

INTRODUCTION

“The Monstrosities of Hereford and Ebstorf”

We believe that as researchers, students, employees, workers, pupils, retirees, and others—in sum: as citizens—, we must be aware of . . . discursive moves of othering and exclusion and learn to identify these, connect them to underlying interests, and then resist and subvert them to avoid more killings in our or others' names.

—Christian Beyer, Juliane C. Bockwoldt, Emil Lundedal Hammar, and Holger Pötzsch

The Urgency of Using Medieval Material

My subject is old, but my concerns are renewed, revitalized, and revived by the global rise of open, outspoken, even proud hatred of individual Jews and of Jews as an imaginary homogeneous collective. The roots of this hatred are spread across the surfaces of all the *mappae mundi* I discuss here. These old world maps were fundamental to the establishment of specific bigotries and general patterns of racist thought that endure now, a thousand years after their creation. How can this be so? This book answers that question.

The anti-Semitic texts and images that I discuss are, at times, nearly frantic in their expressions of Christian terror. It may be difficult for some modern readers to recapture this terror, given prevalent modern representations of Jews as humorous, stammering, intellectual nebbishes cast in the mold established by Jewish comedians, though for some modern audiences, such fears are very much alive. In the afterword to his adventure novel *Gentlemen of the Road*, set in the Caucasus Mountains around 950 CE, Michael Chabon says that the novel's “original, working” title was “Jews with Swords.” He continues: “When I was writing it and happened to tell people the name of my work in progress, it made them want to laugh. I guess it seemed clear that I meant the

title as a joke. It has been a very long time, after all, since Jews anywhere in the world routinely wore or wielded swords.²¹ In place of imagining the Jewish soldiers who fought with blades at Austerlitz and Gettysburg, of Jewish courtiers in medieval Granada, or of ancient Jewish warriors like Judah Maccabee, Chabon writes, “they saw, rather, an unprepossessing little guy with spectacles and a beard, brandishing a sabre.”²²

To examine the images and texts from *mappae mundi* is to enter a different world. During the Middle Ages, Christians saw Jews as fearsome warriors and dangerous enemies of the Christian community. Worryingly, increasing segments of the world population still fear a “Jewish threat,” a trend that became undeniable over a decade ago when then-popular television and radio personality Glenn Beck engaged in a “two-day tirade” against the Jewish billionaire George Soros, which aired after Beck was celebrated on the covers of *Time* magazine (September 28, 2009) and the *New York Times Magazine* (September 29, 2010). As Michelle Goldberg sharply observes, Beck cast Soros “as the protagonist in an updated *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He described Soros as the most powerful man on earth, the creator of a ‘shadow government’ that manipulates regimes and currencies for its own enrichment.”²³ Introduced with title fonts and graphics drawn from Nazi propaganda films such as the 1940 *Der Ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), directed by Fritz Hippler for Joseph Goebbels’s propaganda ministry,²⁴ and relying on the “puppet master” moniker, Beck screams, mumbles, and weeps on camera about Soros’s international conspiracy to create a one-world government.

As with Beck, now the paranoia often takes the form of imagined banking conspiracies, Hollywood cultural imperialism, and even oddly lingering fears of communism. Since 2010, the rise in anti-Semitism that is the backstory to this modern book about the Middle Ages has continued and accelerated. Britain, the subject of this volume, “has experienced a more than 400 percent increase in antisemitic incidents since 2013,” and statistics for the United States are equally dire.²⁵ The world’s richest person, Elon Musk, has picked up where Beck left off, comparing Soros to a Marvel Comics supervillain with dreams of total world domination,²⁶ and the US Right continues to see Soros through the lens of “classic anti-Jewish conspiracy theory.”²⁷ As the secretary-general of the United Nations observes, “authorities have warned that white supremacist and nativist movements are on the rise across the country and around the world.”²⁸ After Beck’s tirade; after the August 12, 2017, “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, with its Nazi-era chants of “Blood and soil” and “Jews will not replace us”;²⁹ after the January 6, 2021, Capitol riot that was awash in fascist imagery, including a man wearing a sweatshirt reading “Camp Auschwitz: Work brings freedom”³⁰ and another in a T-shirt reading “6MWE” (that is, “Six million weren’t enough”);³¹ after the desecration of synagogues (including in Chico, California, where I live³²) and the murder of Jews within them;³³ and after an endless stream of medieval anti-Semitic tropes from global financial conspiracies to the resurgence of the blood libel propagated on Facebook and elsewhere,³⁴ this seemingly

recondite study of seven-hundred-year-old maps is wretchedly relevant. This history is “temporally remote from us and yet also strikingly proximate.”¹⁵

A Personal Reflection

As I said, concerns about the resurgence of anti-Semitism have animated my work on this difficult project for more than a decade and began, in a way, with my personal geography.¹⁶ Indeed, Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez cautions us that while “we have traveled all over our country and to the edges of the earth, and we have mapped the entire surface of the world . . . in our mind’s map we still locate ourselves in the center.”¹⁷ And so: the situation of *my* house. I grew up in suburban Long Island, New York, in a town with a large and smoothly assimilated Jewish population, a place and time where “Happy Chanukah” signs were not taken as part of the fictitious “War on Christmas” and cashiers in stores never encouraged me to “have a blessed day” with a tone of moral approbation ill suited to the message purportedly being offered. I never gave much thought to my Jewish heritage, any more than I thought about being American, or human. It all just seemed normal. I thought little of this while an undergraduate at Cornell University, in Ithaca, New York, where the circumstances were similar, and then in graduate school at Stanford University, in California. Even when, for a job at Arizona State University, I moved for three years to Phoenix—a city rife with racism, famous for its (exclusionary) Cowboy Artists of America Annual Exhibition and infamous for its highly popular Sheriff Joe Arpaio¹⁸—my Jewishness never seemed a problem. The local white racists’ cathexis on Spanish-speaking populations there was so extreme and myopic as to allow little room for hatred of other Others.

It was only when I moved to Chico, California, for a tenure-track job in a small town northeast of Sacramento that once was a “Sundown town”¹⁹ that I first started to think about my Jewishness. This followed from a series of very minor and absolutely insignificant events: learning from friends that there were a few grumbles within my university about hiring “another Jew”; sitting in a restaurant with Tamas Tollas, a Jewish friend, and overhearing in a stage whisper from across the room, “I think they’re *Jews!*”; sitting at a bar with the same friend and suddenly being interrupted by a man screaming at us that we were “false Khazars,” referring to a millennium-old conspiracy theory that attempts to rob all Ashkenazi Jews of their very cultural identity.²⁰ And then there was an even more dramatic and disquieting outburst of anti-Semitic tropes from a student in one of my courses, which I wrote about in the introduction to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*.²¹ The student, I later learned, had complained to several classmates that she had received poor grades because “Mittman’s a Jew, and he gives bad grades to anyone who isn’t,” a demonstrably false accusation.

As a medievalist, I filtered all of this through my study of the Middle Ages—friends have invented a game they call “Six Degrees of Hieronymus Bosch” to mock my tendency to eventually turn any discussion toward medieval art.²² This tendency is, of course, a logical activity. Lisa Lampert-Weissig writes that “the Middle Ages must be taken into account not as a frozen or static period, as it is still often depicted, but as one that still informs the imagination and ideology in ways that are more than simply nostalgic.”²³ And yet I managed to be in the field for over a decade and a half without confronting the rampant anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism of medieval Christian culture. So I did what we academics do to process our anxieties: I wrote a talk, which eventually became chapter 4 of this book, and delivered it in 2010 at the first conference of the Babel Working Group in Austin, Texas. Afterward, something quite unexpected occurred. A colleague pulled me aside and told me his story of being the target of anti-Semitism—of being asked, in all apparent seriousness, to show his horns.

I was floored and disturbed. Over the next few years, I gave talks based on this book project in Amherst, Berkeley, Bethany (WV), Chicago, Cork (Ireland), Davis (CA), Farmville (VA), Houston, Kalamazoo, Leeds (UK), Lincoln (UK), London, Madison, New Haven, New York, Oxford, Palo Alto, Paris, Princeton, Portland (OR), Reykjavik, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Somerville (MA). After *most* of these events, friends, colleagues, and total strangers told me their stories. Horns. Tails. Accusations. Outbursts. It was, in part, their personal and emotive responses to this material—to talks about seven-hundred-year-old maps—that led me to write this book and to align myself with Christian Beyer, Juliane C. Bockwoldt, Emil Lundedal Hammar, and Holger Pötzsch, who provide the epigraph for this chapter. I reaffirm that it is our responsibility to use our work to challenge “discursive moves of othering and exclusion” so as “to avoid more killings in our or others’ names.”²⁴

The many modern accounts that audience members at my talks shared of enduring medieval racisms have been a bracing reminder not to understate the powerful draw of the fiction of the Middle Ages as a time of racial purities and therefore as a source of “solidarities” among those who wish “to inhabit the fantasy of a pre-modern past.”²⁵ I am grateful to each person who shared a story with me and to those who have published moving accounts of their own related struggles. Lampert-Weissig, for example, published a deeply personal essay about her experience reveling in “Masterpiece Theatre-fueled fantasies” while attending a conference in Oxford. “What,” she asks, would the original patrons of the manor in which she stayed “make of the Jewess studying in the shadow of their church?”²⁶ Just so, my presence in the field of medieval studies is haunted by the knowledge that the creators of the works I have lavished with attention would have been, on the whole, appalled to know that I had held their manuscripts in my Jewish hands. Perhaps this was inevitable. As Elana Gomel writes, “Being a Jew means being haunted by history.”²⁷ And so I am.

The Hereford Map: What, Where, When, Why?

The Hereford Map, the central object of my investigation, contains more anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic content than any other medieval map of which I am aware. It was produced in England ca. 1303–5, about fifteen years after Edward I's 1290 Edict of Expulsion (fig. 1).²⁸ Debra Strickland has demonstrated that these two phenomena are intimately connected, as “the map provides a theological framework for both understanding and justifying the 1290 expulsion in relation to Christian salvation history.”²⁹ The dating is based on specific toponyms it contains as well as paleographical and art-historical assessments (including of the three-tiered papal *triregnum* worn by Augustus Caesar, who appears in the lower left corner of the map, outside the circle of the earth; see fig. 2) and the dendrochronology of the Herefordshire oak panel on which it was made and displayed.³⁰ It was probably produced for—and perhaps at—Hereford Cathedral in west central England,³¹ where it has been for most of its 720 years. The map's icon for the city of Hereford has been worn down from much touching, presumably by locals interested in situating themselves within this vast cosmographical image (see fig. 11).³²

Michelle Brown suggests that the map “was likely made by . . . a lone scholar/ draughtsman and perhaps a colleague with artistic skills, someone working within a monastic or clerical environment without a major scriptorium. Hereford would fit the bill in this respect.”³³ Dan Terkla suggests perhaps one or two cathedral canons, working in conjunction with a secular workshop in town.³⁴ An Anglo-Norman inscription in the lower left corner of the frame credits the map's making to “Richard de Haldingham o de Lafford” (Richard of Holdingham, or of Sleaford); however, no conclusive theories have emerged regarding his identity.³⁵

The dedicatory inscription is just below the image of Augustus Caesar, who is commissioning three surveyors (Nicodoxus, Theodocus, and Policlitus) via the oversized sealed bull he holds out to them, which reads: “Ite in orbem universum, et de omni eius continencia referte ad Senatum; et ad istam confirmandam, huic scripto sigillum meum apposui” (Go into the entire world and make a report to the Senate on all its contents; and to confirm this, I have affixed my seal to this document).³⁶ This command describes the geographical scope of the map, which presents a tremendous, even overwhelming, profusion of details of “the entire world and . . . all its contents,” as known and understood in early fourteenth-century England.³⁷ The map is a massive, encyclopedic sheet, composed of a single calfskin (but for a small “original patch” at the upper right edge³⁸) that stretches 1.58 by 1.33 meters (64 by 52 inches³⁹). It contains more than a thousand inscriptions. This map has been seen as a terrestrial map, a universal map, a biblical compendium, a history—“cest estorie,” as the inscription naming Richard calls it⁴⁰—and more. As Francisco Lovino argues, *mappae mundi* are something like memory palaces, as they are repositories for all sorts of information, tied to *loci* (places): “astronomy, religion, historical events and myths, cosmology.”⁴¹





FIG. 1—OPPOSITE Hereford Map. Hereford Cathedral, ca. 1303–5. © Hereford Cathedral / The Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.

FIG. 2 Detail of Augustus. Hereford Map, Hereford Cathedral, ca. 1303–5. © Hereford Cathedral / The Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.

The earliest surviving claim about the map's usage—beyond what its inscriptions imply—was made by Richard Gough, an English antiquarian, who believed in 1770 that it “formerly serv'd as an altarpiece to t[he] high Altar.”⁴² Scholarship now more often holds that it was designed and displayed as part of a pilgrimage route to the relics of Thomas de Cantilupe, sainted bishop of Hereford (d. 1282) and “inveterate enemy of the Jews.”⁴³ The route was popular, as attested by the list of “ex-voto offerings left at the shrine, including 170 model ships, 100 full-figure silver effigies, and some 2,000 wax images of animals as well as of human body parts.”⁴⁴ Among the noteworthy pilgrims was Edward I, architect of the English Expulsion, who came in 1287 “seeking a cure for his sick falcons.” For the king's ceremonial visit, “Bishop Swinfield arranged the translation of Cantilupe's remains to a new shrine.”⁴⁵ Marcia Kupfer makes a persuasive case that Swinfield likely commissioned the map,⁴⁶ though more recently, Strickland has provided a very compelling case for a female patron, possibly depicted as the handmaid of Mary at the map's apex (fig. 3). This figure, offering a crown to Mary, may be “Joanna de Bohun (d. 1327), also known as Joan Pugenet or ‘The Lady Kilpeck’, who was a special benefactress of Hereford Cathedral and a member of the extended de Bohun family, which included prominent patronesses of the arts.”⁴⁷ The crown-bearing figure has until now generally gone unnoticed, despite her very prominent position. What we can say with certainty is that the map was commissioned by a wealthy Christian patron or patrons in order to provide a work that would help Christian viewers on their spiritual journey toward Christ in heaven at the top of the map. Jews were, in this sense, collateral damage on the Christian path to salvation.

While Terkla once suggested the north transept as the map's original location, more recently Thomas de Wesselow and Kupfer hold the south choir aisle to be more likely.⁴⁸ This would fit with Swinfield's renovations to the cathedral to create a processional route toward Cantilupe's tomb.⁴⁹ Positing the processional route allows us to contemplate the sorts of viewers likely to have seen the map. As Conrad Rudolph notes, “the vast majority of . . . pilgrims were non-elite, and almost all of them had no or very little formal education. . . . [W]hat provided the crucial interface for a largely uneducated public and the often phenomenally complex and expensive art programs . . . that had been created almost entirely for their benefit, practically speaking? . . . [W]as there such a thing as a ‘tour guide’ in the Middle Ages?”⁵⁰ Rudolph's well-documented answer is a resounding *yes*,⁵¹ and we have good evidence for the existence of such caretakers at Hereford, overseeing Cantilupe's tomb. These “tomb-custodians” recorded almost five hundred miracles at the site between 1287 and 1313,⁵² and they would have served as medieval equivalents of the Blue Badge guides modern church visitors often encounter in English churches.⁵³

The Hereford Map is a deeply complex work that has occupied many modern scholars, and in the Middle Ages it was surely, as today, rather a lot for most visitors to navigate. Even though vernacular literacy rates seem to have been on the rise in later



medieval England, evidence for lay literacy is uncertain.⁵⁴ Most of the map is in Latin, and in any case, nonliterate viewers would have needed help in navigating it. As Terkla writes, “Like the modern visitor to Hereford Cathedral, medieval pilgrims would have needed someone to speak the map to them, to translate its unfamiliar scripts and to describe the pictographs, thereby conveying their significance.”⁵⁵

Rudolph expands on the roles of the “*ostiarius, portarius, custos*, doorkeeper, porter, custodian, literally translated,” arguing for “a widespread practice of the mediation of works of art and architecture of various kinds . . . as part of a larger guide culture, which was a significant aspect of the basic dynamics of medieval artistic culture and pilgrimage culture.”⁵⁶ The *custodes*, who we know staffed the pilgrimage route of Hereford Cathedral (as guides still do today), could have assisted both nonliterate and literate visitors, as well as the cathedral canons, not only reading inscriptions but guiding their study of the map. In addition, as Rudolph notes, there were often wall labels, like those in modern museum displays, to help literate viewers.⁵⁷ Such labels survive in Glastonbury and York.

Within the 1,091 inscriptions of the map,⁵⁸ there are many seemingly unambiguous toponyms and vignettes—Paris, Rome, and Bethlehem, for example.⁵⁹ In addition to the seemingly straightforward details, there are also many strange beings, human and otherwise, as well as historical events unmoored from their moments in time. “*There is nothing in the map that fails to signify*,” Denis Wood writes. He continues, “*every sign system is potentially figure and every sign system is potentially ground*.”⁶⁰ That is, even elements of

FIG. 3 Detail of Last Judgment. Hereford Map, Hereford Cathedral, ca. 1303–5. © Hereford Cathedral / The Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.

a map that seem to provide utterly uncontroversial, innocuous background might be brought forward to center stage as rich ideological signs. In this volume, I tease a few threads out of thousands woven into the visual and textual fabric of the map.

The Corpus of Medieval Christian Cartography

This is a book about the Hereford Map (and others), but I hope that it will not only be of interest to historians of cartography. I therefore include a brief description of the surviving corpus of medieval Christian cartography and then provide a brief introduction to the historiography of the field and its transformations. The corpus of surviving medieval maps, Christian and otherwise, is small. As P. D. A. Harvey writes in his introduction to medieval maps, “[f]ew maps were drawn in medieval Europe” (though his view of “Europe” is rather constrained, as I discuss in the following chapter).⁶¹ In the late 1980s, Harvey counted approximately 750 extant maps from the eighth through the fourteenth century. Many more maps have come to light since; Christoph Maun- tel counts over 1,000 “T-O maps” alone, as we shall see.⁶² This would be a large number of manuscripts for most medieval texts. Medieval maps are deeply conventional but, within their conventions, highly varied, and they appear in a variety of contexts. This means that they need to be studied collectively, but with attention to the differences of content and context.

Mappae Mundi, or Medieval World Maps

Medieval world maps are generally referred to as *mappae mundi*, which translates as “tablecloths” or “napkins” of the world, but the term also signifies “drawings” or “paintings” of the world.⁶³ Less common terms included “*orbis pictus*, *orbis terrarum descriptio*, *forma*, *figura*, *tabula*, and *imago mundi*.”⁶⁴ In theory, the Latin “mappa” denotes the substrate or medium rather than the content, though in practice, in post-classical Latin it seems to have signified both form and content.⁶⁵ I am not aware of any medieval European vernacular term for the modern “map,” though by the fourteenth century, English authors deploy variations on the Latin term, such as “mappemounde.”⁶⁶ There still is no modern consensual definition of “map,” either.⁶⁷

“Mappa mundi” names a curious genre. Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger Kain see it as “the most idiosyncratic, even spectacular, map genre of all times, and . . . of particular importance in England.”⁶⁸ *Mappae mundi* frequently combine narratives, including the flow of Christian history, with their spatial structure.⁶⁹ As Alessandro Scafi writes, “the idea of progression of history from east to west lies at the heart of the *mappa mundi*” genre.⁷⁰ That is, these remarkable, often beautiful works are not merely geographies but geo-chronological or geo-historical repositories—“chrono-geographies,” as Bertrand Russell termed them.⁷¹ A medieval map is, as we have seen on the Hereford Map, an

“estorie,”⁷² a history, a *story*, a narrative with numerous plotlines that the reader/viewer can follow. However, while many *mappae mundi* depict events past, present, and future, they are not presented to the viewer in sequential or narrative order. Because information on a map is arrayed in space rather than time, these plots can be explored with some freedom, in whatever order the viewer wishes. However, as discussed in chapter 4, *mappae mundi* do have internal logics, and mapmakers use various visual strategies to guide us through the stories they tell.

T-O Maps, or Schematic Tripartite Maps

The majority of surviving medieval Christian maps are “schematic tripartite maps” or “T-O maps” that typically name the three known landmasses—Asia, Europe, and Africa, in that order⁷³—divided and surrounded by lines that suggest smooth-edged bodies of water (fig. 4).⁷⁴ These schematic maps are commonly found serving as a sort of frontispiece to the geographical content of Isidore of Seville’s popular *Etymologies*, a text seeking to explain God’s divine plan via the origins of Latin words. (Isidore likely did not design the map, and he does not mention it in his text.⁷⁵) Sáenz-López Pérez traces the name to a late fourteenth-century “cosmographic poem” by Leonardo or Gregorio Dati, which is accompanied by a T-O map and numerous other maps of varied designs.⁷⁶ The poem begins:

Uno T dentro auno O monstra el segno
como inttre p[ar]te fu diviso el mondo⁷⁷

A “T” inside an “O” shows the design,
how the world was divided in three parts.⁷⁸

These T-O maps continued to be used long after geographically accurate models were adopted, indicating that the T-O format is not a failed version of such maps or a nascent stage in the development of “better” forms of cartography. Rather, it is a useful schematic image for conveying the layout of the world from a Christian biblical perspective. More than a thousand T-O maps survive, in comparison to the dozen or so of the more detailed Hereford-Ebstorf-Psalter type, which is based on the Isidorian T-O structure. David Woodward defined them teleologically as “transitional” maps (see chart).⁷⁹

T-O maps are deceptively simple. Despite their abbreviated form—or, better, owing to it—these diagrammatic maps are jam-packed with perspectives and ideologies.⁸⁰ As John Block Friedman writes, all medieval maps should be seen as “expression[s] of contemporary cosmology and theology [rather] than objects of utility.”⁸¹ They are, as Kupfer puts it, a “rhetorical act” that projects a desire for “submission of the oikumene,” the inhabitable portions of the earth, “to the church.”⁸² The T-O format embodies the Noahid division of the world into three parts,⁸³ one for each of Noah’s sons, as shown

FIG. 4 T-O map. Isidore, *Etymologies*, late eleventh century. London, British Library, MS Royal 6 C I, fol. 108v.

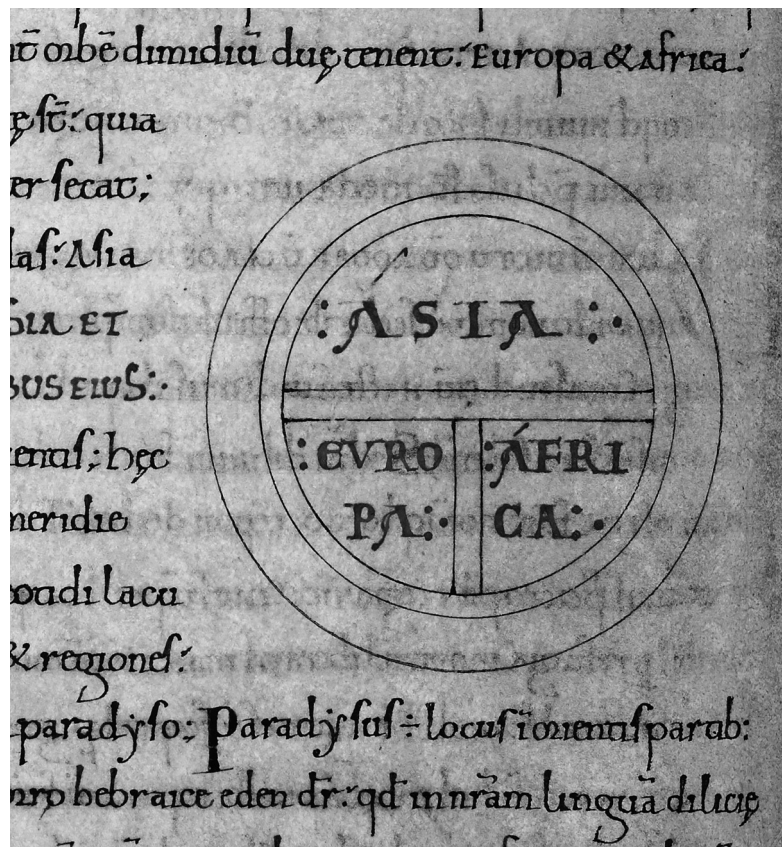
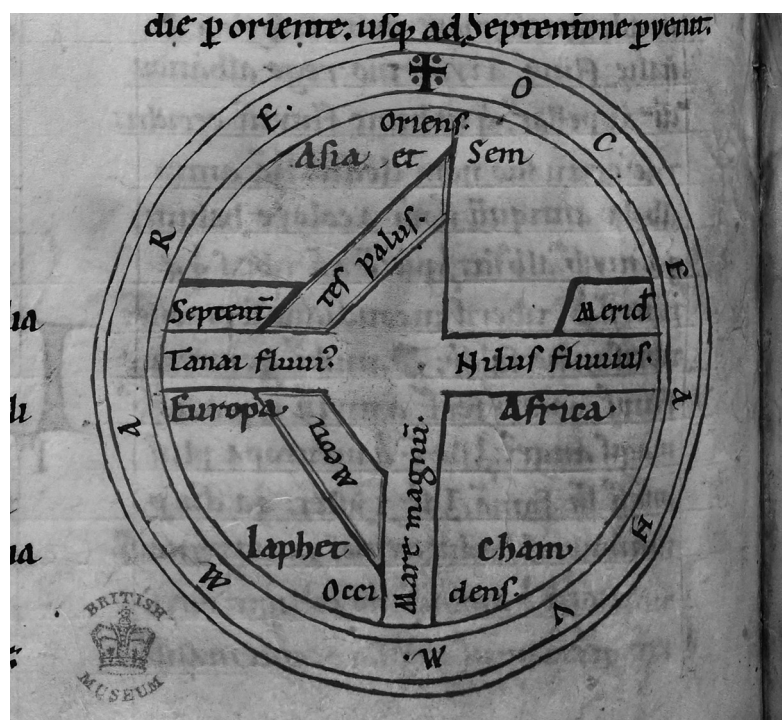


FIG. 5 Modified T-O map. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 1136. London, British Library, Harley MS 2660, fol. 123v.



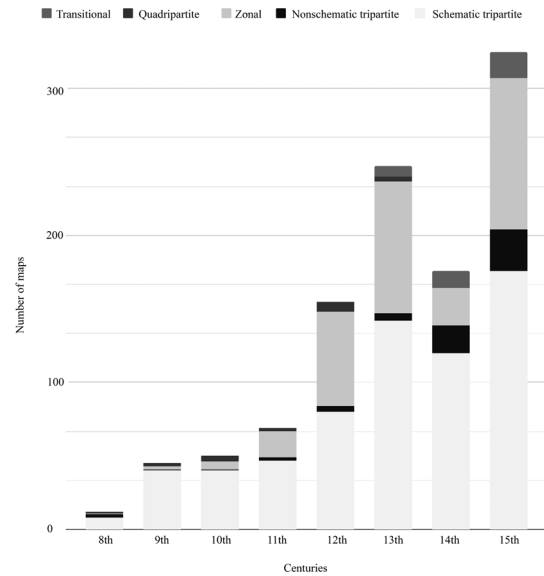
on a twelfth-century modified T-O map (fig. 5), though the earliest T-O maps do not allude to this tale.⁸⁴ Christians believed that Asia was occupied by the descendants of Shem, Europe by the descendants of Japheth, and Africa by the cursed kin of Cham. Such maps, functioning like all maps, convey their contents through spatial organization. Readers of Latin, medieval (or modern) French, and English order(ed) the maps' content by reading them from top to bottom, left to right: Asia, Europe, Africa.⁸⁵ This is due to the prominence of the east as, "without a doubt, the most important cardinal direction for Christianity," owing to the biblical sites and events located therein.⁸⁶

The "T" of the T-O is formed by three bodies of water. The vertical line represents the Mediterranean; the right branch of the horizontal line represents the Tanais (the river Don); and the left branch, the Nile. This "T" can also be read as a *tau* cross, "a salvific sign for true believers."⁸⁷

The Hereford Map is, in essence, an elaborate T-O map, admittedly with the lines of the "T" somewhat bent and the edges crinkly. It presents Asia at the top—it is oriented toward the Orient—with Europe to the lower left and Africa to the lower right. (Fascinatingly, Hereford's large golden inscriptions for these are intentionally reversed as part of a complex conceptual mirroring, signaled by the mirror in the hand of the siren near the map's center.⁸⁸)

There are modified T-O maps that are even more closely aligned with Hereford, such as a twelfth-century example that emphasizes the bifurcation of the Red Sea and the Nile's role as the division between Africa and Asia (fig. 6).⁸⁹ The massive German Ebstorf Map, now lost, likewise follows the same basic modified T-O layout, though a surprising number of its 1,500 inscriptions and 845 images are different from those on the Hereford Map.⁹⁰ It is thought to have been made at the end of the thirteenth century (and so shortly before the Hereford Map), in Lower Saxony, in or around the Benedictine convent of Ebsdorf, which is carefully depicted on it.⁹¹ The Ebstorf Map emphasizes the T as the cross of Christ by presenting his hands, feet, and face at its cardinal points,⁹² thereby presenting the mapped Christian message as truly ecumenical—applying to the entire ecumene.

While it is easy to dismiss the T-O maps as absurd—they in no way convey to us the world as we know it—we should pause before doing so. T-O maps are, beneath their surface qualities, no different from any other mapping form. All maps, including T-O maps, the Hereford Map, and all the others discussed here, are arguments, or collections of interlocking arguments. For example, scholars have made credible cases demonstrating that the Hereford Map contains arguments about the nature of England



Extant *mappae mundi* by category. Source: Based on Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," fig. 18.8. Chart by Asa Simon Mittman.

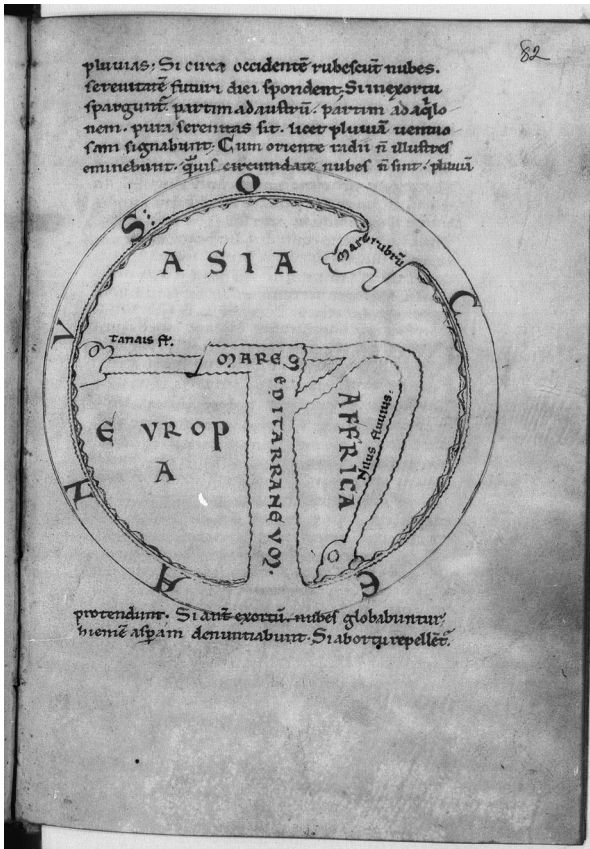


FIG. 6 Modified T-O map, with bent Nile River and bifurcated Red Sea. Bede, *De natura rerum*, twelfth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Lat. 11130, fol. 82r. Image source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

and of Christians and Christianity, about the differences among European groups and among Europeans and the peoples of Asia and Africa, and about Jesus and Mary, Heaven and Hell, Jerusalem, the flow of history, the ages of man, spectatorship, the necessity of the crusades, the conquest of Ireland, the saintliness of a local bishop, and the universal nature of salvation.

The Outer Frame and Inner Circle of the World

Many *mappae mundi* can be divided into two main sections: the outer frame and the inner circle of the world. Kupfer observes that “[t]he circle of lands is ensconced within a complex pictorial and textual scaffolding.”⁹³ The contents of the outer frame, of this “scaffolding,” are what Wood would call the “perimap,” which contains “a crowd of signs: titles, dates, legends, keys, scale statements, graphs, diagrams, tables, pictures, photographs, more map images, emblems, texts, references, footnotes, potentially any device of visual expression.”⁹⁴

The perimap lunette at the top of the Hereford Map (see fig. 3) contains a depiction of the Last Judgment, with Jesus in the clouds, displaying his wounds; Mary baring her breasts to him as she pleads for mercy for mankind (with the potential patron behind her); the saved being led up to heaven; and the damned being led down to hell. In the lower left corner of the perimap sits Augustus, depicted as Roman pope rather than Roman emperor, holding out a charter, complete with a large seal, to the surveyors (see fig. 2). The triangular passage at the lower right contains an inscription identifying Orosius’s “*De Ornesta mundi*” as a key source for the map’s content, a reference to the geographical content of his *History Against the Pagans*.⁹⁵ The image shows a rider gazing back upon the ecumene, followed by a hunter and two greyhounds. Between the figures, an Old French inscription reads, “Passe avant” (Go ahead).⁹⁶ As Kupfer argues, the rider is a stand-in for the viewer, urging us to pass by the dangers of the world en route to salvation.⁹⁷

The inner circles of *mappae mundi* tend to be the main focus. The circle of the world on Hereford occupies three-quarters of the vellum surface but looks as if it were an even larger proportion.⁹⁸ The map presents the ecumene, ringed by the green band of Ocean—then a proper noun, singular and all-encompassing. To be clear, these maps are two-dimensional representations of what was known by geographers and mapmakers to be a three-dimensional, spherical earth, the far side of which was generally believed to contain only open stretches of ocean (though some believed there was a fourth

landmass).⁹⁹ The most charming of medieval analogies for the shape of the earth comes from the Venerable Bede, a seventh- to eighth-century monk of the Northumbrian double monastery of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, who writes:

Causa autem inæqualitatis corundem dierum terræ rotunditas est: neque enim frustra et in scripturæ divinæ, et in communium literarum paginis orbis terræ vocatur. Est enim revera orbis idem in medio totius mundi positus, non in latitudinis solum gyro, quasi instar scuti rotundus, sed instar potius pilæ undique versum æquali rotunditate persimilis: neque autem in tantæ mole magnitudinis, quamvis enormem montium valliumque distantiam, quantum in pila ludica unum digitum, tantum addere vel demere crediderim.¹⁰⁰

The reason why the same [calendar] days are of unequal length is the roundness of the Earth, for not without reason is it called “the orb of the world” on the pages of Holy Scripture and of ordinary literature. It is, in fact, a sphere set in the middle of the whole universe. It is not merely circular like a shield [or] spread out like a wheel, but resembles more a ball, being equally round in all directions, but not in a mass of equal magnitude—although I would believe that the enormous distance of mountains and valleys neither adds to it nor diminishes it any more than a finger would a playing ball.¹⁰¹

W. R. Tobler even suggested that the Hereford Map’s distortion—the exaggerated scale of the regions at the center—is the result of an attempt to show that the earth is domed outward toward the viewer.¹⁰² The slight dip at the very base of the map, where the tail of the calfskin once was, gives an impression that the circle is bulging outward toward us. As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen writes, “Spheres do not, of course, possess physical middles.”¹⁰³ Nonetheless, the Hereford, Ebstorf, and Psalter Maps are all emphatically centered on Jerusalem, considered to be the spiritual center of the world (following the ideas of St. Jerome and others) and also the center of the habitable landmass.¹⁰⁴ On the Hereford Map, Jerusalem is represented as a circular city fringed with crenellations and marked at regular intervals with closed and barred gates (see fig. 22). Like the sprockets of a gear, these crenellations radiate outward, pointing us away from (and in toward) the center. On the Psalter Map, Jerusalem is depicted as a series of concentric circles, likewise emphatically stressing its centrality (fig. 7).¹⁰⁵ On the Ebstorf Map, it is a chamfered or beveled square city tilted ninety degrees, with its pointed corner towers and toothed crenellations pointing inward to the figure of Christ emerging from his tomb, possibly based on a sculpture of the same subject from Ebstorf (fig. 8).¹⁰⁶ In all of these cases, Jerusalem marks the center of the world as sacred, reflecting Christian ideas about God’s design. It is these ideas, first and foremost, that shape these maps and determine the distribution of their contents.





FIG. 7—OPPOSITE Psalter Map, London, ca. 1262. London, British Library MS Add. 28681, fol. 9r.

FIG. 8 Ebstorf World Map (reproduction), late thirteenth century.

Progress and Positivism

Throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and much of the twentieth centuries, scholarship on cartography was focused on “progress” toward “accuracy,” and (unsurprisingly) medieval maps, weighed on that scale, were found wanting.¹⁰⁷ In 1849, Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa de Mesquita de Macedo Leitão e Carvalhosa, Viscount de Santarém, a Portuguese “corresponding member” of the Royal Geographical Society, began the publication of a multivolume collection. The viscount perfectly encapsulates the positivist, developmental, and even teleological approach to the history of cartography: “La géographie est de toutes les sciences celle qui fait le mieux voir par quelle route longue et pénible l’esprit humain sortit des ténèbres de l’incertitude, et parvint à des connaissances étendues et positives” (Geography is the one of all the sciences which best shows by what a long journey the human mind had issued from the darkness of uncertainty and arrived at knowledge that is extended and positive).¹⁰⁸ This approach, the subject of extensive reevaluation over the last few decades, does not simply misconstrue the nature of the shifts in cartographical paradigms from medieval to modern. It also radically limits the scope of maps. In contrast, Cordell Yee encourages us to “restore the sense of otherness that once held sway” in discussions about premodern maps.¹⁰⁹ Yee discusses medieval Chinese maps, but so, too, medieval Christian maps from Europe are different from their modern counterparts and need to be seen for their Otherness, not for some purported failure to achieve ends that were not those of their creators. By now, map scholars generally take for granted J. B. Harley’s foundational argument that “[m]aps are never value-free images . . . maps are a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations.”¹¹⁰ As Wood argues regarding later periods, European mapmaking is not “the ‘scientific’ enterprise it has been claimed to be” but rather “a profoundly ideological one, serving national identity-building, colonial, and other interests.”¹¹¹ In writing about Thai mapping, Thongchai Winichakul pushes even further: “A map was a model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent.”¹¹² As it is with all mapping, so it is with medieval Christian *mappae mundi*.

In the last thirty years, there has been a substantive rethinking of the history of cartography, such that championing scientific accuracy over all else has receded. This is due to the impact, at least in part, of Harley’s groundbreaking interdisciplinary work, which argues for contextualized readings of maps that assess them in the circumstances in which they were produced, that treat them as cultural documents like any other works of art or literature, and that set them in dialog with other cultural documents, such as manuscript illuminations, church designs, wall paintings, and scriptural, liturgical, and historical texts.¹¹³ This shift in focus has been accompanied by a shift in disciplinary orientations, since many of those who currently work on medieval cartography were trained in literary and art history rather than in the history of science, though even there

this revolution in thought has been influential.¹¹⁴ Matthew H. Edney demonstrates that the history of cartography has fundamentally shifted, as reflected in the journal *Imago Mundi*. What he calls “traditional” concerns (positivist data collection of map content) were first surpassed by “internal” concerns (the history of mapmaking as a separate concern from other cultural forces) and then, from the late 1970s onward, by sociocultural histories.¹¹⁵ In 2023, sociocultural history no longer seems a daring perspective from which to examine cultural material, and other theoretical approaches have been gaining ground. Owing to the centrality of geography to postcolonial studies, it is foremost among these approaches, but gender and sexuality studies and critical race studies are increasingly present in scholarship on the history of cartography.

“Medieval,” “European,” or “Christian”?

I have throughout deliberately deployed the term “Christian” where most historians of “medieval” maps have used “medieval European” or simply “medieval.” Despite our sense of familiarity with the concept of “Europe,” “[n]o stable consensus has ever emerged about the boundaries, the criteria, the costs, benefits, and entitlements, or the moral or cultural significance of being European or sharing a continental address. . . . Europa was always a mirage,”¹¹⁶ as was Christendom before it. As Sharon Kinoshita writes, “‘Europe’ and ‘the West’ are not geographical entities given in advance, but ideological constructs with their own deeply complicated histories of conquest, colonization, and acculturation,”¹¹⁷ and they developed in explicit contrast with an “increasingly fabulous Asia to the east.”¹¹⁸

In the University of Chicago’s celebrated six-volume *History of Cartography*, Harvey’s “Medieval Maps: An Introduction” opens by stating: “Few maps were drawn in medieval *Europe*.”¹¹⁹ David Woodward opens the next chapter in the same volume, which bears the similarly broad and encompassing title “Medieval *Mappaemundi*,” by clarifying his singularly Christian focus: “In the millennium that links the ancient and modern worlds, from about the fifth to the fifteenth century after Christ, there developed a genre of world maps or map-paintings originating in the classical tradition but adopted by the Christian church. The primary purpose of these *mappaemundi*, as they are called, was to instruct the faithful about the significant events in Christian history rather than to record their precise locations.”¹²⁰ Woodward considers Jewish events of relevance here only for the “integral role” events from the “Old Testament”—an explicitly Christian appropriation of Jewish scripture—played “[f]or the Christian.”¹²¹ Similarly, Woodward includes a very brief mention of Islamic maps, but only to suggest that they may have influenced the orientation of some Christian maps.¹²² Indeed, not only is the “Medieval *Mappaemundi*” chapter about Christian maps but its basic frame of reference is explicitly (and archaically) Christian: “from about the fifth to the fifteenth century *after Christ*.”

I offer a systemic critique, not an individual one. I focus on Harvey and Woodward here not because their approach is in any way more egregious than is common in the history of cartography—indeed, it is no more so than my own approach in prior publications. Rather, I focus on this pair because of their leading status in the field and the prominence of *The History of Cartography*, in which their work appears. I have used these introductory chapters many times in university courses to introduce students to the field, and until recently I had not even noticed their scant mention of Jewish or Muslim maps. Along with Harvey and Woodward, I allowed Christians to remain a generally unspoken, assumed normate—Rosemarie Garland-Thomson’s neologism that denotes the privileged identity that “designates the social figure with which people can represent themselves as definitive human beings” made of “the bodily configurations and cultural capital [people in positions of authority] assume.”¹²³ The operative category for Harvey’s and Woodward’s chapters, and for most work in the field, is something like “medieval Latin Christian maps from western Europe,” since the claims made throughout the “Medieval Maps” and “Medieval *Mappaemundi*” chapters are primarily applicable to those produced by and for Western Latin Christians, mostly inscribed in Latin and other Romance languages. This framing is likely a consequence of unthinking adherence to modern categorization rather than a willful desire to exclude. We have collectively carried forward modes of thought and categorization that are embedded in old anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic frameworks.

Although some of these maps adorned royal palaces, they were primarily hung and used in religious houses, where they were displayed on walls and drawn into manuscripts.¹²⁴ Harvey has a single dismissive mention of both “Arab” and Chinese cartography: “Nor, of course, did classical antiquity provide the only possible *external* influence on medieval mapping: there may have been some connections with Arab cartography, though this is harder to maintain now than it was once, and the possibility of even remoter links with the cartography of China cannot be entirely ruled out.”¹²⁵

Harvey’s framing leaves religion out. He describes these maps as “Arab” rather than “Islamic,” as they are more often called now.¹²⁶ Since Spain is part of any modern definition of “Europe,” there were certainly maps made in the Middle Ages that are both “Arab” and “European.” Al-Andalus (the Arabic name for Islamic territories in medieval Spain) was so integrated into the larger Muslim world that separating “Europe” from “Arab” is untenable. As one example among many, a twelfth-century map of the world in a manuscript of *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (*Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands*) now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which features a lovely image of Iberia, is based on the work of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (1100?–1165?), a descendant of a family from Malaga, Spain, who was born in Morocco and educated in Córdoba (fig. 9).¹²⁷ Harvey mentions in passing “the eleventh-century Toledo tables by al-Zarkali,” centering location rather than religion, without providing the Muslim astronomer and instrument maker’s full name, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm



ibn Yahyā al-Naqqāsh al-Zarqālī al-Tujibi.¹²⁸ Harvey’s claim that there were no connections between two overlapping categories, “Arab” and “European,” is nonsensical, but it is also foundational to the myth of Europe.¹²⁹ As early as 1957, Denys Hay published a polemical essay arguing that modern historians “must avoid forcing Europe on Christendom”—as well as Christendom on Europe. Hay continues: “‘Medieval Europe’ is almost a contradiction in terms.”¹³⁰ However, this notion clearly gained little traction over the intervening sixty-five years. What would it even mean to suggest that al-Idrīsī’s map is “external” to “medieval mapping”? But then, the point, conscious or otherwise, is to define “medieval” and “Europe” as *Christian*—and anything non-Christian as, to use Harvey’s term, “external.” He might as well say “Other.”

All the maps Woodward mentions by maker or conventional name are Christian: the Ebstorf Map, the Gough Map, Pietro Vesconte’s maps, the “early fifteenth-century scale map of Vienna,” and Nicolas of Cusa’s maps.¹³¹ He does mention portolan charts but does not note that one of the most famous portolan-like maps, the late fourteenth-century Catalan Atlas (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Esp. 30), was produced by a pair of Jews from Majorca, Abraham and Jefuda Cresques. As with Harvey’s geographical

FIG. 9 Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, 1250–1325. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 2221, fols. 3v–4r. Image source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

reference to the “Toledo tables by al-Zarkali,” Woodward refers to the Cresques as “Catalan cartographers.”¹³²

These distinctions matter in our understanding of the creation and reception of medieval maps. Katrin Kogman-Appel argues throughout *Catalan Maps and Jewish Books* that Jewish sources and the circumstances of the Jewish community had important effects on the Atlas.¹³³ As one example among many, I point to the mapping of the apocalyptic peoples known as Gog and Magog, frequently included on medieval world maps. Medieval Christian mapmakers frequently represented Gog and Magog as Jews, as discussed in chapter 5. However, Judy Schaaf argues that “Hebrew tradition associates Gog with the leader of a nation (Magog) antithetical to Jews; in the *Jewish War* vii, 7, 4, Josephus (first century C.E.) specifically identifies Magog with the Scythians (mentioned above as a people enclosed by mountains).”¹³⁴ This suggests that we should interpret the presence of the apocalyptic hordes (and surely other features) *differently* in the Cresqueses’ work. Anthony Huffman argues that the mapmakers present Gog and Magog with the visual qualities of the Asian groups around them, such that “both textually and visually the long-standing tradition of identifying the cannibalistic peoples of Gog and Magog as the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel is subverted and the identification is placed on Tatars instead.”¹³⁵

Christian maps produced in the Kingdom of Jerusalem would fit with Harvey’s and Woodward’s discussions, but Byzantine cartography is granted a separate chapter in the volume. Despite the empire’s endurance up to 1453, it appears in the section titled “Cartography in *Ancient* Europe and the Mediterranean” as opposed to that on “Cartography in *Medieval* Europe and the Mediterranean,”¹³⁶ relegating the Byzantine East to some sort of pastness, as if it were an antecedent to the European Middle Ages. Therefore, “medieval Europe’s cartography” is really the cartography of medieval Latin Christians, wherever they are.¹³⁷

Of course, these approaches to the history of Western medieval Christian cartography were not new in the 1980s, when Harley and Woodward were editing *The History of Cartography*. We can track the use of terms that I have highlighted in their essays backward and forward in the field of the history of cartography. They are omnipresent. Indeed, the sources Harley cites as the most important early studies on the history of “medieval maps” generally conform to this convention.¹³⁸ For example, Marcel Destombes’s 1964 *Mappemondes A.D. 1200–1500* presents a remarkable “1,100 manuscript maps, which were found in 900 manuscripts,” but “740 of them [are] in Latin, the others in French and Italian.”¹³⁹ Likewise, the paragraph-length title of the famous volume by the Viscount de Santarém occludes its actual subject:

Atlas composé de mappemondes, de portulans et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques depuis le vie jusqu’au xviii siècle, pour la plupart inédites, et tirées de plusieurs bibliothèques de l’Europe, devant servir de preuves à l’histoire de la cosmographie

et de la cartographie pendant le moyen age et a celle des progrès de la géographie, après les découvertes maritimes et terrestres du xve siècle, effectuées par les Portugais, les Espagnols, et par d'autres peuples.

Atlas composed of mappae mundi, portolan charts, and hydrographic and historical maps from the sixth to the seventeenth century, for the most part unpublished, and taken from several libraries in Europe, to serve as evidence for the history of cosmography and cartography during the Middle Ages and of the progress of geography, after the maritime and terrestrial discoveries of the fifteenth century, carried out by the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and by other peoples.

Again, a historian of cartography defines his subject as “la cartographie pendant le moyen age” but confines his discussion to medieval Christian maps.

John K. Wright’s 1925 *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe*, which Harvey calls “exceptional,” similarly obfuscates that its subject is Christian mapping.¹⁴⁰ Chapter and section titles slip back and forth, with some more open in acknowledging their actual subject, as in “The Contribution of Western Christendom before 1100 A.D.” and “The Contributions of the Moslems,”¹⁴¹ but other sections purport to cover aspects of “early medieval geography” and “the medieval attitude towards landscape and scenery.” Though openly racist in his writing about some groups (he condemns “half-breed negroes”¹⁴²), Wright is surprising in his sympathy (racializing and essentializing though it is) for medieval Jews, who are, he says, “[s]trongly imbued with the racial consciousness of a vigorous and often oppressed people.” He is laudatory regarding their cultural contributions while nonetheless justifying his decision to largely exclude them from his project:

The books composed by such Jewish wanderers as Benjamin of Tudela and Petachia of Ratisbon have been preserved and are invaluable as geographical records. It should be remembered, however, that they were written by men of a despised race and in a tongue unknown to the Christians of the West and that the geographical lore which may have been widespread among the more intelligent Hebrews never became an integral part of the geographical knowledge of Christendom. Hence in the pages which follow and which deal primarily with the geographical knowledge of Western Christendom but relatively little space can be devoted to Jewish geography.¹⁴³

Of course, construing Jews as “wanderers” reinforces the notion that Jews are a people with no proper home, incapable of full integration into any culture. It is not clear whether by “more intelligent Hebrews” Wright means “the more intelligent members of the

Miller's transcription of the brief text of the map is straightforward, but the gloss is not. The German is perhaps a bit ambiguous here, as the relative pronoun "welches" can carry the sense of both "who" and "which," and so Miller might be saying that "Jews" nailed the *image of Christ* to the cross, though this does not fit the myth as explained by Schleif. In Schleif's telling, the singular Jew of this anti-Semitic legend "pierced the cross," not the image of Christ on it, as Miller seems to have it. In any case, Miller has the plural "Juden," at a minimum transforming a singular accusation against a Jewish individual into an assertion of collective guilt. In addition, his somewhat unexpected term is "geheft" (pinned to, stitched to, clipped to), which does not suit the narrative of piercing the cross.¹⁵¹ A more straightforward though more troubling conclusion is that Miller is taking time and space to add the pernicious allegation that "the Jews" nailed *Christ himself* to the cross. Miller certainly knew that this does not accord with Gospel accounts of the crucifixion. This is a serious allegation and en route to it I am reading a lot out of a little, but it is a possible reading of Miller's annotation, intended or unintended.

One exception in this run of early texts on the history of "medieval" cartography is Joachim Lelewel's four-volume *Géographie du moyen âge* (1852). His categories are first and foremost linguistic, with his first two volumes on "cartes de géographes du moyen âge, latines et arabes" (maps of medieval Latin and Arabic geographers). He then moves on in subsequent volumes to Slavia, India, and China, and he even includes a chapter on Benjamin of Tudela, the twelfth-century Jewish traveler from Spain whose account Wright deems "invaluable."¹⁵²

The existence of Lelewel's inclusive volume serves as a reminder that historians of cartography *always had the option* of discussing medieval maps by a range of cultures, by Jews and Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists, and on. That these older studies are from a period when Christian scholars in Europe and the United States were often open in expressions of racism ought not serve as an excuse. Lelewel was Polish, born in Warsaw in 1786. He was a professor of history and geography at his *alma mater*, the University of Wilno (now Vilnius, Lithuania), until he was fired for his pro-Polish organizing.¹⁵³ He was embroiled in local political concerns and even exiled for his activities, but despite this, he made the affirmative choice to write about the cartographical traditions of groups generally denigrated or ignored by his contemporaries. The exclusionary choices made by historians of cartography—like the choices made by medieval Christian mapmakers—were neither inevitable nor necessary, and it is well past time that we attend to them.

A Map for the Route Ahead

I have divided what follows into six chapters and a brief coda. Chapter 1 takes up a challenge presented by Geraldine Heng to explore how cartography can generate racial thinking and categorization.¹⁵⁴ First, I lay out a case for the use of "race" in discussions of premodern history. I then consider how premodern critical race studies can help us

unpack the cartographical mechanisms of racialization used in Christian maps of the period.¹⁵⁵ Finally, I reveal the role of medieval Christian cartography in the dangerous fantasy of “Christendom.”

In chapter 2, I establish the historical and cultural situation of Jews in medieval England, considering how Christian thought about Jews and actions against them—including the formalization of anti-Semitism in English law—were fundamental to the formation of a proto-national identity. The chapter then takes as an example a single figure germane to the history of English cartography: Thomas Cantilupe, the fiercely anti-Semitic bishop of Hereford. Chapter 2 concludes with consideration of what Robin R. Mundill has described as the “final solution of the medieval Anglo-Jewry”¹⁵⁶: total expulsion.

With these contexts and frameworks established, the remainder of the volume examines in detail how maps contributed to the larger architecture of medieval English anti-Semitism. Chapter 3 focuses on the Hereford Map, with particular attention to its spatial and chronological Othering of Jews. Chapter 4 keeps the spotlight on the Hereford Map, concentrating on the image of the Golden Calf that inspired this project. This image contains all the ideological operations that I investigate throughout the volume, the strategies by which English Christian mapmakers defined their community against Jewish communities real or imagined, individualized or conflated with Muslims and other Othered peoples, nearby or distant, past, present, or future. Interpreting these objects requires what Harley refers to as “carto-literacy.”¹⁵⁷

In chapter 5, I examine images of and inscriptions about Jews on a range of medieval English Christian maps, first focusing on the presentation of Jews as distant in space and then discussing the depiction of Jews as geographically closer to England but relegated to an ancient past or an eschatological future, with particular attention to their conflation with the apocalyptic, cannibalistic hordes of Gog and Magog. Chapter 6 first considers a counterexample, a possibly positive image of Jews on medieval maps, which still relies on the same problematic tropes present in the other images. It then presents a limit case for the volume’s overall argument by asking whether even the schematic T-O, perhaps the most basic-seeming of all mapping forms, encodes anti-Semitic thought patterns. The coda bookends the opening of this introductory chapter by laying out more elements of my personal impetus for writing the book, some of the challenges I faced in doing so, and my hopes for future work.