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Speaking the Map: Teaching with the Hereford *MappaMundi*

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> *"Do you understand what you are reading?" He said, "How can I understand unless someone will guide me?"* [...] *Starting from this passage, he preached to him. of Jesus.* (Acts 8.30-36) [1]

> *Who will give us wings like the dove, and we shall fly across all the kingdoms of this world, and we shall penetrate the depths of the eastern sky? Who then will conduct us to the city of the great king in order that what we now read in these pages and see only as in a glass darkly, we may then look upon the face of God as present before us, and so rejoice?* (Connolly, 1999, p. 598)[2]

> *No major study of the past twenty years has been able to ignore the problem of audience reception and internalization.* (Thompson, 2002, p. 19)

Historians of cartography long have suggested that the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* was created as a teaching tool, or at least that it had some didactic function in the cathedral that has housed it for over 700 years. My goal here is to support these suggestions by setting the Hereford map in a slightly different context than others have done and so to lay the groundwork for further study. To accomplish this, I incorporate new work in sermon studies that helps in the development of a usage scenario for the map-as-teaching-tool. In addition, I follow Valerie I.J. Flint's (1998) suggestion that the use clergy made of *Arma Christi* rolls might provide a pedagogical analogue to that which churchmen made of the Hereford map. I go beyond this, though, to situate the map in a material matrix that includes, not only *Arma Christi* rolls, but other non-cartographical works that we know clergy used to instruct the laity: ecclesiastical wall paintings, *Exultet* rolls, and informational *tabulae.* Like the map's designer, those who created the murals and rolls relied upon the complex arrangement and interaction of words and images to re-present their data to viewers *(tabulae* of the sort to which I refer were text only).[3] I refer to the visual manifestations of those arrangements and interactions as *data clusters.*

Description and Placement

I begin with a description of the map and an account of the its original placement, the understanding of which are crucial to any discussion of its function.[4] The Hereford *Mappa Mundi* is the largest extant medieval world map (fig. 1)*. Scott Westrem writes that this word-and-image *summa* constitutes an elaborate "presentation of cosmographical, ethnographical, geographical, historical, theological, and zoological information about the inhabited parts of the earth as it was conceived in Europe during the Middle Ages" (Westrem, 2001, p. xv) .[5] The map's sources are vast and deep and include the following, among others: the Bible, Pliny's *Naturalis historia,* the *Antonini Augusti itineraria,* Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium,* St. Jerome's *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum liber,* Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii,* Paulus Orosius' *Historiarum adversum paganos,* Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* and *Etymologiarum sive Originum,* and Aethicus Ister's *Cosmographia.*[6]

A recent report by Malcolm B. Parkes and Nigel Morgan (1999) confirms that the map was drawn and lettered on a single calfskin between 1285 and 1300. It has been trimmed unevenly and measures roughly 163 by 137 cm (Tyers, 2004, p. 3).[7] As an example of a (modified) Sallust *mappamundi,* the Hereford map is literally and figuratively oriented; Eden and the Last Judgment crown the pentagonal skin's eastern apex. This T-O map provides its viewers with a kind of aerial view of the earth's inhabitable regions, and the whole is centered on the walled city of Jerusalem.[8] The Ocean River, the map's "O," encircles these landmasses, which are labelled *Asia, Affrica,* and *Europa,* and a roughly T-shaped hydrographic system separates them from each other.[9] Since 1996, the map and reconstituted chained library have been displayed in Hereford Cathedral's award-winning New Library Building in adjacent rooms, the theory being that the map "should be understood by visitors to be an integral part of the library" (Tiller, 2000, p. 311).[10]

Drawings executed in the eighteenth century by the preservationist and architect John Carter show the map as the central element of a triptych that had the Annunciation painted on the interior surfaces of its doors, which went missing in the eighteenth century (Carter, 1780, p. iii).[11] In January 2004, the Dean and Chapter of Hereford commissioned Ian Tyers of the University of Sheffield's ARCUS Dendrochronological Laboratory to examine the remaining central panel (fig. 2)*. Their objective was to arrive at more accurate chronological parameters than those provided by the 1989 carbon-dating examination undertaken by University of Oxford. Tyers' examination confirmed that the panel was made from oaks felled "in or near Herefordshire" between 1265 and 1311 (Tyers, 2004, p. 7). His measurements show that the panel's bottom "edge is neither well finished nor is it square to the panel, to the extent that the right hand side of the panel is c. 25 mm shorter than the left edge (viewed

*To view Figure see published version in *Geotema.*

from the front)" (Tyers, 2004, p. 3). Like the map it once supported, the panel is out of square, which its dimensions demonstrate; it is roughly 175 by 147cm (Tyers, 2004, p. 3).

The central panel is rimmed with multiple rows of nail holes (fig. 3)* and has at its center a hole made by the foot of the compass used to draw the map's three exterior circles and Jerusalem's circular walls. There are more nail holes at the apex of the panel than on its two vertical sides, which suggests that the map was nailed to the top of the panel first and then fixed to the other three sides, much as an artist would stretch and fix a new canvas to a wooden frame. The compass hole indicates that the map was drawn while attached to the panel (Tyers, 2004, p. 4). The examinations Dominic Harbour and I have made of the panel, and conclusions we have reached about the map's attachment to it, along with the likelihood that the panel was built in Hereford, mean that the map was drawn in Hereford and not in Lincoln, as some scholars have believed. Based upon his findings, Tyers writes, "This is an unexpected outcome since the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* has hitherto been thought on documentary and pictorial evidence to have been made in Lincoln and subsequently moved to Hereford" (Tyers, 2004, p. 6).[12]

Based upon dendrochronological, paleographical, and archival work, I have elsewhere augmented theories of the map's date and original placement (Terkla, 2004). Specifically, (1) that the map was completed after 1283 but by 1287, the year that Thomas' remains were translated to their new shrine in the Cathedral's north transept; (2) that the map-in-triptych rested next to the shrine upon eight stone supports in the east wall of the transept; (3) that the map helped make Hereford Cathedral one of England's top pilgrim destinations for some sixty years; and (4) that the map was a primary component of what I call the *Cantilupe pilgrimage complex.* [13] This pilgrimage attraction would have comprised at least the following, all situated in Bishop Peter Aigueblanche's gloriously renovated north transept: Thomas' canopied shrine and *feretrum,* the map-in-triptych, a wall painting of the saint above and to the left of his shrine, and what William Stukeley in the eighteenth century described as "a book printed at St. Omars, of no little bulk, which contain'd an account of his miracles" (Stukeley, 1724, p. 1.67).[14]

Pedagogical Possibilities

In his work on thirteenth-century tomb and wall paintings, David Park asserts that "[l]ocation often functioned as a component of meaning" (Park, 1987, p. 127). I agree with Park, but find his assertion too tentative, especially in the context of monumental ecclesiastical art, where purpose determines placement and placement enables purpose. In thinking this way, I align myself with Nicola Coldstream, who reminds us that ecclesiastical architecture "is the background to the figurative arts, that the architecture was designed to support and exhibit the vast *summa* of Christian history represented on

*To view Figure see published version in *Geotema.*

the doorways and windows" (Coldstream, 1987, p. 92) - and, I would add, on wall paintings and monumental *mappaemundi.* Knowledge of the map's date, place of creation, and original display location is seminally important to historians of art and cartography. Such knowledge, however, raises a web of questions about ways in which the map was used, by whom, and for what purposes. In this attempt to respond to these questions, I take Miriam Gill's (2002) assertion as my *modus operandi:* "By examining a single medium [in *situ]* we may discern the ways in which preaching and art worked together and recognize what constitutes evidence of their interrelationship" (Gill, 2002, p. 156).[15]

The Acts of the Apostles, recounts the transmission of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. Acts 8.30-36 in particular illustrates the links between seeing, reading, teaching, and cognition. These connections are complex, and I foreground them here as a shorthand way of contextualizing another tradition of knowledge transmitted via instruction - that of the Hereford map as teaching tool.
In Acts 8.30-36, the apostle Philip encounters an Ethiopian eunuch who reads but does not understand Isaiah, a largely visionary, oracular tale of Israel's history told in three parts.[16] Philip asks, "'Do you understand what you are reading?'" To this the Ethiopian responds, ''How can I understand unless someone will guide me?" ' We are then informed that, "starting from this passage, he [Philip] preached to him of Jesus." Philip's interlocutor, his pupil, is able to read - that is, to decode - the words before him, but he requires a guide who can interpret for him what he has read. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pilgrim visitors to the Cantilupe complex would have needed similar help understanding the Hereford map's complex re-presentation of *historia.*

Scholars of the map have implied this since at least 1955, when A.L. Moir, a prebendary of Hereford Cathedral, (like Richard de Bello, who likely had a hand in the creation and exhibition of the Hereford map) thought that notions of the map having been used as an altarpiece "may have been eighteenth century conjecture" (Moir, 1970, p. 8).[17] Moir alternatively suggested that the map "was designed for educational purposes, particularly to stress the teaching of the Christian faith" (Moir, 1970, p. 8)- Adding a metaphorical twist to Moir's thoughts and alluding (perhaps unintentionally) to Pope Gregory the Great (540-604), Malcolm Letts echoed his contemporary: ''The Hereford and other maps of the Middle Ages were picture books in which men could learn about the wonders and marvels of the world" (Moir, 1970, p. 29). Moir's and Letts' postulations on pedagogy curiously leave out the teacher—who would have implemented these "picture books" for the preliterate visitors?—but have been restated regularly and variously by a cadre of eminent historians of cartography.

To take some relatively recent examples, in their article on the Aslake map, Peter Barber and Michelle Brown feel that, by analogy with what [Michael] Camille has explained was the practice with the richly illuminated manuscript codices of the same period, one might go further and argue that these

maps had to take the grand form that they did in order to fulfill their didactic purpose. In a world of limited literacy, much reading took place aloud and in public. Detailed maps had to be large in order to accommodate their relevant information: but they also had to be well-illustrated, so that the numerous listeners could see as well as hear the import of the texts that were read to them. (Barber & Brown, 1992, p. 28)

As we shall see, Mary Carruthers' (1992, 1998) work on word-and-image reveals that medieval viewers did not distinguish between blocks of text and their accompanying images. Below I examine the crucial "see as well as hear" prompt that the Hereford map provides its viewers and to which Barber and Brown (1992) seem to allude. Marcia Kupfer paints with a brush as broad and as helpful as Barber and Brown's. However, she focuses on the Hereford map, which, along with much earlier, twelfth-century examples painted in church naves, can be inscribed in a process whereby the cartographic representation of the world came to serve not only the scholastic training of the elite in convent and cathedral schools, but also the moral edification of the lay public at large. (Kupfer, 1994, p. 276).

Although I have seen no evidence that Hereford's Cathedral School made any use of the *Mappa Mundi,* Kupfer's thoughts about the edificational uses to which such monumental maps were put are apt.[18] In the same article on "embedded images," Kupfer demonstrates her awareness of the importance of placement in determining purpose: "If placed in the nave or transept, ... [the Hereford map] may have been a visual aid to which clergy referred when preaching" (Kupfer, 1994, p. 276). Given the layout of Hereford's medieval crossing and transept it seems unlikely that clergy preaching from the *pulpitum* would have referred directly to images on the map, which was very likely situated in the north transept. Still, the map undoubtedly was "a visual aid" to *teaching* in that location.

In an article that began as an address to the Royal Society and that has profoundly affected my thinking about the Hereford map's purpose, Valerie Flint also recognizes the power of place and placement. One of Flint's goals in this article is to show that "the Hereford Map was from the very first integral to the history, and indeed to the very fabric, of that cathedral which is now its home" (Flint, 1998, p. 20). After drawing the reader's attention to the map's multi-sensual invocation - that is, its call to prayer for Richard of Haldingham - Flint echoes Barber and Brown (1992), when she draws our attention to the map's "emphasis on *hearing* and *seeing* as well as reading, for a didactic purpose of some kind" (Flint, 1998, p. 24, my emphases).[19]

In *Maps of Medieval Thought,* Naomi Reed Kline believes that the Hereford map was hung in the Cathedral's north "transept where it could be didactically explained or simply open to interpretation by each visitor and pilgrim" (Kline, 2001, p. 8). Like the work of others I have summarized, Kline's study continues the tradition in which a pedagogical function for the map is assumed, but differs in that

she suggests that “it is likely there would have been a cleric on hand to help visitors decipher the map” (Kline, 2001, p. 91).

As he does so well, Scott Westrem attends closely to the materiality of the map and, in doing so, provides us with tantalizing physical support for its use as a teaching tool. In his transcription and translation of the map’s legends, Westrem reminds us that “long scratches across its surface mar parts of France, northwest Africa, and the Sinai near the Dead Sea” (Westrem, 2001, p. xix, n. 11). He rightly sees these marks as “inadvertent, perhaps the result of an overzealous instructor wielding a pointer” (Westrem, 2001, p. xix, n. 11).[20] To this I would just add that the marks surely come, not only from an “instructor,” but also from a right-handed instructor. This person, perhaps a Cathedral ***custos,*** no doubt was facing a group of visitors to the Cantilupe complex, had his back to the map, and stretched across it with his right hand to point out sites (and sights) to his charges. Since there are a number of scratches in this area, one wonders whether they accumulated over time, after numerous teaching sessions.

I turn now to the exciting new work being done on medieval sermons, which furthers our understanding of the map’s purposeful placement and use. Like some historians of cartography, Miriam Gill and some of her colleagues emphasize the power and importance of place. Sermon study scholars like Gill also employ an interarts methodology; a focus on verbal and visual interaction, on how, by and to whom information was conveyed; and an attention to performance - for, after all, what are preaching and teaching if not acts of performance? Gill adds to the insights we derive from the reconstructive and programmatic work done on *mappaemundi in situ* by Marcia Kupfer, ties together artworks, performances, and venues and helps us think about the crucial component of interlocution. In “Preaching and Image: Sermons and Wall Paintings in Later Medieval England,” Gill reports that medieval apologists sometimes described monumental art such as wall paintings as *“muta predicatio,"* or “silent preaching.” [...] The high level of didactic material found in wall paintings suggests that they were a favored medium of religious instruction. Like sermons, they addressed a large and diverse audience, transcending the barriers between illiterate and literate. (Gill, 2002, p. 155)

“Mappaemundi" substitutes seamlessly here for “wall paintings”; Gill could have been writing about either medium: both are mute, contain “didactic” data, seem to have been designed in part as teaching tools, and to have “addressed” varying levels of literacy.

Gill’s assertion that monumental wall paintings addressed audiences and transcended barriers is productively problematic, because it requires her to anthropomorphize paintings. Her anthropomorphization is useful, because it implicitly assumes a human interlocutor, as I suppose Moir (1966, 1970), Letts (1970), and those who followed them did. In other words, the reality was (and is)

that there must be someone present to speak the map for its audience. This recalls a crucial ***caveat*** of Avril Henry's. In her edition of the *Biblia pauperum,* Henry asserts that "the surprisingly persistent notion that the medieval visual arts were designed to *instruct* the unlettered is based on a misconception. Little medieval art is merely instructive" (Henry, 1987, p. 17, emphases in original). Although Henry does not elaborate on the nature of this "misconception," her anti-Robertsonian use of "little" and "merely" is in itself instructive and calls to mind Westrem's warning to those who would see the Hereford map only as scripture writ and illustrated large (Westrem, 2001, p. xxvi- ii). What follows from Henry's *caveat* is more important, though, for my purposes: "Pictures in this mode only 'instruct' if you already know what they mean" (Henry, 1987, p. 17). 21 In a later piece, Lawrence Duggan extended this idea and enumerated some of its implications, while significantly foregrounding the human intermediary: ''Without help from someone (or something) else he can learn nothing new and possibly cannot even guess correctly the primary meaning of the painting" (Duggan, 1989, p. 242). All of these above observations raise difficult questions: How do we understand "read"? Does reading refer to the acquisition of new knowledge? to the recognition of concepts or ideas already processed? And, still: Who "instructs" or "teaches" and how?

To my knowledge, the source of these questions lies in two letters Pope Gregory the Great wrote to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles. Celia Chazelle prudently warns us against assuming "the existence in the eighth- and ninth-century West of a single, well-defined doctrine of the artistic image [and of] ... a single theory of art" (Chazelle, 1995, p. 203). I do not mean to suggest that Gregory's pronouncements constituted anything like "a single ... doctrine" and, indeed, shall show that they were anything but "well-defined." Nevertheless, the power and tenacity of Gregory's *dicta* are clear, as Conrad Rudolph writes: "Doctrinally, the Church sanctioned the use of art to educate the illiterate in spiritual matters on the basis of [these] two letters ..., and the literal application of this doctrine was never publicly questioned" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 12).

Not surprisingly, the doctrine percolates beneath a generically diverse catalogue of medieval texts, as an exemplary short list demonstrates: the *Pictor in carmine* (c. 1200), "a collection of types and antitypes intended to be used by artists" (James, 1951, p. 141), perhaps written by Adam of Dore (fl. 1200), Dore being a Cistercian house near Hereford Cathedral; a manual for priests, the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* (1282), written by Archbishop John Pecham, who excommunicated Cantilupe, which insists on regular sermonizing in the vernacular; Robert Basevorn's *Forma praedicandia* (1322), a handbook for preachers; John Mirk's *Festial* (1382-1390), a collection of homilies; the pseudo-Chaucerian "Tale of Beryn" (late fourteenth century), in which three of Chaucer's pilgrims comically misinterpret windows in Canterbury cathedral; *Dives and Pauper* (1405-1410), which consists in part of

a dialogue on the use and processing of images; and the *Repressor* (c. 1460) of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph, a work that touts the power of images as aids to memory.[22]

Gregory's stance on the use of images was so powerful that it became Canon Law and resonates today, as the following selections from the Vatican's "Principles and Guidelines" demonstrate: "The use of sacred images is of major importance in the ... area of *popular* piety, since culturally and artistically they assist the faithful in encountering the mysteries of the Christian faith" ("Principles," 2001, section 18, my emphasis). The "Principles" notably promote the value of using images in *"catechesis,* because 'through the history of the mysteries of our redemption, expressed in pictures and other media, the faithful are *instructed* and *confirmed* in the faith, since they are afforded the means of meditating constantly on the articles of faith'" ("Principles," 2001, section 240, my emphases).

Gregory's responses to Serenus' concerns about iconophilia and iconoclasm speak to the pedagogical power of *picturae.* [23] In his first letter, Gregory instructed the bishop: "'Picture[s] are brought into churches so that those who are illiterate might nevertheless, by looking upon the walls, read about those things which they are not able to read in books'" (qtd. in Dvorak, 1967, p.164, n. 53).[24] Gregory's second reply to the Bishop of Marseilles was more detailed:

> It is one thing to adore a picture, another to learn, through the history presented in the picture, what ought to be adored. For what writing gives those who read it, the picture provides for the unlearned *[idiotis]* who see it; in it the ignorant see their duty, thus reading without knowing their letters. For this reason ... pictures take the place of reading. (qtd. in Appleby, 2002, p. 89)

Gregory seems to say that the literate and illiterate obtain the same information from print and picture, but he does not explain what he meant by "picture" *(pictura)* or "read" *(legere).* David Appleby feels that "it is difficult to tell just how he thought viewers might learn from images, because he did not explain the sense in which images stand in place of reading. It seems safe to say only that especially in the case of non-believers and those who cannot read, images are a useful teaching instrument" (Appleby, 2002, p. 89). Images are "useful" in this regard, but they do not "stand in place of reading." Medieval theories of mind and mnemonics suggest that *legere* and *pictura,* which is convertible with *imago,* denoted different concepts than those we have now.[25]

Mary Carruthers convincingly argues that "the letters of writing were considered to be as visual as what we call "images' today; ... as a result the page as a whole, the complete parchment with its lettering and all its decoration, was considered a cognitively valuable 'picture'" (Carruthers, 1998, p. 122). She quotes John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon* to support her point: "'Letters however, that is their shapes *[figurae],* are in the first place signs of words...; then of things, which they bring to the mind

through the windows of the eyes, and frequently they speak silently the sayings of those no longer present"' (Carruthers, 1998, p. 295) .[26] Therefore, the physical shapes of letters are images, pictorial signs of what they re-present. Carruthers' conception of a page as a "complete parchment" translates smoothly to *"mappamundi"* – the map certainly is a "cognitively valuable picture" - and applies more broadly to other media, to what we might call semiotic hybrids, works consisting of word-and-image clusters: wall paintings, stained glass windows, *Arma Christi* and *Exultet* rolls, and *tabulae.* All speak silently to those able to decode them and verbally to those who heard their data clusters decoded and spoken to them.

But how were the valuable data painted on maps translated (from the Latin for *metaphor, trans-latio,* meaning to "carry across") from map to intellect? Mary Carruthers shows us that "the sensory gateway is always dual ..., for all words are both shape and sound by their very nature, and all sensory impressions are processed so as to act upon memory in the same way" (Carruthers, 1998, p. 224). Mapgazers cognizant of re-presentational conventions - *litterae* or *picturae* - would have seen on the map mnemonic keys to narratives that they would have recognized and/or heard. Examples from the Hereford map might include the following: the Exodus route, Lot's wife, Joseph's Egyptian granaries, Israelite idolators worshipping the golden calf, Noah's ark, and the tower of Babel, along with many classical tales, such as that of the golden fleece, the maternal pelican feeding her young with blood from her self-pierced breast, the story of the sphinx, even tales of griffins.[27]

Cognizant viewer would only have needed iteration and auditory assistance for processing unfamiliar data clusters. They would have received information via Carruthers' two gateways, *"hearing* the text read aloud while *looking* at the lettering and images on the pages; repeating the text aloud with one or more companions...; examining the pictures and their captions, together with the illuminated letters..." (Carruthers, 1998, p. 195, my emphases). This bisensual pedagogico-cognitive process enabled the student to recognize data clusters in narrative windows, rolls, *tabulae,* wall paintings, and *mappamundi.* This does not necessarily involve the acquisition of new knowledge; rather, student visitors are prepared to re-cognize what they have already seen.

Vocal intermediation would have been vital to those unfamiliar with the conventions of re-presentational data clusters. This larger group of map-gazers would have required vocal iteration of the new information with which the map confronted them. It is difficult to say how much the preliterate would have been able to recognize (and we must not conflate preliteracy with ignorance). The laity *in toto* would have heard sermons in which biblical events and acts of the saints like Cantilupe were recounted, literally illustrated, and turned into *exempla.* They would have been cognitively comfortable with modes of symbolic re-presentation and significance that we find strange. No matter how literate a

medieval perceptor was, the path to the acquisition of knowledge began (as it still does) with iteration - *"In principio erat verbum,"* indeed.

We know from Russell Hope Robbins' (1939) work on *Arma Christi* rolls that preachers used their data clusters as what we might call props for their performances.[28] These manuscript rolls are often quite long, too long for private devotional/ meditative use. BL Add. MS 32006, for example, is six inches wide and just under seven feet long. An exemplary *Arma Christi* roll, this manuscript in the British Library has 24 color images related to the Passion running down its left side. The headings are in Latin, but the verse descriptions of the images - which constitute a poem on the tools of the Passion - are in English[29] The close juxtaposition of texts and images suggests a preliterate public audience, as does the fact that another roll, BL Royal MS 17A27, emphasizes its *picturae* and their power to invoke indulgences by using terms to do with vision: *"sight* of the uernacul," "This armus of crist *be-hold," "to se* hit ich day," *"To sen* it ich day," and *"To sen* it a twelf-moneth ich day enter" (Morris, 1990, pp. 216, 220, 225, 227, 229, my emphases).[30]

As Robbins has taught us, these rolls were in function "congregational":

> A friar or parish priest would display such rolls, either holding them up himself or hanging them from a convenient ledge or niche in the wall, or suspending them from the pulpit. The worshippers would gain the indulgence by gazing at the roll, ... while listening to the priest read the descriptions of the instruments... (Robbins, 1939, pp. 419-420)[31]

Robbins refers to Stonyhurst MS 32 in support of his contentions regarding the public display of *Arma Christi* rolls. This manuscript had "'two leaden weights ... affixed at the bottom of the third membrane for the purpose of facilitating the unrolling. Holes for similar weights are visible at the beginning also, but the weights themselves no longer exist"' (qtd. in Robbins, 1939, p. 419). I find Robbins' findings compelling, even some sixty-five years on, and agree that "the evidence we have is sufficient ... to show that his poem was made for public use, and ... that it was intended to be publicly displayed in churches to stimulate the devotion of the 'lewd' [simple or unlettered] folk" (Robbins, 1939, p. 417). Robbins' theories about *Arma Christi* rolls are relevant to *Exultet* rolls and ecclesiastical wall paintings, to say nothing of the Hereford map and its analogues. 32 This, then, is the broader material context - one that extends beyond analogous maps - in which we should consider the map's function.

Even those Gregory referred to in his second letter to Serenus as *"ignorantes"* and *"idiotis"* would have recognized *Arma Christi* illustrations like three crossed nails, a crown of thorns, a flail, and a bloody spear as implements of the Passion, just as they would have recognized pictographs on the

Hereford map of the Expulsion from the Garden, the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment. They might even have been able to reiterate tales for unfamiliar images, once their data clusters were located and named for them; for instance, of the Exodus route, Lot's wife, the Egyptian granaries of Joseph, and Jerusalem. This, I think, is what Gregory meant by *legere* the recognition of conventional data clusters and the mnemonic recapitulation of their learned narratives for personal meditation and/or interpersonal communication.

Rudolf Simek thinks that monumental *mappamundi* were few on the ground (Simek, 1996, p. 121) .33 If he is correct, visitors to such maps on public display would have perceived them as at least partially unconventional. Either way, no visitor to Hereford would have had the map's *summa* in memory. Even the most learned would have found unfamiliar images inscribed within its circular border, which strains to contain its 1,091 verbal legends (Westrem, 2001) and nearly as many pictures. Nonetheless, all would have been able to read, in the Gregorian sense, what Carruthers calls '''brief,' memory-sized chunks," familiar "pieces that respect the length of human 'short-term memory' (as we now call it)" (Carruthers, 1998, p. 63). Those who could only recognize the conventional, of course, would have had a different cognitive experience than those with the ability to decode the unconventional.

Perceptive Audiences

The map - or, perhaps, its speaker – addresses a diverse group of perceptors via the verse invocation in its lower left corner. These lines in Anglo-Norman call for prayers for Richard of Haldingham or Lafford/Sleaford:

> Tuz ki cest estoire *ont*
> Ou oyront *ou* lirront *ou* verront,
> *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.* [34]

As Valerie Flint points out, these verses lay their "emphasis on hearing and seeing as well as reading, for a didactic purpose of some kind" (Flint, 1998, p. 42). Flint's "emphasis" reminds us of Carruthers' two gateways (Carruthers, 1992, p. 224) and illustrates the map's pedagogical conventionality. The invocation uses third-person plural verb forms to address multiple constituencies of its audience simultaneously. (1) all (Tuz) who have ***(ont)*** its narrative ***(estoire);*** that is, the Cathedral that owns the map, its clergy, and others who have (some) of its data in memory; 35 (2) those who need to hear

(oyront) the map spoken - in Middle English, Welsh, or Anglo-Norman - but especially those unable to recognize and so decode unfamiliar data clusters; (3) those who read ***(lirront),*** "all" to varying degrees, but especially those able to recognize some clusters and to decode others; and (4) those who see ***veront)*** it, that is, all sighted visitors.[36]

Also important here is the conjunction *or (ou),* which appears three times in the invocation's first two lines. In its first two instances, ***or*** subtly maintains the hierarchical relationship between those who own the map and control the dissemination of its information and those who must have that information presented to them orally. The third instance of this conjunction excludes only the sightless and otherwise unites all visitors: those who have, hear, read, and see the map's imaginal *estoire,* its complex narrative.[37]

Those experiencing the map would have taken possession of the knowledge it re-presents, its *historia,* via two senses, and they would have *(ont)* it at different levels of sophistication. All would have seen *(veront)* its data clusters, and would have processed the whole, the map-in-triptych, as part of the Cantilupe complex, but that kind of global vision imprints few striking details on memory. Those who could read *(lirront)* the map, who could decode its semiotic chunks, would have been able to transfer the most data to their memory architecture for later meditation and edification.

But what of those whose main *entree* was aural, those who had to hear *(oyront)* the map? What hard evidence do we have that there were clergymen stationed near the map to translate its data clusters into Middle English, Welsh, or Anglo-Norman for them? As far as I have been able to determine, the hard answer is none. However, we do have sufficient circumstantial evidence to create a context and enough intuitive speculation to warrant further study.

In *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion,* Jonathan Sumption discusses travel books; pilgrim guides, some of whom were "licensed and organized"; and even package tours of Venice Sumption, 1995, pp. 258-261). According to Sumption, local and professional guides worked Holy Land sites as early as the fourth century. In fact, their "inaccuracies and exaggerations" apparently "earned them the implacable hostility of [none other than] St.Jerome" (Sumption, 1995, p. 260). Sumption's accounts of the "dramatic emphasis and ... flamboyant gestures" (Sumption, 1995, p. 261) used by the more reliable guides who assisted the Russian abbot Daniel (fl. 1106-1118) andJohn of Wurzburg (fl. 1160) during their visits to the Holy Land sound like Beverly Mayne Kienzle's description of medieval preaching. These accounts therefore seem analogous to the kind of teaching that would have occurred before the Hereford map. According to Kienzle, preachers supplemented their collections of *exempla* and information in preaching manuals *(ars praedicandi)* with "visual aids, such as objects of local art [and] sometimes had recourse to translators, living aids to efficaciousness" and

"resorted to theatrical devices, or multimediality, combining visual aids, gestures, and even other players to bring the sermon's message to life" (Kienzle, 2002, pp. 104-105).

Kienzle's perfomance-theory study calls to mind Robert of Basevorn, who wrote the *Forma praedicandi* in 1322, thirty-five years after the Hereford map was installed in the Cathedral. In his manual, Basevorn instructed those seeking to be effective preachers "to attract the mind of the listeners in such a way as to render them willing to hear and retain. [...] One way is to place at the beginning something subtle and interesting, as some authentic marvel which can be fittingly drawn in for the purpose of the theme" (Basevorn, 1971, pp. 145-146).[38] The Hereford map obviously qualifies as "interesting," even as an "authentic marvel," and could easily have been "fittingly drawn" into a peroration or impromptu "lecture" on myriad scriptural themes. After all, the map prominently reresents images of events and places from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament and refers to the Gospels twenty-six times. Westrem reminds us that the map is not 'just a Bible story" (Westrem, 2001, p. xxviii), and his transcription shows that there are far more non-biblical images inside its circular frame than there are those with direct scriptural connections. Nevertheless, its *imagines scripturae* occupy prime eye-level real estate and would have been potent pedagogical prompts for the medieval equivalent of a Blue Badge guide.

In *Likeness and Presence,* Hans Belting confidently states that, "outside the hours devoted to the liturgy a constant stream of pilgrims from all parts of the known world filed past the famous treasures, and local guides instructed the pilgrims on addressing the icon or relic, which would answer their particular concern" (Belting, 1994, p. 192). Miriam Gill proceeds more cautiously, and rightly so, given what to my knowledge is a lack of documentary proof that shrines like Cantilupe's had appointed guides or interpreters present. She states the apparent but nonetheless important fact that the "self-evident connection between painting and preaching [and, I would add, teaching] can be hard to demonstrate" (Gill, 2002, p. 155); although, like her colleague Kienzle, Gill thinks that clerical "extemporisation inspired by monumental art or local events may have been very common, indeed expected" (Gill, 2002, p. 155). Nigel Hiscock also acknowledges the dearth of proof for what seems self-evident, but remains "persuaded of the likelihood that churches frequented by pilgrims would have provided commentators to explain the sculptures and translate the inscriptions of the portals" (Hiscock, 2000, p. 98).

Italian documents tell us that the preacher Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444) gave tours in Siena "of the Palazzo Publico; of the Sala dei Nove, the room of the Council of Nine; and of the Sala del Gran Consiglio *(Mappamondo room,* the Hall of the Great Council)" (Debby, 2002, p. 139, my emphases).[39] Indeed, Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby informs us that

> Bernardino made use of the four winds (venti) shown in the pictures [in the chapter house of the

> Convento di Santo Agostino in Siena] as a rhetorical device to divide his sermon, and they appear in connection with the vision of the prophet Daniel (Daniel 7.2). Elsewhere, he referred to the maps, now lost, painted by Lorenzetti for the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Publico in celebration of the greatness of Italy. (Debby, 2002, p. 140)

Unfortunately, we have no such records for Hereford Cathedral. However, in *Miracles & Pilgrims,* Ronald Finucane offhandedly and tantalizingly refers to the Cantilupe shrine's less-than-busy, fourteenth-century *custodes* (Finucane, 1995, p. 142).[40] R.N. Swanson reports that Cathedral shrines other than Cantilupe's had "separate keepers" and that Cathedral records for the sixteenth century indicate the presence of a guardian of the *feretrum* that held Cantilupe's remains (Swanson, 1993, p. 97). [41] Along with Swanson, David Lepine has written the definitive account of the Cathedral during the period 1268-1535 for *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (Swanson & Lepine, 2001). Lepine has informed me that shrine *custodes'* "principal responsibility was financial," and that "the demands of the liturgy would have left them little time to spend at the shrine" (personal communication, 8 August 2002). Nonetheless, he asked, "Were there clergy 'on duty' there?"; to which he responded: "Presumably?"[42]

Ben Nilson has told me that he "mostly made the assumption that the various custodians would explain things to pilgrims," when he wrote *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (personal communication, 7 July 2002). Still, he writes, it "is a fair assumption ... that officers watching over pilgrims and leading them in and out of shrine chapels would explain anything unusual. [...] Actual structured tours, with stops to explain things, is certainly possible but I would like to see evidence."[43] Of course, many of us would also like to find such proof. For now, though, there is enough circumstantial evidence and a strong enough intuitional consensus to warrant further investigation into the presence of interactive *custodes* at Hereford's Cantilupe complex and to speculate on their roles.

We know that pilgrims to the saint's shrine passed through the cemetery on the cathedral's north side, through the north door (now part of the Booth. Porch), which Richard Morris refers to as "the symbolic entrance to his [Cantilupe's] shrine" (Morris, 1974, p. 23), and up the north nave aisle that Bishop Swinfield had enlarged to accommodate their numbers. In short, they were led along exterior and interior paths toward their goal. And so we can easily imagine a perceptive *custos* guiding visitors' ocular journeys over the map, answering questions in perhaps three languages, and drawing upon the generic-level metaphor LIFE IS JOURNEY to construct analogies between visitors' life journeys and those of Christ and St. Thomas, as well as between their travels *to* Hereford and *through* its Cathedral.[44]

Myriad data clusters on the map illustrate this potentiality, but one in particular seems exemplary, because it underpins the pervasive Western Christian trope of the exilic pilgrim, which is tied to another powerful trope, that of misused curiosity, ***mala curiositas.*** *As* Christian Zacher has

written,

> Like Jacob, David, and all their fathers before them... , every medieval Christian knew himself to be a *viator in peregrinatione,* knew that he was homeless on earth, and knew from Scripture and sermon that, as one fourteenth-century preacher put it, he was "bondon to goye here in [th]is world and not to reste but to traveyll... for here to stonde is to vs impossible." (Zacher, 1976, p. 42)

In the Hebrew Bible's patriarchal history are numerous examples of the *alienus in via* and *mala curiositas* tropes, and the map represents some of them: for example, Adam and Eve being driven from the Garden, the archetypal Judeo-Christian wanderers, precursors of the displaced, those who have not sinned, like Lot, and those who have, like his wife. The map shows Lot's wife in a shameful pose, which recalls the shame of Adam and Eve. Her data cluster - her image and attendant leg-end, *Uxor Loth* - would have provided a potent prompt for a map guide to exploit his audience's *curiositas,* to keep or get the attention of those whose eyes and ears were wandering, and to move them from *mala* to *bona curiositas.* A clergyman with even a basic knowledge of Latin and Genesis could have made these connections for visitors.

On the map, Lot's wife looks over her left shoulder toward Sodom and Gomorrah. Were pilgrim visitors directed to follow her gaze toward the map's re-presentation of the Exodus route (with a damaging pointer, perhaps), they might connect its golden illustration of legendary alienation and wandering in the desert to her tale of rootlessness and then to their own tales of wandering ***in via.*** A ***custos*** could then have pointed their gazes west-ward toward Mount Horeb's data cluster that represents the place where God drew up the covenant with Israel. Since both Mount Horeb and the site of Lot's wife's pillar were on medieval pilgrimage routes, their appearances on the map would have provided yet another opportunity for a Cathedral guide to extemporize on any of the map's data clusters.[45]

In the same region, near Babylon, is an image of a bearded man looking out from a crenellated building's asymmetrical trefoil window. This man might just be the patriarch Abraham, to whom God said, '"'Know this for certain, that your descendants will be aliens living in a land that is not theirs'" (Genesis 15.13). However, the inscription below the architectural device - *"Hur habet et patria et Caldea"* ("Ur has [what?] and the homeland and Chaldaea" (Westrem, 2001, p. 89) - is unclear.[46] Even with this scribal confusion, a docent could easily have combined the patriarch's portrait in the window to "Hur" and "Caldea" to spin out the tale of Abraham's travels from Ur to Canaan for visitors to Thomas' shrine. By doing so, he could have emphasized the figurative links be seen the life journeys of his pilgrim audience, that of Thomas Cantilupe, and their biblical forebears like Abraham, who "lived as an alien in the country of the Philistines for many a year" (Genesis 21.34); Abraham who tells the Hittites, "'I am an alien and a settler among you"' (Genesis 23.4); and who died on foreign soil like St. Thomas.

This docent also might use the tale of Abraham and his son to set a conventional lesson that the map illustrates and that a docent might have conveyed: obey the laws of the Church, persevere through the hard times, and trust in God. If the faithful do so, they will be rewarded. As God says of Abraham, ‘‘‘I have taken care of him on purpose that he may charge his sons and family after him to conform to the way of the Lord and to do what is right and just; thus shall I fulfill all that I have promised for him’” (Genesis 18.19-20). ‘Thus,” as Edward P. Blair has written, “Abraham, who ... at length learned to trust in God in the face of human impossibility, holds up a mirror in which we see our own frustrations, lack of faith, and need for divine help. Thus Job... Thus Jesus and Paul...” (Blair, 1975, p. 24). Thus the pilgrim mapgazer.

Naturally, not all visitors to holy sites were pilgrims seeking spiritual enlightenment. There were plenty like Chaucer’s Wife of Bath, who “‘made visitaciouns / To vigilies and to processiouns, / To prechyng eke, and to thise pilgrimages’” (3.555-357) and who were as adept as she at “wandrynge by the weye” (1.467). There were, however, also many seeking spiritual help and cures at shrines like Cantilupe’s. Were there not such Christians, Dante’s *Commedia* would not have resonated as deeply as it did with Chaucer and with those throughout the Middle Ages who saw themselves in its specular poetry and who found themselves wandering life’s road, *“nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita”* (1.1), without a firm destination - or a Virgillian guide. Like that of its cathedral home, the wonder of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* is that it appealed to both sides of our peripatetic, inquisitive human nature, the one seeking edification and the other entertainment and *aventure.*

This intellectually stimulating, visuo-spatial metaphor encouraged (and encourages) wonder and the desire to wander over and through its world - if not on foot or horse, then by embarking upon an ocular journey. For such virtual journeys, each traveler connects strings of data clusters pulled from this word-and-image encyclopedia.[47] Following such an experiential/cognitive process forges intellective and emotional links between individual perceptors and their culture, whose values, histories, and beliefs the map stores. Ideally, with proper instruction such a viewer would use the base knowledge, the *historia* acquired after a guided tour, to move toward a higher understanding of Creation—ascending *in situ* from the accommodative toward the analogical and even anagogical realms.

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Note

1. In the Vulgate, "' [P] utasne intellegis quae legis?' Qui ait, '[E] t quomodo possum si non aliquis ostenderit mihi?' [...] [E] t incipiens ab scriptura ista evangelizat illi Iesum."' I have rendered evangelizat as "guide." It might also be "show" or "declare."
2. *This author of this plaint was "an anonymous Benedictine of the abbey of Beze," whom I quote from Daniel K Connolly (1999, p. 598).*
3. I use *represent* to mean the human presentation of God-as-original-artificer's handiwork. 1 use *re-cognized* to indicate re-understood and remembered in the sense of re-assembled (remembered), as when someone pulls together conventional data clusters from different maps, wall paintings, or narrative windows, so as to make sense of the cluster under examination. The analogy of cartographic data clusters to hyperlinks in digital literature bears exploration. Patrizia Licini has begun working on this topic, as those know who heard her presentation at the University of Leeds' International Medieval Congress in July 2004, "A Meta-Gothic Virtual Navigation over the Sawley Map: www.sawleymappamundi.net."
4. For a full account of the map's placement and for thoughts on the importance of its oak case, see Terkla (2004).
5. Westrem's (2001) work is invaluable for anyone working on medieval maps and particularly the Hereford *Mappa Mundi. The Hereford Map* functions as the critical edition of this unique artwork. As such it makes the map accessible to all and provides accurate, reliable transcriptions, translations, and intelligent commentary.
6. Westrem provides details on the roles these and other texts played in the map's creation (Westrem, 2001, pp. x x x v i i , 429-50).
7. Tyers (2004) gives more on the map's dimensions and trimming. I grateful to Dominic Harbour of Hereford Cathedral for sending me a copy of Tyers' report via email on 18 February 2004 and for allowing me to examine the panel before Tyers' examination. For full descriptions of the map and its context, see Westrem (2001, pp. xv-xxvii) and P.D.A. Harvey (1996, 2000).
8. On the probable biblical precedent behind this centering, see Psalm 73/74.12 and Ezekiel 5.5.
9. Even though their names match, these landmasses do not physically correspond to the continents we know today. On the map, Europe is labelled *Affrica* and Africa *Europa.* To my knowledge, no one has put forth a theory (other than the usual and unhelpful "scribal error") to explain these mistaken nominations.
10. The building was opened by Queen Elizabeth on 3 May 1996 and won the Royal Fine Art Commission's Building of the Year award in 1997. For more on the building, the chained library

and the map's exhibition, see Tiller (2000), Williams (2000), and Harvey (2000).

11. For more accessible reproductions of Carter's title page, see Bailey (1993) and Harvey (1996).
12. Not all scholars have subscribed to the theory that the map originated in Lincoln, as Westrem (2001) indicates.
13. For accounts of money generated by Cantilupe's shrine, see the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1802), p. 157; and Willis (1742), pp. 515-516. For a new perspective on the revivifying history of Thomas' remains, see Bartlett (2004).
14. My suspicion that there was more to the complex than this description suggests derives in part from Stukeley's full account:

> [Thomas'] picture is painted on the wall. [A]ll around are the marks of hooks where the banners, lamps, reliques, and the like presents were hung up in his honor, and no doubt vast were the riches and splendor which fill'd this place, and 'tis well guarded and barricado'd to prevent thieves from making free with his superfluitys. (Stukeley, 1724, p. 67).

Due to subsequent renovations and restorations, none of what Stukeley describes remains.

15. Gill's article provides real insight into the likely uses preachers made of wall paintings and is thus necessary reading for anyone working on the links between word, image, and cognition in the later Middle Ages.
16. First Isaiah includes books 1-39, Second Isaiah books 40-55, and Third (or Trito-) Isaiah books 56-66.
17. Moir's and Letts' studies were published together and numbered consecutively in the 1970 volume. See Moir (1970). In 1966, Moir published a less substantial, primarily descriptive piece with a similar title. Elsewhere I have tried to advance the argument against the map's use as an altarpiece (Terkla, 2004).
18. *Edify* and *edifice* share etymological roots, as the *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates; both derive from the Latin *aedifcare,* which combines *aedes* (a dwelling, temple, or house) with f*icare* (to make). Of course, the word *edifice,* which first appears in Chaucer's 'Tale of Mellibee" in 1386, refers to "a building, usually a large and stately building, as a church, palace, temple, or fortress; a fabric, structure." *Edify* was first attested in English earlier. In 1340, Richard Rolle of Hampole used it in *The Psalter, or Psalms of David, and Certain Canticles* to mean the following: 'To build; to construct (a dwelling, edifice) of the usual building materials." Rolle's also provides us with the first attestation of one of the word's figurative senses: 'To build up, establish, organize (a system, institution, or law, a moral quality, etc.), to establish or strengthen (a person)." In the same year, we see the first English appearance of the word's common connotation; in the *Ayenbite of Inwyt,* it means, "in religious use: To build up (the

church, the soul) in faith and holiness; to benefit spiritually; to strengthen, support." Working in the spirit of Isidore of Seville, we see etymological roots intertwining to provide the linguistic context that helps us understand the pedagogical links between medieval churches and their decorative programs. Items like the Hereford map were used to help instruct visitors at all levels of literacy, in ways that become clear below.

19. The very valuable tip to consider *Arma Christi Exultet* rolls comes from Valerie IJ. Flint: "Its [the Hereford map's] pur- pose may thus be related to that of teaching rolls or, more pertinently as I have come to convince myself, to the *Arma Christi* rolls used to guide devout laity and pilgrims through their penitential exercises" (Flint, 1998, 25). Flint's article is required reading for anyone interested in the map's placement and use.

20. In December 2003, Dominic Harbour and I tried to match these scratches on the map to the ubiquitous ones on its central panel, to no avail. The latter scratches seem to have been made to take an adhesive that was never applied. Ian Tyers refers to them as "random cross-hatching" and "random scoring" (Tyers, 2004, p. 5).

21 By way of example, Henry provides the following from one of the *Biblia's* pages: It is not a bit of good staring at a picture of a man carrying two large doors on the outskirts of a city and expecting it to suggest the risen Christ. You are likely to take him for a builder's merchant or a removal man unless you already know that this is always Samson with the gates of Gaza ... and that like Christ he has, as it were, broken gaol. (Henry, 1987, p. 18).

22 On the *Pictor in carmine,* see James (1951). According to James, the thirteenth-century manuscript, Rawlinson C. 67, "once the property of Hereford Cathedral, contains the whole work [the *Pictor]* with the preface. It is ascribed on the flyleaf to Adam, of abbot of Dore" (James, 1951, p. 144). See alsoJohn Pecham, *Ignorantia Sacerdatum,* BL MS Royal 6 EI; and, in a more accessible format, *"Ignorantia sacerdotum,"* (1534/1929), pp. 1-3; Robert of Basevorn (1936), pp. 231-323; in English, Krul (1971), pp. 109-215; *Dives and Pauper* (1976); Mirk (1868, 1905); *The Tale of Beryn* (1909); and Pecock (1860).

23 For the full Latin texts of Gregory's letters to Serenus, see *MGH, Gregorii I Papae registrum Epistularum,* II.1, *liber* IX.208, 195 and 11.2, *liber* XI.10, (270-271). See also *CChL* 140A, *liber* IX.209, 768 and *liber* XI.10, (874-875).

24 *"Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quae legere in codicibus non valent"* (qtd. in Dvorak, 1967, p. 164, n. 53).

25 Pictura *denotes a painting or a picture, and* imago *a copy or a likeness. Since medieval ecclesiastical paintings - on glass, walls, maps, etc. - attempted to be mimetic, the convertibility*

of the terms is clear.

26 *"Litterae autem, id est figurae primo vocum indices sunt, deinde rerum, quas animae per oculorum fenestras opponunt, et frequenter absentium dicta sine voce loquuntur"* (Carruthers, 1998, p. 295).

27 I noticed in 1999 that the tomb of Thomas Cantilupe has a griffin carved in its upper western corner and a sphinx in its upper eastern corner. These match nicely with the griffin and sphinx painted on the Hereford map and would have provided nice pictorial connections for visitors to the Cantilupe complex. Those standing on the tomb's south side and facing east to look at the map would have had the four images nearly lined up on the horizontal plane. Valerie I.J. Flint (1998) also writes about this visual link. I had not read her article, however, until after I had noticed the griffin and sphinx on Thomas' tomb.

28 See also Buehler (1964).

29 Blake Beattie writes that preachers in Avignon - as many do today and, I imagine, as they did elsewhere in the Middle Ages — ''worked to create a sense of community within their audience through a number of rhetorical techniques which helped to incorporate their listeners into the act of preaching" (Beattie, 2002, p. 68-69). For example, preachers "used rhyming or versified passages on occasion; significantly, such passages are routinely given distinctive scribal renderings [in manuscripts]" (Beattie, 2002, p. 70).

30 Emphases are mine, and parenthetical numbers refer to lines of verse. Morris' 1990 edition prints transcriptions of BL Royal MS 17 A 27 and BL MS Add. 22 029, along with "curious illustrations ... furnished by Professor de la Motte" (Morris, 1990, p. ix).

31 BL MS Royal 17 A 27 provides the lengths of indulgences, as does MS 410 in Yale's Beinecke Library. On BL MS Royal 17 A 27, see Robbins (1939). On MS 410, see http://webtext.library.yale.edu/beinflat/ pre1600.MS410.htm.

32. Like *Arma Christi* rolls, *Exultet* rolls are lengthy parchment scrolls. The name derives from the opening of the Easter chant, *"Exultet iam angelica turba coelorum...*," the body of which makes up the textual portion. Also like *Arma Christi* rolls, *Exultet* rolls are illustrated. See for example, BL MS Add 30337 or its facsimile, FACS 282, also in the British Library. As the British Library's "Digital Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts" indicates, *Exultet* rolls "were designed for public viewing, with the text facing the reader and the image placed upside down in relation to the text, to face the congregation over the lectern." Keith Rawlings claims that the Italian rolls are "the earliest evidence of picture narration in Europe" (Rawlings, as below), although he

provides no real support for this assertion beyond a bibliographical reference. For British Library's "Digital Catalogue," see http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/. For "the earliest evidence," see Keith Rawlings, *Observations on the Historical Development of Puppetry,* online at http://www.sagecraft. com/puppetry/definitions/historical/ chapter4.html. For accessible images of the Salerno and Barberini *Exultet* rolls, go to the University of Notre Dame's Medieval Institute website (http://www.nd.edu/~medvllib/exultet.html). For more on the liturgy of the paschal candle, see the New Advent website (http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05730b.htm) . On medieval ecclesiastical *tabulae,* see Gerould (1917, 1926) and Robinson (1926). Discussion of these analogous works falls beyond the scope of this study. I am certain that broadening the material context of the Hereford map to include Exultet rolls and *tabulae* will lead to new theories, maybe even facts, about the map's original function. I am currently pursuing this line of investigation.

33. See also Westrem (2001). There are some 1,100 extant medieval *mappaemundi,* roughly 900 of them in manuscripts. Although I am convinced that the Hereford map was widely accessible to medieval pilgrims visiting the Cantilupe complex, we do not know precisely how accessible monumental *mappaemundi* were to the public. Even if Simek (1996) is right, it seems likely that access would have been rare enough generally for the Hereford map to exert a strong pull on the curious, especially as a key part of the Cantilupe complex. Gerald R. Crone (1961) thought monumental *mappaemundi* were more readily available than Simek.

34. The following translation and emphases are mine:

> All of you who *have* this history
> Or who *hear* or *read* or *see* it,
> Pray to Jesus in his divinity
> For Richard of Haldingham or of Lafford[/Sleaford],
> Who made and designed it,
> To whom heavenly joy thus be granted.

35. Citing BrianJ. Levy (1995), Westrem (2001) links vision and possession through the Middle English "word-pair 'bi-eold/heold'", which appears in Layamon's *Brut* seven times in as many lines (1002-1008) and, as we have seen, in the *Arma Christi* verses. See Layamon (1995).

36. The *Acta Sanctorum* contains the full account of miracles supposedly worked at Cantilupe's shrine, an account that demonstrates the saint's popularity and thereby the Cathedral's. The *Acta* suggests that many hopeful - and some allegedly successful — blind pilgrims prayed and measured themselves to the shrine of St. Thomas. For the entire catalogue, see *De* S. *Thoma de*

Cantilupe (1863-1919). For a clear-headed account of Cantilupe's canonization process, the shrine's fortunes, pilgrim demographics, and what he calls "the business of saint-making," see Finucane (1995, p. 188). Finucane's assessment of the *Acta* record is accurate: "a difficult source to use because only parts of the original [canonization] process were transcribed, the sequence of events was disrupted, and errors are all too common" (Finucane, 1995, p. 173).

37. *Estoire* is a terrifically complicated and expressive term, denoting "'recit historique,' or *[sic]* meme 'chronique' ..., avant de se generaliser en 'recit' tout court." It also had the "sens precis de 'source d'autorite' [ou] celui d'une representation par images." See Levy (1995). A fuller understanding than we have now of *estoire's* function in these verses will sharpen our thinking on the ways in which thirteenth- and fourteenth-century mapgazers cognized — and were meant to cognize - the map's data clusters. J am currently working on this as part of a project on map reception that combines metaphorology, medieval mnemonics, and medieval and modern philosophies of mind.

38. *Debet enim praedicator... allicere animos auditorum ut reddat eos benevelos ad audiendum et retinendum. Quod potest multis modis. Uno modo, proponendo aliquid in principio subtile et curiousum, ut de aliquo mirabili authentico quod ad propositum thematis trahi congrue possit.* For the Latin text, see Charland (1936).

39. Bernardino also distinguished between reading-as-decoding the unfamiliar and recognizing a familiar image (Debby, 2002).

40. Finucane notes, "Of course the main theatre was the new tomb, ever-guarded by its custodes, who were, however, less occupied during the fourteenth century" (Finucane, 1982, p. 142).

41. According to Swanson, "other relics also attracted devotion... The regular appointment of a separate keeper of these relics also suggests that they were not all connected with Cantilupe" (Swanson, 1993, p. 97). Of the *feretrum* keeper he writes that "it is regretable that there are no specific records for the shrine keepers at Hereford among the remaining muniments. A *feretrarius* was being appointed annually from among the canons throughout the early sixteenth century, but leaves no independent records" (Swanson, 1993, p. 98).

42. Following is Lepine's complete response to my query about guides:
Some initial thoughts about the keepers of St Thomas' shrine, which I fear will not be very illuminating for your inquiry. The keeper of the shrine seems to have been appointed each year (probably there was continuity but the records are incomplete) and usually a member of the minor clergy. Most of the evidence comes from the late medieval period, the 1490s and 1520s (the Clavigers Accounts HCA R583-6 and the first chapter act book). The duties of the keepers

remain very unclear and there is no evidence of any kind of instruction by them or any role as guides. Their principal responsibility was financial, the collection of and accounting for the offerings made at the shrine. As members of the minor clergy few would have had a university education and their main function was to carry out the Opus Dei [sic]. The demands of the liturgy would have left them little time to spend at the shrine. Were there clergy "on duty" there? Presumably? See also Swanson and Lepine (2001).

43. Following is Nilson's complete response to my query about guides:
The idea that the Mappa Mundi *[sic]* was part of an integrated pilgrimage site, sort of like a tourist "attraction" centre, is intriguing and, I think, plausible. As to the issue of guides inside the cathedral, I am afraid that I have mostly made the assumption that the various custodians would explain things to pilgrims. However, I think it is a fair assumption, especially by the thirteenth century, that officers watching over pilgrims and leading them in and out of shrine chapels would explain anything unusual. The shrines themselves probably needed little explanation, but the host of other things that got crammed in (assorted relics, ostrich eggs, etc.) would. The Mappa Mundi *[sic]* would certainly fit tire criteria. I doubt that pilgrims would have been shy about asking. Actual structured tours, with stops to explain things, is certainly possible but I would like to see evidence. The main roles of the officers were security and money collection. See also Ben Nilson (2001).

44. For a possible monastic version of this virtual secular pilgrimage, see Connolly (1999). For an initial exploration and application of LIFE IS JOURNEY to the Hereford map, see Terkla (2000). For insightful thinking about metaphor's role in cognition, see George Lakoff (1980a, 1980b, 1987, 1989).

45. Westrem recounts the tale of William of Boldensele in tire 1330s being dissuaded by his ‘‘'Saracen interpreter'" from visiting sites like the pillar of salt that God had cursed (Westrem, 2001, p. 116).

46. *Habet* appears elsewhere on the map in reference to other places that have notable sites or inhabitants, so attributing ownership to a place has precedents. The problem here is that the map does not tell us *wat* Ur has.

47. Even though the modern Latin etymology of "encyclopedia" is spurious, it gets right at the crucial relationship between the form and content. The word is taken from the Greek *egkuklopaideia,* which derives from *egkuklios paideia,* "all-round education." Appropriately enough, the root of *egkuklios* is *kuklos,* circle.