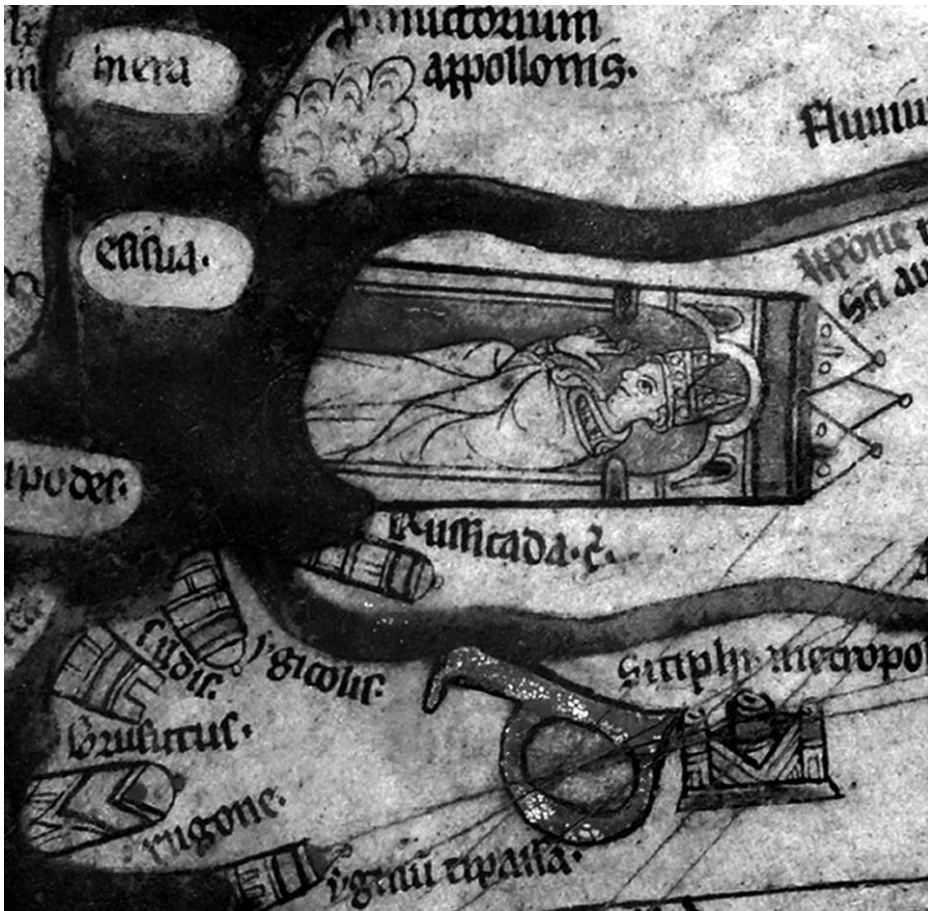


Fig. 13. Augustine of Hippo. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

Learned Christian viewers who connected Augustine to the disobedient *Judei* would have already internalized the former's so-called doctrine of Jewish witness, which was the received Christian explanation for why God allowed the Jews to continue to exist even though their ancestors had committed deicide. Augustine asserted in the *City of God* that the perpetual, postcrucifixion function of the Jews is to carry their Law—even if they do not understand it themselves—all over the world, as witnesses to its fulfillment by Christ, which also justifies their diaspora.

Yet the Jews who slew [Christ] and chose not to believe in him . . . , having been vanquished rather pathetically by the Romans, completely deprived of their kingdom (where foreigners were already ruling over them), and scattered throughout the world (so that they are not lacking anywhere), are testimony for us through their own scriptures that we have not contrived the prophecies concerning Christ. . . . Hence, when they do not believe our scriptures, their own, which they read blindly, are thus fulfilled in them. . . .

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

For we realize that on account of this testimony, which they unwillingly provide for us by having and preserving these books, they are scattered among the nations, wherever the church of Christ extends itself.⁷⁵

With the space of the whole world as its stage, the Hereford Map's Exodus imagery animates Augustine's doctrine, first, with its emphasis on Moses's reception of the Old Law; second, with the idolatry scene's blank banderole that emblemizes "Jewish blindness"; and most of all, with the long, winding path of exile and witness, which terminates—and begins—with the crucified Christ. Augustine's theme of Jewish displacement also echoes, albeit for a radically different reason, the story of exile told in the first part of the Book of Exodus (Exod. 1–24), which repeatedly highlights the status of the Israelites as "strangers" in foreign lands.⁷⁶

Besides the *Judei*, the Hereford Map's most striking temporal transfiguration is positioned entirely outside the space of the ecumene in the map's lower left corner. An enthroned Caesar Augustus, as previously mentioned, is depicted wearing a papal tiara, a costume feature at odds with his Roman imperial identity, embedded in the quoted Gospels decree to enroll the whole world, which doubles in this context as a reference to the infancy story and to the map itself (Fig. 14).⁷⁷ Congruent with Caesar's visual transformation from Roman emperor to Christian pope is the rendering of his decree in the form of a contemporary charter, complete with a tongue and pointed oval, undecorated seal inscribed in Latin.⁷⁸ It has been noted that a thirteenth-century seal of this shape normally has ecclesiastical associations,⁷⁹ but in this case, its inscription identifies it as imperial,⁸⁰ and the insertion at the beginning of the sign of the cross followed by the word *sigillum* represents an earlier English tradition.⁸¹ That Augustus is situated just below Ireland and England has led to a persuasive interpretation of the map's Christianized depiction of a Roman emperor as a bold allusion to the supercession of imperial Rome by papal Rome,

⁷⁵ Augustine, *City of God* 18.46, trans. Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999), 32; for discussion, see 23–65, esp. 32–37. At least one copy of the *City of God* (Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS P.IX.9, Hereford, twelfth century) was in the Hereford Cathedral Library at the time the map was made: see R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, UK, 1993), 124.

⁷⁶ For a succinct outline of Exodus and its themes, see Everett Fox, trans., *The Five Books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, The Schocken Bible 1 (New York, 1995), 241–47.

⁷⁷ The inscription reads, "Lucas in evngelio Exiit edictum ab augusto cesare ut describeretur huniversus orbis" (Luke in his gospel: 'There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be described'). See Westrem, 9 (no. 12).

⁷⁸ The charter inscription reads, "Ite in orbem vniuersum et de omni eius continencia referte ad senatum et ad istam confirmandam Huic scripto sigillum meum apposui" (Go into all the world and make a report to the Senate on all its continents: and to confirm this [order] I have affixed my seal to this document). See Westrem, 9 (no. 13).

⁷⁹ Flint, "Hereford Map," 22.

⁸⁰ The inscription on the seal reads, "+ Sigillum Augusti Cesaris imparatoris" (the seal of the emperor, Augustus Caesar). See Westrem, 8–9 (no. 13). In England, medieval royal seals were usually round, ecclesiastical ones were usually pointed ovals, and both shapes were used for nonheraldic, personal seals. See P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuinness, *Guide to Medieval British Seals* (London, 1996).

⁸¹ See P. D. A. Harvey, "This is a Seal," in *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. Phillipp R. Schofield (Oxford, 2015), 1–5.

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

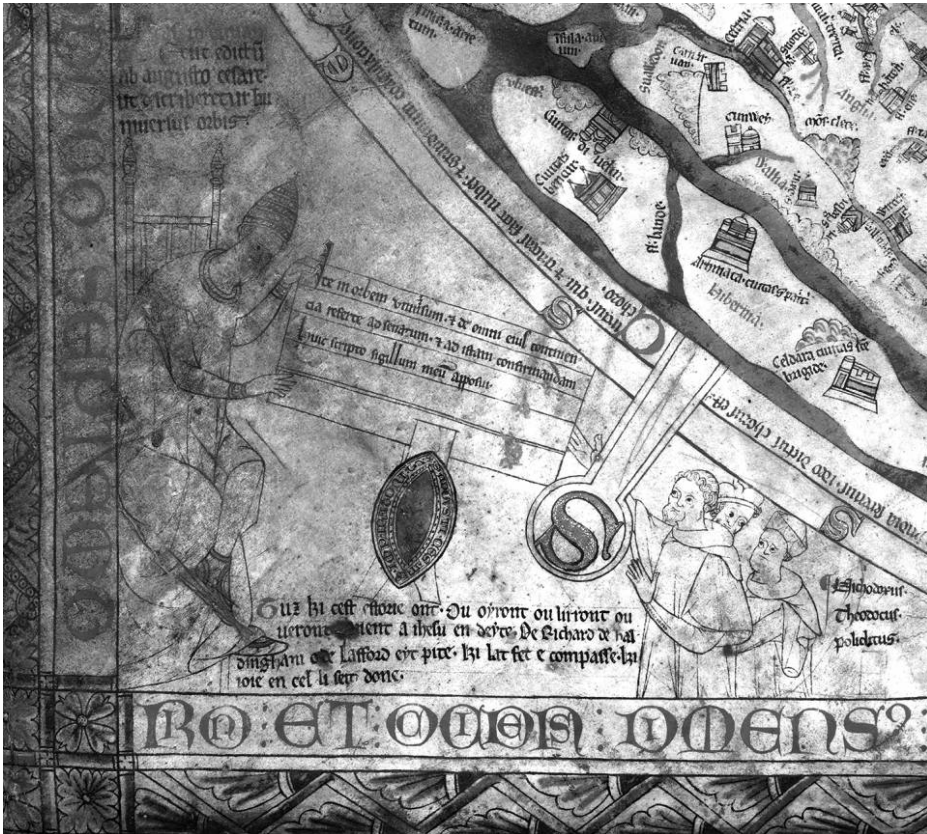


Fig. 14. Caesar Augustus. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

with reference to England and Ireland as the furthest outposts of the Christian mission.⁸² An additional parallel might be drawn between the supersession of imperial Rome by papal Rome, and the supersession of the Old Law by the New performed along the Exodus itinerary and at other points on the map. I will return to the figure of Caesar Augustus to explore how he helps to link supercessionist theology to the 1290 expulsion of the English Jews, building on the suggestion that his proximity to England “may imply papal support for the English crown’s imperial ambitions in the archipelago.”⁸³

With the resurrected Christ at the map’s summit and the pope in its lower left corner, it is possible to read everything in between in relation to the triumph of Christianity, and to the peoples on whose conversion this is dependent, which include, in addition to the Jews, the Monstrous Races assembled between the Nile River (*Nilus fluuius*) and the southern perimeter of the ecumene as well as along

⁸² Scully, “Augustus, Rome.”

⁸³ Scully, “Augustus, Rome,” 115.

its eastern and far north peripheries (Fig. 1).⁸⁴ If viewed from this perspective, the Exodus idolatry episode also warns of *Christian* disobedience, and the convoluted path and its residents together signify the struggle for salvation (Fig. 3). The visual prominence of the winding path encourages such a reading, which is consistent with the importance placed on the Exodus story by Orosius: book 1 of the *Historiarum adversum paganos* includes a full account of the twelve plagues of Egypt and the story of Exodus.⁸⁵ This is followed in book 7 by a lengthy comparison between the persecution of the Israelites by the Egyptians and the persecution of the Christians by the Romans, in which Orosius interprets the Exodus story as a prefiguration of Christian experience and invites his readers to see the Israelites as proto-Christians.⁸⁶ On the map, the monkish garb worn by the Jewish idolaters and the crosses on their altar facilitate this alternative, Christian identification as a demonstration of the “exegetical mode” of medieval mapping, whereby “signs are not tied to their referents and meanings are never final” (Fig. 2).⁸⁷ Indeed, I suggest these same signs point in still another direction, to England, and to the means by which the English people, with the help of their sovereign, could form a unified nation.

EDWARD, ENGLAND, AND EXPULSION

The challenge for the Hereford Map’s designers was to find a special place for England within its vast Christian temporal and geographical parameters. I argue that they did so using cartographic strategies of proximity, color relationships,

⁸⁴ See John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), 59–86, esp. 79–86 (on the Hereford Map); Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, 142–64; and Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, 35–59. A key argument for the Monstrous Races’ entitlement to salvation is Augustine, *City of God* 16.8; for discussion, see Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, 119–22.

The Hereford Map’s stacked arrangement of enclosed, strange peoples aligned with the right (south) curve of the ecumene might have been viewed in relation to the small, sculpted, compartmentalized figures, some of which are monstrous hybrids, arranged in three orders along the curve of the former outer portal of the inner part of the cathedral’s north porch, which has been dated to the 1280s. See R. K. Morris, “The Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church,” in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 203–40, in which the author connects the figural sculpture “jammed into the three orders of the outer arch” with the cult of Saint Thomas de Cantilupe, based on its inclusion of figures of a pilgrim and mitered busts of bishops (219). On the dating of the inner porch and its sculpture, see Morgan, “Effect of the Pilgrim Cult,” 147; and Alan Brooks and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Herefordshire* (New Haven, 2012), 277; who repeat the view that the sculpture must be related to the Cantilupe cult. Germane to the present study is the eye-level figure of Synagoga (on the east side of the outer order, second figure from the bottom), which, although badly weathered, is still legible as blindfolded, holding a broken staff, and dropping the twin Tablets of the Law. But rather than face Ecclesia (who is not securely identifiable among any of the other figures, although a severely weathered figure on the opposite side of the same order, sixth from the bottom, is a possible candidate), she is positioned between a siren (above) and a pilgrim (below). Whether or not they directly inspired the map’s designers, these small figures, which include at least one emphatically anti-Jewish one, would have been viewed by pilgrims as they entered the building on their way to Cantilupe’s shrine. On the shrine, see below.

⁸⁵ Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos* 1.10.1–19; trans. Fear, *Seven Books against the Pagans*, 58–60.

⁸⁶ Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos* 7.27; trans. Fear, *Seven Books against the Pagans*, 365–68.

⁸⁷ Michael Gaudio, “Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins,” *Gesta* 39 (2000): 50–57, at 57.

and intervisual references to facilitate an Anglocentric reading of the map's land masses, urban markers, and biblical iconography. Such a reading, I suggest, is anchored by the exceptionally detailed representations of the Exodus scenes and also the British Isles, and is enriched by additional pictorial references to Edward I, to be examined presently. But first, an overview of Edward's Jewish policies will underpin my analysis of how the idolatrous *Judei* might have looked to English viewers living in a land recently emptied of its Jews, and how the wider cartographical framework in which the figures are situated encouraged reflection on this event as a divinely sanctioned prerequisite for a "purified" Christian England.

The English Exodus of 1290 occurred near the end of a long period of Plantagenet persecution of English Jews by Henry III and his son, Edward I, during whose reign the Hereford Map was created.⁸⁸ The critical period began in 1275, when Edward issued the Statute of the Jewry, which restricted Jewish settlement to certain English cities, outlawed money lending at interest, and required all Jews older than age seven to wear a badge shaped like the twin tables of the Law, as illustrated in the margins of a mid-fourteenth-century copy of the *Flores historiarum* that accompanies a brief account of the 1290 expulsion (Fig. 15).⁸⁹ By 1300, the twin Tablets of the Law placed into the hands of the horned Moses on the Hereford Map could therefore double as a disembodied representation of the English Jewish badge (Fig. 8). Under Edward's rule, English Jews were also subjected to stepped-up conversion efforts,⁹⁰ and they suffered repeated, heavy royal taxation, known as tallages, that were managed by the Exchequer of the Jews, a special administrative office unique to England.⁹¹ State persecution continued from still other

⁸⁸ The literature on the 1290 expulsion is large. For a succinct overview, see "Expulsion, General of 1290," in Caroline Hillaby and Joe Hillaby, *Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History* (New York, 2013), 137–40. For analysis, see especially H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (London, 1960), 213–33; Robert C. Stacey, "Parliamentary Negotiation and the Expulsion of the Jews from England," in *Thirteenth Century England VI: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1995*, ed. Michael Prestwich, R. H. Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge, UK, 1997), 77–101; Robin Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion 1262–1290* (Cambridge, UK, 1998); Richard Huscroft, *Expulsion: England's Jewish Solution* (Stroud, 2006), esp. 112–60; and Karen Barkey and Ira Katznelson, "States, Regimes, and Decisions: Why Jews Were Expelled from Medieval England and France," *Theory and Society* 40 (2011): 475–503. See also the important insights in Bale, "Fictions of Judaism." Based on poll tax accounts, the Jewish population of England in the 1280s has been estimated at two thousand: see Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 27.

⁸⁹ *Chronica Roffense (Flores Historiarum)* (Rochester, 1355), London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.II, fol. 183v (detail). For the text, see H. R. Luard, ed., *Flores historiarum*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 95 (London, 1890), 3:70–71. For an English translation of the Statute of the Jewry, see Hillaby and Hillaby, *Palgrave Dictionary*, 32–33. On badge wearing, see Nicholas Vincent, "Two Papal Letters on the Wearing of the Jewish Badge, 1221 and 1239," *Jewish Historical Studies* 34 (1994–96): 209–24. For the text and English translation of Henry III's 1253 Statute, which outlines restrictions on Jewish life and reiterates the badge-wearing requirement, see J. M. Rigg, ed., *Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, A.D. 1220–1284*, Selden Society 15 (London, 1920), xlvi–xlix. For an overview of Edward's anti-Jewish policies, see Stacey, "Anti-Semitism."

⁹⁰ R. C. Stacey, "The Conversion of the Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 67/2 (1992): 263–83.

⁹¹ For full discussion of the tallage system and the Jewish Exchequer, which eventually managed all Jewish administrative, judicial, and fiscal affairs, see Robin Mundill, *The King's Jews: Money, Massa-*



Fig. 15. Jews driven out of England. *Rochester Chronicle* (*Flores historiarum*). London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.II, fol. 183v, detail, 1355. (Photo: © British Library Board.)

angles. From 1276–78, many Jews were charged with and executed for alleged coin clipping: according to John of Oxnead and other chroniclers, in a single night in November 1278, all of England’s Jews—men, women, and children—were seized and imprisoned in castles all over the country while their houses were raided. In London alone, 269 Jews were hanged, and their confiscated property provided the Crown that year with the largest single amount of Jewish revenue of the entire Edwardian period.⁹² As reminders of the places where Jews were routinely imprisoned, the map’s icons of English castles, especially the very large one representing the Tower of London, take on an ominous aspect. More generally, the fact that so many cities and towns in England and other Christian lands are marked with architectural icons reminiscent of castles rather than churches (signaled by steeples or domes surmounted by crosses) points to the map’s political dimension and the need to assess its texts and images from this perspective. Indeed, there are no contemporary individuals “portrayed” on the map; all its human figures are either historical or imaginary. That the many city icons stand for all the world’s living inhabitants encour-

cre and Exodus in Medieval England (London, 2010). See also Robert C. Stacey, “The Massacres of 1189–90 and the Origins of the Jewish Exchequer, 1186–1226,” in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson (Martlesham, 2013), 106–24. For texts and translations of contemporary Jewish financial transactions, see Zefira Entin Rokéah, ed. and trans., *Medieval English Jews and Royal Officials: Entries of Jewish Interest in the English Memoranda Rolls, 1266–1293* (Jerusalem, 2000).

⁹² Don C. Skemer, “King Edward I’s Article of Inquest on the Jews and Coin-Clipping, 1279,” *Historical Research* 72 (1999): 1–26; Robin Mundill, “Edward I and the Final Phase of Anglo-Jewry,” in Skinner, *Jews in Medieval Britain*, 55–70, at 61–62; Mundill, *King’s Jews*, 90–92. On the coin-clipping charges more generally, see the two-part article by Zefira Entin Rokéah, “Money and the Hangman in Late 13th-Century England: Jews, Christians and Coinage Offences, Alleged and Real,” *Jewish Historical Studies* 31 (1988–90): 83–109; 32 (1990–92): 159–218.

ages a collective view of them appropriate to an eschatological metanarrative about Christians and non-Christians, in which England and exclusion play central roles.

Even if Edward I never saw the Hereford Map, other *mappae mundi* known to him must have informed his view of the world and his own place within it.⁹³ These included the two monumental mural maps of the world commissioned by his father, Henry III, both of which were prominently displayed in important public spaces. One was painted on the wall of the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace, which housed the royal bed of estate and increasingly during the fourteenth century was used as an official public space; and the other was painted on the wall of the Great Hall of Winchester Castle, used for entertainments, judicial proceedings, and assemblies of Parliament.⁹⁴ Edward himself owned at least two portable world maps, one on cloth (*pannus*) and the other on parchment (*rotulus*), that are listed among his other itinerant treasures in the Royal Wardrobe and Privy Wardrobe inventories of 1296–1306.⁹⁵ In addition, the monumental Duchy of Cornwall Map, which exists today as a large parchment fragment of remarkable artistic quality, was almost certainly drawn during the last quarter of the thirteenth century by an artist attached to Edward's court.⁹⁶ That maps could have functioned as propagandistic promotions of Edward's expansionist agenda has been suggested with reference to the lost, late thirteenth-century exemplar on which the later fourteenth-century Gough Map was based.⁹⁷

I suggest that the Hereford Map can be viewed through an Edwardian lens as an expression of the king's personal ambitions, with specific reference to the Jews and Christian England's vested interests in their persecution and exile (Fig. 1). Alongside its boldly marked itinerary and anti-Jewish iconography, some of its other

⁹³ As argued by Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London, 2008), 10–12.

⁹⁴ The Westminster and Winchester maps were commissioned by Henry III in 1236 and 1239, respectively, but neither has survived. See H. M. Colvin et al., eds., *The History of the King's Works*, 7 vols. (London, 1963–82), 1:504–5; 2:861–63. See also Pamela Tudor-Craig, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster," *Archaeological Journal* 114 (1957): 92–105, at 100–103; Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace* (London, 1986), 43–44; and Martin Biddle, Beatrice Clayre, and Michael Morris, "The Setting of the Round Table: Winchester Castle and the Great Hall," in *King Arthur's Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation*, ed. Martin Biddle (Woodbridge, 2000), 59–101, at 74–78. Daniel Birkholz offers speculative analysis of both maps in *The King's Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York, 2004).

⁹⁵ P. D. A. Harvey, "Maps of the World in the Medieval English Royal Wardrobe," in *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records Edited in Honour of David Crook*, ed. Paul Brand and Sean Cunningham (York, 2008), 51–55.

⁹⁶ London, Duchy of Cornwall Office, Maps and Plans 1. See Graham Haslam, "The Duchy of Cornwall Map Fragment," in *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris, 1989), 33–44, at 42; and Peter Barber, "Medieval Maps of the World," in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 1–44, at 21.

⁹⁷ The Gough Map is not a *mappa mundi* but rather has been identified as the earliest geographically recognizable representation of the British Isles. See Birkholz, *King's Two Maps*, 113–48; Nick Millea, "The Gough Map: Britain's Oldest Road Map, or a Statement of Empire?," in *The Art, Science and Technology of Medieval Travel*, ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Aldershot, 2008), 143–55. Summaries of recent research findings and a digital edition of the Gough Map are currently available on the website of the project Linguistic Geographies: The Gough Map of Great Britain, <http://www.goughmap.org/>.

texts and images link King Edward's reign to the story of Exodus to operate as ex post facto justification for the 1290 expulsion of the Jews from England. As will be seen presently, the map's messages are consistent with contemporary literary descriptions of Edward, his reign, and the emerging English nation. However, I suggest that the parallels drawn in this literature between Edward and Pharaoh and between England and Israel were more powerfully and widely disseminated on a map of the world accessible to a wide audience that included clergy of all ranks, monarchs, nobles, knights, gentry,⁹⁸ merchants, and peasants, as well as foreign visitors to the cathedral and pilgrims from all over Europe. Moreover, while much of the map's pictorial content is comprehensible without the aid of texts, the decision to use the languages of Latin and French, as opposed to English, for its many inscriptions assured the high prestige and wide accessibility of its messages to an international audience.⁹⁹ The extent to which these messages, both textual and pictorial, may be related to Edward and his kingship is the next consideration.

Echoes of Edward may be found on the map in places of obvious relevance to his well-known military and political agendas. These include, first and foremost, Jerusalem at the map's center, a place of self-evident Christological importance and certainly not unique to this particular *mappa mundi*,¹⁰⁰ but one that also recalls Edward's personal military and devotional aspirations. Rendered as a walled, centrally planned citadel positioned in the shadow of the crucified Christ, Jerusalem serves as a reminder that Edward had taken the cross before taking the crown (Fig. 16). Marking not only the center of the world and of the map,¹⁰¹ but also the centrality of Plantagenet crusader aspirations, the Jerusalem icon bears witness to Edward's unfulfilled ambition to organize a new expedition to the Holy Land, which he pursued until his death. It also marked the place he willed his heart to be buried.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ On the complexities of the designation "gentry" in medieval English sources, see Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, UK, 2003), 239, in which it is argued that the English gentry crystallized as a social group during the first half of the fourteenth century.

⁹⁹ On the significance of using Latin and French in historical chronicles of this period, in multilingual environments, and in relation to English national identity, see Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 71; Susan Crane, "Social Aspects of Bilingualism in the Thirteenth Century," in Prestwich, Britnell, and Frame, *Thirteenth-Century England VI*, 103–15; Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford, 2009); and Ardis Butterfield, "National Histories," in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford, 2010), 33–55. Kathy Lavezzo notes that the use of the English language was not essential for the expression of English nationalism, as medieval authors wrote about England in Latin and French texts that enjoyed wider circulation, more prestige, and greater influence than similar texts written in English: see Lavezzo, "Nation," in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner (New York, 2014), 363–79, at 365.

¹⁰⁰ See Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Jerusalem on Medieval Mappaemundi: A Site Both Historical and Eschatological," in *Hereford World Map*, ed. Harvey, 355–79; and Marcia Kupfer, "The Jerusalem Effect: Rethinking the Centre in Medieval World Maps," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout, 2014), 35–65.

¹⁰¹ There is a small hole, presumably made by a compass, at the center of the Jerusalem icon that marks the exact center of the parchment field, and there is a somewhat bigger hole in the equivalent position on the map's original wooden frame, which is on display in Hereford Cathedral.

¹⁰² Christopher Tyermann, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), 230–40, at 233. Edward bequeaths his heart to Jerusalem in an elegiac song written during the reign of Edward II: see

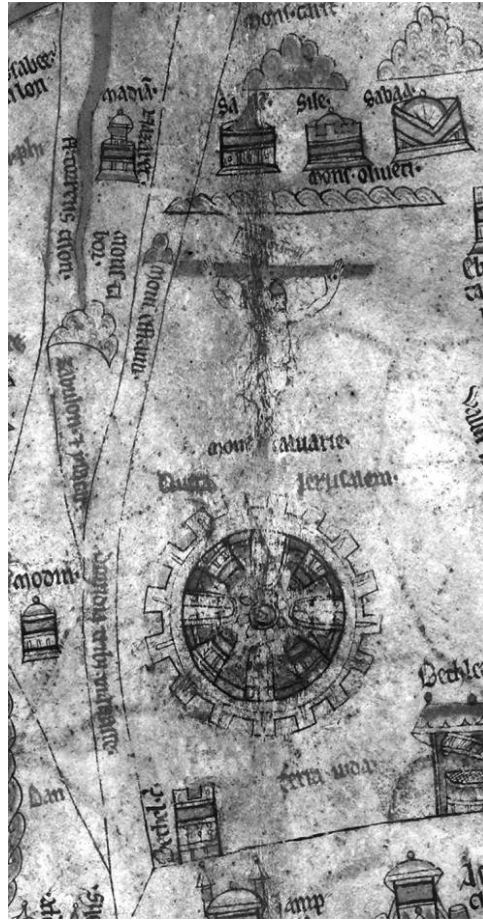


Fig. 16. Jerusalem and the crucified Christ. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

The Hereford Map even testifies to Edward's expansionist activities in Scotland and Wales.¹⁰³ Key features include the representations of his castles in Conwy (*Cunwey*) and Caernarfon (*Carnaruan*), begun in 1277 and 1283, respectively, which commemorated recent conquests; and the castle icon that marks Berwick-on-Tweed

Peter Coss, ed., *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England* (Cambridge, UK, 1996), 247. On Plantagenet crusading ambitions, see Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988); and Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 120–30. On crusader agendas and Plantagenet artistic commissions, see Matthew Reeve, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I, and the Crusade," *Viator* 37 (2006): 189–221; and Debra Higgs Strickland, "Looking Back: The Westminster Psalter, the Added Drawings, and the Idea of 'Retrospective Crusade,'" in *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina et al. (London, 2015), 157–84.

¹⁰³ See Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, 159–93; 262–344.

(*Berwicia*), alternately a Scottish and English city during the Middle Ages, which Edward captured and fortified after 1296.¹⁰⁴ A castle icon also marks Shrewsbury (*Scrobesbi*), which was Edward's seat of government in the Welsh marches as he waged his campaign to subdue northern Wales from 1277 until 1283 and the place where the last royal Prince of Wales, Dafydd ap Gruffudd, was tried and executed.¹⁰⁵

Of special importance for an Edwardian reading of the map is the figure of the papal Caesar Augustus (Fig. 14), which I have already discussed in its supersessionist context. Caesar is separated by Ocean from the British Isles, immediately beyond which lies the duchy of Gascony, which had been the periodically disputed property of the English king since 1154. Besides serving the map's visual themes of the shifts from imperial Rome to papal Rome and from the Old Law to the New, this juxtaposition evokes the papal recognition of English rights to Gascony, which had occurred in 1299, immediately before the map was made.¹⁰⁶ If viewers looked beyond the papal figure's inscribed identity as Caesar Augustus, they may have found in his sealed charter a more timely reminder of King Edward's delayed confirmation in 1297 of both Magna Carta and the Forest Charter in an agreement with his regents known as the Confirmation of the Charters (*confirmatio cartarum*), by which he settled his difficulties with his barons and merchants.¹⁰⁷ Whatever its imagined specifics, a sealed charter would definitely have been understood in relation to the Crown, as the evidence indicates that by the time of Edward's reign, the written document was a well-established instrument of royal authority whose significance, if not exact contents, was understood by a wide range of lay viewers.¹⁰⁸

Among Edward's royal possessions were "his" Jews, who in England were considered the property of the king, to be exploited and disposed of at his pleasure.¹⁰⁹ As such, they functioned as a source of liquid wealth used to finance buildings, crusade preparations, and other royal projects.¹¹⁰ But once they were impoverished as a result of heavy tallages and of having been denied their traditional livelihood of moneylending, they were far less useful for these purposes. Their dete-

¹⁰⁴ Westrem, xxi; and 308 (no. 788); 304 (no. 779); 298 (no. 762). See also *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales*, ed. Diane M. Williams and John R. Kenyon (Oxford, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Westrem, 312 (no. 804). On Dafydd ap Gruffudd's grisly execution for treason, see Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, 189–90.

¹⁰⁶ See Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, 265–67, 271–76, 316–18; and Andrea Ruddick, "Gascony and the Limits of Medieval British Isles History," in *Ireland and the English World in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brendan Smith (Basingstoke, 2009), 68–88.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 127–30; Morris, *Great and Terrible King*, 306–18. See also the two-part article by H. Rothwell, "The Confirmation of the Charters, 1297," *English Historical Review* 60/236 (January 1945): 16–35; 60/237 (May 1945): 177–91.

¹⁰⁸ Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), esp. 85–87, 231–34, 253–60; Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK, 2013), 31.

¹⁰⁹ For an overview of the English situation, see Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations, 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom* (Harlow, 2011), 88–108.

¹¹⁰ Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 72–107; Mundill, *King's Jews*, 21–42. In this connection, Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 72, quotes the eighteenth-century historian D'bloissiers Tovey: "Did the forefathers of this miserable people think you meet with more rigorous Taskmasters in Egypt? They were only called upon to make brick: but nothing less than making gold seems to have been expected from the Jews in England": D'bloissiers Tovey, *Anglia Judaica* (Oxford, 1738), 199.

riorating reputation as “nefarious,” in light of continued host desecration and ritual murder charges, alongside repeated demands by the knights for their expulsion in exchange for a tax badly needed by the Crown, put the Jews of England at great risk, both socially and politically, and made their continued residence in the kingdom increasingly insecure.¹¹¹

In 1290, King Edward took decisive action. On 18 June, he ordered the closure of the twenty-one *archae*, the chests containing the registries of Jewish debts, loans, and possessions.¹¹² In July, he decreed that on pain of death, all Jews with their wives, children, and chattels had to quit the realm by 1 November. The writ of expulsion was issued on 18 July, which coincided that year with the fast of the ninth of Ab, a traditional day of Jewish mourning;¹¹³ and on 1 November—All Saints’ Day—all unconverted Jews left England.

How could viewers have located the time- and place-specific 1290 expulsion on a universally oriented, multitemporal *mappa mundi*? Comparative clues are provided by contemporary authors writing after the fact about Edward and his legacy. For example, that the expulsion of the Jews and other Edwardian “achievements” might be understood from the perspective of world history is suggested by John of London in one of the most widely copied texts about Edward I, the *Commendatio lamentabilis*, which was written in 1307, the year of the king’s death.¹¹⁴ In this tribute to Edward and his illustrious reign, the author proclaims that, just as Alexander had defeated Persia, so Edward had waged a ten-year war against King Philip of France; just as Joshua had defeated Jericho, so Edward had captured Berwick-on-Tweed; and just as the Red Sea had swallowed the army of Pharaoh, so Edward *outdid* the Pharaohs by ridding England of its multiplicity of Jews.¹¹⁵ This last comparison

¹¹¹ Paul Hyams, “The Jewish Minority in Medieval England, 1066–1290,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974): 270–93; Sophia Menache, “Faith, Myth, and Politics: The Stereotype of the Jews and Their Expulsion from England and France,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1985): 351–74; William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1989), 182. On negotiations between Edward and his knights concerning taxation and the Jews, see Stacey, “Parliamentary Negotiation.” For competing theories concerning the reasons for the expulsion, see also the other studies listed in note 88, above.

¹¹² On the *archa* system, see Mundill, *England’s Jewish Solution*, 56–58.

¹¹³ As observed by Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1978), 85; on the reasons why Roth’s observation is rarely cited, see Richmond, “Englishness,” 44. For an English translation of the expulsion writ, see Hillaby and Hillaby, *Palgrave Dictionary*, 36–37.

¹¹⁴ Edition: *Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 2 vols., ed. W. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 76 (London, 1882–83), 2:3–21. See Björn Weiler, “The *Commendatio lamentabilis* of Edward I and Plantagenet Kingship,” in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, 1150–1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, Ann Kettle, and Len Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), 114–30.

¹¹⁵ “O magnamine rex Edwarde, tu primicerius noster in bello, tu dux in castris et bravium cursus nostri, ut Moyses fide grandis, dum manus expandis ad sydera, a populo Israhelitico Amalech devincitur, a Josue Jericho subvertitur, et ab Edwardo villa Berewici super Twede una hora diei acquiritur. Necnon cum exercitu Pharaonis Neustriae plebs tota nautica pelago uno die submergitur, atque perfida multitudo Judaeorum et incredula ab Anglia et a dominio regis uno die in exilium relegatur. Olim cum Alexandro rege Macedonum reges Persarum et Medorum devicimus, et provincias orientales subegimus, nunc in fine temporum cum magno rege Edwardo contra illustrem regem Franciae Philippum guerram decennem suscepimus”: ed. Stubbs, *Chronicles*, 2:14. The series of lamentations in the *Commendatio lamentabilis*

invites reflection on the map's Exodus path and the idolatrous *Judei* as reminders of the king's "rightful" exile of the disobedient Jews of England. From a contemporary political perspective, because the expulsion of the Jews was the one promise Edward fully kept to his knights following lengthy parliamentary negotiations of 1290,¹¹⁶ reference to it on a Christian world map enshrined the event as a divine covenant, one that would be upheld by subsequent English kings until the seventeenth century.¹¹⁷

The fourteenth-century *Commendatio* represents a long English tradition of using Old Testament rhetoric—including references to England as a second "Promised Land" and of the English (Christians) as the "New Israelites"—in historical chronicles, poems, songs, and sermons, which in turn provided the ideological infrastructure for the Hereford Map's messages about Edward, Exodus, and England.¹¹⁸ Beginning with Bede, the rhetorical goal was to present the history of the English people as that of an elect nation, the new Israel.¹¹⁹ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* begins with a geographical survey of Britain's abundant natural resources, tantamount to another land of milk and honey, followed by an identification of the English as "a people of the Covenant, whose destiny was indissolubly bound up with its duty to its Maker." Owing to its continued relevance and wide circulation, Bede's early characterization of the *gens Anglorum* remained an important source on which later authors built their narratives of an English nation.¹²⁰ Later embroidery of Old Testament names and events into narratives about England can be observed in the chronicles of Matthew Paris, Robert Manning, and Robert of Gloucester, among others.¹²¹ Of particular importance for understanding the map is the work of the English chronicler William of Newburgh, whose descriptions of pogroms against the English Jews filtered through the lens of Exodus and other stories of the persecution of the Israelites have been interpreted as implicit justification for the expulsion of the Jews from England.¹²²

are fictively attributed to different sectors of society; the quoted passage appears in the lamentation of the knights (2:14–16) and is consistent with the theory that Edward expelled the Jews as a concession to his knights in exchange for his tax: see Stacey, "Parliamentary Negotiation," 78 and 93 n. 105.

¹¹⁶ Stacey, "Parliamentary Negotiation," 100.

¹¹⁷ See Lucien Wolf, ed., *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell: Being a Reprint of the Pamphlets Published by Menasseh ben Israel to Promote the Re-admission of the Jews to England 1649–56* (London, 1901), available on the internet archive <https://archive.org/details/menassehbenisrae00manauoft>; Cecil Roth, "The Resettlement of the Jews in England in 1656," in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, ed. V. D. Lipman (London, 1961), 1–25; and Edgar Samuel, "Oliver Cromwell and the Re-admission of the Jews to England in 1656," in *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews of England and Portugal*, ed. Edgar Samuel (London, 2004), 179–89.

¹¹⁸ For an overview of this literature, see Ruddick, *English Identity*, 271–85. For examples, see Maxwell, *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 123–24, 146–47, 183, 330; and Coss, *Thomas Wright's Political Songs*, 19–27, 75, 78–80, 94, 109–11, 120, 163, 177, 242–44.

¹¹⁹ Rees Davies, "Nation and National Identities in the Medieval World: An Apologia," *Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine* 34 (2004): 567–79, at 574. See also Menache, "Faith, Myth, and Politics"; and Ruddick, *English Identity*, 204–85. On medieval English perceptions of "chosenness," see also Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 144–47.

¹²⁰ Patrick Wormald, "Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994): 1–24, at 14; Zacher, "Chosen People," 463–75.

¹²¹ For discussion of the individual chronicles, see Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 71–103.

¹²² Heather Blurton, "Egyptian Days: From Passion to Exodus in the Representation of Twelfth-Century Jewish-Christian Relations," in Rees Jones and Watson, *Christians and Jews*, 222–37.

The purposes served by deployment of Old Testament tropes in descriptions of Edward himself, however, were inconsistent. Against the tenor of John of London's Edward/Pharaoh twinning, for example, is a commemorative sermon preached in 1307 or 1308, possibly composed by Edward's own confessor, the Dominican Thomas Jorz, which opposes, rather than compares, the punishments of Pharaoh with Edward's "felicity" (!).¹²³ Equally, Exodus imagery was used to promote *anti*-royalist agendas, as in the Latin poem *The Song of Lewes*, written by an anonymous Franciscan in praise of the baronial rebellion led by Simon de Montfort (1208–65) against the English Crown.¹²⁴ The poet compares the barons to the Israelites, and Edward to Pharaoh, from whom the barons were liberated by Simon. To further deepen Edward's culpability, he does not compare Simon to Moses, as the analogy technically requires, but rather likens him to Christ, on the grounds that Simon's self-sacrifice for the sake of his barons is analogous to Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of humanity.¹²⁵ The poet's famous hybrid characterization of Edward as a leopard (*leopardus*)—a combination lion (*leo*) for his ferocity and pard (*pardus*) for his mutability, pliability and fickleness—finds special resonance on the Hereford Map (Fig. 17).¹²⁶ Along the lower Nile, a lion (*leo*) standing in left profile faces a leopard (*leopard*) in the passant guardant pose universally identified with the Plantagenets.¹²⁷ Besides being paired

¹²³ Included in a collection compiled in memory of Edward I, the sermon is entitled *In virtute tua* (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 150, fol. 158r). See David L. d'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford, 1994), 188–89 (English translation), 270–71 (Latin text). The importance of Pharaoh as an antimodel in such literary contexts has led Binski to incorporate Exodus scenes into his proposed reconstruction of the lost Old Testament murals commissioned by Edward I for the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace: see Paul Binski, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster: The Fall of Tyrants and the English Literary Model of Governance," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74 (2011): 121–54, at 140. In light of the 1290 expulsion, Binski in an earlier study raised the possibility that the mural cycle's inclusion of Old Testament scenes of persecution of the Jews, with the implied identification of Edward I with Judas Maccabeus, "can be seen openly to celebrate the wanton cruelty of its patron, recounting and mocking Jewish history with a blunt self-confidence": Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 102.

¹²⁴ Edition and translation: *The Song of Lewes*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1890). See also Tufton Beamish, *Battle Royal: A New Account of Simon de Montfort's Struggle against King Henry III* (London, 1978).

¹²⁵ Lines 343–46; Kingston, *Song of Lewes*, 12, 40: "Honores qui siciunt simulate tendunt, / Caute sibi faciunt nomen quod intendunt; / Non sic uenerabilis. S. de monteforti, / Qui se christo similis dat pro multis morti" (Those who thirst for honours, dissimulate their aim; cautiously they make for themselves the name which they aim at; not so does the venerable Simon de Montfort, who, like unto Christ, gives himself to death for the many).

¹²⁶ Lines 417–19, 431–33; Kingston, *Song of Lewes*, 14–15; 42: "Cui comparabitur nobilis edwardus? / Forte nominabitur recte leopardus. / Si nomen diuidimus, leo fit et pardus; / . . . Leo per superbiam, per ferocitatem, / Est per inconstanciam et uarietatem / Pardus, uerbum uarians et promissionem, / Per placentem pallians se locutionem." (Whereunto shall the noble Edward be compared? Perhaps he will be rightly called a leopard. If we divide the name it becomes lion and pard. . . . A lion by pride and fierceness, he is by inconstancy and changeableness a pard, changing his word and promise, cloaking himself by pleasant speech.)

¹²⁷ See Westrem, 376–77 (nos. 940 [leopard] and 941 [lion]). The zoological identification of the Plantagenet heraldic beasts is inconsistent: sometimes they are identified as lions, and sometimes as leopards, both in the medieval sources and in later descriptions; the modern convention is to refer to them as lions.

with the morally dubious leopard,¹²⁸ that the King of Beasts on the Hereford Map is caged inside one of the rectangular spaces that otherwise enclose the famous lineup of Monstrous Races—such as the cave-dwelling, stag-riding, and snake-eating Troglodytes (*trocodite*) depicted immediately above—may be read as an additional condemnatory flourish.¹²⁹ Edward was identified as a leopard in other political songs and poems, including the *Siege of Caerlaverock*, exactly contemporary with the map, in which the royal arms are interpreted as a sign of his bad character: “in [Edward I’s] banner were three leopards *courant* of fine gold set on red, fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed to signify that, like them, the king is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger.”¹³⁰

EXILE

As the year 1290 approached, the Jews of England felt King Edward’s leopardine bite ever more acutely. Does the Hereford Map in any way evoke their actual experiences, either before or after they were forced out of England? I suggest that it does, but obliquely rather than directly, and as a matter of viewer choice rather than necessity. In what follows next, I identify the map’s particular land masses and urban icons most redolent of these experiences. I then consider Hereford’s Jewish community in relation to the anti-Jewish hostility promoted by two successive bishops of Hereford Cathedral, Thomas de Cantilupe and Richard Swinfield, both of whom enjoyed the support of Edward I, in order to reconstruct the local climate in which the map was created and viewed.

See Adrian Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: Their Development to 1199* (Reading, 1982), esp. 64–74 (on the arms of Richard I); Caroline Shenton, “Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard,” in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), 69–81; and Dirk Jäckel, *Der Herrscher als Löwe: Ursprung und Gebrauch eines politischen Symbols in Früh- und Hochmittelalter* (Cologne, 2006), 75–95; esp. 89–91 (on the identification of the leopard with Edward I). Close heraldic comparisons for the Hereford Map leopard include the three Plantagenet lions emblazoned on the shield held by the figure of Richard I, Edward’s celebrated crusader forebear, as rendered by Matthew Paris in his pictorial genealogy of the English monarchy included in his short history of England, the *Abbreviatio chronicorum* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius D. VI, fol. 9v). See Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica majora* (Berkeley, 1987), 143–58, including reproductions of the complete pictorial genealogy; the folio with Richard I’s portrait is reproduced on 157. The Hereford leopard’s pose also matches that of the heraldic lions that decorate the shield, ailette, and horse trappings of the figure identifiable as Richard I in the famous base-page scene of his imaginary duel with Saladin in the Luttrell Psalter (Lincolnshire, c. 1325–1340; London, British Library, Add. MS 42130, fol. 82); reproduced on the British Library Digitised Manuscripts website, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42130. See also Roger Sherman Loomis, “Richard Coeur de Lion and the *Pas Saladin* in Medieval Art,” *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 30 (1915): 509–28.

¹²⁸ See Margaret Haist, “The Lion, Bloodline, and Kingship,” in Hassig, *Mark of the Beast*, 3–16.

¹²⁹ On the map’s monsters as an expression of alterity, see Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 14–21. On the Hereford Map Troglodytes, see Westrem, 356–57 (no. 914).

¹³⁰ “En sa baniere trois luparte / De or fin estoint mis en rouge / Courant felloun fier et harouge / Par tel signifiance mis / Ke ausi est vers ses enemis / Li Rois fiers felouns et hastans / Car sa morsure n’est tastans / Nuls ki ne en soit envenimez”: Nicholas Harris, ed. and trans., *The Siege of Carlaverock in the Speculum* 93/2 (April 2018)



Fig. 17. Leopard, lion, and Troglodytes. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

To begin, sixteen of the map's twenty-two English cities and towns identified by inscriptions and architectural icons were places where Jews lived or conducted business, some of which Edward I visited regularly during the 1270s and 1280s

XXVIII *Edward I. A.D. MCCC* (London, 1828), 22–23. For comparisons of Edward to the pard and lion in contemporary songs, see Coss, *Thomas Wright's Political Songs*, 128, 163, 197–98.

(Fig. 18).¹³¹ Twelve of these were towns with *archae* during the late thirteenth century.¹³² Significantly for a local viewership, they include the communities most closely associated with the Hereford Jewry: Shrewsbury, whose Jews were tallage payers for Hereford; Worcester, whose Jewish community was relocated to Hereford by order of Edward in 1275; Gloucester, whose Jews joined the Hereford community that same year on their own initiative after their forced relocation to Bristol proved too dangerous; and Lincoln, whose Jewish financiers served clients all over England, including Hereford. By 1290, the wealthiest and largest Jewish community was in Lincoln, and the second largest and most prosperous community was in Hereford.¹³³ Counterintuitively, then, especially since the map was made and displayed here, the architectural icon that marks Hereford (*Hereford*) is very small. However, its small size might belie its importance, as it has been suggested that its severely abraded condition is the result of frequent touching by guides to orient viewers (“we are here”).¹³⁴

The records for Hereford’s Jewish community kept by the Exchequer of the Jews during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I provide the fullest documentation of any social group during this period,¹³⁵ which has enabled a detailed reconstruction of its development over time that can only be very briefly summarized here.¹³⁶ A Jewish community was first recorded in Hereford in 1179, but it remained small and isolated until 1218, when it began to flourish under the wealthy Hamo and his sons, Ursell and then Moses, until Moses died impoverished in 1253. Hereford was occupied by baronial forces in 1263 but with minimal harm to the community, and in November 1264, it was besieged unsuccessfully by Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore (1231–82), which resulted only in property loss. The

¹³¹ London, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Colchester, Canterbury, Oxford, Winchester, Worcester, Hereford, Northampton, Exeter, Shrewsbury (where the Exchequer of the Jews was relocated in 1276), Gloucester, Rochester, Beverley. Edward’s itinerary during this period has been fully reconstructed in Morris, *Great and Terrible King*. For a complete list of Jewish settlements in England between 1262 and 1290, see Mundill, *England’s Jewish Solution*, 286–90. For identification and location of all the map’s towns, cities, and other features on the British Isles, see Westrem, 296–325 (nos. 756–837).

¹³² London, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Colchester, Canterbury, Oxford, Winchester, Worcester, Hereford, Northampton, and Exeter. The remaining towns and cities with *archae* not marked on the map are Stamford, Ipswich, Bristol, Devizes, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Norwich, and Warwick. See Mundill, *England’s Jewish Solution*, 18, 25, 70. For a map showing the locations of all late thirteenth-century English cities with *archae*, see Mundill, *King’s Jews*, xv.

¹³³ B. Lionel Abrahams, “The Debts and Houses of the Jews of Hereford in 1290,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 1 (1893–94): 136–59; Mundill, *England’s Jewish Solution*, 23, 176–98; Joe Hillaby, “The Hereford Jewry, 1179–1290 (Third and Final Part): Aaron le Blund and the Last Days of the Hereford Jewry, 1253–90,” *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 46 (1990): 432–87, at 443, 453–55.

¹³⁴ Westrem, 314 (no. 806).

¹³⁵ Hillaby, “Hereford Jewry,” 432.

¹³⁶ For a succinct overview, see Mundill, *England’s Jewish Solution*, 176–84. For more detail, in addition to Hillaby, “Hereford Jewry,” see three more studies by Joe Hillaby: “Hereford Gold: Irish, Welsh and English Land: The Jewish Community at Hereford and Its Clients 1179–1253, Part 1,” *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 44 (1984): 358–419; “Hereford Gold: Irish, Welsh and English Land: The Jewish Community at Hereford and Its Clients 1179–1253: Four Case Studies, Part 2,” *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* 45 (1985): 193–270; and “A Magnate among the Marchers: Hamo of Hereford, His Family and Clients, 1218–1253,” *Jewish Historical Studies* 31 (1990): 23–82.



Fig. 18. British Isles. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

next community leader was Aaron le Blund, who came to Hereford from London in 1265, probably to escape the London pogroms led by Simon de Montfort. The community prospered under Aaron, and from 1275, it grew larger with the influx of Jews expelled by Edward from Queen Eleanor's dower towns of Worcester and Gloucester.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ See Joe Hillaby, "The Worcester Jewry, 1158–1290: Portrait of a Lost Community," *Worcestershire Archaeological Survey Transactions* 35 (1990): 73–122. The Jewish houses in Hereford were located primarily along Jews Street (later known as Jewry Lane and today identified as the eastern part of Maylord Street), running off Widemarsh Street just inside the city ditch and north of the marketplace. For a list of properties seized by the king in 1290, which included a synagogue, see Abrahams, "Debts and Houses," 159. The entire area of the Jewry was destroyed in the 1980s with the construction of the Maylord Shopping Centre, as chronicled by Nigel Baker, "A Characterisation of the Historic Townscape of Central Hereford," Hereford Archaeology Report 266, commissioned by Herefordshire Council / English Heritage (2010), 18, 32.

In 1286, amicable Christian-Jewish relations in Hereford were disrupted by Bishop Richard Swinfield (1283–1317), on whose watch the map was originally installed in Hereford Cathedral.¹³⁸ Outraged at the news that some Christians had been invited to a Jewish wedding, Swinfield wrote to the chancellor of Hereford Cathedral, demanding that he forbid all Christians from attending this and any other “convivialities” with Jews. When his prohibition was ignored, and the wedding festivities went to plan, Swinfield next reported the incident to Rome, after which Pope Honorius IV issued a bull to the archbishop of Canterbury calling for more rigorous enforcement of the Lateran IV regulations, in particular, a cessation of social relations between Christians and Jews. Swinfield’s antagonism toward the Jews is thought to have been motivated by fear of Christian-Jewish sexual relations rather than usury, as he had at least one debt outstanding himself—as did many other ecclesiastics, some of whom were notorious traffickers in Jewish debts, such as Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, and his brother, Walter Giffard, archbishop of York.¹³⁹

Richard Swinfield is better known for his protracted efforts to have canonized his former master and bishop of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe, a cause also championed by Edward I, who knew Cantilupe personally from the latter’s service to the royal council. Cantilupe died in 1282, and although he was not canonized until 1320 (three years after Swinfield’s death), in 1283, Swinfield orchestrated the deposit of Cantilupe’s heart and bones beneath a marble slab in the Lady Chapel, around which the first cult formed.¹⁴⁰ Its members included Edward I, who is recorded as having visited the shrine seeking a cure for his sick falcons, either with the birds in tow or by leaving wax images of them as votive offerings.¹⁴¹ In 1287, with grand ceremonial and King Edward in attendance, Bishop Swinfield arranged the translation of Cantilupe’s remains to a new shrine constructed in the north transept, as a public declaration of the move toward canonization.¹⁴² As the shrine attracted hundreds of pilgrims from increasingly distant places, the cult burgeoned, the of-

¹³⁸ Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 27–28. Marcia Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, has proposed that the map’s lower right and left corner initials R and S (of MORS) stand for Richard Swinfield. Swinfield’s tomb is in the northeast transept of Hereford Cathedral, close to Cantilupe’s shrine (on which, see below).

¹³⁹ Hillaby, “Hereford Jewry,” 463–66. Swinfield’s complaint and his response to the pope’s reception of it are recorded in the 26 August and 6 September entries, respectively, for the year 1286 in his episcopal register (Hereford Archive and Records Centre [HARC], MS AL19/2, fols. 39v–40r); transcribed in *The Register of Bishop Richard Swinfield*, ed. William W. Capes (Hereford, 1909), 120–22; and in *Records of Early English Drama: Herefordshire, Worcestershire*, ed. David N. Klausner (Toronto, 1990), 98–100.

¹⁴⁰ R. C. Finucane, “Cantilupe, Thomas de [St Thomas of Hereford] (c.1220–1282),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), online edition (January 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/4570>; Flint, “Hereford Map,” 30–37. The main source for Cantilupe’s life and miracles is a fourteenth-century Latin manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 4015) partly and imperfectly transcribed in *Acta sanctorum* (Paris, 1866), Octobris, vol. 1, 539–45. On Cantilupe and the cult, see *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancey (Hereford, 1982); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK, 1997); and Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), which includes a detailed account of the canonization process.

¹⁴¹ L. W. Salzman, *Edward I* (London, 1968), 188.

¹⁴² Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 219–24; Bartlett, *Hanged Man*, 117–18.

ferings increased, and the miracles multiplied.¹⁴³ It is therefore highly likely that from the time of its installation, the Hereford Map formed part of the pilgrims' experience,¹⁴⁴ and it has even been suggested that the Exodus itinerary, as one of the map's most "conspicuous" images, provided a direct parallel for the idea of pilgrimage.¹⁴⁵

In life, Thomas de Cantilupe was rather more disconnected from the Hereford Christian community, spending far more time on his rural estates than in the town. Pursuing a life of luxury, he also distinguished himself by his prudery and misogyny, which were considered extreme, even by medieval standards.¹⁴⁶ His animosity toward Jews was expressed partly through his support of Simon de Montfort's persecution of England's Jewish communities, fuelled by crusading zeal: in addition to the 1231 expulsion of the Leicester Jews, Simon and his mob carried out subsequent attacks, especially between 1263–64, on Jewish communities in London, Bristol, Gloucester, Canterbury, Winchester, Lincoln, and Hereford.¹⁴⁷ For his part, Cantilupe sought and obtained special permission from Edward I to preach sermons to Hereford's Jews in order to convert them, even though he apparently had no greater regard for them after they were converted. One day in court, in response to a proposal made by Edward to appoint "a certain knight who was a Jew, called Henry of Winchester, a convert (*conversus*)" to the commission set up to investigate charges of coin clipping, Cantilupe insisted not only that this should be disallowed, but also that the remaining Jews, as "enemies of God and rebels against the faith" (*inimici Dei et rebelles fidei*), should either convert or be expelled from the kingdom. He then broke down in tears and threatened to resign until the king finally capitulated. The formal report of this incident, submitted by Chief Justice Hengham, was subsequently added to Cantilupe's canonization dossier as additional proof of his sanctity!¹⁴⁸ Against the backdrop of the recent 1290 expulsion, the fact that both

¹⁴³ Bartlett, *Hanged Man*, 118–23. Bartlett's study takes as its point of departure a miracle involving the hanging and resurrection of a Welshman. For a list of the other Cantilupe miracles and their contemporary ratification (or lack thereof), see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 488–98. By 1312, five hundred miracles were reported to have occurred at the shrine. On the rise and decline of the cult, see Ronald C. Finucane, "The Changing Fortunes of a Curative Shrine: St. Thomas Cantilupe," in Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), 173–88; R. C. Finucane, "Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and Their Miracles," in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 137–44; Penelope E. Morgan, "The Effect of the Pilgrim Cult of St Thomas Cantilupe on Hereford Cathedral," in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe*, 145–52; and R. N. Swanson, "Devotional Offerings at Hereford Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages," *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993): 93–102.

¹⁴⁴ Flint, "Hereford Map," 33–40; Terkla, "Original Placement"; De Wesselow, "Locating the Hereford Mappa Mundi."

¹⁴⁵ De Wesselow, "Locating the Hereford Mappa Mundi," 196. De Wesselow also connects the map's image of Daedalus's labyrinth (*Laborintus id est domus dedali*) on Crete to the idea of pilgrimage as "a perennial symbol of the journey of life." See Westrem, 408 (no. 1038).

¹⁴⁶ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 224, 296, 300–304.

¹⁴⁷ For a succinct overview, see "Montfort, Simon de (1208–65) and the English Jewry," in Hillaby and Hillaby, *Palgrave Dictionary*, 273–75. See also J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, UK, 1994), 14–16, 33, 56–58, 62, 78–79, 268, 315–16, 349–50, 360; and Robert C. Stacey, "Crusades, Crusaders, and the Baronial *Gravamina* of 1263–64," in *Thirteenth Century England III: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1989*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1991), 137–50, at 147.

¹⁴⁸ *Acta sanctorum*, Octobris, 1:547–48. A considerably embellished, but essentially accurate, English account of this report based on the one in the *Acta sanctorum* is included in Richard Stange,

Thomas de Cantilupe and his protégé, Richard Swinfield, worked actively against the Jews of Hereford during their successive episcopates helped to establish a local, anti-Jewish climate for readings of the Hereford Map. In support of Cantilupe's canonization, it is notable that Edward I, as the one who would soon expel the Jews from England, was eager "to have as a sympathetic patron in heaven him whom we had in our household on earth," as he phrased it himself.¹⁴⁹

Bishop Swinfield's negative attitude towards Jews was likely informed by his earlier experiences in Lincoln, where he served as archdeacon of Lincoln Cathedral prior to his Hereford appointment in 1283.¹⁵⁰ His possible influence on the design of the Hereford Map suggests an overlooked dimension of the exceptionally elaborate architectural icon that marks the city of Lincoln (*Lincolnia*), which, as noted earlier, was interpreted by early critics as evidence that the map itself or its model originated here (Fig. 19).¹⁵¹ From an Edwardian perspective, the icon memorializes Lincoln's Jewish community, which was among the oldest and most prosperous in the land.¹⁵² It was also one of the most persecuted. In 1265, Simon de Montfort's mob took Lincoln and burned the *archa* and its contents, and in a subsequent attack, they destroyed the main synagogue. The community suffered further during the coin-clipping crisis of 1276–79. But even earlier, the alleged ritual murder in 1255 of a Christian boy by Lincoln's Jews, nineteen of whom were executed by Edward's father, King Henry III, was parlayed into a new pilgrimage cult headquartered in Lincoln Cathedral, where the boy was buried.¹⁵³ The members of Little Saint Hugh's cult included Edward I, who sponsored the building of a shrine decorated with his royal arms, to which he subsequently gave alms.¹⁵⁴ Because Edward wanted to associate the shrine with the crown and was the only monarch ever recorded as having given alms to it, it has been identified as a royal propaganda project designed to call attention to the alleged criminality of the Jews to help justify their expulsion, which also explains why interest in it dropped off quickly during the early fourteenth century after the "political geography" had

The Life of St. Thomas of Hereford (1674; repr., London, 1879), 207–208. See also Bartlett, *Hanged Man*, 24; Stacey, "Conversion of the Jews," 277; Paul Brand, "Jews and the Law in England, 1275–90," *English Historical Review* 115 (2000): 1138–58, at 1152; and Irvin Resnick, *Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2012), 288.

¹⁴⁹ Cited and translated in Bartlett, *Hanged Man*, 120.

¹⁵⁰ Flint, "Hereford Map," 30–33.

¹⁵¹ See above, note 11.

¹⁵² J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, UK, 1948), 217–38; Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 184–98.

¹⁵³ See David Carpenter, "Crucifixion and Conversion: King Henry III and the Jews in 1255," published online for the Henry III Fine Rolls Project (The National Archives and King's College London, 2009), <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-01-2010.html> (Part 1) and <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-02-2010.html> (Part 2). See also Gavin I. Langmuir, "The Knight's Tale of Young Hugh of Lincoln," *Speculum* 47/3 (1972): 459–82; D. Stocker, "The Shrine of Little St Hugh," in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. T. A. Heslop and V. Sekules (London, 1986), 109–17, which includes a translation of Matthew Paris's account of the incident (224–25); for the Latin text, see Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis: Chronica Majora*, 7 vols., Rolls Series 57 (London, 1872–82), 5:516–19 (entry for the year 1255), 546, 552.

¹⁵⁴ As recorded in the king's wardrobe accounts for the years 1299/1300: see *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae* (London, 1787), 37, 39. See also Stocker, "Shrine of Little St Hugh," 109.

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)



Fig. 19. Lincoln. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

changed.¹⁵⁵ Postexpulsion, Edward made immediate and extensive seizures of Jewish property in Lincoln,¹⁵⁶ much of which was located along the street known as Steep Hill, which is depicted on the map as a dramatic slope along the River Witham (*fluuius wid*), with Lincoln Cathedral correctly positioned at its summit.

Well before the invention and royal sponsorship of Little Saint Hugh's cult, the anti-Jewish stage in Lincoln had been set by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235–53). Like Thomas de Cantilupe, Grosseteste was a supporter of Simon de Montfort, and he was also the probable mastermind behind the latter's expulsion of the Jews from Leicester in 1231.¹⁵⁷ As a follow-up expression of anti-Jewish hostility, in a long letter written that same year, Grosseteste chastised the countess of Winchester for welcoming the exiled Leicester Jews to the part of the borough under her jurisdiction, accusing her of providing shelter to the “murderers of the Savior of the World.” Using language that eerily anticipates the imagery on the Hereford Map, Grosseteste wrote that as penalty for their sin, which had been in-

¹⁵⁵ Stocker, “Shrine of Little St Hugh,” 115–16.

¹⁵⁶ Mundill, *The King's Jews*, 160–61; Westrem, 306 (no. 783). On Lincoln's medieval Jewish properties, see Maureen Birch, *Lincoln's Medieval Jewry and Up-Hill Norman Houses*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln, 2014). The stone buildings known in modern times as the Jews House (c. 1150–60), the Norman House (c. 1170–80), and the thirteenth-century Jews Court are still extant. See H. Rosenhau, “Notes on the Relationship between the Jews Court and the Lincoln Synagogue,” *Archaeological Journal* 93 (1936): 51–56. On Edward's earlier Jewish property seizures in Lincoln and elsewhere, see Mundill, “Jewish Entries,” 46–87.

¹⁵⁷ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, 15, 79.

spired by the fear of losing their land and nationhood, God had condemned the Jews to lose the very thing which they had sought to preserve: he had made them wanderers and the slaves of all nations until the end of history, when their redemption would come.¹⁵⁸

On the map, the most prominently rendered English city after Lincoln is London (*Londonia*), of obvious importance as the location of the royal headquarters at Westminster but also as the location of the oldest Jewish settlement in England (Fig. 20).¹⁵⁹ To the immediate right of London, directly across the channel on the River Seine (*Sequana fluvius*),¹⁶⁰ is a much larger architectural icon that marks Rouen (*Rotomagum*), the capital of Normandy (*Normannia*),¹⁶¹ from where England's Jews were first brought over by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century, from where many more emigrated in the twelfth century, and to which many of them returned after 1290.¹⁶² To the right of Rouen is the largest architectural icon in the space of Europe, a multitowered Gothic structure that marks Paris, highlighted by a rubricated inscription (*Parisius civitas*).¹⁶³ At the time of the expulsion, most of England's wealthiest Jews aimed to resettle here, at least until February 1291, when King Philip the Fair expelled all English Jews from his lands except those profitable to the French crown.¹⁶⁴ It is therefore possible, if forever unprovable, that the vigorous, undatable scoring across the map, which is heaviest across Rouen and Paris, if performed during the fourteenth century was an expression of animosity toward England's relocated Jews. And just below, heavy scoring across Gascony symbolically reerased the Jews who lived in this region until 1287, when the king expelled them just three years prior to his final solution of 1290 (Fig. 21).¹⁶⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Individual texts and images can represent narrative episodes from the book of Exodus, but it takes a map of the world to fully animate and enlarge them (Figs. 1, 3). Representations of Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law, the Jewish idolaters, and the Exodus path situated on a *mappa mundi* endows them with transcendent significance by enabling viewers to construct multiple, conceptual itineraries. The image

¹⁵⁸ Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi quondam Lincolnensis epistolae*, Rolls Series 25 (London, 1861), 33–38 (Epistola no. 5), at 33. On Grosseteste and the Jews, see also R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992), 244–49.

¹⁵⁹ Westrem, 310 (no. 799). See Joe Hillaby, "London: The 13th-Century Jewry Revisited," *Jewish Historical Studies* 32 (1990–92): 89–158.

¹⁶⁰ Westrem, 277 (no. 695).

¹⁶¹ Westrem, 272 (nos. 685 [Rouen] and 686 [Normandy]).

¹⁶² Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 16; R. I. Moore, "Anti-Semitism and the Birth of Europe," in Wood, *Christianity and Judaism*, 33–57, at 36. On the history of Rouen's Jewish community, see two studies by Norman Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Âge: Portrait d'une culture oubliée* (Mont-Saint-Aignan, 1985); and *The Jews of Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History* (Cambridge, UK, 1998).

¹⁶³ Westrem, 280 (no. 709).

¹⁶⁴ Hillaby, "Hereford Jewry," 467; Jordan, *French Monarchy*, 183.

¹⁶⁵ Equally conjectural, alternative explanations for the scoring have included general anti-French hostility, a gesture by an angry Templar, overuse of a pointer by a guide, and accidental damage. See Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 33–34.

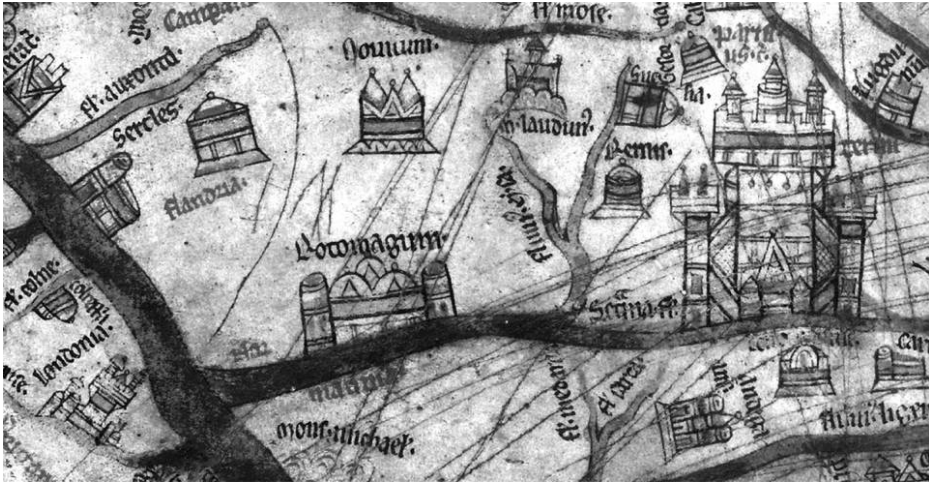


Fig. 20. London, Rouen, and Paris. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

of land—promised by God to the ancient Israelites; contested and so highly valued by medieval Christian knights and Jews—is by definition on a world map emphatically foregrounded. So is the idea of travel: for the ancient Israelites, marked by the Exodus path; and for England’s recently expelled Jews, by the icons marking the



Fig. 21. British Isles and France. Hereford World Map, detail. Hereford Cathedral Treasury, c. 1300. (Photo: The Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.)

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)

English cities between which they constantly moved, either by force or for business transactions. The experiences of expulsion and diaspora, central to medieval Jewish life, also require a map for their fullest expression; and nothing less than the space of the whole world and the map's multiple temporalities are needed to sufficiently convey the interrelated concepts of exile and eternity that lay at the core of medieval Christian belief about God's plans for the *Judei*. Most significantly, the cartographic juxtaposition of the Exodus story with the geographical spaces of the British Isles lent fresh authority to the long-standing literary practice of filtering English historical events through Old Testament Israel to appropriate for England the status of Promised Land, and for the English the status of God's chosen people.

To English men and women viewing the map around 1300, the Exodus imagery pointed simultaneously to Jews, Christians, and Plantagenet rule; and the image of the papal emperor, situated just below England, bespoke not only the survey of the whole world and its inhabitants, now under the authority of the Roman Church, but also the time, only just past, when the English king forced "his" Jews to render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's. The Hereford Map's evocation of such an "extra-cartographic reality"¹⁶⁶ underscores the need to evaluate this great work not only in relation to its universal Christian theological significance, but also as a locus of medieval English memory. The notion of a collective identity, activated by the juxtaposition of a detailed rendering of the British Isles with other lands, distant cities, and strange foreigners, finds full expression here, especially for English viewers beginning to conceive of themselves as a unified nation in a cultural process whose accelerated development has been traced to precisely this period.¹⁶⁷ It has been persuasively argued that both the senders and receivers of sophisticated messages germane to this process were learned ecclesiastics, whose sermons and biblical comparisons were rerouted by secular authors to promote specific political agendas.¹⁶⁸ With their myriad references to ancient, mythical, biblical, eschatological, and contemporary history, church-sponsored *mappae mundi* were exceptionally adaptable for this purpose, as I hope to have demonstrated with reference to the Hereford Map. This further suggests that public works of art in general, and the *mappae mundi* in particular, created during this period should be reconsidered alongside chronicles, literary works, sermons, exempla, songs, and poems as both conduits and disseminators of ideas relevant to the formation of English national identity.

The Exodus imagery on the Hereford World Map invites viewers to see how the 1290 expulsion of the Jews from England was a crucial part of this process. With reference to Matthew Paris's complaint about the problems caused by "degenerates" in thirteenth-century England, it has been observed that "defining a nation necessarily involves exclusion,"¹⁶⁹ and it has been similarly observed that "the concept of 'aliens'

¹⁶⁶ I borrow this term from Kupfer, "The Jerusalem Effect," 365.

¹⁶⁷ Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000), 142–71; Ruddick, *English Identity*, 97–99. On relationships between power, maps, literature, and English nationalism traced over a much longer period, incorporating the development of "national geographic thought," see Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge*, esp. 1–26, at 26.

¹⁶⁸ Ruddick, *English Identity*, 283.

¹⁶⁹ Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 1. Matthew's complaint appears in the *Chronica majora* entry for the year 1237: "Vae Angliae, quae quondam princeps provinciarum, domina gentium, speculum" *Speculum* 93/2 (April 2018)

depends on a sense of national identity.”¹⁷⁰ The importance of mapping for circumscribing the English nation is thus even greater for maps of the Edwardian period. While Matthew Paris’s mid-thirteenth-century maps provided focal points for a history of England (*historia anglorum*) presented as world history;¹⁷¹ with Christ as Judge at its summit, the early fourteenth-century Hereford Map not only circumscribed the English nation geographically, but also situated it temporally within Christian eschatological history. From an Edwardian perspective, England’s most troublesome “degenerates” were the Jews, who, although long-time residents of the land, no longer had a place there. The parallel to be drawn on the Hereford Map between God’s promise to Moses to make Israel “a priestly kingdom and a holy nation” (Exod. 19.6) and the rise of English nationalism at the time of Edward I is therefore deeply ironic, since it was the Jews who had to be expelled to make room for an English nation.

lum ecclesiae, religionis exemplum, nunc facta est sub tributo. Conculcaverunt eam ignobiles, et facta est in praedam degeneribus” (Alas England, who was once foremost among regions, mistress of peoples, a mirror of the Church and a model of religion; now is placed under tribute. Low-born men have trodden her down, and she has been plundered by degenerates): Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, 3:390; trans. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 1; with slight emendations.

¹⁷⁰ Davies, “Nation and National Identities,” 574.

¹⁷¹ On Matthew’s maps of the British Isles, see Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 364–72; and Connolly, *Maps of Matthew Paris*, 186–91.

Debra Higgs Strickland is Senior Lecturer in History of Art at the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland (e-mail: Debra.Strickland@glasgow.ac.uk)

Speculum 93/2 (April 2018)