Locating the Hereford *Mappamundi*

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ABSTRACT: The Hereford *mappamundi* is one of the most informative and impressive world maps to survive from the Middle Ages. In order to understand its effect and significance, however, it is necessary to determine its earliest location within Hereford Cathedral, the building for which it was made. Having clarified the original framing of the map, which took the form of a large triptych, this paper argues that the whole ensemble was initially positioned on one of the piers in the south choir aisle of the cathedral. The precise manner of the map's installation on this pier can be deduced from the structure of the central wooden panel of the triptych, the only part that survives, and from written and visual information provided by nineteenth-century antiquarians. Hung in the south choir aisle, the map triptych would have addressed pilgrims about to enter the shrine of St Thomas Cantilupe in the Lady Chapel, serving as a memorable moral commentary on their life and pilgrimage.

KEYWORDS: England, Hereford Cathedral, Richard of Holdingham, St Thomas Cantilupe, John Coney, John Carter, *mappamundi* (*mappa mundi*), pilgrimage, triptych.

Among the most perplexing artefacts to reach us from the distant shores of the Middle Ages are certain large-scale world maps known as *mappaemundi*. In recent years, detailed study of these exotic compositions has added immeasurably to our understanding of their intellectual content and has afforded us, accordingly, a new-found respect for their fabulous designs. As yet, though, relatively little thought has been given to how this type of iconographic enquiry might be combined with a broader art-historical approach to shed light on the original purpose and function of these monumental images. To be fully understood, large-scale *mappaemundi* need to be viewed in the context of the great buildings—the churches, abbeys and palaces—that they were made to adorn, just as manuscript maps have to be interpreted in relation to their textual surroundings.[1]

In the case of manuscript maps it is usually relatively easy to identify a suitable context for the image.[2] It is generally much harder to do the same for large-scale display maps, since none remains in its original setting. A fair amount can be surmised from secular and ecclesiastical records and from archaeological discoveries, which enable us to situate several lost examples more or less precisely within their architectural context.[3] Our understanding would be greatly enhanced, though, were we to be able securely to identify the original location of at least one surviving large-scale *mappamundi*. This would enable us, for the first time, to analyse the subtle but vital relationship between the pictorial and textual contents of such a world map and its mode of display, a relationship, always unique to an individual map, that would have conditioned how it was originally read and understood. In the absence of any such analysis, current interpretations of the use and meaning of these *mappaemundi* are incomplete at best, misleading at worst.

Fortunately, this deficiency can be supplied, I believe, in the case of the most notable surviving example of the genre, the Hereford *mappamundi*

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Fig. 1. The Hereford Mappamundi, *c.*1300. Parchment, 158 × 133 cm. New Library Building, Hereford Cathedral. East is at the top. This is the largest surviving medieval world map. It represents the three continents known to the late medieval world (Europe, Africa and Asia) set within a circular frame and intended for display. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

(Fig. 1).[4] Taking account of technical and historical evidence whose significance has not previously been recognized, I argue here that it is possible to identify the exact location within Hereford Cathedral that this famous map originally occupied.[5] As will become apparent, the placement I propose has significant implications both for how the map would have been viewed and interpreted and for the likely circumstances of its creation. There is no room here, though, to enter into a discussion of the precise origin and meaning of the map, except in so far as discussion of its installation pertains to the development of a religious practice of particular importance at Hereford: pilgrimage. My aim in this article is simply to determine where and how the map was originally displayed.

The Map Triptych

The Hereford *mappamundi* is drawn on a single large piece of vellum, measuring 158 cm (5 ft. 2 in.) from its base to its apex and 133 cm (4 ft. 4 in.) across.[6] Like every other display *mappamundi* of which there is record, it depicts the oecumene, the three continents known to classical geography—Europe, Asia and Africa—encompassed by a thin band of ocean. This round land mass, which looks rather like a cross-section of a rotten tree trunk, with the

Mediterranean forming its hollow core, is strewn with a plethora of lines, pictograms and legends representing the entirety of human history and knowledge. At the centre is a circular image of Jerusalem, a hub around which the whole world can be rotated (in the imagination) by turning one of the four large handles attached to the map's circumference.[7] Above the map is a depiction of the Last Judgement, with the Saved approaching the gates of Heaven on the left and the Damned being dragged down to the gates of Hell on the right.

In the bottom left-hand corner is a depiction of Caesar Augustus, wearing a papal tiara, commissioning three court functionaries (Nichodoxus, Theodocus and Policlitus) to survey the whole world, an act further commemorated in the prominent red inscription that runs around the edge of the vellum (although there the survey is attributed to Julius Caesar).[8] Clearly, the maker of the Hereford map meant to imply that his work was based on this ancient, authoritative survey, which helps to explain why he inscribed beneath Augustus the following colophon: 'All those who possess this work—or who hear, read or see it—pray to Jesus in his godhead to have pity on Richard of Holdingham or Sleaford, who made it and set it out, that he may be granted bliss in heaven'.[9] In the opposite, right-hand corner is a more enigmatic scene. A young horseman turns round in his saddle and gazes back up at the world, while riding away from it. Behind him stands a fewterer (a greyhound handler) with a pair of hounds, above whose head is written the phrase 'passe avant'—'pass on'. Apparently, the fewterer is addressing these words to the youthful squire.

Originally, the *mappamundi* was encased in a painted wooden frame with folding doors, but only the central panel of this frame survives (Fig. 2). A compass hole in the centre of the panel, which corresponds to the compass hole at the centre of the map itself, reveals that the map was laid out after the vellum had been mounted in the frame.[10] The full height of the frame from base to apex (not including the leafy crockets) is currently 185 cm (6 ft. 1 in.), and its width is 147 cm (4 ft. 10 in.).[11] The panel is made of oak and consists of six vertical planks, each about 2.5 cm thick, held together by two horizontal battens across the base and 'shoulder' of the frame.[12] The heads of the nails used to fix the planks to these battens form two distinct rows across the front of the panel, and their corrosion has caused considerable damage to the map's vellum.[13] Two nail holes near the apex of the frame indicate the original presence of a third, short batten.[14] The vertical pieces of the outer frame are integral parts of the lateral planks,

Fig. 2. The central wooden panel of the map triptych. 185×147 cm (not including the crockets). Hereford Cathedral. This was made from oak felled between 1275 and 1311. The panel was dumped in a junk-room in 1948 and rediscovered in 1989. It had previously been altered during a 'restoration' campaign in 1855, the angle of the pediment, in particular, having been made much shallower. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

and they are therefore definitely original. Still attached to them are the remains of the hinges on which the shutters once hung.

The bottom piece, which is screwed onto the panel, is a nineteenth-century replacement for what appears originally to have been a slightly more substantial base.[15] The plain timbers forming the base of the pediment are probably nineteenth century, as well, but the crockets surmounting them are original.[16] The map itself was attached to the central panel by means of innumerable small pins driven through five thin strips of brass, which clamped the edge of the vellum to the wood beneath. This arrangement can be seen in the earliest known photograph of the map, taken in 1868, and it accounts for the rows of pinholes found around the inner edge of the frame (Fig. 3).[17] There are two sets of pinholes, because the map was removed from the frame and remounted during a restoration exercise in 1855 (to be described below).

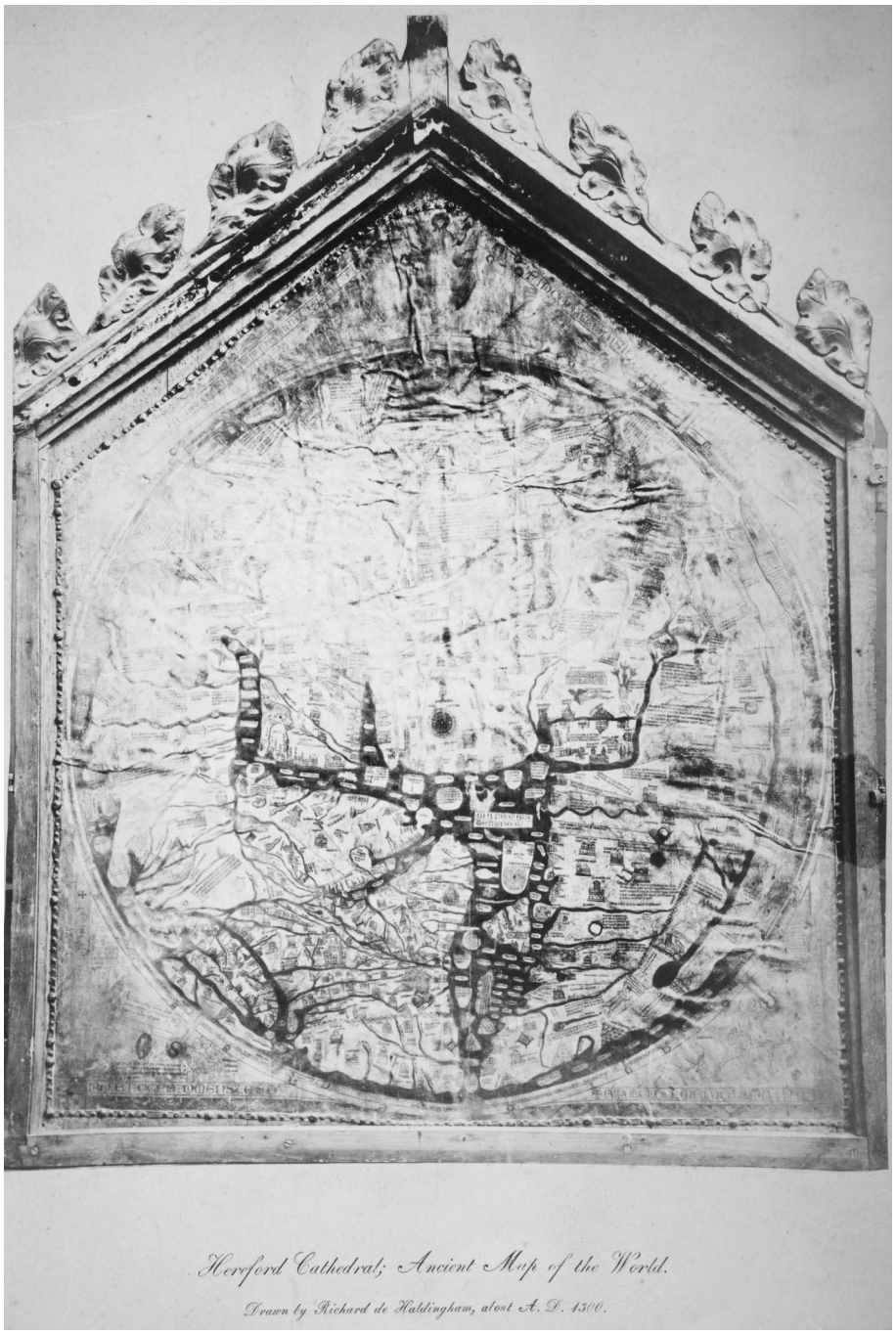

Fig. 3. The earliest known photograph of the Hereford *mappamundi*, by Thomas Ladmore, 1868 (Essex Society for Archaeology and History), shows the edges pinned to the backboard by numerous brass tacks. Note the base of the finial, which was discarded in 1948, still in place at the top of the frame's pediment. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

Together, the map and its frame must have formed an imposing map triptych, a monument that may have been unique for its time. Later, in 1471–1472, a similar, encased *mappamundi* is listed in an inventory of the contents of the castle of Angers—*Item, ung grant tableau qui se ferme a couplez, ouquel a une mapemonde*—but it is difficult to say whether two such works constitute a tradition, and, if so, when the tradition began.[18]

Certainly, few, if any, large-scale triptychs existed when the Hereford map was made, so such a structure would have been exceptional.[19] Whatever its precise purpose, it was evidently designed to amaze and impress.

The Vicissitudes of the Map

In order to approach the problem of the map's original placement, it is necessary to establish, first of all, its documented history. The map and its frame have been moved around a great deal since the late eighteenth century, and it has suffered considerable damage at the hands of would-be 'restorers'.

A variety of evidence proves that the map triptych was made sometime around 1300.[20] Malcolm Parkes and Nigel Morgan, who have undertaken important studies of the map's palaeography and iconography respectively, agree in dating the work 1290–1310, while dendrochronological analysis indicates that the timbers used to construct the central panel were felled some time between 1275 and 1311.[21] For nearly four centuries, though, the map's existence is undocumented. The earliest historical reference to the map occurs in a survey of 'ancient and moderne funeral monuments in England and Wales' compiled by Thomas Dingley in the mid 1680s. This records its presence in the library, then housed in the Lady Chapel at the east end of the Cathedral: 'Among other curiosity [*sic*] in this Library are an Map of ye World drawn on Vellum by a Monk Kept in a frame w[i]th two doors—w[i]th guilded and painted Letters and figures'.[22] Dingley, who lived in Herefordshire, is known to have visited Hereford in 1684, so it can safely be assumed that the map was displayed in the library by then.[23]

It was still there almost a century later, when it caught the attention of the antiquarian Richard Gough, who wrote a full description of it in 1770, including the information that it was 'inclos'd by wooden doors on w[hi]ch are painted t[he] V[irgin] M[ary] + t[he] Angel'.[24] In 1784 it was viewed by the artist John Carter, whose invaluable sketch of the triptych gives us a fair idea of its overall appearance (Fig. 4).[25] This shows the map flanked by the almost life-size figures of Gabriel (on the left) and the Virgin (on the right), a bipartite scene of the Annunciation bridging the terrestrial sphere. Nothing is known of the exterior faces of the shutters, but the fact that neither Gough nor Carter bothered to describe them makes it unlikely that they bore anything other than an ornamental design.[26] Above the central panel, Carter took care to record the precise form of the decorative gable, an elegant ogee moulding surmounted by eight crockets (four on either side) and a central finial.

Vivid as it is, Carter's sketch may itself be a reconstruction of the map triptych, rather than a simple visual record, for one of his pencil annotations reads 'doors gone to Chap-room' (that is, the Chapter room, now the vestry).[27] Having survived the Reformation and the Civil War intact, the map's frame seems to have been dismembered in the 1780s—a sign of the general contempt for 'Gothic' work that prevailed at that time. The doors appear to have been lost altogether in the late eighteenth century, soon after their removal from the frame: although it was known in the early nineteenth century that the map had once had shutters, Carter is the last person known to have seen them. The map itself almost suffered the same fate; some time after 1784 it was dumped, still in its wooden case, in a lumber room, where it was later found stashed 'sacrilegiously' behind a pile of glass lanterns.[28] By 1805 it was back in the library, although, in the words of James Sargant Storer, writing in 1817, it was 'still too much neglected'.[29]

Storer's reference to the Hereford map signals a new awareness of its historical importance. In a footnote he complained that insufficient attention was given to such ancient maps and recommended the Hereford map as 'evidence at least of the geographical knowledge and invention of an age often supposed to be semi-barbarous'.[30] In 1819, J. P. Wright described the map as a 'valuable piece of antiquity' and even ventured an opinion as to its original location in the cathedral, one which deserves careful consideration, as we shall see.[31] In connection, perhaps, with this increasing antiquarian interest, the map was removed to the Chapter room (vestry), where it was seen in 1827 by William Jenkins Rees, who regretted the fact that it had still not been copied and engraved.[32] For some reason the Cathedral chapter seems to have opposed the map's publication, but a more liberal attitude eventually prevailed, and in 1830 the map was sent to London to be inspected by the members of the Royal Geographical Society, for whom Thomas Ballard drew a full-size copy the next year.[33]

On its return to the Cathedral in December 1830, the map was placed once again in the Chapter room.[34] Mounting interest, fuelled by Ballard's accessible copy, however, meant that it would never again lapse into obscurity. In July 1855, in the wake of concerns over its condition, the map was once again taken to London, this time to be restored by the conservators at the British Museum. Unfortunately, this well-intentioned

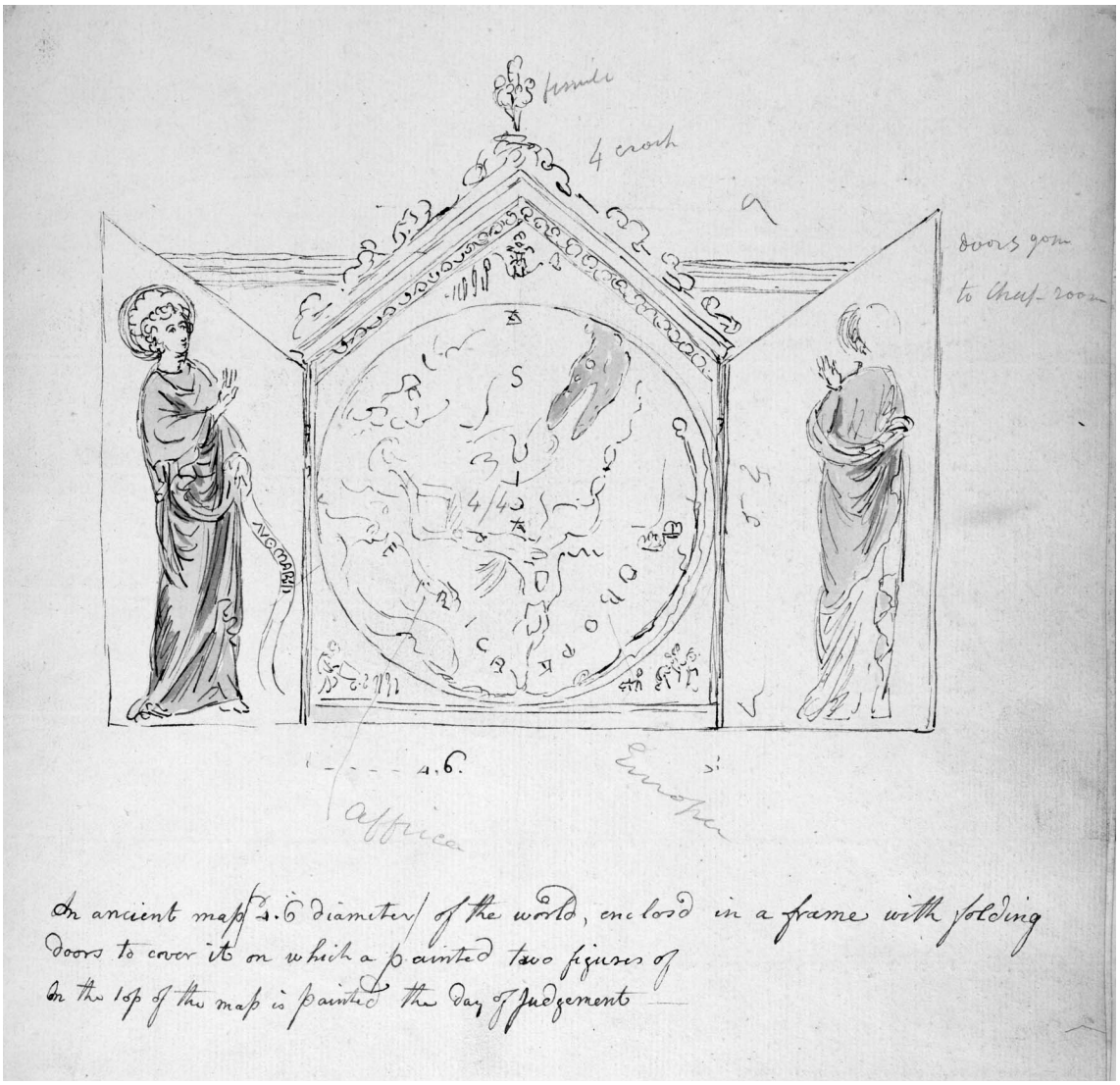

Fig. 4. John Carter, sketch of the Hereford *mappamundi* triptych, 1784. The drawing shows the central part of the triptych before the alterations of 1855 and is the only visual record of the lost wings. The text beneath reads 'An ancient map (4ft. 6 in. diameter) of the world, enclosed in a frame with folding / doors to cover it on which a[re] painted two figures of / On the top of the map is painted the day of judgement'. A note on the right-hand side reads 'doors gone to Chap-room', indicating that they were separated from the map around the time this drawing was made. (© The British Library Board, Add. MS. 29942, fol. 148r.)

operation resulted in serious damage to the fabric of the frame.[35] According to Sir Fredric Madden, then Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, '[r]ound the upper part of the Map, between the vellum and the raised portion of the frame' there was originally a layer of gesso, on which could be seen 'a painting in red of a scroll ornament or border in which was introduced on each side the dragon-shaped animal that so often appears in MSS. executed about 1300'.[36] This border pattern, which is clearly visible above the map in Carter's sketch, was foolishly destroyed by the conservator's assistants, much to the chagrin of Madden himself.[37] The gesso started flaking off when they took up the vellum to clean the brass nails, and they decided to tidy up the mess by scraping back to the wood.

The destruction of the painted border led to an unsightly gap between the top of the vellum and the frame. Accordingly, it was decided to alter the height and angle of the pediment, so that the map fitted the frame better. This seems to have been achieved by increasing the width of the plain inner frame on which the crocket-moulding rests and/or by inserting an extra filament of wood between the vellum

and the frame.[38] For some reason, the restorers also mutilated the lower ends of the crockets and ogee mouldings, which once finished in elegant curves at either side.[39] And it was probably on this occasion, too, that the base of the central panel was sawn off.[40] All these changes are apparent when the 1868 photograph is compared with Carter's sketch (see Figs. 3 and 4).

The map returned to Hereford in late August 1855, but was soon on the road again. Although it does not appear in the exhibition catalogue, it was lent to the great 'Art Treasures of England' exhibition held at Manchester in 1857.[41] Back once more in Hereford Cathedral, the map was initially kept 'for security' in the new library above the north transept, but then, perhaps following another exhibition in London in 1862, it was installed in what was considered 'its old place' on the second pier in the south aisle of the choir.[42] There it remained for around half a century, but it was moved to the east wall of the south transept in the early twentieth century, presumably when a new set of organ pipes was installed on the choir pier.[43]

After having been hidden during the Second World War in a coal mine near Bradford-on-Avon, the map was once again delivered to the British Museum for restoration between 1946 and 1948. And once again its ancient frame was treated with remarkable carelessness. The parchment was now detached from its original support and mounted on a modern replacement.[44] In a letter of 10 October 1947 to Dr Burrows, the Dean of Hereford Cathedral, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Lord Rennell, explained that the reason for this drastic operation was the concern that fresh woodworm activity was affecting the vellum of the map. The president recommended that, 'The whole frame should be dealt with at once, preferably destroyed . . . '[45] His negative opinion of the frame helps explain why a part of it—the finial—was lost: 'it has no artistic merit whatsoever; moreover, the finials [*sic*], crochets [*sic*] and Victorian gothic embellishments are broken and shabby'.[46] The brass strips and pins used to fix the vellum to the panel were also discarded at this stage.[47] Fortunately, the wooden frame with its crockets was not destroyed but deposited in a junk room, the former Cathedral stables, where it was found in 1989 by Martin Bailey and Raymond Kingsley-Taylor.[48]

On its return to the Cathedral the *mappamundi* was put on display in a brand new case in the north choir aisle, until 1987, when it was lent to the *Age of Chivalry* exhibition at the Royal Academy. The next year the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral announced their intention to sell the map at auction, to raise funds for the upkeep of the Cathedral, thus precipitating a national controversy that resulted in the formation of the Mappa Mundi Trust, the map's owner and custodian since 1990. After centuries of coming and going, the map and its frame are now safely enshrined in a purpose-built exhibition centre attached to the Cathedral.[49] But two centuries of abuse and neglect have reduced the magnificent ensemble seen by Dingley, Gough and Carter to the isolated, if still impressive, *mappamundi* of today.

Previous Theories of the Map's Location

The earliest statement concerning the original location and function of the Hereford *mappamundi* is Richard Gough's 1770 claim that the map 'formerly serv'd as an altarpiece to t[he] high Altar'.[50] The assertion that the map was an altarpiece has been highly influential and remains, even now, a popular interpretation.[51] It is, however, intrinsically implausible.

To begin with, it is inconceivable that such a 'superstitious' Catholic image would have survived the English Reformation and the Civil War sitting on an altar, let alone on the Cathedral's High Altar. As John Tiller has said, Gough's theory 'flies in the face of all we know about the destruction of medieval altars at the Reformation'.[52] Those few English altarpieces that did survive the iconoclasm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did so because they were preserved in secret. In any case, Gough's testimony is inherently problematic. In 1780, ten years after his confident assertion that it served as the High Altarpiece, he referred to it merely as 'an altarpiece', without specifying its precise location. Perhaps by then he had become less sure of his original statement.[53]

It is also curious that Gough gave the date of its removal from the High Altar as 1686, the year in which a new organ was installed on the pulpitum, for, according to Dingley, the map was already at that time in the Lady Chapel library.[54] This proves that Gough's statement is unreliable. His claim is cast further in doubt by the existence of an early seventeenth-century signature—'John Nicolles'—beside the horseman in the bottom right-hand corner of the vellum.[55] It is hard to imagine anyone writing this graffito on a High Altarpiece; it could have been done easily, though, if the map was then in the library. So, Gough is unlikely to have based his opinion on a reliable source; it is much more probable that he was either guessing or repeating a local legend.

The most serious objection to the altarpiece theory is that a world map would have been an entirely inappropriate object to place on any altar. As Marcia Kupfer asks, 'how would the map have reflected the required dedication of a consecrated altar?'[56] Furthermore, the mundane imagery of the *mappamundi* would have been unthinkable either as a backdrop for the celebration of the Mass or as a focus of communal worship, the two functions any altarpiece has to fulfil. From a distance, the pictorial and textual details are lost, and nothing is visible but the terrestrial sphere itself—the very opposite of the divine reality an altarpiece is meant to signal.

As Kupfer also emphasizes, when the *imago mundi* was incorporated into medieval churches, it was always symbolically subordinated to the High Altar; world maps and related *rotae* 'were consistently positioned within the architectural fabric so that, keyed into canonical spatial and social hierarchies, they marked out the spiritual topography of the church'.[57] Examples include the twelfth-century mosaic of Fortune's Wheel on the floor of the chancel in S. Salvatore, Turin; the lost twelfth-century *mappamundi* painted on the south wall of the nave in the church of Saint-Silvain, Chalivoy-Milon; and, closer to home, the fourteenth-century mural of the Wheel of Life on the north nave wall of St Mary's in Kempley, near Hereford.[58] Representations of the *mundus* were by no means unusual in medieval churches, but they signified the realm of the transitory and corrupt, not eternal truth. Unsurprisingly, then, there is no documented example of a 'cartographic altarpiece'.[59]

In place of the altarpiece theory, Kupfer has suggested that the map might have been 'displayed in one of the ancillary Cathedral buildings that housed the school or library', a suggestion approved by Evelyn Edson.[60] This idea has the advantage of situating the *mappamundi* within a regular cartographical context, and it receives encouragement from the fact that the map is first recorded in the Lady Chapel library. However, the magnificent painted frame is much more likely to have been a church ornament than a piece of library furniture, and the iconography of the vellum itself—including, most obviously, the Last Judgement in the gable—is strongly religious.[61] The Hereford map may recapitulate the secular learning of other comparable world maps, but it is clearly framed as an object of religious contemplation. It is known that world maps were occasionally incorporated into the symbolic programme of medieval churches, and the Hereford map triptych would seem better adapted to this ecclesiastical tradition than to the parallel scholastic tradition.

The most recent attempts to identify the *mappamundi*'s original location have related it to the tomb of St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, who died in 1282. The ball was set rolling by Valerie Flint in a detailed study regarding the authorship and commissioning of the map. She came to the conclusion that the map was probably installed beside Thomas's first tomb in the Lady Chapel *c.*1283.[62] Amending this idea, Naomi Reed Kline suggested that the map was made rather later, *c.*1300, to adorn the area of Cantilupe's second tomb in the Cathedral's north transept, a shrine erected in 1287.[63] Kline's proposal has been taken up by Dan Terkla, who has developed the most sophisticated theory yet for the map's location and function, one that demands detailed scrutiny.[64] While attending the 1999 Mappa Mundi Conference in Hereford, Terkla noticed a series of eight stone inserts in the wall of the southeast bay of the north transept, just beside Cantilupe's 1287 tomb (the location marked 'T' on the plan in Figure 5). He speculated that these inserts might mark the position of a series of corbels used to support the wooden frame of the *mappamundi*. It is an intriguing hypothesis and has the great merit of introducing archaeological evidence into the discussion. However, there are a number of reasons to be sceptical.

To begin with, it is doubtful that the map triptych would have been supported on the wall by a row of substantial stone (or possibly wooden) corbels. The frame is currently supported on a couple of slender metal brackets, and even with the added weight of the wings, several small brackets would have been quite sufficient. In addition, the corbels beneath the open wings of the triptych would have been redundant, since the weight of the wings would have been adequately borne by their hinges, and, in any case, the shutters would have been kept closed most of the time to protect the map: that was their function. Furthermore, the map's frame itself suggests a much more elegant and economical means of attachment to the wall, as will become apparent.

I am inclined to think that the stone inserts mark the position of a much heavier monument. The eastern bays of the north transept would originally have been used as chapels, and it is likely that the inserts mark the position of an altar beside the tomb of Bishop Peter of Aquablanca (d. 1268), the builder of the transept.[65] It is known, in fact, that in 1320 the southeast bay of the north transept was occupied by an unidentified altar.[66] The row of corbels implied by the inserts would have been 63 centimetres above the floor and 240 centimetres across, making it suitable to support a heavy stone altar slab.[67]

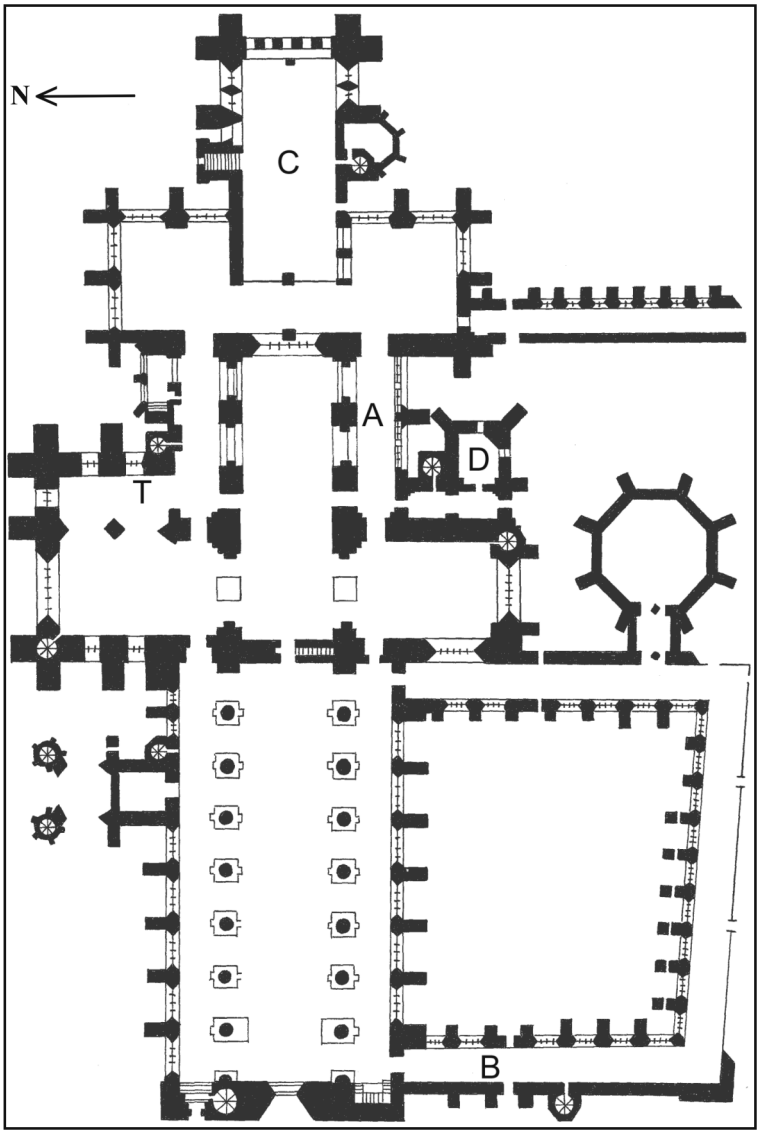

Fig. 5. Plan of Hereford Cathedral, redrawn after T. P. Smith, *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. G. Aylmer and John Tiller (London, Hambledon, 2000), 84, showing the locations in the cathedral discussed in this article. A: The location of the *mappamundi* in the south choir aisle. B: The original location of the cathedral library in a room above the cloisters. C: Lady Chapel, used as the library from 1590 to 1841. D: Vestry (formerly the Chapter Room). T: position for the *mappamundi* suggested by Dan Terkla (see note 5).

Another major difficulty with Terkla's thesis has to do with the vertical dimension of the panel. The tops of the stone inserts are 177 centimetres beneath the string-course (or cornice) that runs along the top of the wall.[68] Terkla states that the map's triptych case is 175 centimetres high and 'fits nicely between the inserts and the cornice'.[69] However, the 175 centimetres figure is incorrect—the vertical measurement of the frame is actually 185 centimetres, as noted above —and it includes neither the carved oak-leaf crockets that crown the gable nor the central finial (which was approximately 23 centimetres high), elements which were definitely part of the map's original frame.[70] At over two metres high, the woodwork would definitely have conflicted with the string-course. (Whether or not it was restored by Gilbert Scott in the nineteenth century, this string-course is definitely an original feature of the architecture.[71]) Technically, it might have been possible to position the map's frame slightly away

from the wall, so that it overlapped the string-course, but the effect would have been extremely awkward (as Terkla's reconstruction demonstrates).[72] It is difficult to see why those in charge would not have lowered the base of the map or else designed its framework to fit properly within the architecture.

Finally, I am sceptical that the custodians of Cantilupe's shrine would have wanted another major attraction in the immediate vicinity of the saint's tomb. Popular shrines in the Middle Ages thronged with devotees and were littered with the paraphernalia of prayer and healing. Consider the situation in 1307, when Hereford was visited by the papal commission of enquiry into the life and miracles of Thomas Cantilupe.

> There in the North Transept, night and day, stood, knelt, or lay, the sick and infirm, the blind, the deaf, and the halt, 'waiting to receive miraculously the benefit of health by the merits of St Thomas'. And all around were the offerings of those who had been cured, or perhaps of those who hoped for a cure . . .[73]

The careful inventory of the offerings made by the commissioners included, in addition to lances, arrows, chains, anchors and nightgowns, '170 ships in silver, 41 ships in wax, 129 images of men or of their limbs in silver, 1424 images of men or of their limbs in wax, 77 figures of animals and birds . . . , 108 crutches'.[74] The quantity of candles round the shrine was enormous, and there were too many wax eyes and ears to count. In short, the area around the shrine would have been too crowded to accommodate the *mappamundi*, and the problem would have been exacerbated if, as Terkla and others argue, the map had been used as tool of moral and religious instruction, being interpreted for groups of illiterate pilgrims by members of the local clergy.

The Map's 'Old Place'

If none of the locations proposed by modern scholars seems plausible, what about a forgotten nineteenth-century theory? Martin Bailey's invaluable research into early references to the map (those made before the landmark publication of *Medieval Geography* by Bevan and Phillott in 1873) has turned up some intriguing statements regarding the map's former location. From about 1820 until the early twentieth century, it seems to have been generally agreed that the *mappamundi* had been placed, many centuries before, on one of the piers in the south aisle of the choir (Fig. 6). Although Bailey favours the idea that the map triptych served originally as an altarpiece, he acknowledges the worth of this nineteenth-century tradition and even implies that it might represent the map's original location.[75] This idea deserves careful consideration.

The first writer to state that the map was once placed in the south choir aisle was J. P. Wright, author of *A Walk through Hereford*, published in 1819. After a careful description of the work itself, Wright says that 'It stood by the side of Mayew's tomb, in the south aisle, where may now be seen the iron clasps by which it was attached to the wall'.[76] The same location is given in two later guides to Hereford. In 1827 William Jenkins Rees repeated Wright's words almost verbatim, while in 1863 Joseph Jones gave the location even more precisely: 'after many journeys and changes of position, [the map] now rests in its old place on the north wall of this Aisle, between the Mayew and Lozing monuments'—that is to say, on the second pier of the south choir aisle (marked 'A' on the plan in Figure 5).[77] The evidence suggests that this opinion was based on nothing more nor less than the observation of the iron clasps still in situ on the pier.

Unfortunately, these clasps no longer exist, but an invaluable visual record of them is found in an engraving of the south choir aisle produced by John Coney in 1821 (Fig. 7).[78] It should be noted in the first place that Coney's decision to depict the south choir aisle is somewhat puzzling, given that this particular prospect has never been regarded as a major attraction of Hereford Cathedral. Why did the artist choose to engrave this view? His choice should probably be understood in connection with Wright's opinion, which had just been published, that the *mappamundi* was originally hung in this aisle, 'by the side of Mayew's tomb'. Coney's composition is, in fact, centred on the pier separating Mayew's tomb from that of Robert the Lotharingian, the very pier that was thought to have once housed the map. Attached to this pier are four L-shaped objects, two above and two below, and the method of their depiction—dark silhouettes against a brightly lit wall—ensures that they are highly visible (Fig. 8). There can be little doubt that these objects represent the iron clasps described by Wright, sturdier versions of the metal brackets that currently support the frame (see Fig. 2). Coney's print was thus intended to illustrate not simply a charming vignette of the Cathedral's interior, but the former site of its most notable and 'curious' monument, the *mappamundi*.

The iron clasps have now disappeared; they were probably discarded in 1909 when the organ pipes were installed on the pier—yet another loss to add to the catalogue of injuries the *mappamundi* has suffered in modern times.[79] The wall is now entirely

Fig. 6. South choir aisle, Hereford Cathedral, viewed from the east. In the foreground is the tomb of Richard Mayew, who died in 1516. A set of organ pipes, installed in 1909, cover the whole of the second pier, on which the *mappamundi* was once installed. Beyond that pier, on its western side, is the monument to Robert the Lotharingian, constructed in a similar fashion to monuments on the opposite side of the aisle, *c.*1300. (Author's photograph, reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

refaced, and nothing of its original appearance can be discerned. However, Coney's depiction of the clasps is sufficient to enable us to deduce their arrangement and function.

It is possible to estimate the heights of the clasps above the floor by measuring them against the colonnettes of the adjacent Mayew tomb. The lower two appear to have been fixed about 1.8 metres (6 feet) above floor-level, while the upper two seem to have been located about 1.2 metres (4 feet) higher up the wall. (It is impossible to be more precise, because Coney's drawing is not to scale.) The horizontal distance between the left-hand and right-hand clasps is more difficult to gauge, owing to the too-narrow depiction of the pier (compare Figs 6 and 7), but they appear to have been at least a metre apart.

The question is how the map in its frame could have been secured on the wall using this quartet of metal brackets. The answer was pointed out to me by Dominic Harbour, the marketing and communications manager at Hereford Cathedral, who kindly facilitated my investigation of the relevant pier in December 2006. It has to do with the two horizontal battens nailed to the rear face of the map's wooden frame (Fig. 9). These battens extend several centimetres beyond either side of the frame itself, an odd structural feature that requires an explanation—why

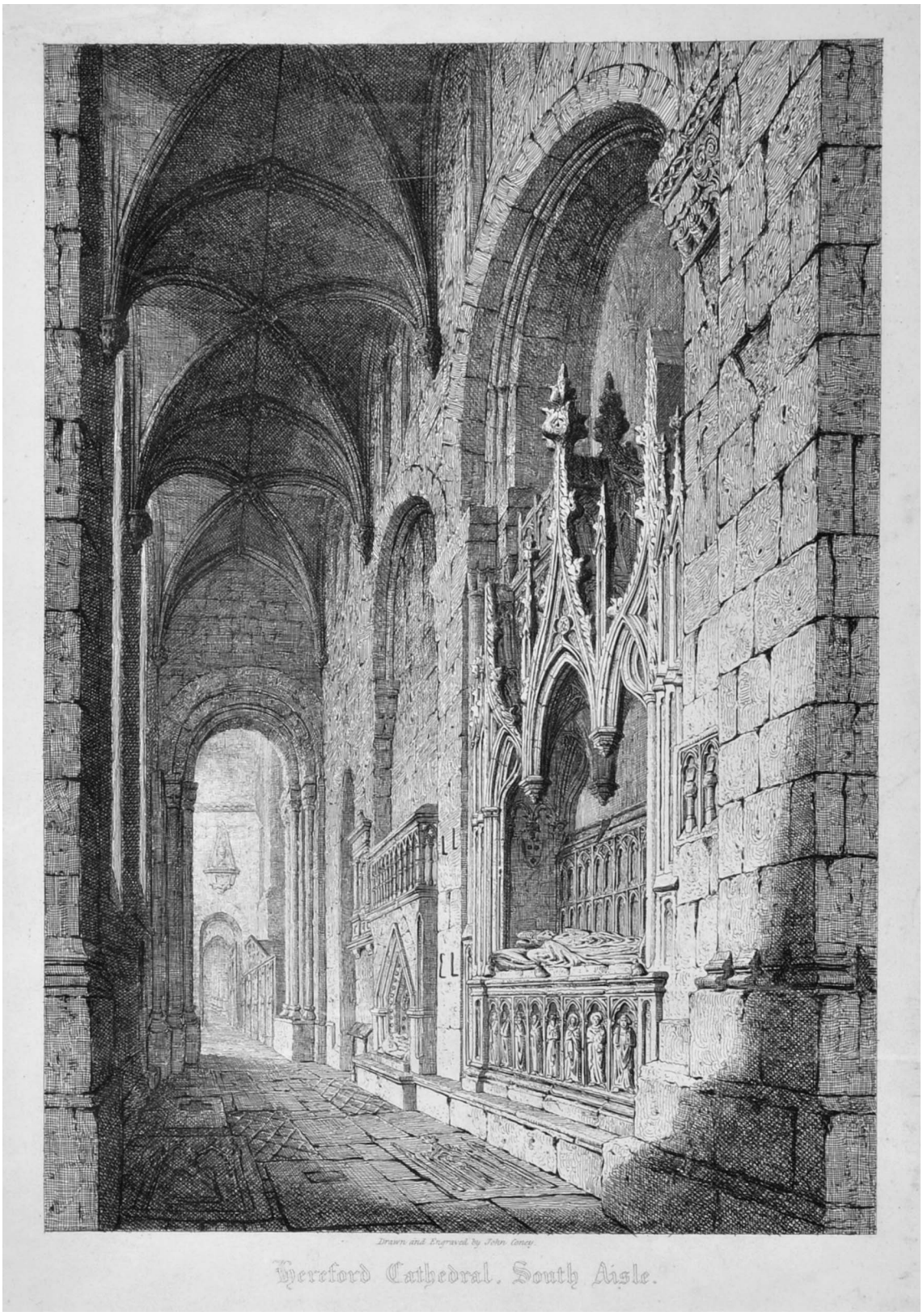

Fig. 7. John Coney, 'Hereford Cathedral. South Aisle', copper-plate engraving, 1821, from the 1817–1830 edition of Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. The engraving, which shows the south choir aisle viewed from the east, is centred on the pier thought to have once supported the *mappamundi*. The four L-shaped objects seen on the pier must be the 'iron clasps' first mentioned by J. P. Wright in 1819. The drawing is not to scale (compare Fig. 6). (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

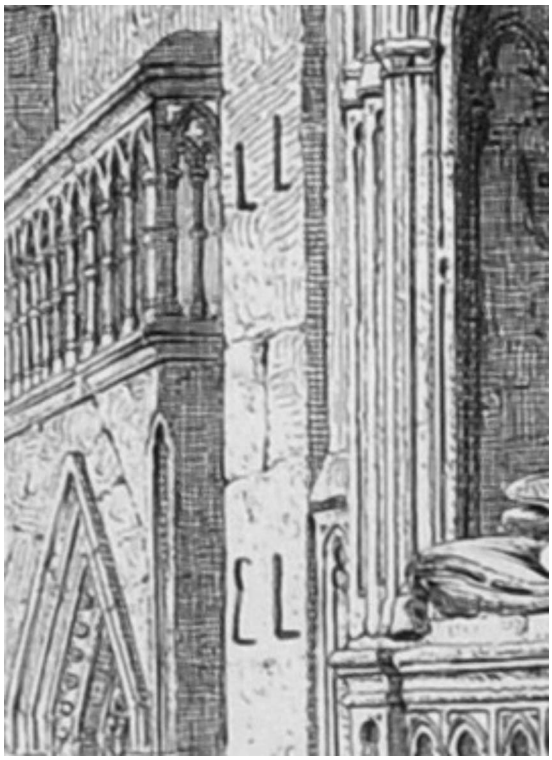

Fig. 8. Detail of John Coney's copper-plate engraving of 'Hereford Cathedral. South Aisle' (see Fig. 7). This visual record of the 'iron clasps' gives an approximate idea of their arrangement and their height above the floor. The upper clasps were roughly 3 metres (10 feet) above floor level, the lower two roughly 1.8 metres (6 feet). They would have received the four ends of the battens on the back of the central panel of the triptych. Although the perspective is unreliable, it seems as though the clasps were located towards the eastern edge of the pier. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

were they not sawn flush with the edges of the panel?[80] Looking at the pattern of the iron clasps depicted by Coney, the answer is evident: the ends of the battens were designed to slot into the metal brackets, providing a simple and effective method of hanging the map.

It is clear that the nineteenth-century observers made the same inference. Joseph Jones, for instance, says in 1856 that '*From certain marks in the south wall of the choir*, it is believed originally to have filled the space between the monuments of Lozing and Mayo ... ' (my italics).[81] Similarly, in 1873 Bevan and Phillott wrote that 'some old iron clasps' near Bishop Mayew's monument seemed 'suited to receive it'.[82] Surely, J. P. Wright would not initially have connected the iron clasps with the *mappamundi*, nor would others have accepted his conclusion, had the measurements between the clasps not matched the measurements of the map's frame.

Wright's acute observation, then, led to the established nineteenth-century belief that the *mappamundi* had formerly been hung on the second pier in the south choir aisle—and to its redisplay at the base of that pier in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although there was agreement over the antiquity of this location, no one could say whether or not the map had been there from the start. Wright merely claimed that it had stood there previously, and Rees was similarly noncommittal. Jones regarded the spot as the map's original location, not just any 'old place'. His contemporary, though, Francis Tebbs Havergal, the librarian of Hereford Cathedral, disagreed. While quoting Rees to the effect that the map was 'at one time fixed by the side of Bishop Mayo's monument in the south aisle where may be seen the iron caps [*sic*] by which it was attached to the wall', Havergal nevertheless believed

Fig. 9. The back of the wooden panel illustrated in Figure 2. The wooden battens fixed to the top and bottom of the panel project a short distance on each side, giving the panel structural solidity at the same time as providing a means of hanging the triptych. The extensions would have been slotted into the L-shaped iron brackets on the second pier in the south choir aisle (Figs. 7 and 8). The timber of the upper batten was cut no earlier than *c.*1289. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

that it served originally as an altarpiece.[83] Bevan and Phillott appear to have been of the same opinion.[84]

We are faced now with the same dilemma. Did the iron clasps mark the original site of the *mappamundi*, or were they merely part of a later relocation of the map? We can definitely say that the south choir aisle is the earliest known location for the *mappamundi* and that it must have been hung there before 1684, since its whereabouts after that date are well-documented.[85] Moreover, we can be confident that it was not placed there after the mid sixteenth century, when it would have been vulnerable to iconoclasm. But we cannot yet say that the map must have been there from the beginning, for there is always a possibility that it was moved there from another site (as Havergal and Bevan and Phillott evidently believed). In order to test the south choir aisle hypothesis, we must (a) determine whether or not the hanging arrangement implied by the projecting battens and iron clasps is the original one; and (b) consider the art-historical likelihood of the *mappamundi* being made to ornament the south aisle *c.*1300.

The Original Hanging Arrangement

If the map was initially hung on the wall in the manner implied by Coney's depiction of the iron clasps, then the battens that slotted into the clasps would have to be an original part of the panel's carpentry. They certainly look original, and Martin Bailey, for one, assumes that they were attached to the panel from the start.[86] That they are indeed original can be proved in several ways.

To begin with, the battens are structurally integral to the wooden framework. The main board is comprised of a set of thin vertical planks, which had to be braced horizontally, not only to help prevent warping, but also to make the structure firm. Without the battens serving as cross-braces the panel would have been flimsy and unstable, since the only other horizontal member spanning its width was the base of the frame. Such battens were a standard feature of large composite panels in the Middle Ages; they are found regularly on Norwegian and Italian panel paintings of the period, which survive in numbers, and in England they are found, for example, on the back of the Westminster Retable.[87] That the battens are of the right age to be original components of the frame is confirmed by a dendrochronological analysis conducted in 2003 by Ian Tyers, which revealed that the tree from which the upper batten was made 'cannot have been felled before c. A.D. 1289'.[88] This complies with the dendrochronology of the vertical planks of the panel, which come from trees felled 'some time between A.D. 1275 and A.D. 1311', and ties in, as well, with the *c.*1300 dating of the map itself.[89]

It has previously been suggested that the upper batten was added to the frame after its initial completion.[90] This idea is implausible. Quite apart from the fact that the battens are a necessary part of the structure, if the upper batten was added later, it would have necessitated removing the map from the frame to enable the nails to be driven in from the front. There is no evidence, though, that the map was ever detached from its support prior to the 1855 'restoration'. In fact, the frame now exhibits two distinct sets of pin-holes round its edge, which demonstrate that the map was only lifted and remounted on the panel once—in 1855. Moreover, lifting the map would inevitably have damaged the scroll-border in the gable, but this border seems to have been intact before the disastrous nineteenth-century operation.

Further proof that the battens are an original part of the framework is provided by the remains of the hinges used to hang the now-lost wings. There are three broken hinges on either side. Those in the centre and at the bottom were simply wrapped around the back of the panel, but those at the top were fixed onto the upper batten (Fig. 10). There are no indications that these hinges have ever been

Fig. 10. Detail of the front of the wooden panel illustrated in Figure 2 to show the top right hinge. Both upper hinges were attached to the ends of the upper batten, as well as to the sides of the panel, proving that the batten is an original part of the frame, since the hinges are certainly original and have never been moved. (Author's photograph, reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

relocated; on the contrary, they were evidently attached to the batten from the start. Since the hinges are an original part of the frame, the battens must be original, too.

We may conclude that when the map was first displayed, its frame was held together by the cross-battens, whose ends projected out from the side of the panel. This peculiar feature of the carpentry enabled the map triptych to be hung, simply and effectively, from four metal brackets fixed in the wall. This is an important determination. Negatively, it is sufficient to discredit altogether the notion that the map was conceived as an altarpiece: it was not designed to stand on an altar but to be suspended in the manner suggested by Coney's engraving. Positively, it means that the metal brackets that were still on the pier beside the Mayew tomb in the nineteenth century corresponded to the original hanging arrangement of the map triptych, helping to confirm the hypothesis that this was the original site of the map.

The Map in the South Choir Aisle

Any interpretation of the map in the context of the south choir aisle must take into account the architectural development of this part of Hereford Cathedral.

The south choir aisle was remodelled, along with the north choir aisle and the northeast transept, around the turn of the fourteenth century, that is, close in date to the creation of the *mappamundi* itself. These building works should be understood in relation to the cult of Thomas Cantilupe, which flourished following his translation to a new tomb in the north transept in 1287. Cantilupe's canonization was vigorously pursued by his friend and successor, Richard Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford from 1282 to 1317, who set about aggrandising the cathedral both in response to the existing cult and in anticipation of Thomas's future elevation to sainthood.[91] As Richard Morris says, Swinfield 'felt it his duty to convert what was still basically a Norman cathedral into a more splendid and up-to-date setting for the new cult'.[92] These twin impulses resulted in two successive phases of re-building. It was decided, first, to improve the west end of the cathedral, the part accessible to pilgrims to the 1287 shrine in the north transept. To that end, the north and south aisles of the nave were rebuilt with fine, large windows and Gothic rib vaults, and the north door, through which pilgrims entered, was supplied with a grand porch. This building campaign is known to have been underway in 1290–1291.[93]

The modifications to the east end of the cathedral came later and were connected to the subsequent plan to transfer Cantilupe's shrine to the Lady Chapel, pending his canonization. As it turned out, the canonization did not occur until 1320, three years after Swinfield's death, but it was expected much earlier and the remodelled choir aisles were definitely conceived as passages to and from Cantilupe's future shrine. (In the event, the shrine was only transferred to the Lady Chapel in 1349.) The most likely occasion for the work—which was probably intended to cover not only the choir aisles and northeast transept but also the southeast transept and the Lady Chapel—was the period 1305–1307, immediately prior to the institution of a papal commission in 1307 to enquire into the claims of miracles associated with Thomas's relics. As Morris says, 'This was the closest Cantilupe came to achieving canonization before 1320'.[94]

There are a number of reasons, both practical and symbolic, to suppose that the map triptych was designed as an ornament for the revamped south choir aisle, the projected threshold to the new Cantilupe shrine in the Cathedral's east end. First, the Norman piers of the choir were (and are) the only wall-surfaces in the cathedral spacious enough to accommodate the map triptych at an appropriate height. As noted earlier, the frame with its crockets and finial was too tall to stand beneath the string-course that runs around the north transept below the windows (assuming that the map was not installed 20 centimetres above floor level), and the same problem would have obtained in the nave, south transept and east end. Hung on the pier, though, the map-triptych would have seemed in proportion with the surrounding architecture. When closed, as it would have been most of the time, it would have occupied the wall without looking in the least bit cramped; when fully opened, it would have spanned the width of the pier, probably overlapping its right-hand edge (Fig. 11).[95]

Lighting was another crucial consideration, given the intricate detail of the image. Of the two choir aisles, the southern one was much better lit, having in its south wall two large Decorated windows, and the south face of the second pier—between these two windows—was probably the best lit wall in the entire church. Importantly, too, if hung on the metal brackets seen in Coney's engraving, the map would have been above head-height, reducing the risk of intentional or accidental damage. From a purely practical point-of-view, then, the second pier in the south choir aisle was an obvious location to choose.

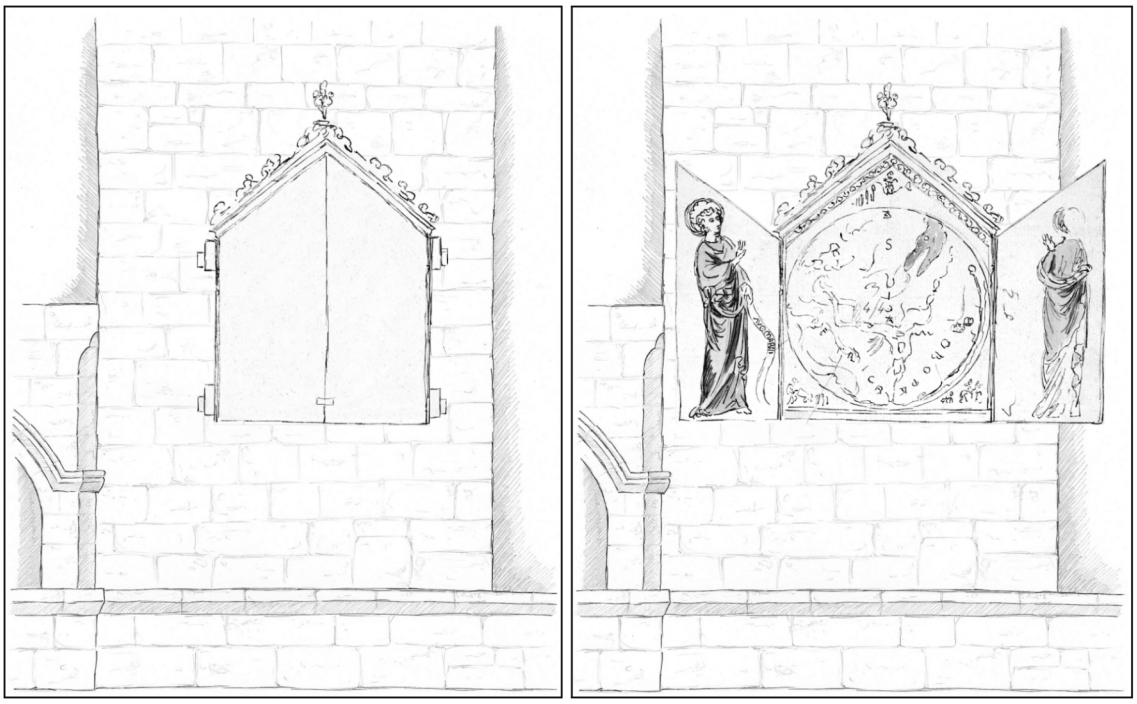

Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the *mappamundi* triptych on the second pier of the south choir aisle (closed and open), using John Carter's sketch of 1784 (see Fig. 4). The map appears to have been positioned slightly off-centre, in order to avoid any conflict with the monument to Robert the Lotharingian, which projects from the wall. The outer faces of the shutters, seen when the triptych was closed, were probably relatively plain, since neither Carter nor Richard Gough, writing in 1770, records their appearance.

The location in the south choir aisle also set the *mappamundi* triptych within a suitable symbolic context—the completion of a pilgrimage. In the Middle Ages pilgrimages were understood as analogues of, and models for, the journey of life itself. As Eamon Duffy says, medieval people were 'well aware of the symbolic value of pilgrimage as a ritual enactment and consecration of their whole lives, helping to interpret them as a journey towards the sacred, an awareness amply attested in works like *Piers Plowman*, the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, and in the remarkable pilgrimage paintings of Hieronymus Bosch'.[96]

In the early fourteenth-century, as plans were made to transform Hereford Cathedral into a major cult centre, the entire building was apparently re-envisaged as a spiritual theatre, in which the allegorical understanding of pilgrimage was mapped onto the regular cosmological interpretation of church space.[97] The goal of the pilgrimage, Cantilupe's shrine, was to be at the east end, symbolic of heaven; the nave, the domain of the laity, was identified with the world—the *mundus*. Connecting these architectural figures of heaven and earth were the transepts and choir aisles, via which pilgrims were to approach the shrine. These liminal spaces represented the transition from mortal life to the afterlife—that is, death—an association emphasized by the recumbent effigies of past bishops of Hereford lining the walls of the choir aisles (Fig. 12).

Certain unique features of the Hereford's map's design make perfect sense in this symbolic context. Death, here, is both central and all-encompassing: Christ's Crucifixion is shown prominently above Jerusalem, at the centre of the world, while the large red letters in the four handles projecting from the map spell out the Latin word 'MORS', a zone of 'death' surrounding God's teeming Creation. The scene of the Last Judgement, which dominates the map, locates the viewer at the end of time and would have been particularly appropriate in a space marking the transition from the mundane to the spiritual. Indeed, this 'gable' image would have been thoroughly familiar to everyone as a gateway to the divine, for, as Naomi Reed Kline observes, 'frequently in England wall-paintings of the Last Judgement were placed above archways leading into the sacramental space of the apse'.[98] The scene might even have been understood to situate its viewers on the far side of death, approaching salvation after the pangs of Purgatory and able to look

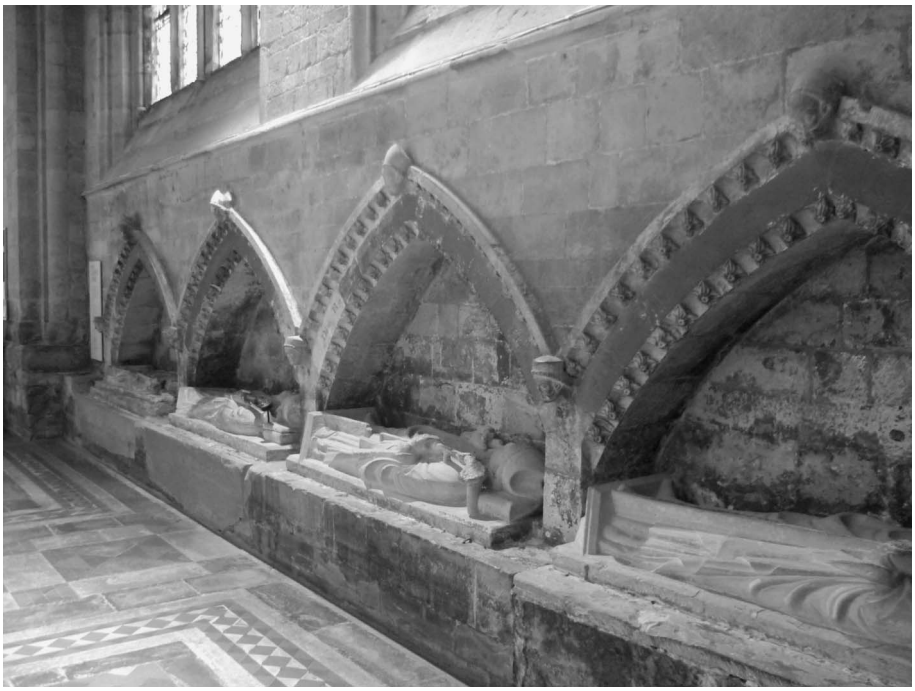

Fig. 12. Effigies of the bishops of Hereford, south choir aisle, Hereford Cathedral. The effigies were installed here when the aisle was remodelled under Bishop Swinfield, *c.*1305–1307. They associate the space of the south choir aisle with death and the transition from this world to the next, complementing the emphasis on death and judgement in the *mappamundi*. (Author's photograph, reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

forward to their imminent reception in heaven—a theme that mirrored the pilgrim's passage through the cavernous south transept into the bright choir aisle, the antechamber to the celestial east end.[99]

Standing in front of the *mappamundi*, the pilgrim would have noticed several other details of particular relevance to his or her situation. Two of the most conspicuous images on the map—neither of which is found in any other *mappamundi*—are directly related to the idea of pilgrimage. The first of these is the route of the Biblical Exodus, which is shown in its entirety, starting at Rameses in Egypt and ending at Jericho in the Promised Land, the archetypal journey from bondage to salvation (Fig. 13, left). The second is the meticulously drawn labyrinth on the island of Crete, a perennial symbol of the journey of life, whose formal correspondence to the *mappamundi*, itself conceived as turning around a fixed centre, helps articulate the significance of the surrounding cartographic confusion (Fig. 13, right).

More important than either of these details, though, is the youthful rider in the bottom right-hand corner (Fig. 14). Various theories have been proposed to account for this figure, but the most convincing explanation is that he is a huntsman—a sporting everyman—being urged to 'pass on' beyond the world.[100] Naomi Reed Kline adduces good iconographic parallels in support of this interpretation and notes that in the Middle Ages the hunt was 'associated with the mutability of life and the illusory quality of earthly pleasures'.[101] The cry of the fewterer—'passe avant'—was probably a regular hunting cry, here lent a new, spiritual meaning.[102]

Significantly, when the map was placed on its pier in the south choir aisle, the horseman would have been 'passing on' towards the east end of the cathedral, reflecting the route to be taken by the pilgrims. The Christian context of his journey is signalled by the small cross balanced on his steed's hindquarters, and, although the squire turns round to gaze at the world one last time, he rides off dutifully in the other direction. An analogous scene is found in the bottom right-hand corner of the Duchy of Cornwall *mappamundi*, where the final medallion in a sequence illustrating the ages of man shows a resurrected soul (depicted as an angel) looking back at the world.[103] The Hereford huntsman is presumably about to enter into a similar state: he looks as if he is about to be knocked off his horse by the vast, rotating handle of the map, inscribed with the R of

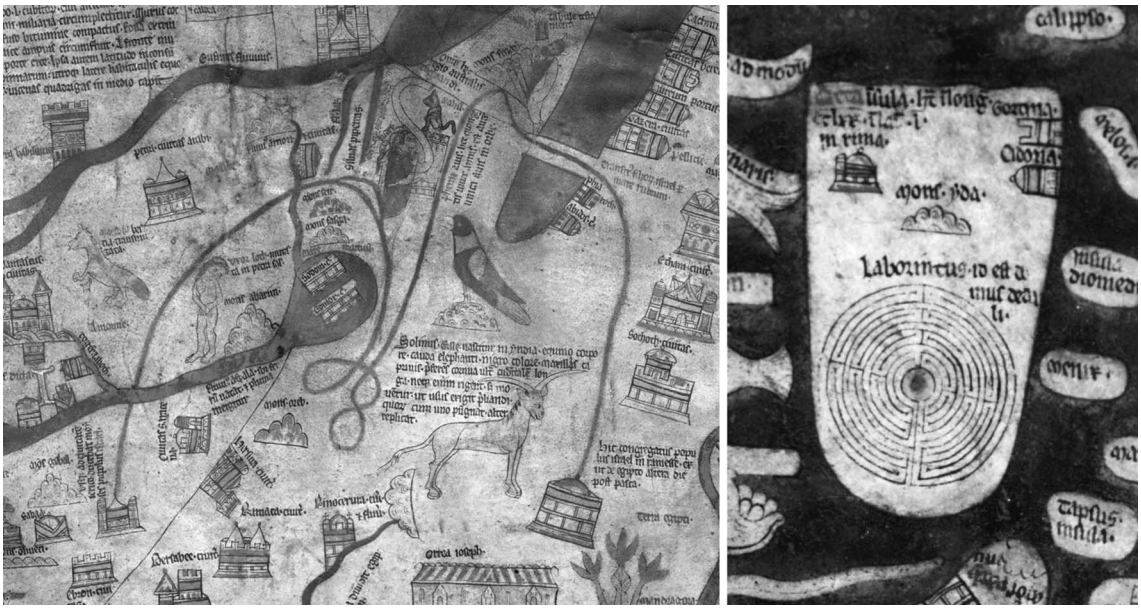

Fig. 13. Two details from the Hereford *mappamundi*. Left: the route taken by the Children of Israel during the Biblical Exodus is indicated by a meandering line, which starts in Egypt, crosses the Red Sea, loops through the Sinai desert and finishes in the Promised Land. It represents the archetypal journey of salvation, a model both for the Christian life and the act of pilgrimage. No other *mappamundi* depicts the route of the Exodus in this way. Right: the labyrinth on Crete is more than a mere emblem of the island; as a representation of man's confused journey through the world, it provides a key to the significance of the *mappamundi* itself. The centre of the labyrinth corresponds to Jerusalem at the centre of the map, the ultimate pilgrimage destination and the symbol of every Christian's spiritual goal. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

Fig. 14. The 'passe avant' scene from the bottom right corner of the Hereford *mappamundi*. The scene probably represents everyman as a huntsman about to 'pass on'—the cry of the fewterer behind him—from this world to the next. When the map was displayed in the south choir aisle, the huntsman would have appeared to be riding, appropriately, towards the east end of the church. A seventeenth-century signature, 'John Nicolles', is just visible beside the horse's rump. (Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter, Hereford Cathedral.)

'MORS'—a giant, mace-like substitute for the scythe of death.

Several further arguments can be raised in favour of the south choir aisle as the map's original location. First, the closest surviving pictorial analogue in any English cathedral, the mid thirteenth-century 'Wheel of Fortune' at Rochester, is also located on one of the Norman piers of the choir (although the Rochester *rota* faced the choir itself, rather than the side aisle).[104] Secondly, the style of the map triptych is perfectly in accord with this early fourteenth-century setting. In particular, the naturalistic leaf pattern found around the upper border of the vellum corresponds to a similar motif found in the contemporary glazing of one of the windows in the south choir aisle.[105] Finally, the portrayal of the Virgin on the right-hand wing of the map triptych seems (as far as can be discerned from Carter's 1784 copy) to have been thoroughly suited to this location. Unfortunately, her face was evidently missing (probably due to a bout of local iconoclasm in the sixteenth century), but it is nevertheless clear from Carter's sketch of her veil and coiffure that she was shown, unusually, looking up and away to the right—in the direction of the east end and/or the light flooding in through the window opposite.[106] She would thus have appeared as the ideal counterpart of the equestrian everyman at her feet; her upper body struck a similar pose, but, unlike him, her attention was already focused on the realm of the divine.

The Subsequent Fate of the Map

How did the *mappamundi* migrate from the south choir aisle to the Lady Chapel, where it is documented in the seventeenth century? Until the Reformation it probably remained safe and untroubled on its pier. A number of images and liturgical artefacts were removed from Hereford Cathedral in 1538, under pressure from the Protestant reformers, and it may have been around this time that the figure of the Virgin on the right wing was defaced.[107] Hereford was a stronghold of religious conservatism, though, and the *mappamundi* was probably still on the wall in March 1547, when the dean and chapter received a letter instructing them to take down any remaining images.[108] They agreed to the demand in May 1550, and the map must then have been safely stored away, even while the Cantilupe shrine in the Lady Chapel was being destroyed.[109] In all likelihood, I think, it was 'retired' to the Cathedral library, then housed in a room above the west walk of the cathedral cloisters. When the library was transferred to the Lady Chapel in 1590, the map would have been relocated along with the books and furniture, there to await Thomas Dingley's visit in 1684.[110]

There was a tradition in the nineteenth century that the map was once hidden beneath a floor in the Cathedral, to protect it from iconoclasts. Joseph Jones, for instance, states that it was 'discovered during the repairs of Mr Wyatt, under the Audley Chapel, where it was probably hidden for the sake of security during the Civil Wars, and afterwards forgotten.'[111] However, this idea is incompatible with the documented fact that the map was seen in the library from 1684 onwards, Wyatt having been engaged to restore the Cathedral after the collapse of the west tower in 1786. The story seems to have grown up from a vague rumour first reported by Thomas Wright.[112] It is not unlikely that the map did survive the English Civil War hidden somewhere in the cathedral—possibly beneath the floor of the Audley Chapel—but, if so, it was not forgotten and was recovered at the time of the Restoration. Its survival should be understood, in any case, in the context of the similarly remarkable preservation of the cathedral's chained library, to which it has long been attached.

There can now be little doubt that the *mappamundi* was originally displayed on the second pier in the south choir aisle. No other spot in the Cathedral is so suited to its display, and certain prominent, unique features of the work's design seem custom-made for this particular architectural setting. Crucially, we know that in the nineteenth century the medieval brackets used to hang the map triptych still survived *in situ*, as shown in Coney's 1821 engraving. As a splendid summa of human life and divine salvation, it would have contributed magnificently to the climax of the Hereford pilgrimage, explicating the journey's allegorical significance and articulating the spiritual meaning of its final stage.

This new interpretation of the map's original placement accords well with what we know about the display of other church *mappaemundi* and *rotae*, but in one respect, at least, it is surprising. If Coney's engraving is to be believed, the base of the triptych was positioned about 1.8 metres (6 feet) above the ground, making it extremely difficult to see and read the details of the map. It has been assumed in the past that the map must have been displayed relatively low, in order to facilitate its perusal.[113] The discovery that it was hung above the head-height of the average viewer should prompt us to question existing assumptions about the type of attention it originally received. Of course, people could have

stepped up onto the ledge beneath to inspect Europe and Africa more closely, and the map would undoubtedly have stimulated both naive curiosity and learned exposition—so much is implicit in the colophon's address to 'all those who possess this work, or hear, read or see it'.[114] But, on the whole, it would have been viewed at a greater distance than scholars have generally supposed in the past. This suggests that, within the context of Hereford Cathedral, a major pilgrimage shrine, cartographic instruction counted for less than symbolic expression.

Ever since Gough first brought attention to the Hereford *mappamundi* in the late eighteenth century, it has been regarded essentially as an item of antiquarian interest, a representative document of medieval knowledge and ideas. Attention has been focused, above all, on its cartographic contents, hence, in centuries past, the tragic disregard for its frame. The surviving panel may now be treated with due care, but recent studies of the map, in which it is considered primarily as a 'map of medieval thought', perpetuate the antiquarian bias. Locating the map triptych in its original place in the cathedral is the first step in reinterpreting it, not as a paradigmatic image, but as a complex, ingenious work of art, with its own particular agenda. As a visual encyclopaedia, the Hereford *mappamundi* has been thoroughly explored; as an individual work of art, it remains a largely undiscovered world.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Marcia Kupfer makes the same point in a pioneering contextual study of these images: 'world maps were typically treated not as autonomous objects, but rather as elements subsumed within greater pictorial ensembles, architectural settings or intellectual projects … a map's production of meaning, far from stabilized by any set of internal cartographic conventions, remained contingent on variable frameworks' (Marcia Kupfer, 'Medieval world maps: embedded images, interpretive frames', *Word & Image* 10 (1994): 262–88, at 264).

2. For a thorough discussion of the relevant issues, see Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London, British Library, 1997).

3. Besides Kupfer, 'Medieval world maps' (see note 1), see the following studies of individual maps: Marcia Kupfer, 'The lost wheel map of Ambrogio Lorenzetti', *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 286–310; T. de Wesselow, 'The "Wall of the Mappamondo": The Trecento Decoration of the West Wall of the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2000), esp. 28–69; T. de Wesselow, 'Ambrogio Lorenzetti's "Mappamondo": a fourteenth-century picture of the world painted on cloth', in *European Paintings on Fabric Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. C. Villers (London, Archetype Publications, 2000), 55–65; Ernst Kitzinger, 'World map and Fortune's Wheel: a medieval mosaic floor in Turin', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117 (1973): 344–73, reprinted in E. Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. W. E. Kleinbauer (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1976), 327–56; and Marcia Kupfer, 'The lost mappamundi of Chalivoy-Milon', *Speculum* 66 (1991), 540–71.

4. On the Hereford *mappamundi*, see W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, *Medieval Geography—An Essay* (London, E. Stanford, 1873); G. R. Crone, *The Hereford World Map* (London, Royal Geographical Society, 1948); A. L. Moir, *The World Map in Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, Hereford Cathedral, 1971); Meryl Jancey, *Mappa Mundi: The Map of the World in Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1987); Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (2), 1250–1285* (London, Oxford University Press, 1987), 196–98; P. D. A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map* (London, British Library, 1996); Edson, *Mapping Time and Space* (see note 2), 139–44; P. D. A. Harvey, 'Mappa mundi', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. G. Aylmer and John Tiller (London, Hambledon, 2000), 557–62; Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2001); Scott Westrem, *The Hereford Map; Terrarum Orbis: History of the Representation of Space in Text and Image* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2001); and P. D. A. Harvey, ed., *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context* (London, British Library, 2006).

5. The most detailed attempt yet to set the Hereford map in its original architectural context is Dan Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*', *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004): 131–51. Prior to Terkla's article, consideration of the Hereford map's original location amounted to little more than vague speculation.

6. See Christopher Clarkson, 'The Hereford map: the first annual condition report', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (note 4), 95–106, at 96.

7. Compare Edson, *Mapping Time and Space* (see note 2), 140: 'Jerusalem … looks rather like a cog-wheel, the gear on which the whole universe turns'; and Peter Barber, 'Medieval maps of the world', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (see note 4), 1–44, at 27, who describes the map as 'seemingly on the point of rotating like a colossal Wheel of Fortune'. The significance of the map's resemblance to the Wheel of Fortune has yet to be fully appreciated; for the moment, see Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 35–44, 179–81.

8. For this border inscription, see Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (note 4), 3, 54. The border inscription, taken from the

Pseudo-Aethicus, records that Julius Caesar (not Augustus) measured the world and states that Nichodoxus measured the east, Policlitus the south, and Theodocus the north and west (for the source, see Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (note 4), xxxi). This contradicts the depiction of these three surveyors being commissioned by Augustus.

9. Quoted in Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (see note 4), 54. The original Anglo-Norman verse reads as follows: 'Tuz ki cest estoirie ont—Ou oyront ou lirront ou ueront—Prient a ihesu en deyte—De Richard de haldingham o de Lafford eyt pite—Ki lat fet e compasse—Ki ioie en cel li seit done'. 'Lafford' is modern Sleaford in Lincolnshire, 'Haldingham' (now called Holdingham) a nearby village (Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (see note 4), 7).

10. This is pointed out in Clarkson, 'The Hereford map' (see note 6), 105, n.7, who calls the hole in the centre of the panel 'clear evidence that the parchment was attached to the panel from the very beginning of drafting out the design'.

11. The correct measurements are given in Martin Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel: Hereford's map in a medieval altarpiece?', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (see note 4), 79–93, at 82. I checked this measurement myself when I visited Hereford in December 2006. Clarkson's statement that '[t]he height of the panel is 1750 mm at the pediment' (Clarkson, 'The Hereford map' (see note 6), 103) appears to be in error. This incorrect measurement is used by Terkla, which undermines his analysis of the map triptych's placement.

12. For the thickness of the planks, see Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (note 11), 82.

13. Clarkson, 'The Hereford map' (see note 6), 101–2.

14. Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 133, 142, 144, suggests that these upper nail-holes mark the position of 'hardware' used to attach the map's frame to the wall. However, the damage precisely matches that caused by the batten-nails, and a third batten across the top of the frame would have been structurally desirable.

15. According to Ian Tyers, who has conducted a dendrochronological study of the map's frame, the bottom of the panel has been crudely cut down (see I. Tyers, 'Tree ring analysis of the Hereford Mappa Mundi panel', January 2004 (Hereford Cathedral Archives, 6424/6), 4, quoted in Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (note 5), 133). This helps explain the discrepancy between the current measurement of the height of the panel (6 ft. 1 in. or 1.85 metres) and that given by Richard Gough in 1770 (6 ft. 4 in. or 1.93 metres). For Gough's measurements, see Martin Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*: early references, 1684–1873', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (note 4), 45–78, at 49. However, other complicating factors may also explain this discrepancy, as well (see note 38).

16. The crockets have been carbon dated to between 1040 and 1280 (see Martin Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych: the full story of the Hereford Cathedral panels', *Apollo*, 137 (1993): 374–78, at 375). According to Bailey, 'Two samples from the back of the main panel gave dates of 890–1020 and 1270–1400 AD'. While these carbon-dating results usefully confirm that the panel dates from the Middle Ages, they should not be taken too literally, since carbon-dating is not a particularly accurate technique and errors occur frequently. (For problems with the carbon-dating of a similar medieval monument, see Martin Biddle, ed., *King Arthur's Round Table* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2000), 195–234, 340–48.)

17. On the earliest photographs of the map, see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 46.

18. 'Item, a large panel which closes with two doors, on which there is a map of the world'. On the Angers map, see Paul Vandenbroeck, 'Bij het "schuttersfeest" (1493) en het "Dubbelportret" (1496) van de Meester van Frankfurt', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1983): 15–32, at 27. In addressing the issue of a possible tradition of large-scale map triptychs (perhaps initiated by the Hereford example?) account should be taken of the secular triptychs of Hieronymus Bosch, which bear an intriguing relation to the *mappamundi* genre: see Lynn Jacobs, 'The triptych unhinged: Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights', in *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work*, ed. Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet and Barbera van Kooij (Rotterdam, NAi, 2001), 65–75, at 69.

19. Compare Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 375: 'It is very difficult to point to a triptych remotely approaching this size in contemporary Italy . . . '

20. Most up-to-date studies of the map concur that it was produced *c.*1300: see, for example, Barber, 'Medieval maps of the world' (note 7), 27–29; Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 78; and Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (note 4), xv. It should be noted, however, that discussions of the map's function and authorship (including Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5); and Valerie I. J. Flint, 'The Hereford map: its author(s), two scenes and a border', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 6th series, 8 (Cambridge, 1998): 19–44), have tended to date it earlier, in the 1270s and 1280s.

21. See M. B. Parkes, 'The Hereford map: the handwriting and copying of the text', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (note 4), 107–17, at 115; Nigel Morgan, 'The Hereford map: art-historical aspects', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (note 4), 119–35, at 123; and Tyers, 'Tree ring analysis' (note 15), 6–7. If the upper cross-batten of the frame is taken into account, as well, as I believe it should be, then the dendrochronological parameters are c.1289–1311 (see Tyers, ibid., 7), that is, identical to the parameters determined by Parkes and Morgan (compare Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (see note 11), 80, who agrees).

22. Thomas Dingley, *History from Marble*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London, Camden Society, 1867–1868), clx. On Dingley, see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15**)**, 49.

23. For Dingley's 1684 visit to Hereford, see Dingley, *History from Marble* (note 22), 35, n.3, cciv; and Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 49. Bailey observes that Gough, writing in 1770, says that the map served as an altarpiece until 1686 and wonders whether this might push back the date for Dingley having seen it in the library. It is much more likely, as we shall see, that Gough was simply guessing.

24. See Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 49–50. These 1770 notes formed the basis for the description of the map Gough published in 1780 in his *British Topography* (see Bailey, ibid., 49–50).

25. See Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 50–53. On John Carter, see J. Mordaunt Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival* (London, Society of Antiquaries, 1995); and Bernard Nurse, 'John Carter, FSA (1748–1817): "The ingenious, and very accurate draughtsman"', *The Antiquaries Journal*

91 (2011): 211–52. For the dating of the drawing, see note 27 below.

26. Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 376, agrees that the exterior faces of the shutters were decorated 'probably with a painted pattern'. Two (much smaller) early triptychs with ornamental designs on the outside of their shutters were produced by the contemporary Sienese artist, Duccio (see David Bomford et al., *Art in the Making: Italian Painting before 1400* (London, National Gallery, 1989), 90–97).

27. The annotation is found beside the right-hand shutter. Bailey dates Carter's drawings of the *mappamundi c.*1780 (see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 50), but this is unlikely, according to Nurse, who points out that 'Carter makes no reference in his *Occurrences* to any visit to Hereford before 1784', the date inscribed on the back of one of his other drawings of the map, and suggests that the drawing for the engraved title page of Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, which features the map, was made in 1786, the year the book was published, not in 1780, the date inscribed on the engraving (see Nurse, 'John Carter' (note 25), 231, n.62). The British Library cataloguer gives the wrong date of publication probably misled by the date on Carter's engraving. On balance, a date of 1784 for the drawing of the map triptych seems most probable.

28. The Hereford map is mentioned as in the library in Johann Gottlob Fritsch, *Demonstratio historico-geographica per quam efficitur veteres Americam ignorasse* (Hof an der Saale, Bergmann, 1798), 111–12 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 52), although, as Bailey remarks, 'Fritsch may well have based his comments on Gough, *British Topography*', so this reference does not prove that the map was still located in the library at the end of the century. In 1805 the map was definitely in the library again, having been 'discovered under a pile of lumber some years ago': see Edward Brayley and John Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 18 vols (London, Vernor and Hood, 1801–1815), 6: 470 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 52). In 1813 someone called Camden stated that he had found 'a quantity of glass lanthorns sacrilegiously piled against the map': see Francis Tebbs Havergal, *Fasti herefordenses and other antiquarian memorials of Hereford* (Edinburgh, 1869), 162 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 53).

29. James Sargant Storer, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain*, 4 vols (London, Rivington, 1814–1819), 3 (1817): (k) (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 53).

30. Storer, *History and Antiquities* (see note 29), 3: (k) (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 53).

31. J. P. Wright, *A Walk through Hereford* (Hereford, Watkins and Wright, 1819), 31 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 53–54). The map was in the Lady Chapel when Wright saw it.

32. William Jenkins Rees, *The Hereford Guide*, 3rd ed. (Hereford, Watkins, 1827), 155 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 54).

33. See Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 46, 54–57.

34. John Biddulph recorded that it was on its way back to Hereford in a diary entry of 24 December 1830, while John Britton saw it in the Chapter room in 1831: see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 57.

35. For the documentation relating to the 1855 restoration of the map, see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 66–72.

36. Madden's diary, 27 August, 1855 (Bodleian, MS. Eng. hist. c.168, pp. 271–73) (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 70). A complete photocopy of Madden's diary is available in the British Library: MS Facs * 1012.

37. Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 375–76, gives the misleading impression that this scroll pattern surrounded the entire map, a misconception repeated by others (for example, Clarkson, 'The Hereford map' (see note 6), 102).

38. It is possible, but less likely, that the top part of the panel was cut down by a few centimetres to compensate for the loss of the red-painted border (compare Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 378, n.5). This might help explain the slight discrepancy between the current measurement of the height of the panel and that given by Gough in 1770 (see note 15), but I am inclined to attribute this (a) to the resection of the base of the panel and (b) to the different state of the pediment when Gough made his measurement (when he saw the map the lost finial was still in place).

39. This might explain the discrepancy between the current measure of the width of the panel (4 ft. 10 in. or 1.47 metres) and that given by Gough in 1770 (5 ft. 4 in. or 1.62 metres). For Gough's measurements, see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 49. It is certain that the panel itself has not been reduced in width, because the lateral framing pieces are original and intact, but the crocket-mouldings could well have lost 3 inches (0.08 metres) on either side. The outer end of the crocket-moulding on the right side may have been raised slightly in 1868, when a new pair of folding wooden doors was attached to the frame, resulting in its currently asymmetrical appearance. For the installation of the 19th-century wooden doors, see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 74–76.

40. See above, note 15.

41. See Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 72.

42. Ibid., 72–73. The information that the map was exhibited at the 1862 South Kensington Exhibition is found in Havergal, *Fasti herefordenses* (see note 28), 160–70 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 76). Bailey, ibid., 73, notes that the map does not appear in the catalogue or published accounts of the exhibition, and he also wonders elsewhere whether Havergal might have confused the South Kensington Exhibition with the 1857 Manchester Exhibition (see Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (note 16), 378, n.24).

43. Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (see note 11), 92, n.48, gives evidence that the map was moved from the south choir aisle to the south transept between 1902 and 1913. Work relating to the new organ on this pier was carried out in 1909 and 1920 (see Roy Massey, 'The organs', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 470–92, at 483–84).

44. See Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (see note 11), 87.

45. Hereford Cathedral Archives, 6318/5-6.

46. The 'Victorian gothic embellishments' Lord Rennell refers to are presumably the 1868 shutters, decorated with mock-Gothic inscriptions. The finial was still definitely in place in 1931, because it is visible in a photograph taken that year (see Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (note 16), 378, n.6). It may have been broken during the war and was

probably discarded when the frame was dumped in the Cathedral stables.

47. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (see note 4), 14.

48. See Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (note 11), 79.

49. On the recent history of the map, see Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (note 4), 17–18; Harvey, 'Mappa mundi' (note 4), 562; and Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (note 4), xxvii. Between 1990 and 1996 the map was kept in the Cathedral crypt: see Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (note 5), 150, n. 89.

50. Quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 49.

51. Gough's statement was taken seriously in most 19th- and 20th-century studies of the map: see, for example, Marie d'Avezac, 'The Hereford map of the world', transl. G. Townsend, *The Gentleman's Magazine* 214 (Jan–July 1863): 583–92, at 584; Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography* (note 4), 11; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, 'Mappa mundi und Chronographia', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968): 118–86, at 128; Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, rev. and enlarged by R. A. Skelton (London, C. A. Watts, 1964), 50; Moir, *The World Map in Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 8; and Norman Thrower, *Maps and Man: An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilization* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall, 1972), 42. Since the rediscovery of the map's wooden frame in 1987, the altarpiece theory has been promoted by Martin Bailey (Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 374, 377; Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (see note 11), 87–89), and accepted as plausible by others (Brian J. Levy, 'Signes et communications "extraterrestres". Les inscriptions marginales de la mappemonde de Hereford (13e siècle)', in *La grande aventure de la decouverte du monde au Moyen Age* (Greifswald, Reineke Verlag, 1995), 35–48, at 36; Flint, 'The Hereford map' (see note 20), 23; Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (see note 4), 14; and Clarkson, 'The Hereford map' (see note 6), 106, n.15).

52. Quoted in Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (see note 11), 89.

53. Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 377, notes this slight discrepancy in Gough's accounts and infers 'that it may not have been on the high altar and could have been placed in a side chapel'. However, as Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 144, comments, the map triptych would have been too big to place on a side altar. Indeed, its size probably determined Gough's 1770 opinion that it once stood on the High Altar.

54. For Gough's statement, see Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 49. For the installation of the new organ in 1686, see Massey, 'The organs' (note 43), 471.

55. On this graffito, see Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (note 4), 14, where it is suggested that John Nicolles 'may have been the son or other relative of William Nichols, vicar-choral who died in 1635'; and Harvey, 'Mappa mundi' (see note 4), 561, where the signature is said to be written 'in a hand of the early seventeenth century'.

56. Kupfer, 'Medieval world maps' (see note 1), 275.

57. Ibid. Kupfer's powerful refutation of the altarpiece theory has been seconded by others: see, for example, Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (note 5), 144; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space* (note 2), 141; and Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 78–81.

58. See respectively Kitzinger, 'World map and Fortune's Wheel' (note 3); Kupfer, 'The lost mappamundi of Chalivoy-Milon' (note 3); and Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 73–75.

59. The nearest parallel to the idea is provided by the various Sienese altarpieces of the 14th century which contain small-scale copies of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's famous 1345 mappamondo (for example, Sano di Pietro's *c.*1450 *Saint Bernardino in Glory* in Siena's Museo del Opera del Duomo, illustrated in Kupfer, 'The lost wheel map of Ambrogio Lorenzetti' (see note 3), 298). In these instances, though, the image of the world is always subordinated to a holy figure and is never visually dominant.

60. See Kupfer, 'Medieval world maps' (note 1), 276; and Edson, *Mapping Time and Space* (note 2), 141. Kupfer acknowledges that the map could have been displayed, alternatively, in the nave or transept.

61. Regarding the idea that the map might have been made to adorn a library, it is not clear exactly when the cathedral's first library room, situated over the western side of the cloister, was instituted. According to Joan Williams, 'The room was completed but still new by 1478' (Joan Williams, 'The library', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 511–535, at 514). However, A. T. Bannister records, without giving a source, that 'in 1394 the precentor, Walter de Rammesbury, B. D., gave £10 "for making the desks in the library"' (Rev. A. T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford: Its History and Constitution* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1924), 188).

62. See Flint, 'The Hereford map' (see note 20), 42.

63. See Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 76–78. On the 1287 shrine of Thomas Cantilupe, see Nicola Coldstream, 'The medieval tombs and the shrine of Saint Thomas Cantilupe', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 322–30; and G. Marshall, 'The shrine of St Thomas de Cantilupe in Hereford Cathedral', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1930–1932): 41–42.

64. See Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (note 5).

65. On the north transept, see G. Marshall, *Hereford Cathedral: Its Evolution and Growth* (Worcester, Littlebury, 1951), 71–85; and R. K. Morris, 'The architectural history of the medieval cathedral church', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 203–40, at 213–18. As Morris says, 'It would be the east aisle of the transept which would interest the bishop [i.e. Peter of Aquablanca] most specifically, as providing the chapels adjoining his monument . . . , and it is a pity that the dedications of their altars are not recorded' (216). On the tomb of Bishop Peter of Aquablanca, see J. Gardner, 'The tomb of Bishop Peter of Aquablanca in Hereford Cathedral', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead; The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XV (Leeds, British Archaeological Association, 1995), 105–10.

66. See William W. Capes, ed., *Chapters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, 1908), 186; *Diocese of Hereford: Extracts from the Cathedral Registers A.D. 1275–1535*, transl. Rev. E. N. Dew (Hereford, 1932), 46; Robert Swanson and David Lepine, 'The later Middle Ages 1268–1535', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 48–86, at 84–85 (plan of the Cathedral). This information is incompatible with Terkla's opinion that the map stayed in the north transept until 1349, when it was moved into the Lady Chapel to form part of Cantilupe's new shrine (Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 146). Terkla agrees

that the map could not have served as an altarpiece, so after 1320 some interim location would have to be imagined.

67. These measurements are given in Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 142. By way of comparison, the contemporary mural altarpiece on the side altar in the Chapel of St Faith in Westminster Abbey is 240.5 cm across (see Paul Binski, 'What was the Westminster Retable', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 140 (1987): 152–74, at 155), implying an altar of exactly the same width as that in the Hereford transept. The altar was probably destroyed, and the stone inserts fashioned, following the demand issued by Edward VI's privy council in November 1550 that all stone altars be removed from English churches (see Stanford Lehmberg and Gerald Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration, 1535–1660', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 87–108, at 90).

68. The measurement is given in Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 142.

69. Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 145. For the vertical dimension of the panel, see above, p. 180, and notes 11, 15 and 38.

70. According to Bailey, a 1931 photograph of the finial reveals it to have been approximately 23 cm high: see Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (note 16), 375. Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 133, calls the finial 'Victorian', perhaps influenced by Lord Rennell's opinion (see above, p. 184), but it is recorded in Carter's 1784 drawing, and the crockets, with which the finial was certainly contemporary, have been carbon-dated between 1040 and 1280 (see note 16). The finial was lost following the 1946–1948 restoration (see above, p. 184 and note 46).

71. The status of the cornice is questioned in Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 149, n.61, but he accepts that, 'Even if it is a re-creation, it seems to be in the original location . . . ' On 145 he says that 'with the oak-leaf mouldings lowered to their original places, the entire structure would have fit under the lip of the window cornice'. It is not clear what he means by this, since the oak-leaf mouldings, which abutted the central finial, were never lower than they are today.

72. See Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (note 5), Plate 3. An awkward arrangement of this sort was evidently made when the map was housed in the Lady Chapel (a cornice is indicated behind the panel in Carter's 1784 sketch), but it can hardly have been envisaged when the map was originally made.

73. Rev. A. T. Bannister, 'The Hereford miracles', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (Hereford, 1904): 377–83, at 377 (reprinted in Bannister, *The Cathedral Church* (see note 61), 167–75). See also R. C. Funicane, 'Cantilupe as thaumaturge: pilgrims and their "miracles"', in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancey (Hereford, Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982), 137–44. The north transept still bore numerous traces of the Cantilupe cult in the 18th century, when William Stukeley wrote: 'all around are the marks of hooks where the banners, lamps, reliques, and the like presents were hung up in his [i.e. Thomas Cantilupe's] honor, and no doubt vast were the riches and splendor which fill'd this place . . . ' (William Stukeley, *Itinerarium curiosum, or, an Account of the Antiquitys and remarkable Curiositys in Nature or Art, observ'd in Travels thro' Great Britain*, (London, Stukeley, 1724), 67), quoted in Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 136.

74. Bannister, 'The Hereford miracles' (see note 73), 378.

75. See Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (note 11), 85.

76. Wright, *A Walk through Hereford* (see note 31), 31 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 53–54).

77. See Rees, *The Hereford Guide* (note 32), 155 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 54); and Joseph Jones, *A Guide to the Restored Portions of the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (Hereford, J. Jones & Son, 1863), 22–23 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 73). The 'Lozing' monument refers to the tomb of Bishop Robert the Lotharingian, one bay to the west of the tomb of Bishop Richard Mayew. Jones also states that the map was originally housed on the north side of the south aisle of the choir in *Hereford Cathedral and City: A Handbook*, 2nd ed. (Hereford, J. Jones & Son, 1858), 67 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 72). The 1856 first edition of Jones's handbook, which Bailey says has not been traced, is available in the Cambridge University Library: Joseph Jones, *Hereford Cathedral and City: A Handbook for Visitors and Residents* (Hereford, Joseph Jones, 1856).

78. A note at the base of John Coney's engraving records its date of publication as 1821. It served as a plate in Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbeys and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with Their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis and Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. (London, printed for subscribers, 1817–1830), 6: Part 3, between 1210 and 1211.

79. Joseph Jones's remark, made in 1856, that the map's original location was indicated by 'certain marks in the south wall of the choir' (Jones, *Hereford Cathedral and City* (1856) (see note 77), 66) might be thought to indicate that the iron clasps had been removed by then, but they are mentioned in the present tense by Bevan and Phillott, writing in 1873 (see Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography* (note 4), 11). Strangely, Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 378, n.25, reports that '[i]ron clasps either from pre-1827 or 1863, are still visible'; and he repeats this claim in Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (see note 11), 92, n.28, stating that '[i]ron clasps still survive, but it has not yet been established if these date from this early period or the 1860s, when the mappamundi was re-installed in the same part of the cathedral'. However, it should be noted (a) that in the 19th century the map was placed on the broad ledge at the base of the second pier in the south choir aisle, not hung on the pier, as Bailey, 'The *Mappa Mundi* triptych' (see note 16), 377, says; and (b) that the iron clasps were described and drawn long before the *mappamundi* was stationed in the south choir aisle in the 1860s. The clasps were definitely not Victorian. For the installation of the organ pipes on the pier, see Massey, 'The organs' (see note 43), 483.

80. Originally, the battens would have extended out slightly further than they do now. At some point, they have been crudely sawn off, probably when the wings were removed in the 1770s. Currently, the upper batten projects approximately 3 cm on the left and 4 cm on the right, while the lower batten projects roughly 6 cm on the left and 3.5 cm on the right. The battens are approximately 11 cm high.

81. Jones, *Hereford Cathedral and City* (1856) (see note 77), 66. The significant clause, shown in italics, is not found in the 2nd edition of 1858 (see above, note 77).

82. Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography* (see note 4), 11.

83. Havergal, *Fasti herefordenses* (see note 28), 160–70 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (see note 15), 76).

84. Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography* (see note 4), 11.

85. The only real gap in the record is between 1684, when Dingley saw it in the library, and 1770, when Gough also saw it in the same place. It might conceivably be argued that the map was hung temporarily in the south aisle in between these dates, but it would be difficult to adduce any reason for such a move, and it is most unlikely to have been displayed there after the Reformation. The fact that Dingley and Gough both saw the map in the library strongly suggests that it remained there throughout the intervening period.

86. See Bailey, 'The discovery of the lost *mappamundi* panel' (note 11), 90, n.7.

87. Unn Plahter describes the standard construction of Norwegian altar frontals as follows: 'All panels are constructed with horizontal boards (normally three or four), butt-joined and secured with dowels in the edge joining. The boards are attached to a frame placed on the front face and secured with battens on the reverse . . . Three battens instead of two reinforce oak panels . . . ' (Unn Plahter, 'Norwegian medieval oil paintings with special attention to the Heddal frontal', in *Das Aschaffenburger Tafelbild: Studien zur Tafelmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1997), 335–47, at 335–36). The situation in Italy is described in Bomford et al., *Art in the Making* (see note 26), 13–14: 'To support large panels and to assist in the setting up of the works on the altars, cross-battens were attached to the backs of the panels . . . In general the battens were attached using long nails hammered through from the backs of the panels, although there are some instances of nails being driven through from the front . . . In most cases . . . the battens appear to have been fitted before any work was carried out on the front of the panel . . . ' For a description of the structure of the Westminster Retable, whose central section consisted of four horizontal planks 'pegged to a series of vertical backing supports', see Binski, 'What was the Westminster Retable' (see note 67), 152 and Plate XXXIV, A.

88. Tyers, 'Tree ring analysis' (see note 15), 7.

89. Ibid.

90. This possibility was first mooted in Tyers, 'Tree ring analysis' (see note 15), 3–4, as a means of accounting for the 'clumsy' positioning of the upper hinges relative to the batten. Had the batten been added later, though, it is hard to see why it would not have been placed slightly higher or lower, to avoid any conflict with the hinges. Tyers notes that the interpretation is problematic and suggests that the height of the hinges might equally well have been determined by the height of the corresponding pivots on the wings, no thought having been given to the position of the battens. Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 150, n.87, argues that the upper batten was attached 'to prevent the central panel "twisting" any further' (he does not mention the lower batten) and suggests a possible occasion for the alteration: 'In discussing this issue, Dominic Harbour and I wonder if this minor refurbishment occurred in preparation for the removal of the triptych from the north transept to its next location in the Lady Chapel [that is, in Terkla's opinion, *c.*1349]'. (For reasons to doubt that the map was transferred from the north transept to the Lady Chapel in 1349, see notes 66 and 109.)

91. On the late 13th- and early 14th-century remodelling of Hereford Cathedral, see Richard Morris, 'The remodelling of the Hereford aisles', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 37 (1974): 21–39; Morris, 'The architectural history of the medieval cathedral church' (note 65), 218–22; and Penelope E. Morgan, 'The effect of the pilgrim cult of St Thomas Cantilupe on Hereford Cathedral', in Jancey, *St Thomas Cantilupe* (note 73), 145–52. Before Morris's excellent analysis of the problem, the date of the choir aisles was only vaguely known: Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford* (see note 61), 71–72, dated them *c.*1320; Marshall, *Hereford Cathedral* (see note 65), 96–101, placed them in the early 1290s, 'before 1295'; and Gilbert Scott, 'Hereford Cathedral', *Archaeological Journal* 34 (1877): 325–48, at 341, dated them after the nave aisles of *c.*1288–1290, calling them 'Late Swinfield'.

92. Morris, 'The remodelling of the Hereford aisles' (see note 91), 22.

93. See ibid, 23.

94. Ibid., 26.

95. When fully open, the triptych would have been about 3 metres wide. The pier is 271 cm wide. Coney's depiction of the metal brackets appears to indicate that the triptych was located off-centre, slightly towards the east end. (I thank Marcia Kupfer for pointing this out to me.) Positioned thus, it would not have conflicted with the monument to Bishop Robert the Lotharingian (Losing), which adjoins the pier to the west and stands considerably proud of it. On this monument and the other effigies of deceased bishops of Hereford, which formed part of the remodelling of the south choir aisle, see P. Lindley, 'Retrospective effigies', in Whitehead, *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford* (note 65), 111–21, at 113–14. The tomb of Bishop Richard Mayew on the right is 16th-century.

96. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London, Yale University Press, 1992), 192. For Bosch, see note 18.

97. On the cosmological understanding of church space, see, for example, Kupfer, 'Medieval world maps' (note 1), 275–76; and Kitzinger, 'World map and Fortune's Wheel' (note 3), 369–73.

98. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (see note 4), 72. On the Last Judgement in English medieval churches, see A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963), 31–43.

99. In the south transept the great Perpendicular window and the vault were constructed *c.*1430: see Morris, 'The architectural history of the medieval cathedral church' (note 65), 225–26. Before then, the Norman transept would have been relatively heavy and dark, especially given the lack of windows in the east wall.

100. That the horseman is a form of everyman figure is agreed by, among others, Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (see note 4), 61–63; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (see note 4), 197; Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (see note 4), 3; and Moir, *The World Map* (see note 4), 12. Early scholarship on the map tended to see the rider as a representation of the author, Richard of Holdingham: see, for example, Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography* (note 4), 5; and d'Avezac, 'The Hereford map of the world' (note 51), 588. Crone, *The Hereford World Map* (see note 4), 4, denied this idea, and later suggested that the horseman represented the laity (G. R. Crone, 'New light on the Hereford map', *Geographical Journal* 131 (1965): 447–62, at 448). The most complex and dubious interpretation of the scene is that formulated by Flint, 'The Hereford map' (see note 20), 37–39. Flint sees the horseman as a representation of Thomas Cantilupe, being permitted to 'pass on' by the huntsmen of Earl Gilbert of Gloucester, in recognition of

the bishop's legal victory over the earl in a matter of hunting rights. This interpretation has been entertained by other scholars, but not wholeheartedly endorsed: see, for instance, Scott Westrem, 'Lessons from legends on the Hereford mappamundi', in Harvey, *The Hereford World Map* (note 4), 191–207, at 195; and Harvey, 'Mappa mundi' (note 4), 560. Flint supposes that the map was made in the 1270s and 1280s, which would fit well with the idea that the map was used to commemorate Thomas Cantilupe, who died in 1282. Recently, however, the map's date has been fixed *c.*1290–1310, which makes an association between the map and this detail of Cantilupe's biography much less likely.

101. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (see note 4), 61.

102. See Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 61; and Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* (note 4), 19, n.2.

103. This telling comparison is noted in Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (see note 4), 197–98. For the Duchy of Cornwall map, see Barber, 'Medieval maps of the world' (note 7), 19–23.

104. On the Rochester Wheel of Fortune, see E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall-Painting: The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950), 286–88.

105. See Morgan, 'The Hereford map' (note 21), 123. See also F. C. Morgan, *Hereford Cathedral Church Glass*, 2nd ed. (Leominster, Orphans Printing Press, 1967), 14. The early 14th-century glazing in the windows of the south choir aisle was found in boxes during a 19th-century restoration campaign and relocated in the windows at that time: see Paul Iles, 'The stained glass', in Aylmer and Tiller, *Hereford Cathedral* (note 4), 314–21, at 314–15. Regarding the general style of the map in relation to the architecture, Naomi Reed Kline observes that 'the wooden framework [of the map] closely follows the basic, repetitive design of the arches that surmount the ten effigies' of the former bishops in the choir aisles (Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (see note 4), 202).

106. The frequently reproduced reconstruction by Hargrave Hands (see, for example, Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (note 4), 3, fig. 1), is misleading in this regard, since it shows the Virgin looking down.

107. On the situation in Hereford during the Reformation, see Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988), 72; Lehmberg and Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration' (note 67), 89; and Havergal, *Fasti herefordenses* (note 28), 146–47. On the English Reformation generally, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (note 96).

108. See Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals* (note 107), 103; Lehmberg and Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration' (note 67), 89.

109. See Lehmberg and Aylmer, 'Reformation to Restoration' (note 67), 89. Incidentally, if the map was in the Lady Chapel from 1349, as Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 146, argues, it is difficult to see how it could have avoided destruction in the mid 16th century, when the shrine itself was demolished.

110. For the history of the library in this period, see Williams, 'The library' (note 61), 514–15.

111. Jones, *Hereford Cathedral and City* (1856) (see note 77), 66. Jones repeated this claim in 1867 (see Joseph Jones, *Hereford Cathedral, City and Neighbourhood: A Handbook*, 3rd ed. (Hereford, J. Jones, 1867), 52 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 74), but said in 1858 that the map was 'with the statue of Ethelbert, concealed in 1645 under the Lady-Chapel', suggesting some uncertainty (see Jones, *Hereford Cathedral and City* (1858) (note 77), 67 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 72)). Richard John King, writing in 1864, agreed that it was found beneath the Audley Chapel but was vague about the date of its discovery, saying it was 'probably about a century ago' (that is, in the mid to late 18th century): see Richard John King, *Handbook to Hereford Cathedral* (London, Murray, 1864), 43–44 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 73). Finally, in 1869 Havergal wrote that, according to local writers, 'the map was secreted during troublous times in the sixteenth century under the wooden floor of Bishop Audley's chantry' (Havergal, *Fasti herefordenses* (see note 28), 160–70 (quoted in Bailey, ibid., 76). Havergal states that in 1858–1860 the floor of the Audley Chapel was restored and was found to be hollow.

112. See Thomas Wright, 'On the ancient map of the world preserved in Hereford Cathedral, as illustrative of the history of geography in the Middle Ages' (paper given to the British Archaeological Association, Gloucester, August 1846), published in *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association, at Its Third Annual Congress* (London, 1848), 25–42, at 34–35, reprinted in Thomas Wright, *Essays on Archaeological Subjects*, 2 vols. (London, J. R. Smith, 1861), 2: 1–27 (quoted in Bailey, 'The rediscovery of the Hereford *mappamundi*' (note 15), 62).

113. Compare Terkla, 'The original placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*' (see note 5), 144: 'From measurements taken at all recorded (and accessible) exhibition locations in the Cathedral, we know that the map has always been positioned between 54 centimetres and 74 centimetres above the ground, an ideal height for "instruction and edification"...' Terkla did not take into account the evidence of Coney's print.

114. See above, p. 180. Incidentally, the sort of discursive activity implied by the colophon would never have been conducted in front of an altar, let alone the High Altar (compare N. Denholm-Young, 'The *Mappa Mundi* of Richard of Haldingham at Hereford', *Speculum* 32 (1957): 307–14, at 308: 'this is most improbable wording to put upon an altar-piece').

Situer l'emplacement originel de la mappemonde d'Hereford

La mappemonde de Hereford est l'une des cartes du monde les plus riches en information et les plus imposantes léguées par le Moyen Âge. Pour en comprendre l'impact et la signification, cependant, il est nécessaire de déterminer son emplacement originel à l'intérieur de la cathédrale de Hereford, l'édifice pour lequel elle fut réalisée. Après avoir clarifié son encadrement d'origine qui avait la forme d'un large triptyque, cet article montre que l'ensemble était initialement placé sur l'un des piliers de l'aile sud du chœur de la cathédrale. Comment la carte était installée précisément sur le pilier peut être déduit de la structure du panneau central en bois du triptyque, la seule partie qui subsiste, et des informations écrites et visuelles fournies par les érudits du XIXe siècle. Suspendu à l'aile sud du chœur, le triptyque cartographique aurait été présenté aux pèlerins sur le point de pénétrer dans le mausolée de St Thomas Cantilupe dans la chapelle Notre-Dame, servant de commentaire moral mémorable sur leur vie et pèlerinage.

Die ursprüngliche Positionierung der Hereford-Karte

Die Mappamundi von Hereford ist eine der informativsten und eindrucksvollsten Weltkarten, die aus dem Mittelalter überliefert sind. Um ihren Einfluss und ihre Bedeutung zu verstehen, ist es notwendig, ihre ursprüngliche Position innerhalb der Kathedrale von Hereford—des Bauwerks für das die Karte angefertigt wurde—zu eruieren. Aufbauend auf der Erläuterung der originalen Rahmung der Karte, die die Form eines großen Triptychons hatte, wird in diesem Beitrag dargelegt, dass das gesamte Ensemble zuerst an einem Pfeiler im südlichen Chorumgang der Kathedrale angebracht war. Die genaue Konstruktion der Befestigung der Karte an dem Pfeiler lässt sich aus der Form der zentralen Holztafel des Triptychons, welche als einzige erhalten blieb, sowie aus, von Forschern des 19. Jahrhunderts überlieferten schriftlichen und bildlichen Informationen erschließen. Im südlichen Chorumgang aufgehängt, wirkte das Kartentriptychon als einprägsamer moralischer Kommentar zum Leben und zur Reise der Pilger, bevor diese den Schrein des Heiligen Thomas Cantilupe in der Lady Chapel betraten.

La localización del mappamundi de Hereford

El mapa de Hereford es uno de los *mappaemundi* más impresionantes y que más información nos aporta de los que se conservan de la Edad Media. Con el fin de entender el efecto que causaba y su significado es, sin embargo, necesario determinar su primera ubicación dentro de la catedral de Hereford, lugar para el que fue realizado. Después de aclarar el encuadre original del mapa, que formó parte de un gran tríptico, este artículo sostiene que todo el conjunto se colocó inicialmente en uno de los pilares de la nave del coro sur de la catedral. La forma precisa en la que este mapa se dispuso en este pilar puede deducirse de la estructura del panel central de madera del tríptico, la única parte que sobrevive, y de la información escrita y visual proporcionada por anticuarios del siglo XIX. Colgado en la nave del coro sur, el tríptico con el mapa habría recibido a los peregrinos a punto de entrar en el santuario de Santo Tomás de Cantilupe en la capilla de la Virgen, sirviendo de comentario moral memorable de sus vidas y de la peregrinación.