The connection between medieval mapmaking and nation-making has recently attracted an appreciable amount of scholarly attention, yet even though the always fraught medieval Anglo-Scottish relationship yields a particularly rich opportunity to observe early cartographic imaginings at work, the individual presence of Scotland on the medieval map has been largely ignored. While the term “nation” is yet applied contentiously to the premodern era, medieval expansion of domains and kingdoms contributed to “nations-in-the-making,” and the tumult and instability combined with the interminable nature of insular Anglo-Scottish coexistence provides us with an ideal lens through which to view national developments expressed cartographically. As the Scots and English disputed their borders and their sovereign rights for centuries, the maps produced in England that I will discuss in this essay reflected the national uncertainty existing between these societies. In part no doubt because of the inaccessibility of the highlands, as well as disagreement among sources regarding Anglo-Scottish borders, on many of these maps Scotland looks to be a near-unknown entity. The land is familiar yet mysteriously indescribable, as the world north of the Humber remained foggily imagined by our English authors. This fogginess meant that the shape and appearance of Scotland on the medieval map was dictated by its unstable relationship with England in such a way that these maps reflect and reinforce the fantastic political, national discourse found in much medieval English literature.

The Anglo-Scottish conflict responsible for this sense of ambiguity has always waxed and waned, but it peaked in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries with the Wars of Scottish Independence and was taken up anew by the Lancastrian dynasty in the fifteenth century, by which point Scotland and England had been cartographically imagined in a variety of contradictory ways. It is during these periods of most intense conflict that we see English cartography turn polemical. The inconsistency between visualizations of these domains reflects the difficulty that a cartographer would have experienced when trying to determine exactly what Scotland was. Early cartography was, as we shall see, variable in representation, and if a cartographer started with historiographic sources, a glance at the checkered history of Anglo-Scottish relations as described in Matthew Paris’s *Chronica Majora*, Ranulph Higden’s *Polychronicon*, or Walter Bower’s *Scotichronicon* will indicate how contentious were claims of what constituted England or Scotland. Moreover, as Dauvit Broun has observed, following the Wars of Independence in Scotland a “new sense of kingdom, country and people emerged which, of necessity, was based on something other than the logic of geography.” Whether or not this new logic represents incipient nationalism, this new vision of community and dominion clashed with English visions of *imperium*. Especially in the case of maps included in chronicles, what was a cartographer to do?

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that over time the more fanciful and imaginative aspect of medieval English mapmaking, that aspect that sculpts landscapes and attempts to chart...
history geographically, is turned by medieval English cartographers into a potent tool that supported the fulfillment of English imperial ambitions specifically regarding Scotland. This movement, which begins as a latent and incidental byproduct of less fully articulated mapmaking, culminates in John Hardyng’s little-studied fantastical depictions and descriptions of Scotland included in his popular fifteenth-century Chronicle that feature the dream of empire as an explicit motivating directive. Medieval English maps begin to participate in what Patricia Ingham has called the “sovereign fantasy” of medieval English writing, the fantasy by which “English sovereignty claims Welsh (and eventually Scots) loyalty away from the French,” aligning medieval English maps with contemporary literature affiliated with Anglo-Scottish conflict. In arguing this, I’m supporting more recent complications to a distinction scholars have often drawn up, either explicitly or implicitly, between “symbolic” and “practical” maps, a distinction that misses the desirous and aspirational quality that so many of these maps share with one another and with contemporary literary genres.

Recognizing how inextricably linked cartographic representation is to the aspirations of an individual cartographer, we would do well to consider that Thorlac Turville-Petre began his seminal argument on English nationhood with an analysis of the maps of Matthew Paris, explaining that “the graphic way to circumscribe the nation is to map it. All that belongs lies within the line; everything outside the line is, in one sense or another, foreign.” To map a nation is to cut it off, to contain it, and to make whatever else there is “Other.” But what does it mean when the line fails, is vaguely expressed, or is inconsistent? The conflicted Anglo-Scottish relationship left its mark on English cartography, and its lingering presence confronts us with the difficulty in looking to medieval maps for evidence of nationhood. Nation confusion between England and its neighbors is not so easily resolved at the stroke of a pen, and a map, as a place that resides uncomfortably between “experience and imagination,” becomes a decidedly inconsistent tool for asserting the “reality” status of the nation. The nation, after all, is now often said to be “imagined,” a point Kathy Lavezzo rightly emphasizes in her study of the British Isles on the medieval map; nationhood emanates “as much from structures of fantasy as it does from ‘objective’ political realities.” Nevertheless, maps have always provided us with a shorthand and a graphic outlet for the location of the self in relation to the rest of the world despite their imitative limitations. With maps we make statements about ourselves and others in the way that we envision and arrange the world, no less today than in the Middle Ages and as such, we deploy the culturally determined signs and symbols we feel best express this relationship. In this formulation, maps “become a particular form of written language,” and can and should be read for their semiotic qualities alongside other linguistic forms and genres. Our medieval cartographers themselves give us some indication that maps were regarded in this way; the Hereford mappamundi asks in a brief note in the lower left-hand corner that all who encounter cest estorie, “this story” or “history,” pray for its author. Medieval maps are imbued with a narrative valence, then; they tell the grand story of humanity’s journey through the world, and as a narrative form they accordingly join other narratives such as chronicle, to which many of them were attached, or romance in communicating, memorializing, and celebrating the story of humanity through creative reimaging of the world. Read in this way, maps align themselves with chronicles such as Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia Regum Britanniae or Arthurian romances in their blending of myth and history and their seeking of origins, and it is odd that these maps, even when yoked to a particular text within their manuscript, have often been read outside of their material context. Moreover, to evaluate a medieval map by criteria that do not account for the imaginative, even fictive nature and intention
of the enterprise ignores that these maps often pursue goals more common to other medieval literary
genres than to modern cartography.

The earliest medieval maps we have, such as the typical Isidorian T-O variety (Fig. 1), draw our
attention to the conceptual, even abstract, nature of the map. They remind us not only that a map
represents something between the experienced world and the imagined world, but also that maps
are “polyfunctional and polymorphic”15 in nature and that there is a long tradition of conceptualizing
the world diagrammatically. The Isidorian map depicts the world as divided into three primary
continents, Asia, Europe, and Africa, and surrounds this habitable hemisphere with the ocean. The
“T,” separating the three continents, is usually thought to represent the Mediterranean. Though
hardly useful for navigational purposes, the map does provide a generalized idea of placement in the
world; by the mid-ninth century, however, authors had begun to use the “T” of the map as a way
of representing a crucifix superimposed upon the world.16 The map accordingly became a didactic
and religious tool as it continued to develop and grew in complexity over the centuries. These more
conceptual models combined scarce geographical function with scholastic or exegetical implications
and developed into the sophisticated style of world representation that we find in the mappaemundi,
a genre so common in England as to prompt P. D. A. Harvey to consider it a “particularly English”
variety of world map.17 These mappaemundi are populated variously by biblical, classical, and exotic
references, plotting out the course of human history visually and textually in a way that intricately
links time, space, and the mythical, creating “a projection of history onto a geographical frame-
work.”18 However, in a departure from the T-O map, these world maps also allowed cartographers to
make a graphic statement about their own locality that often appears more prescriptive than descripti-ve. That is to say, maps reveal geographic desire as much as they reveal geographic awareness. Like
most creative attempts to visualize the unknown world, medieval maps often give themselves over to
fantastic embellishment no doubt informed by travel narratives like The Book of John Mandeville,19
and accordingly smack more than a little of romance.

Medieval English cartographers addressed the complicated and ambiguous Anglo-Scottish
relationship in the later Middle Ages in a number of ways, on both mappaemundi and more regional maps, but from the earliest examples, such as the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon or Cotton map, we can note a rooted ambivalence regarding Scotland. Rather than clearly delineate the state of medi- eval Britain, the depiction of the British Isles on this early map, which accompanies Priscian’s verse translation of Dionysius’s classical work of geography Periegesis, unexpectedly mires us in ques- tions as murky as any fenland. The map’s illustration of the British Isles (Fig. 2)—with its strikingly accurate shape broken up along recognizable ethnic borders by fine, squiggly lines into Britannia, Hibernia, “moren pergus,” and Camri in the North—is tantalizingly exact, but ultimately ambiguous in detail. The map demonstrates a number of oddities. For one, the name Camri stands in place of Scotland and seems to be an equivalent to “Cymry,” or Cambria—Wales. Wales, on the other hand, receives the strange name or term “moren pergus,” a name over which scholars are still puzzling.21 There were the Strathclyde Britons22 in the north during the eleventh century, and it is possible that the cartographer here thought of the Strathclyde region as being Welsh,23 yet it is curious that he emphasizes the Brythonic name of the Strathclyde region at the expense of giving Wales its usual name. Observing the northern reaches of the island, it becomes apparent that Scotland fades into the Orkneys as its boundaries disintegrate into a hazy landlessness, neither ocean nor island. At the time the map was made, “Scotland,” as it is understood today, did not exist. Rather, a loose collective of countries under the King of Scots stood in its place,24 and accordingly the whole of Britannia is
ambiguously unbound by the north’s half-finished appearance on the Anglo-Saxon map, a failure of boundary lines not seen elsewhere on the map, and an expression of imaginative uncertainty in spatially conceptualizing the unknown and unexplored. In its ambiguous topography and geography, the Anglo-Saxon map’s British Isles demonstrate the limitations of imagining worlds and ethnicities outside of lived experience, but they also reveal how the vaguely transnational yet insular relationship among the British Isles’ inhabitants could simultaneously confirm and unravel attempts at self-definition. This early map reveals a key problem in Anglo-Scottish relations: Scotland is unknowable. This unknown quality determines that Scotland becomes a part of a marginal Brythonic world, entering a fluid coexistence with Wales that would characterize it for centuries to come.

The twelfth-century Sawley map, perhaps the first *mappamundi* proper, presents an alternative, though common, way of addressing the problem of England and its northern neighbors—to ignore it. The Sawley map (Fig. 3), which accompanies a manuscript of Honorius Augustodunensis’s cosmological work *Imago Mundi*, denudes the Britannia insula of almost any definable features and is almost gestural in its delineation of landmasses. Crushed against the edge of the world, Hibernia still receives a distinct shape, as do the Orkneys (Orca-des) to the north. Yet the map likely reflects Anglo-Scottish relations of the time; while a map-maker drawing in Yorkshire or Durham can hardly claim to be unaware of the cultural difference in the island’s northern regions, under Richard I’s rule,
even the Scottish chronicler John Fordun claims that the English and Scots were close enough that "the two peoples were reckoned as one and the same." This *Britannia*, uncomplicated by questions of internal ethnographic divisions, calls to mind the less famous and later early thirteenth-century illustration to Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica* (Fig. 4) in which Scotland is not present, an oversight in fact exacerbated by the red border enclosing *Britannia* within the island while leaving the northernmost region of the island undescribed. Perhaps the map replicates the general focus of the *Topographia* on Ireland, but it is surprising that, given that the Orkney Islands receive their usual name (*Orcades*), Scotland is not present. Though the ink has flaked, it can be seen that at one point, the islands on the map were all filled with a green pigment, leaving Scotland conspicuously empty. Like the Sawley map, this one was created at a time of relative peace between the countries, but our cartographer falters in the north of the island, unsure how to designate that territory but apparently convinced that it stands outside of Britannia proper. Moreover, the Orkneys are mentioned in the *Topographia* only a few times in passing, specifically to explain that "the Norwegians have obtained the subjection and dominion of nearly all of them." Meanwhile, Gerald frequently includes Scotland in his comparisons among Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. He clearly views these domains as a common group in his discussions, yet the maps outline Britannia and Hibernia only. The Orkneys, so firmly and continuously out of the domain of the English, are always named in these maps yet feature in Gerald's narrative but little, while Scotland and Wales, whose own borders were more contentious,
become part of Britannia. For readers of the *Topographia*, then, Scotland straddles an uncertain line between being an independent domain, perhaps awaiting its own *expugnatio*, or perhaps already a part of this nascent English empire.

Yet, from other cartographic evidence, we know that exclusion of Scotland on the map was not ubiquitous among cartographers, many of whom depict a clearly defined *Scotia*; therefore, such lack of detail becomes far more compelling as an instance of ethnographic elision in the British Isles. The massive Ebstorf mappamundi, for example, sadly destroyed during the Second World War though preserved in meticulous copies and photographs, includes Scotland in its depiction of the British Isles. Although the map has ties to the encyclopedic work of a thirteenth-century Englishman, the Ebstorf cartographer misplaces *Scotia* south of Ireland (*Hibernia*) to the west of *Anglia* and *Britannia*, and it is cut off from those provinces by the same ocean stream as Ireland (Fig. 5). The odd placement of Scotland tells us that likely the Ebstorf cartographer was not as familiar with the British Isles as some scholars have suggested, but it also provides us with an undeniable testament to awareness of individual Scottish presence. The map depicts the world as the body of Christ, with Christ’s head protruding from the top of the map and his hands and feet from the sides and bottom, and there is a fascinating catalog of exotic peoples drawn in the southern hemisphere. On a far smaller scale, the Psalter Map (Fig. 6), a fully articulated mappamundi with Jerusalem at its center and similarly depicted exotic peoples at its southern edges despite its size, manages to include Scotland in its illustration of England.
Likely created ca. 1265, the tiny map squeezes Britannia into its northwestern edge, along with a bulbous northern outcropping, aptly placed and labeled Scocia (Fig. 7). The map is placed under Christ’s torso, and in his hand he holds a tripartite globe. Based on the familiar T-O structure as these maps are, they show Christ simultaneously possessing, watching over, and, in the case of the Ebstorf map, inhabiting the created world and its peoples. Filling these maps with as many details as possible, the cartographer claims all that can be known of the world for God, but there is a suggestively complex appreciation for people as well as place. Scotland’s presence on such maps reveals the developing cognizance of English mapmakers, or of mapmakers familiar with England, that their northern neighbors possess a distinct identity that problematically transgresses geography.

It is no coincidence that these maps were drafted after John I’s ascension to the English throne and the subsequent souring relationship between the English and the Scots. By 1216, the Scottish monarch Alexander II had supported insurgent northern-English barons against John and effected a long march to Dover in support of Prince Louis of France’s claim to the English throne. Following John’s death around this time, John’s successor, the young Henry III, and Alexander reconciled in 1217 and bolstered their relationship with Alexander’s marriage to Henry’s sister Joan in 1221. Their peaceful relations were complicated by a dispute between monarchs over the possession of the northern counties in England that was resolved by the 1237 Treaty of York, which is recorded in Matthew Paris’s Chronica Majora. The treaty attempted to firmly establish the border between Scotland and England. It is no wonder that English cartographic interpretations of the British Isles began to reflect a developing yet inconsistent sense of distinction between the two kingdoms. The notion of a people practically “one and the same” was becoming increasingly problematized by conspicuous border tensions. The Ebtorf and Psalter maps, and similar mappaemundi like the Hereford map still to be discussed, indicate that English cartographers saw Scotland not only becoming a distinct component of the British Isles, but developing into a discrete presence in the history of the world.

These conflicting cartographic accounts of Britain played out in medieval literary imaginings of England as well. The fourteenth-century Middle English poem Ywain and Gawain, for instance, tells us of

> Arthure, þe Kyng of Yngleand,
> Þat wan al Wales with his hand
> And al Scotland, als sayes þe buke…

Allowing for the trope of referring to a prior auctoritas and that the strictures of English rhyming couplets often pushed our medieval authors into using such phrases as empty “tag lines,” if a reader were so inclined to think on the opening lines of Chrétien’s twelfth-century Yvain he or she would find that these three English lines stand in place of Chrétien’s one, “Artus, li boens rois de Bretaingne.” The English adaptor, then, who has often been noted to adjust Chrétien’s narrative for clarity as well as for geographic exactness, takes the concept of an historical Britain and breaks it down into its constituent pieces—England, Wales, and Scotland—in order to simultaneously explain to his contemporaries what Britain was under Arthur and what England is historically. The shift to understanding Britain as England in this way carries with it an imperial claim that offers one solution to the problem of a shared geography between distinct peoples to which I will return later in this essay, but I will suggest now that in this instance we have a strong demonstration that what was being explored cartographically was also being explored literarily.
Fig. 6. Late thirteenth-century Psalter Map; a small, one-page *mappamundi*, with Christ presiding over the world, and Jerusalem at the center. Britain is at the lower, left-hand edge. British Library, Add. 28681, fol. 9r. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
Fig. 7. Detail of the Psalter Map: author-added arrow indicating Sco-cia, a bulbous outcropping on the north-west of Britan-nia. British Library, Add. 28681, fol. 9r. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
In contrast to those maps that avoid or are unaware of Scotland’s existence entirely, but also unlike the Ebstorf and Psalter maps that, like Ywain and Gawain, sought to outline a collective, connected Britain, in the fourteenth century many cartographers give Scotland an existence geographically separate from England, marginalizing it as an island lopped off from mainland Britain. We see such maps in the many copies of Ranulf Higden’s universal history, the *Polychronicon* (Fig. 8). The most well known of the *Polychronicon* maps, the Royal map perhaps inspired by the Beatus maps of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Fig. 9),41 excises Scotland from the much larger *Anglia*,42 packaging it into a relatively small square island to the west. Wales is similarly contracted and separated from the mainland. *Polychronicon* maps are variable, but they demonstrate a clear ethnographic emphasis in their separation of Scotland and Wales from the rest of the island. Andrew Galloway describes these maps as among the first “nationalist” world maps with its apparent focus on labeling and delineating nations.43 And yet scribes were reading Higden in a “nationalist” vein, in the patriotic sense of the word, for we have Higden’s holograph *Polychronicon*, Huntington MS 132, in which *Anglia* is not emphasized at all.44 The cartographic emphasis on England specifically, then, is the work of readers of Higden’s. On the verso side of the Royal Higden map, we find a smaller, one-page map that recalls Higden’s holograph (Fig. 10), on which the British Isles are diagrammatically expressed in a single rectangle divided into five equal-sized rectangular landmasses labeled *Scocia, Man, Anglia, Wallia*, and *Hybernia*.45 Such maps prefer drawing up racial lines in place of geographic ones, and demonstrates that the medieval cartographer was aware of the potential of the map to display different ways of seeing the world.

The difference between the Royal maps—one on the verso, one on the recto of the same leaf—is striking, and the discrepancy is only answerable by understanding that the artist experienced some national sentiment that caused him to exaggerate England (*Anglia*) as a disproportionately important entity on the world map, which is emphasized by its red coloring. On the next page, the cartographer had less space for such hyperbole, but felt Higden’s original (in HM 132) ethnographic differences important enough to emulate in dividing his rectangle with the ocean. This is in keeping with many aspects of Higden’s history. Higden (ca. 1280–1364) was a Benedictine monk living in Cheshire during the Wars of Scottish Independence. The scope of the *Polychronicon* takes us from the biblical beginnings of the world to early fourteenth-century England, and though Higden’s criticisms of the Scots become more pointed the closer he gets to the Wars, even in Higden’s earliest history of Britain one can detect animosity towards the Scottish people.46 Higden and his scribes were writing in the wake of Edward I’s vicious subjugation of the Welsh in the thirteenth century and during the tumultuous aftermath of the wars with the Scots in the fourteenth. Responding to these events, many of which are recorded in the *Polychronicon*, these maps, in recognizing the ethnic difference between the peoples of the British Isles, expel those peoples from one another diagrammatically.

It is not surprising, then, that there is little agreement among cartographers regarding the placement, size, or shape of Scotland, for by the thirteenth century the persistent issue between the English and Scottish monarchs was exactly that—the shape of Scotland. Were the Scottish Northumbrian lands held under the English monarch? Was the Scottish monarch a vassal of the English king’s, placing all Scotland under English suzerainty? By the last half of the thirteenth century, during Edward I’s reign (1272–1307) especially, the variety of intricate and subtle political maneuvers the monarchs made to signify sovereignty or fealty would have befuddled the most astute medieval observer.47 Combine such political inconsistency with the confusing and often contradictory evidence for any unified
Figure 8. Detail of *Anglia*, on the fourteenth-century Higden World Map, also known as the Royal Map. Anglia is completely red, while Scotland (*Scocia*, which is written upside-down), is indicated by an author-added arrow. British Library, Royal 14.C.IX, fol. 2r. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
Scotland between its various regions prior to the Wars of Independence, and Scotland’s cartographic polymorphism seems unavoidable. And while on the surface relations between Scotland and England seemed good for much of the thirteenth century, the English monarchy took many opportunities to remind the Scots of their subordinate existence. The answer to the question of English overlordship, in fact, varied largely depending on what these countries needed from one another.

The instability of Anglo-Scottish coexistence, then, determined that cartography of the British Isles be an act of imaginative fantasy responding to the perceived relationship between England and Scotland. This can be especially observed in the various ways that cartographers depict the division between the Scottish highlands and the rest of Britain. On the one hand, the hodgepodge of loosely connected regions in the north and the inaccessibility of the highlands made accurate delineation of any boundaries, if that was among a cartographer’s objectives, difficult; these were uncharted territories. On the other hand, cartographers embraced this ambiguity as it allowed them to create an
imaginative geography that suited their own perception of the world in place of the uncertain geography one would find on a chronicler’s pages or a herald’s lips. The famous Hereford mappamundi, for example, created around the beginning of the first War for Scottish Independence (1296), emphasizes the separation between countries dramatically, by making the River Tweed a thickened, watery barrier that draws the eastern and western coasts to a bottleneck suggestive of earlier maps found in the works of Matthew Paris and Gerald of Wales. The cartographer, Richard of Haldingham, has labeled Scocia, Louthian, Anglia, and Britannia Insula, ascribing Scotland a clear place to the north.

The Hereford map joins a number of others around this period that reflect the imperial push of the English monarchy’s ambitions, especially those of Edward I’s. Like other English mappaemundi, the place of Britain on the map is “particularly exaggerated,” but the topography of this section of the map also includes a number of locales that, except for their military purposes, have little reason to be depicted among the larger towns and ecclesiastical centers. Such names as Carnarvon and Cunwey were central to Edward’s wars against the Welsh, while Carlua (Carlisle) and Casto Novo, or Newcastle-on-Tyne, were important military outposts against the Scots. And while these places are located with some degree of accuracy, the Scottish settlements to the north are less carefully placed, with Edinburg, Rokesburg, and Berwich awkwardly aligned with the River Tweed. This cartographer’s
vision of the British Isles highlights the imagined separation between Scottish and English cultures, as the Tweed is expanded well beyond its proportions to resemble more accurately the land between the Firths of Forth and Clyde to the north. Conversely, the faintness of the barely present land-bridge, while “dividing the two lands,” simultaneously shows the uncomfortably tenuous yet undeniably present connection the mapmaker saw between the territories. This connection also displays subtle tactical awareness; the only way by which any large force entered the northern reaches of Scotland, and this was one of Scotland’s defensive advantages, was by fording the River Forth or crossing the narrow bridge at Stirling. Depicting the separation between Scotland and England as a shallow stretch of water between lands demonstrates a consciousness in the cartographer of the potential permeability between north and south, but also awareness of the difficulties involved in that crossing. Moreover, he imagines a geography marked by the spread of empire with tactical outposts, with its uncanny dissidents sealed alluringly away to the north, revealing this cartographer’s vision of a world emphatically shaped by Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-Welsh conflicts.

The Hereford map’s expressive coastal formations are not unlike what we find almost a century later in the Evesham map (Fig. 12), created ca. 1390, where under the influence of Polychronicon cartographical conventions, Scocia is entirely cut away from mainland Britain. The map displays a marked Anglo-centric “patriotism” in its landmarks, and we also find one of the maps “surprising
archaisms” in that Carlyl is placed in Scotland,\textsuperscript{58} this despite the fact that as recently as 1385 Richard II had led an army into Scotland and the late 1380s saw a revival in Anglo-Scottish border conflict.\textsuperscript{59}

Carlisle’s position on the Evesham map is even more surprising since contemporary authors and chroniclers were aware of Carlisle’s importance. The city always occupies a location at the very spot where England becomes Scotland on medieval maps; it is a perennial border town. By the time the Evesham map was created, Carlisle had become the home of King Arthur’s court in English romance,\textsuperscript{60} and its contested qualities, its borderland nature, and its history of confused allegiances, made it an apt locale to grapple with the ambiguity expressed in the Hereford or Evesham maps. As Patricia Ingham argues, “The ambiguities of Arthurian geography … allude to historic struggles over the geography of British union, particularly to relations between central England and the regions of its so-called ‘Celtic Fringe.’”\textsuperscript{61} Frequently at the core of these English romances is the resolution of disputed allegiant unity and cultural hybridity.\textsuperscript{62} So, too, do the ambiguities of these maps allude to struggles over contested lands under the influence of Edward I, “le roy covetous,”\textsuperscript{63} or his similarly ambitious grandson, Edward III, who has commonly been associated with the alliterative \textit{Morte Arthure}.\textsuperscript{64} Both monarchs’ careers were marked by their imperial ambitions in Scotland.
The Evesham map’s Scottish placement of Carlisle speaks to the unsettled nature of the Anglo-Scottish relationship, and in its insulating of Scotland (and Wales) from the rest of the island, it joins the Hereford and Higden maps by imaginatively separating these historically entangled peoples. Rather than presenting a simply imperial view of England, these maps point to what Kathy Lavezzo has noted as the dual potential of the mappaemundi to establish England as simultaneously imperialist and nationalist.65 There is a negotiation of national and imperial impulses akin to what we find in romance happening on these maps as they explore a malleable topography, revealing an imagined consolidation of region while extending English interest in external locales via graphic representation of England’s larger-than-life presence in the world.

This fascinating way of grappling with Scottish existence cartographically, with its intimations of navigating ambiguous and inchoate national lines, shows similarities to the work of the earlier author and cartographer Matthew Paris. Matthew was a cloistered monk at St. Albans, though recognized enough for his scholarship that Henry III took special notice of him and dined with him on several occasions.66 The monk’s presence at a number of royal events and his conversations with the monarch, in fact, suggest that Matthew was not only well-regarded by Henry, but that he had ingratiated himself to the monarchy, though we know too little of the monk’s life to be certain to what extent. Matthew, who was likely writing in the 1250s, or his scribes at a later date, illustrated several versions of his history,67 the Chronica Majora, with distinct maps of the British Isles.68 In this history, Matthew does not treat the Scots as harshly as authors like Higden would, but his rhetoric displays an expected tendency to side with the English in disputes over the Scottish border. His tone is one of bare tolerance while he praises the English monarch for restraint against the undeserving Scots.69 Moreover, Matthew is markedly suspicious of foreigners throughout his Chronica, attributing to their influence the corruption of government in the British Isles.70 In marginal illustrations of holograph versions of the Chronica, Matthew depicts the Scots “dressed in the pointed hood that invariably appears in all Paris’s depictions of Scots to distinguish them as ‘barbarian foreigners.’”71 Matthew’s cartography is of a piece with the rest of his work in that the maps convey the centrality of the Anglo-Scottish conflict to English self-imaginings.

Two maps in particular stand out among Matthew’s that reflect the chronicler’s view of Anglo-Scottish relations, one from BL MS Royal 14 C.vii and the more lavishly decorated BL MS Cotton Claudius D.vi. The Royal manuscript, in its “sketchy,” less colorful appearance, is often thought to have served as an earlier or unfinished draft,72 but Daniel Connolly has recently argued persuasively that there is no reason to assume that the Royal map did not come later.73 Connolly goes so far as to argue that the Royal map was not drawn by Matthew, which could mean it came a good deal after Matthew had died. Whether this is the case or not, the persistence of attempts to outmaneuver each other politically regardless of the ostensible amicability between countries during Henry III and Edward I’s reigns suggests that the maps participated in the same Anglo-Scottish discourse leading up to and surrounding the Wars of Independence.74

The Claudius map (Fig. 13) gives subtle yet certain indication of participating in this discourse by plotting out the narrative history of the land in the same fashion as the mappaemundi and by alienating its northern-most neighbors. The mid-thirteenth century map contains a wealth of information, from Gildas’s dimensions of England to travellers’ descriptions to a striking depiction of the many snaking waterways of Britain. The Claudius map is ambitious, attempting for the first time pictorially to distill a sense of region through a brilliant confluence of topographic and historic
detail. Yet, the relative placement of settlements to one another is not accurate but organized along a vertical, northern-going itinerary reminiscent of other Matthew Paris itineraries, pulling the reader along its axis; in this detail, the map speaks of movement. As the close stacking of iconographically-depicted settlements draws our eyes and thoughts unerringly north (there are scarcely any settlements elsewhere on the map but on this vertical axis), encouraging the itinerant gaze of the reader, the map calls attention, amidst its impressive variety, to the history of Anglo-Scot relations. Along the journey, we encounter Hadrian’s Wall, with the phrase “the wall once dividing the Angles and the Picts,” and next the Antonine Wall, “the wall once dividing the Scots and the Picts.” Turville-Petre takes these walls in the Matthew Paris maps to suggest the clear beginnings of Scotland, but they do more than only that, plotting out a visual history of the expansiveness of England and emphasizing the instability of manmade borders.

Following these historical boundaries, we enter the “region of the neighboring Scots,” the southern zones of Scotland that were the most contested and therefore the most familiar. But there is a different, more obvious feature of this map that separates much of Scotland. Matthew, like some others before him, over-emphasizes the Firths of Forth and Clyde, creating an isthmus between the two landmasses, the Stirling Bridge, a local structure that would coincidentally become the only thing preventing the English from invading in 1297. The bridge, however, has never received such attention in other medieval maps, and its inclusion discloses the logistical considerations of the cartographer. In fact, while the bridge is of emphatic significance in the Claudius map, in the second half of the thirteenth century there was no large multi-arched stone bridge, but instead a narrow “bryg of tre,” hardly wide enough for a horse and cart. The map narrows our focus onto Stirling, what became widely known as the “key to the Highlands,” the most important route into northern Scotland until the twentieth century. The act of crossing into northern Scotland becomes important on the Claudius map as never before; through the depiction of this landmark, insignificant in size but vital for any exploit to the north, the itinerary of the map leads us headlong to the moment before invasion.

Proceeding north, across the bridge, we enter what Matthew has sumptuously labeled scocia: Scotland: Beyond the Sea. The epithet exoticizes Scotland by distancing it and likening that relatively small separation of encroaching water to the separation between England and the much larger world. At the same time, the centered placement of the inscription SCOCIA crowns the itinerary of the map and makes it a final destination. Within that nearly truncated landmass the cartographer observes, “A mountainous and well-wooded region, producing a people wild and rustic on account of how marshy and reedy it is.” The map-maker’s naming and depiction of northern Scotland emphasize Scottish barbarity next to England at a time when the kings of Scotland, Alexander I and II, had shown themselves resistant to English demands of homage. The land is desirable, but its people are as uncultivated as the land they inhabit. Their similarity to the English is altered by their natural origins. The map visually brings into the larger English empire the most contested zones of Scotland while distancing lesser-known highland areas. Scotland’s discordant nature is emphasized by geographic division, on one side of the Stirling Bridge conterminus with England and on the other incultus, a wildness that will become more emphatic in English sources as we enter the fourteenth century, but which already associates the Scots with other colonized peoples like the Welsh or the “bestial” Irish. The inscription just below it, “This was also called Albania,” historicizes these divisions by evoking the mythic past we find in older histories like Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Historia Regum Britanniae, emphasizing Scotland’s present removal from England and a complicated past of
Fig. 13. Matthew Paris map of Britain; the “Claudius map” with Stirling Bridge connecting Scocia. Observe the stacking of settlements almost exclusively running up the center of the island, intercepted by the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall. British Library, Cotton Claudius D.VI, fol. 12v. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
Anglo-Scottish coexistence and separation. The cartographer similarly does this with his use of the word *olim* or “formerly” in his rubrics for the walls. History is written across Matthew’s maps, and, far from “represent[ing] a genuine attempt at making a map in the modern sense of the term,” Matthew’s maps demonstrate deliberate spatial and temporal considerations that reflect the politics of his era; the map attempts to crystallize political and ethnic identities that were still in flux. And while many scholars have pointed to the cartographer’s admission that his map is distorted because the page is not long enough as a testament to his appreciation for accuracy and scale, the admission also points to a self-consciousness in constructing areas like Scotland. Rather than “cavalier sacrifices made to meet the exigencies created by the format of the page,” these are imaginative gestures that hint at a hierarchical understanding of the British Isles.

In the Royal map (Fig. 14), cartographic imaginings change as imperial ambition and determination grow in the second half of the thirteenth century with the advent of Edward I’s reign. Even if we accept that this map is less fully articulated than Matthew’s others, there are significant differences that warrant comparison. What seemed a clear geographic separation in the small isthmus between the Highlands and the rest of the island has been widened, and Stirling no longer appears as an obstacle. In fact, the Highlands have become much less of a feature, as they blend more easily into the whole of the island, uniting the northern regions. The walls, markers of a past of separation, have almost vanished. Scotland now is simply *scocia* and that name has been moved south into the larger body of Northumbria. But more significantly the name *britannia*, as Connolly notes, has been written to sprawl purposefully across the entire island. The final “A” of the name is cast across the Firth of Solway, in a possessive gesture. To drive the point home, the cartographer has written below and beside the name: “now called England, which embraces Scocia, Galloway, and Wales.” Scholars frequently point to these words as being indicative of the map’s probable Roman origins, but there is much evidence that, outside of the cartographic sphere, writers and monarchs contemporary with Matthew were actively beginning to employ the term *Anglia* as an imperial political gesture, a gesture that can be seen to have become entrenched by the time Higden writes his *Polychronicon*. The *Britannia* legend embraces and emphasizes the north-south itinerary from Dover to Durham, written along either side of it, but extends the itinerary tantalizingly with the final “A” as Matthew “asks his reader to read in the direction in which he imaginatively proceeds.” Britain has now become England, and Scotland is now united under that name. The significance of naming Galloway as well on this map, recalling the other Matthew Paris maps as well as the Hereford *mappamundi*, is that the map insists on the provincial status of Scocia. Scotland is no kingdom on this map, but a province of England, *Anglia*. Galloway, too, a region with a checkered history of changing allegiances and hybrid ethnicities, enters into a provincial status that makes it a part of a particularly English empire. These cartographic alterations come at a time when many Scots began to self-identify as such in unity before the Wars of Independence, expanding their own conception of Scotland to the “greater Scotland” encompassing lands beyond those specifically between the Forth and Moray.

An analogous activity was happening in conceptions of England, though, and by the end of the fourteenth century the alliterative *Morte Arthure* author refers to a hunting expedition of King Arthur’s into Wales as into “Bretayn þe braddere” (line 55). This view of Britain, historicized by other authors of the early fifteenth century, geographically imagined...
Fig. 14. Matthew Paris map of Britain. Similarly to the Claudius map, the “Royal map” aligns settlements on a north-south axis, connecting them via a thin line. Just over Scotia, labeled largely at the top, is Stirling. The legend, *Britanni-a / nunc dicta Ang-lia* can be seen running along either side of the axis. Scarcely detectable are the beginnings of a wall, north of Carlisle and east of Galloway, labeled *murus pictorum*. British Library Board, Royal 14.C.VII, fol. 5v. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
The broad Ile of Brittaine.
England and Scottland one was,
And Wales stood in the same case,
The truth itt is not to layne.96

Such authors entertained notions of England and Britain encompassing the same land, holding the same semantic valence. At the same time, Britain could be conceived of in terms of “Britain,” the region perhaps more commonly corresponding to our conception of England, and “broad Britain,” the empire. Just as Matthew might say “Britannia: now called England” through his historic and imaginative cartography, John Mandeville, that intrepid pseudo-traveller, could look at the wide world and say of St. Elene with the imperialist confidence of the most charming romanciers, “heo was douȝter of kyng Collo þat was kyng of Engelond, þat was þat tyme yclepid þe Grete Brutayne.”97

R. R. Davies describes how Edward I began pushing forward in earnest the shift from a loose collection of British Isles to the English empire as he began to declare himself the king of England, by which he meant overlord of the entire island.98 If we can read Matthew’s maps as participating in Edward’s, and his predecessor’s, imperial rhetoric, it is a powerful example of the cartographic imagination participating in high-stakes political maneuvers along with other literatures, responding to emerging national consciousness to the north.

Following the Wars of Scottish Independence, the fourteenth century saw only a few maps outside the numerous reproductions of the model found in Higden’s *Polychronicon*. They, too, hint at unsettledness between north and south. The fourteenth-century Gough map99 (Fig. 15), for instance, displays an incredible amount of topographic and geographic detail in England yet its Scotland looks but half-formed. The only really significant map of the Britain of its time, the map describes some six hundred settlements, many major rivers, and plots a network of townships connected by fine red lines with figures giving distances that runs as far north as Carlisle. The map is a testament to cartographic ingenuity and detail, ambitious in its scope and thorough in depiction; despite giving far less information north of Hadrian’s Wall, this map easily gives us the most thorough cartographic treatment of Scotland yet. The map, in its staggering display of minute local information, makes a possessively political statement as surely as William the Conqueror’s *Domesday Book* does. The thinning out of information north of Carlisle does mark Scotland as something of a *terra incognita*, but compared with other contemporary maps, it is paradoxically clear that this cartographer envisioned Scotland as a part of the whole of Britain despite the snaking of the Forth through the island.100

Admittedly, there were fewer settlements in Scotland than England, and technological limitations would prevent the highlands from being thoroughly explored, but the cartographer fills some of this unknown space with wild animals in a sort of “here-be-dragons” gesture, comparable to the whales populating the deep North Sea on the map101 and the crenulated forestry that would typify illustrations of wilderness in coming decades. A number of commentators have explained the inclusion of monsters on medieval maps; monsters represent the construction of a “diametric world” that pits a unified norm against the terrifying other.102 Though not full of monsters, on the Gough map we see no less discomfort with the wild zone of Scotland. However, on close inspection, we can see that one of these creatures, a deer (Fig. 16), has the legend “great hunting here,”103 suggesting instead that this is an ideal wilderness to venture into and explore. The other illustration, a wolf, bears the more threatening legend “here wolves abound”104 (Fig. 17). Similarly, the iconographic presence of increasingly dense forestry suggests at once the dual notion of the *incultus* Scot in his well-wooded surroundings105
and the viridescent fecundity of an unexplored land. The simultaneous fear of the lupine-infested unknown and the presence of good hunting and forestry recalls again the opening of the alliterative Morte, where, after having subjugated all the surrounding kingdoms to his rule, Arthur and his men

…with his snell houndes
For to hunt at the hartes in those high landes,
In Glamorgan with glee there gladship was ever,
And there a citee he set, by assent of his lordes
That Caerlion was called. (57–61)

This description of Glamorgan, in the southern Welsh highlands and noted on the Gough map, brings to mind the “great hunting” at Colgrath offered in the northern highlands of Scotland. The edges of empire, then, are linked by common commodity and landscape in their wild reaches, but also by the linguistic closeness of Caerleon and Carlisle, where Arthur’s court locates a few lines later to celebrate Christmas (Morte Arthure, 64). The popularity of these two linguistically linked locations for placing Arthur’s court, at Caerleon and Carlisle, led to confusion as well, as when in the Carle of Carlisle Arthur and Gawain spend some time in Cardiff before venturing forth to hunt for deer; Gawain, becoming separated from the group, seeks shelter in Carlisle. The impossibility of this trip in so brief a time suggests that the author had in mind Caerleon rather than Carlisle. The effect, however, is to show how these two regions, north and west, held the same cultural significance for these romance authors and the Gough cartographer as they performed similar imaginative roles.

Moreover, the map places the founding of Britain by Brutus in Devon in a rubric scholars have directly connected to Edward’s attempts to subject Scotland through the legitimizing of mythic history. Birkholz, in his thorough analysis of the map, sees the Gough map as "essentially
a document of colonial administration and propaganda,” reading in the whales at sea an allegory for political strife on the island that resulted in the Wars for Independence. But the use of the Trojan myth inextricably links the map to an expansive complex of historiographical writing as the cartographer imagines a landscape marked by the life of that most illustrious king and emperor, Arthur. Nick Millea notes that the Trojan myth also introduces *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in its opening stanza beginning “Siþen þe sege and þe assaut watz sesed at Troye,” but the myth also appears in many other chronicles and romances. The *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, for instance, commemorates Arthur’s final battle against Mordred with the following verse:

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Sythe Brutus out of Troy was sought
    And made in bretayne hys owne wonne
Suche wondrys neuyr ere was wroght,
    Neuer yit vnder the sonne.”
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Other features of the Gough map link it to the literary as well. *The Wathelyn*, a lake to the east of Carlisle on the map, and the *foresta de Ingelwode* just south of Carlisle are found in the Middle English romances *The Awyntyrs off Arthure at the Tarne Wathelyn* and *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*. Glastonbury, the ruin of Pendragon castle, and Tintagel where Arthur was magically conceived also appear on the map. The unformed-ness and wildness of the Gough map’s Scotland emphasize what a mystery and threat Scotland posed to the English, but that menace is associated with the underlying impulse of desire common to the literature that marks the Gough map’s topography.

The rather tentative detailing of Scotland that we find in the Gough map stands in stark contrast to the colorful fullness of the final group of maps I will discuss here. These maps, made by John Hardyng or at his behest to accompany his verse *Chronicle of England*, represent an ultimate and
telling use of cartography that weaves the imaginative cartographic techniques that had come before it with the literary imaginativity of a versified history. Hardyng’s *Chronicle* stands as the capstone on medieval imaginative cartography. Hardyng, a Northerner born in 1378 who fought against the Scots, was in the service of Sir Robert Umfraville, operating as his constable at Warkworth and later Kyme in Lincolnshire when, he claims, King Henry VI persuaded him to carry out a special mission—to discover proofs of English sovereignty over Scotland and to plot likely routes for an invasion. Hardyng was in the employ of the king, then, and his *Chronicle* predictably contains an oft-observed hostility towards the Scots that shaped his own conception of what Scotland was, what it could be, and to whom it belonged. To this point, while Hardyng’s authorial integrity is somewhat compromised by the many forgeries he created in service of this mission, the early version (1457) of his verse chronicle includes an extraordinary map of Scotland near the end of his long *Chronicle* to go along with genuine plans for invasion.

This map, found in BL Lansdowne MS 204 (Fig. 18), differs so markedly from previous maps we have seen that it is hardly recognizable save for its place names. The map depicts a rectangular mass of land, oriented with East on the bottom. It is diagrammatic in structure, paying little heed to most geographical features, but we can clearly see the Forth running through Scotland, with the new, multi-arched Stirling Bridge crossing it, which Hardyng advises one take in order to enter the North (416n). At the far left, the southern border of Scotland is emphasized by the near meeting of two rivers from the east and west; as usual, we have Carlisle, along with Roxburgh, Warkworth, and Northham, posted along the border, but here Scotland appears startlingly lively, colorful, and populous.
The unknown or uninhabitable areas have been reduced to the far North of Scotland, made tolerable by its lush forestry, and the west highlands have been squeezed into a negligible portion. The majority of the map, in contrast to earlier ones, focuses on the rest of the highlands which look, in a word, inviting. The cartographer shows Scotland picturesquely, providing the pictorial equivalent to fifteenth-century English writing that similarly presents Ireland as a land of “commercial advantages.” The map is preceded in Lansdowne by a number of stanzas in rhyme royal suggesting the best routes into Scotland, and Hardyng clearly indicates his desire for the reader to follow along in the accompanying map. Yet, Hardyng’s map also differs from his description of Scotland, for he finds himself caught between depicting Scotland visually as lush and appealing and describing it in writing as conquerable. He reassures the king that his conquest would take but a year, “For castelles there is none, that withstande you may./Nor abide your seage against your ordinance./So simple and weake is their purueiaunce” (427). Hardyng’s cartographic fantasizing is put on full display here, as the map contradicts its chronicle in attempting to encourage invasion by various means. And yet, the depiction of Scotland here serves a different function, of likening Scotland to England, and
un-demonizing them, a complicated admission that Hardyng, despite the excessive, virulent rhetoric of his chronicle, makes himself near its end. The chronicler admits that, although according to scripture evil descends from the north, he can “properly” explain that the Scots “bee as manly, learned, and lewed, / As any folke” and that there are no “better menne of warre” (420). This striking declaration of the general humanity of the Scots turns Hardyng’s imperial rhetoric on its head and casts the Landsdowne map in a new light, complicating the imperial motivations of Hardyng’s chronicle with the rare recognition of Scottish worth.

Attracting much less critical attention is the far less colorful three-page map found in three later manuscripts of the chronicle. The purpose of this map is the same as that of the other initially: to supplement and encourage a plan of attack into Scotland described in the body of the chronicle. It too is preceded by specific instructions on how to approach Scotland. The map itself is considerably more complex in its descriptions, blending the genres of diagrammatic and list maps into a “topographical map.” The first page (Fig. 19) is oriented from south to north at top and contains more illustrations and toponyms. The next page, with south at top, gives a running itinerary separated by rivers (Fig. 20). We get the impression that we have entered into a mysterious, lesser known Scotland—the same northern reaches usually left covered in foliage by other maps—as the variety of “wild Scottes” loom threateningly along the left margin. These are the same “wild Scottes” whose skulls the English poet Laurence Minot brags about crushing in his anti-Scottish poetry on the Wars of Independence, where the Scots are derided for their ragged appearance. This description of the northern Scots again links them to the Celtic world, to the “wylde Welshemenne” (Hardyng, 475) and the “wylde Irishe” (Hardyng, 17, 348, 571) elsewhere in Hardyng’s Chronicle or indeed among chroniclers like Gerald of Wales or Froissart. However, the descriptions of the land are attractive in the same vein as those sumptuous poems on Ireland, explaining that the land has “corne, cataill and gras grete plente” as well as access to lush forests and ready harbors (Hardyng, 418–19). And if these do not encourage conquest as much as the colorful illustration in the early version does, the final page of the map tries a different tactic.

Turning the page brings us further north (Fig. 21) where, passing “Retheretz, that sometyme were northern Pightes,” we are confronted with the unexpected image of a massive, spired castle. The castle dwarfs all of the preceding townships and cathedrals, and it is surrounded by “foure flodes furiose infernall,” the Styx among them. The three stanzas contained within this strange image inform us that this terrible structure is Pluto’s palace, and the surrounding black, woeful landscape is Hell. Pluto is also, Hardyng tells us, the “Neigbour to Scottes withoute any lak” (419). The winds that blow off of the infernal streams spread “mysrule thorowe Scotlond al & sum” (420n). The final stanza makes the message in Hardyng’s illustration explicit:

\begin{verbatim}
Betuene the see of the West occion, 
And the hilles of Scotlonde occident, 
The wilde Scotrie have their propre macion, 
Which dispose theym noone with an other assent, 
And the wilder thei been withoute regiment 
The soner muste thei be meked & tamed, 
Wilde haukes to hande than hennys rather been reclaymed. (420n)
\end{verbatim}

This new, unreal fictionalizing of Scotland’s geography contributes to making the three-page map, in Sarah Peverley’s estimation “more symbolic than functional,” deploying what Alfred Hiatt calls
Fig. 19. Map of Scotland accompanying the later version of Hardyng’s Chronicle; north is at the top. The large river running through is here called the “Scottish Sea” (Mare Scotorum). British Library, Harley 661, fol. 187r. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
Fig. 20. Map of Scotland accompanying the later version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*; this map, following the last image (Fig 19) proceeds with south at the top. The areas outlined here correspond to those empty areas in the north on the earlier Lansdowne map. British Library, Harley 661, fol. 187v. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
Fig. 21. Map of Scotland accompanying the later version of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*; this is the final page in Hardyng’s three-page map, depicting Pluto’s palace to the north, at bottom. British Library, Harley 661, fol. 188r. (Photo: © The British Library Board, British Library, London.)
However, the inclusion of Hell in the north does more than that, for it combines the itinerant, monarchical gaze that we saw in Matthew Paris’s maps, with the religious force of the old *mappaemundi*, which map out human and biblical history onto the known geography of the world. Taking a nod from scriptural prophecies of the evils in the North, borne South on a wicked wind, Hardyng pushes Satan’s seat of power right up past the Orkneys into the northern reaches of Scotland, attributing the wickedness of the Scots to Satanic, hellish influence. One of the effects of this is to vilify the Scots in the same way that romance authors did Saracens by associating their worship practices with Satan and classical gods; chroniclers, too, frequently compared the Scots to demons in their guerrilla-style warfare. The Scots by association become that religious Other, providing the same moral imperative for their conquest as those other lands *ultra marina*.

If we consider the narrative logic of the *mappaemundi*, which Evelyn Edson describes as presenting “a historical narrative in a geographical space,” with “time flow[ing] down the map” from East to West along with the mythic and biblical suggestiveness of Pluto’s palace, Scotland, in Hardyng’s depiction at the edge of the known world, is in an apocalyptic position. Hardyng folds biblical prophecy and history into contemporary geography in an analogous fashion to the *mappaemundi*.

Consider as well Scotland’s apocalyptic place in the political prophecies of England and Scotland. Conflict between the nations was so encompassing that Scotland’s eventual fall or rise figures into a kind of topsy-turvy world ushering in the end of days. In one familiar formulation of Merlin’s prophecies, for instance, Scotland’s fall is the precursor of “wonders in every wyse” from the mirabilia common in apocalyptic literature. The kinds of “cultural… [and] moral…impossibilia” we find in these prophecies are, of course, linked to the historical desperation of wartime existence, but the social and “natural upheavals,” those “cataclysmic circumstances,” enumerated in the Merlin prophecies and those of Thomas the Rhymer also recall apocalyptic literature anticipating the coming of Judgement Day from Augustine to Revelation. Thomas uses the Battle at Bannockburn in particular to foretell, via *vaticinium ex eventu*, not only the eventual end of Anglo-Scottish conflict, but also the beginning of the end of the world as we know it. Other prophecies, such as “Qwhen Rome is removyde into Inglande,” have a similarly strong focus on the types of wonders that will accompany the fall of the Scots, but use a diction derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Prophecies of Merlin*, aligning the bowing of the Lion (Scotland) to the Leopard (England) with apocalyptic upheavals. Poets such as these evoke Geoffrey’s mythic history of Britain, claiming that

> De brutis blude sall thame wakyne and bryttny wyth brandis of stell:  
> Par sall no bastarde blode abyde in þat lande.  
> Pen Albanattus þe kene, kynde kyng offe erthe,  
> Vnto þe libert shall leng - leve yhe non othir.  
> (“When Rome is Removed,” lines 27–30)

Scotland, represented here by its mythic founder Albanactus, the son of Brutus, is depicted as being at its most pure when under English overlordship. This is precisely the tactic used by Hardyng in his *Chronicle* immediately after he gives us his three-fold map of Scotland:

To England haue ye right, as ye maye se  
By Brutus chronycle, Saxons & Norma,  
To Wales ye same, & Scotland also perde,  
Who that the gifte and right well vnderstandes
Of John Bayloll, howe he into the handes
Of kyng Edwarde it gaue and resygned,
Why shulde it nowe be voyde and repygned? (415)

This is, of course, the same rhetorical move used back when Edward I sought to assert his sovereignty over the Scottish in the thirteenth century, but such mythic justifications were long-lasting and Hardyng explicitly links his map and his own plans for Scotland and the English monarchy with those of the twelfth-century king, explaining in a final line before the map that incursions beyond Stirling might follow in the fashion “as king Edward with the Long shankes dyd” (417).

If we take into account the many political prophecies concerning Scotland’s collapse preceding the End of Days, and knowing that they were long-lived, Hardyng’s map puts England into a position to combat an antichrist in the North while simultaneously fulfilling its imperial ambitions. This imaginative cartographic activity becomes a weapon of imperial power that bridges not only spiritual and physical realities, but temporal ones as well, occupying that space between imagination and experience in the same way that political prophecy or romance do. The map traces a history of England and Scotland in its references to people and places and its close relationship to Hardyng’s Chronicle itself while simultaneously thrusting itself forward in time by its itinerant apocalypticism. In some ways, it is the most abstract, conceptual, and symbolic map of Scotland we have seen yet, but in a reversal of expectation, this map also insists upon its practical value; that is, despite its mythic impulse, the map uses precisely this imaginative quality to encourage real-world intervention. After all, the idea that Satanic influence issued from the north had all the backing of biblical truth. It is not a far leap of faith to associate those peoples in the north with such influence, and the map speaks to the willingness of medieval cartographers to enter into that imaginative mode typically associated with the pseudo-history of romance, popular prophecy, and many chronicles.

This imaginative mode to which I refer, and in which all of these maps are created, is akin to romance, but it also aligns itself with a genre still on the horizon, though with earlier predecessors: the utopia. Thomas More’s Utopia, in which More describes first the woes and failures of contemporary society and then outlines the ideal society, was first published in 1516, itself accompanied by a map. The word utopia, from the Greek meaning “no-place” or “good-place,” simultaneously indicates the aspirational goal of perfection but also the unattainability of that goal. Commenting on the inconsistency between the maps in the 1516/1518 editions of Utopia and the description of that island, Marina Leslie explains that “to succeed as an abstraction, the map is destined—indeed, required—to fail as a mimetic exercise or simulation.” Such failures were the rule rather than the exception in medieval cartography, but this does not mean that the maps fail in their primary purpose. These maps, in a function analogous to Utopia, do not deny history in their inconsistent acts of representation, but engage in “a critical practice investigating the historical subject in the interrogative mode” by “show[ing] how history is made up—in the double sense of ‘constituted’ and ‘fictionalized’—in order to show how it can be made over.” In the stanzas immediately following his imaginative maps, Hardyng describes his purpose for creating the work:

Moste cause was why I drew this ilke treatise,
To make your father haue had perfecte knowlage,
And you also of Scotlande in all wise,
That percell was of your eldest heritage,
And of all landes moste nere your auauntage,
To haue it whole, no more to bee dismembred,  
Whiche might bee gote, as it is afore remembred. (422)

These maps were not intended to be more symbolic than functional but were hoped to contribute to “perfecte knowlage” of that lost province of English inheritance. However, in keeping with Leslie’s above assertion that utopic literature shows “how history is made up,” Hardyng wants his readers, specifically monarchs of England, to recall Britain as a whole, not “dismembred” but “remembred.” The semantic play of the word “remembred” emphasizes the imaginative faculty that can envision the reformation of a fragmented kingdom, that can picture Scotland perfectly in the past and paradoxically in the future, but Hardyng also draws attention to the power of historians to make history. Throughout the course of this study, we have seen various cartographers remembering and dismembering the British Isles in projects that participate in the wider imperial discourse of late medieval England in precisely this way. Thomas More, too, was participating in that discourse. He wrote *Utopia* in the midst of a different project that planned to describe a complete history of his day, the *History of Richard III*. Leslie explains that “*Utopia* is not so much a fantastic departure from that project as a fanciful intervention. It belongs not to the world of ‘might have been’ or ‘could be,’ so much as to the excesses of the historic present and the pressing humanist problem of what was to be done now with the lessons of history.” Writing an “intervention” into a problematically fragmented Britain seems to have been Hardyng’s goal, as well. The unreality of Hardyng’s, or any other medieval cartographer’s, Scotland, then, must be read in light of these goals, for verisimilitude was frequently proportionate to a work’s ability to “furnish ensample,” to encourage men to the desired behavior.

As the imaginative story of Scotland on the English map unfolds, its trajectory, settling finally on the fascinating individual John Hardyng, leads to a number of conclusions. For one, maps are as individual as the cartographers who create them—it is difficult to make generalizations about the nation with any one map, because it will likely be contradicted by another. Despite this, while we might not be able to generalize about a broadly conceived nation on the medieval map, we can detect the progressive formation of ideas about what the map could do by looking at this one small area of these medieval maps. In a time before the development of accurate methods of surveying land, and when what constituted “Scotland” fluctuated between sources, the unsettled nature of Anglo-Scottish existence lent itself to a cartography that increasingly reflected the desires of the chronicler with whom these maps are associated, whether Matthew Paris, Ranulph Higden, or John Hardyng. The resulting many “Scotlands” provide a paradox of representation shared by any community “engaged in national discourses.” It must be acknowledged that these maps are but one of many facets of visual culture and iconography that reflect the complex of national discourse, and that literature is but one area where there are parallels. Consider, for instance, such artifacts as the Coronation Chair and the Stone of Destiny, whose enmeshed history is such that it is impossible to look upon either without seeing a symbol of Anglo-Scottish strife. So, too, do the genealogical records which proliferated in medieval England—indeed in the works of Matthew Paris—bear witness to another species of iconographic national discourse. Yet, in England, in the act of tracing a cartographic line, more and more one detects the steady push of imperial expansion. By cartographically constructing Anglo-Scottish imperial fantasy these maps actively participate in a discourse that circulates just below the surface of many other medieval genres, like so many capillaries, in particular chronicle, political prophecy, complaint, and romance. Geraldine Heng’s broad formulation of the medieval romance genre as contingent on the “structure of desire which powers its narrative, and the
transformational repetition of that structure through innumerable variations,” suggests that these maps participate in creating the same romance as, say, Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle, in which the author envisions a unified Britain cartographically by sketching Britain visually “between” borders and imagining in a fashion approaching the geometrical the “angle” of Wales jutting outward:

The Yle of Brettayn icelppyd ye
Betwyn Skotlond and Ynglonde iwys,
In storry iwryte arghte.
Wallys ys an angull of that yle...\textsuperscript{152}

These maps demonstrate the malleability of the cartographic imagination to imagine space organized in a way that bends itself to the desires of the author in an analogous fashion to the way writers imagine a Britain under King Arthur. It is a romancing of the world, of the land, and of spatial and temporal existence—it is a kind of utopic writing. The medieval cartographers seemed to believe that, at least at the moment they plant their pen on paper, the world is what you make it.

NOTES

I am indebted to Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Amy Mulligan for their suggestions on an early draft of this article. Geraldine Heng was especially encouraging in my pursuit of this project, and many thanks are due to my anonymous readers at *Studies in Iconography* for their helpful and erudite comments.


\textsuperscript{2} The only great exception to this is Alfred Hiatt, “Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's Chronicle,” in *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium* (Dorrington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 78–94, in which Hiatt briefly notes the features of several maps of Scotland in comparing them to Hardyng's maps.


\textsuperscript{6} See Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1997), 13–14; See also David Woodward, “Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (1985): 510. This creative aspect of medieval mapmaking was also derided as the cartographic shortcomings or blunders of the medieval era by earlier historians. Even the foundational work of P. D. A. Harvey sees medieval maps revealing “profound limitations of concept” from a people to whom “it simply did not occur...to see landscape or the world in a cartographic way.” *Medieval Maps* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 7.

8 Catherine Delano-Smith and R. J. P. Kain, English Maps: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 13. Daniel Birkholz has urged that we consider medieval maps together, regardless of the “genres” frequently imposed upon them, and that we reconsider categories like “practical” and “symbolic” in reading maps. Birkholz emphasizes that “on a hermeneutic level [maps of the world and of the region] need to be… read together.” Moreover, he interrogates the claim that any medieval map “bears a discernable and distinct ‘single function,’ beyond which interpretive attention is largely ‘irrelevant.’” The King’s Two Maps, xviii–xix.

One might take comfort in the more laissez-faire attitude Armin Wolf has recently adopted towards the Ebstorf map: “There have been several ideas about the meaning of the Ebstorf map. In my view all of them are right, and it depends on the way you look at it: the Ebstorf map was geographically a map of the world, didactically a historical encyclopaedia, iconographically a picture of God’s creation, politically a symbol of lordship, and devotionally an object of meditation.” “The Ebstorf Mappamundi and Gervase of Tilbury: The Controversy Revisited,” Imago Mundi 64, no. 1 (2012): 5.

9 Turville-Petre, England the Nation, 1–2.

10 D. K. Smith, The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh, and Marvell (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 1–2. While my conception of a “cartographic imagination” grew separately from Smith’s own, his simple though astute observation that mapped space resides between experience and imagination has greatly informed this essay.

11 See Lavezzo, Angels on the Edge of the World, 9. Lavezzo’s interlocutor here is Benedict Anderson and his seminal Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (New York: Verso, 1983, 2006), 6. In his well-known formulation, Anderson explains that a nation is “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”

12 For useful modern parallels to medieval geographic distortion, see Asa Simon Mittman, Maps and Monsters in Medieval England (New York: Routledge, 2006), 33–35.

13 See Smith, Cartographic Imagination, 12.

14 The complete text of this inscription runs:

Tuz ki cest estorie ont
Ou oyront ou lirront ou ueront
Prient a ihesu en deyte
De Richard de haldinham o de Lafford eyt pite
Ki lat fet e compasse
Ki ioie en cel li seit done.

Quoted in Naomi Reed Kline, Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 52 (my italics). Referring to this particular use of the word estorie, Brian Levy explains that it is a “mot d’ancien français désignant en premier lieu un ‘récit historique’, or même ‘chronique’…, avant de se généraliser ‘récit’ tout court…. Il existe cependant, attesté depuis le 13e siècle et très à propos dans ce présent contexte, second sens du mot estorie/estoire, celui d’une représentation par images….”. Brian J. Levy, “Signes et Communications ‘Extraterrestres’: Les Inscriptions Marginales de la Mappemonde de Hereford,” in La Grande Aventure de la Découverte du Monde au Moyen Age, 6ème Congrès annuel de la Société Reineke, eds., Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1995), 37. Whichever translation one chooses, whether narrative history or representation through images, the semiotic quality, and therefore the semiologic potential, for the map remains.

15 Delano-Smith and Kain, English Maps, 4.


20 BL Cotton MS Tiberius B V. I, fol. 56v. For a description of the manuscript, see *La Périègèse de Priscien: Édition Critique*, ed. Paul van de Woestijne (Bruges: De Tempel, 1953), 24.


22 See Alfred Hiatt, “‘From Hulle to Cartage’: Maps, England, and the Sea,” in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed., Sebastian I. Sobekci (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 136n. See also Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius*, 229. Hiatt observes that “‘Camri’ appears to be a Latinisation of Cymry, and presumably refers to Strathclyde British and Welsh.” It seems likely that there is some confusion between Cumbria, the other eleventh-century name for Strathclyde, and Cambria here as well.


25 A careful examination of the map reveals no other dissolved boundary lines, even in the exotic Eastern world, where any geographic, ethnic, or national boundaries were purely speculative. For a discussion of Britannia on this map, see Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 156–57; Martin K. Foys, “The Virtual Reality of the Anglo-Saxon *Mappamundi*,” *Literature Compass* 1 (2003): 1–17.


27 Found in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 66. The map is named after Sawley Abbey, where it can be earliest placed and is sometimes called the “Henry of Mainz” map, though P.D.A. Harvey points out that this is an egregious misnomer. Harvey, “The Sawley Map and Other World Maps in Twelfth-Century England,” *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 33.

28 The Anglo-Saxon (Cotton) Map is sometimes said to be a *mappamundi* but differs in so many ways from the others in that category that it is usually classified differently.


inerat unio, tantaque verae dilectionis, velut David et Jonathan, amicitia reges connexerat, ut unus omnino, quod alter voluit, fideliter perimpleret, et etiam ut uterque populus unus et idem putabatur.” (my italics)

31 BL Add. MS 33991, fol. 26r. Delano-Smith and Kain, English Maps, 15. This and the other “sketch maps” are not thought to have been drafted by Gerald. Another version of Gerald’s Topographia (National Library of Ireland, MS 700) contains a map of the British Isles more fully described, with Scotland labelled and almost entirely pinched off towards the north. Such depictions are addressed later in this study, but it is worth noting that this map, with its far more detailed observation of ethnographic variation, occurs at fol. 48r, after Gerald’s Topographia and preceding his Expugnatio Hibernica, or The Conquest of Ireland. The sketchier maps are found in the middle of the Topographia sections of their manuscripts. For an incisive and thorough analysis of the N.L.I. 700 map’s marginalizing of Ireland in order to centralize England, see Lavezzo, Angels on the Edge of the World, 65–70.


33 For instance, he compares their local legends and folklore, their rivalry in music, and their religious reverence for saintly relics. See Topographia Hibernica, 106, 154, 179.

34 For a general introduction to the map, see P. D. A. Harvey, Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 33–34; Edson, Mapping Time and Space, 138–39. For more in-depth study of the map, consult the recent monumental scholarly achievement in Hartmut Kugler, Sonja Glauch, Antje Willing, and Thomas Zapf, eds., Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte. Kommentierte Neuausgabe in zwei Bänden (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2007). The enormous, ten square-foot map was destroyed in an air-raid on Hanover in 1943.

35 Thanks to an anonymous reader for clarification on this issue. For a long time, scholars argued that the map was the work of the thirteenth-century Englishman Gervase of Tilbury, starting with Richard Uhden’s argument in “Gervasius von Tilbury und die Ebstorfer Weltkarte,” Jahrbuch der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover (1930): 185–200. The theory rests largely on the name Gervase also belonging to the provost of a contemporary convent of Ebstorf in Lüneburg and numerous (contentious) correspondances between Gervase of Tilbury’s Otia Imperialia and the mappamundi. The scarcity of the name in Germany has been primary evidence for them being the same person, though it has even been proposed by Margriet Hoogvliet that the nuns at Ebstorf were responsible for the map’s creation. “The Mystery of the Makers: Did Nuns Make the Ebstorf Map?” Mercator’s World 1.6 (1996): 16–21. The debate has continued, however, with no definitive answer. Armin Wolf has become the pro-Tilbury argument’s strongest advocate, while Jürgen Wilke and Kugler have been most vocal against the Tilbury attribution. Jürgen, in a lengthy rebuttal to Wolf, concludes that “Durch die vorangegangene Untersuchung konnte widerlegt werden, daß Gervasius von Tilbury der Verfasser oder der „Spiritus rector‘ war, wie dies von der jüngeren Literatur zur Ebstorfer Weltkarte fast durchgängig angenommen wird. Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte, vol. 1 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalsgeschichte, 2001), 123–40, 140. See also Hartmut Kugler, Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte, vol. 2, 44–47; and “Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte ohne Gervasius von Tilbury” in Kloster und Bildung im Mittelalter, eds. Nathalie Kruppa und Jürgen Wilke (Göttingen: Vandenhoek and Ruprecht, 2007), 497–512. Wolf has recently responded to critics of the Tilbury theory, in particular to Wilke and Kugler, insisting that we cannot easily dismiss the claim that these two men were in fact the same, emphasizing Gervase of Tilbury’s biography and further correlations found in the Otia Imperialia. However, Wolf finally proposes that, even if Gervase of Tilbury did not create the Ebstorf map, he created its predecessor, which allows for a later ca. 1300 dating of the Ebstorf map itself. Wolf, “The Ebstorf Mappamundi.”

36 BL Add. MS 28681, fol. 9. The map is 90 mm. in diameter.


40 Friedman and Harrington, eds., “Introduction,” in *Ywain and Gawain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), xxvii. The editors comment on the correction of a few incidents, including the move of Arthur’s court from Chrétien’s Carduel (Carlisle) to Cardiff.

41 For instance, the Spanish Beatine world map found in John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 8, fol. 43v–44r, and that found in BL, Add. MS 11695, fol. 39v–40r, in which the *Britannia insula* and *Scocia insula* are approximately same-sized squares floating in the marginal ocean of the map. The well-known Saint-Sever world map (BN MS lat.8878, fol. 45v–46r), however, elides Britain and Scotland into one, lengthening *Britannia* extensively.

42 As in BL Royal MS 14 C.IX, fol. 1v–2r, or the less impressive Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 89, fol. 13v.


44 Huntington MS 132, f. 4v.

45 The map is divided into six sections, of which the bottom-left section is blank.

46 For one of the earliest accusations of the Scots “inherent treachery” (*innates proditiones*), see *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, vol. 8, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London: Longman & Co., 1865–1886), I.58, 154. Trevisa, in his translation, adds to this “[they] beeþ tretours as hit were by kynde.” *Polychronicon* 155.


51 Scotland cannot properly be said to be “a separate island,” as Harvey and others have, on this map. Color reproductions clearly show the tenuous connection between landmasses. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, 5.

52 Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, 220.

53 Lavezzo observes of the depictions of England on this and other *mappaemundi* that “the topographic detail, large landmass, and global geographic marginality… prevent the island from figuring as just another region of the known world.” *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 50.

55 It is difficult to make out, but the legend reads “fluvius tlede,” an alternative spelling for the Tweed. See Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography*, 165; Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, 300.

56 Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, 300.

57 Peter Armstrong, *Stirling Bridge & Falkirk, 1297–98: William Wallace’s Rebellion* (Oxford: Osprey 2003), 35–36. Apparently, in Wallace’s time, a large force could ford the Forth at the confluence of Teith with that river, at Drip further upstream, or at Frew six miles above Stirling. Armstrong reports that these fords do not appear as readily passable today.


59 The Battle of Otterburn, for example, in 1388.


62 For example, *The Auntryes of Arthure* spends nearly half of its narrative resolving a land dispute between the Scottish knight Galeron and Arthur. *The Carl of Carlisle* focuses on the monstrous character of the lord of Carlisle, and his eventual conversion into a knight of the Round Table.


65 “On one hand, as artifacts offering a global geographic perspective, the maps register an English appreciation of the cosmopolitan, a desire to be a part of an international sociopolitical order. As ‘Angevin’ imperialists, the English looked beyond their insular boundaries toward a world they sought to blend with and even dominate. On the other hand, as artifacts highlighting England’s isolation from the world, mappae mundi point to an investment in national belonging, a desire to bind the English not to the world but to each other.” Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, 52.


68 For Matthew’s tone with the Scots generally, see the events narrated during the year 1244. *Chronica Majora*, vol. 4, 358–59, 362–63, 379–83. See *Chronica Majora*, vol. 5, 267–70, for a description of the 1257 marriage between Alexander III and Margaret of England, at which time Edward pressed Alexander to do homage to him for the kingdom of Scotland, but the Scottish king demurs.

69 See, for instance, *Chronica*, vol. 5, 283, 289, 316–17, 327, but Matthew’s mistrust of foreigners is ubiquitous in his chronicle.


Connolly's argument rests on a number of factors but primarily on the location of the Royal map on the back of a Matthew Paris itinerary that is commonly thought to be later. This position, combined with the “differences in style of the Royal version's handwriting and design and the changes in its content from the previous versions” suggests to Connolly a later date after Matthew's death. He corroborates his new date with a statement by Lewis, “the only art historian to have examined these materials,” who claims that the map could be either much earlier or later than the other maps. *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 186–91.

For an outstanding and thorough discussion of Matthew's four maps of Britain with illustrations, see Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 364–76.

Connolly, *Maps of Matthew Paris*, 174. Connolly sees this map in particular as suited for the “acquisitive gaze of the King of England” whom Matthew knew to be one of his readers.

Connolly, *Maps of Matthew Paris*, 190. Connolly sees this map in particular as suited for the “acquisitive gaze of the King of England” whom Matthew knew to be one of his readers.

“murus dividens anglos et pictos olim.”

“murus dividens scotos et pictos olim.”

“Regio Scotorum conterminorum.”

The Battle of Stirling Bridge was won by William Wallace on 11 September 1297 against the English. Wallace's victory stalled further English encroachment for some time.


“Regio montuosa et nemorosa gentem incultam generans et pastoralem propter mariscum et harundinetum.”

See below for further discussion of the “wild” Scots.


“hic et Albania dicta est.”


“nunc *dicta* Anglia que complectitur Scociam Galeweiam & Walliam.”


Despite Higden's clear desire to keep the Scottish as an ethnically separate category from the English, he begins his description of the British Isles with the title *De Britannia Majori jam Anglia dicta*, “On Greater

93 Breen, *Imagining an English Reading Public*, 165–67. Breen also notes that this map contains a less populated horizontal roadway, and, along with the rivers snaking throughout, these contribute to depicting “more-or-less a transportation map of England” that allows for movement in many directions (167). This and Breen’s intriguing subsequent argument, that this itinerary is a continuation of Matthew’s Holy Land itinerary, does not contradict my own, as to both our eyes, the central north-south axis is the clear “main road” of the map. I am grateful to one of my readers for pointing out to me Breen’s reading.

94 *Gallewia* on Matthew’s other maps as well, although it stands out more in the Royal map. In the Hereford map, *Scocia* and *Louthian* are named in a way that puts them on equal footing, with the same ink, script, size, and orientation of name.


97 *Mandeville’s Travels*, 9.

98 See Davies, *First English Empire*, 30.

99 The dating of the Gough map, for a long time placed ca. 1360, has of late become increasingly contentious as new technologies allow for ever more minute inspection of the map’s composition. Most authors now agree that the map was made in at least two separate phases. Elizabeth Solopova has argued for an original date in ca. 1375 and for an early fifteenth century dating for the many revisions she sees on the map based on linguistic and paleographic grounds. T. M. Smallwood, however, has dismissed these arguments, insisting instead that the paleographic evidence by no means requires an earlier dating than 1400, and he argues for an early fifteenth-century date for the map. See Elizabeth Solopova, “The Making and Re-making of the Gough Map of Britain: Manuscript Evidence and Historical Context,” *Imago Mundi* 64, no. 2 (2012): 155–168; T. M. Smallwood, “The Date of the Gough Map,” *Imago Mundi* 62, no. 1 (2009): 3–29, T. M. Smallwood, “The Making of the Gough Map Reconsidered: a Personal View,” *Imago Mundi* 64, no. 2 (2012): 169–180. The question is by no means settled, as there seem to be arguments for a date in the early fourteenth century for the first phase of the map’s creation. Catherine Delano-Smith, personal correspondence, April 2015.

100 There is evidence, in fact, that Scotland was the earliest feature of the map to be filled in with any detail. Catherine Delano-Smith, personal correspondence, April 2015.

101 Birkholz, however, does give these whales an allegorical meaning. See below.


103 “hic maxima venacio.”

104 “hic habundant lupi.”

105 Compare these graphic features with Matthew Paris’s description of the northern Scots and their *nemorosa* region above.

106 The historical closeness of the names “Carlisle” and “Caerleon” and the persistence in confusion can be seen on the “Anglia Figura” of Henry VIII (ca. 1537) in which the name *Carlel* is used for both Carlisle and Caerleon.

107 “hic Brutus applicuit cum Troianis.”

Birkholz, *King’s Two Maps*, 113–48. Birkholz also sees a reference to Margaret of Norway’s disastrous death in the image of a ship in the left-hand corner of the map, where a figure appears to be floating on one of two pillow-like rafts. That the figure represents Margaret is not clear from the illustration, and it would appear at least as likely to be a man. Lucy Sandler and Catherine Delano-Smith, personal correspondence, April 2015.


I follow Benson’s emendation of “Bretayne” here in the MS to “Brutus,” providing a referent for “hys.”


Birkholz, *King’s Two Maps*, 135.

Lack of knowledge about Scotland is likewise found in an early fifteenth-century map of England and Scotland found in BL Harley 1808, fol. 9v accompanying a version of Geoffrey Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*. England, here oriented at the top, is densely packed with towns and rivers, with Carlisle again marking a final Northern stronghold. After this, the large chunk of land that is Scotland has its more well-known coastal features depicted—and quite thoroughly, as we proceed up the coast to the farthest reaches of Scotland. However, the inland regions of Scotland are left blank and colorless, a vastness of unknown land awaiting exploration, with the northernmost regions containing little except for forestry akin to that found on the Gough map or Hardyng’s maps.

John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, etc., 1812). References refer to page numbers and the critical apparatus, in which many of these examples are printed, is designated by the italic "n." There have been no modern editions of Hardyng’s *Chronicle*, critical or otherwise. Ellis preferred the later Harley text over the earlier Lansdowne, and he collated Harley with the Selden MS. Although it was not available at the time of writing, a TEAMS critical edition of the Lansdowne version of the text, edited by Sarah Peverley and James Simpson, was published in 2015.

After Hardyng, regional maps of Scotland, beginning with the sixteenth-century *Regno di Scotia* or the late sixteenth-century map by Nicolas de Nicolay, began to advance quickly towards our modern conception of what a map looks like, leaving behind the more obviously polemical bent of Hardyng’s style. For these and later maps, see the National Library of Scotland’s map website (http://maps.nls.uk).


Hardyng also suggests that one might cross the “forde of Trips” here, demonstrating, as usual, a keen familiarity with the landscape of the Scottish marches.


Lansdowne MS 204, fol. 223r–v. See also, Hiatt, *Beyond Borders*, 84.

These maps are found in BL Harley MS 661; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 10; and Harvard College, fMS Eng 1054.


See above, n. 95.
blak been thi bankes and thi ripes also,
Thou sorrowfull see full of stremys blak,
Wher Pluto kinge of Hell reigneth in wo,
In his palais of pride with beoste and crak,
Neigbour to Scottes withoute any lak,
With foure flodes furiose infernal,
Ebbynge & flowynge in the see boriall.

Odium ardens; luctus perpetuus; Dolor & Dolus.
Stix, Flegiton, Cochiton, and Acheron,
Tho been foure flodes withoutyn any rest,
Euer flowynge and ebbynge this see upon,
With wyndes & wawes of the borials nest,
That raise the flodes both be Est & be West
Blowyng mysrule thorowe Scotlond al & sum
As scripture seith a borea omne malum.

Peverley, “Relations in John Hardyng’s Chronicle,” 82.


For example, the fourteenth-century chronicler Jean le Bel, who describes how the Scots make such noise and revelry by night that the English and their allies suppose all the demons of hell had gathered there (que it hous sembloit que tout inferes fut là et que les deables y fussent assemblez). Jean le Bel, Chronique de Jean Le Bel, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Déprez (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1904), 52–53.

The comparison becomes more explicit near the end of Hardyng’s Chronicle, where he compares Scotland to those lands “beyonde the sea” favorably, saying those other lands are a dangerous waste of time in comparison to the nearness of Scotland (422).

Edson, Mapping Time and Space, 104; see also Stephen McKenzie, “The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi: An Investigation of the Evidence,” in The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London: British Library, 2006), 335–44. McKenzie observes that the evidence supports the existence of this idea of linear progression, but cautions against over-application of the theory as it does not seem to be widespread. If the concept was familiar to anyone, however, it would have been to cartographers. More generally, see Woodward, “Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in...
Medieval World Maps," 511. Woodward describes the medieval mappaemundi as representing “a many-layered cumulation of events as well as objects in geographical space.”

135 Apocalypticism was never far from the minds of artists of mappaemundi like the Sawley or Hereford maps. These maps make explicit reference to the Last Judgement in both text and illustration. Kline, Maps of Medieval Thought, 228.


138 Scattergood, “Authority and Resistance,” 177.


140 Flood, “Imperfect Apocalypse,” 27.


142 See also Hardyn, 413, where the author explains the English monarch’s claim to “Scotlande hole” as a “membre of your royall monarcke, / As chroniclers haue made therof memorey.”

143 The semantic play occurring in the first syllable, either ευ- (good) or οὐ- (no), though in a later edition More would disavow the latter pronunciation.


145 Leslie, Renaissance Utopias, 8.

146 Leslie, Renaissance Utopias, 55.

147 Peverley, “Relations in John Hardyn’s Chronicle.” Peverley’s underlying thesis in her analysis of Hardyn’s Chronicle and maps is that Hardyn uses the Anglo-Scottish conflict as a way of articulating larger socio-political concerns within England.


149 Lavezzo, “Introduction,” xix. Lavezzo observes the Middle Ages gave rise to “the construction of multiple, contingent, and conflicting ‘Englands,’ each geared toward the respective needs of different social groups… engaged in national discourses.”

150 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Rolls 3, for instance, is a large roll containing an illustrated genealogy of the kings of England from the Trojan War to Edward I. The roll is continued in BL MS Cotton Galba Charter XIV, where the monarchs of England and Scotland are depicted collateral up to Edward I with Anglo-Scottish royal intermarriages illustrated. The roll is dated to ca. 1300, and W. H. Monroe sees these rolls specifically “against the larger background of Edward I’s claim to the overlordship of Scotland” (219–20). See W. H. Monroe, “Two Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles in the Bodleian Library,” The Bodleian Library Record 10 (1981), 215–21; Lucy Freeman Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles V (London, 1986) vol. 2, no. 16a–b. Many thanks to an anonymous reader for referring me to these. The most elaborate Matthew Paris genealogies appear in both the Royal and Claudius manuscripts discussed earlier in this article.
