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"Queen of All Islands": The Imagined Cartography of Matthew Paris's Britain

A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of History

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in History

by

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May 2013

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Keywords: Matthew Paris, Britain, Cartography, *Chronica Majora*, Claudius Map

ABSTRACT

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John Wyatt Greenlee

In the middle decade of the thirteenth century, the Benedictine monk and historian Matthew Paris drew four regional maps of Britain. The monk's works stand as the earliest extant maps of the island and mark a distinct shift from the cartographic traditions of medieval Europe. Historians have long considered the version attached to the monk's *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* – the Claudius map – as the last and most thorough of Paris's images of Britain. However, scholars have focused on the document's limitations as an accurate geographic representation and have failed to consider critically Paris's representation of Britain with an eye towards its political implications. This thesis is an examination of the elements of the Claudius map, in context with the monk's historical writings, to argue that Paris's map of Britain should be studied as an aggressive cultural artifact through which the monk posited imperial English claims to suzerainty over the whole of the island.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated, with love, to my wife Vanessa, for whom a dedication is but poor recompense for the immeasurable help and support that she has given me throughout the course of our journey together. Further, this work – and all works to come – are dedicated to our son, Finian, who loves "The Fields of Athenry" and "The Foggy Dew" at 3:00 in the morning, and whose promise encourages me to set the best example I am able.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the course of my time at ETSU I have received guidance, advice, and help from many people, and I would be remiss if I did not take the opportunity to express my gratitude. First and foremost, I need to thank my advisor and thesis chair, Dr. Brian J. Maxson. For the past three years Dr. Maxson has challenged how I think about the past and understand the historian's craft. He allowed me the freedom to find my own way, offered suggestions when I needed guidance, and inspired my efforts through his example and his insights. I also owe a great debt to Dr. Daniel Newcomer, whose *Cartography and History* class opened up new doors and opportunities for me. His advice and thoughts – about this project, about teaching, and about looking forward to doctoral programs – have been invaluable. The other members of my committee, Dr. Doug Burgess and Dr. Thomas Crofts, have both contributed tremendously to my growth as a historian. Dr. Burgess's influences have pushed me to understand the interconnectedness of history across fixed planes of study. Without Dr. Crofts's Latin classes I would have been lost in Paris's writings and unable to bring together much of the evidence for this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. John Rankin for his enthusiasm in reading my drafts and for telling me when he thought I had gone too far off the rails.

The Graduate School and the History Department at ETSU have been unfailingly supportive of my work, and I am extremely grateful. The Graduate School has provided funding for conference travel, allowing me to begin to make my way as a historian. The History Department's support throughout my masters work has been consistently

excellent. Specifically, without the department's grant last summer I would have been unable to travel to London for the primary research that grounds this project.

Lastly, I come to my family. I cannot fail to thank my parents, who fed my love of history from an early age, and who have kept that passion fresh through a steady stream of books and articles. Their support has buttressed my work over the last several years, helping me to stay sure of my path. Above all, however, I am most deeply indebted to my wife, Vanessa. It was she who gave me the courage to follow my heart and return to school, and she who has kept our family running during those times when I could not find my way out of a book or away from the keyboard. She has dealt with my bouts of up-all-night mania, and has borne up amazingly well under my incessant need to talk about dusty maps, old books, and long-dead people. I would not have gotten to this point without her, and this thesis belongs as much to her as to me.

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Fig. 1. Matthew Paris's Claudius Map of Britain.
 Used by permission of the British Library
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 BL Cotton Claudius D VI, fol. 12v.

CHAPTER 1

THE MONK AND THE KING: AN INTRODUCTION

Sometime between 1250 and 1259, nearing the end of his life, the Benedictine monk Matthew Paris drew four maps of Britain.¹ In both style and function these maps departed significantly from the prevailing cartographic traditions of medieval Europe. No English artist or monk had ever drawn a map like them, and the Continent knew no equivalent. Paris ignored medieval cartographic traditions in constructing these maps. He narrowed the scope of his gaze to the island of Britain, an area usually marginalized or ignored by medieval mapmakers. In so doing, he demonstrated a clear effort to fix correctly the island's various geographies. Unique among mapmakers of his time, Matthew Paris privileged issues of space over those of theology. His images of the island stand apart from contemporary cartographic efforts through their orientation, and their apparent attention to political identities. Matthew Paris's maps allowed his audience to see, and presume to know, the whole of Britain for the first time.

Of Paris's four Britain maps, the Claudius map (Fig. 1) presents the most thorough and finished cartographic vision for the island. Because of the map's complexity in relation to the monk's other efforts, and its inclusion in one of Paris's final manuscripts, historians have generally accepted the Claudius map as the monk's best attempt at

¹ Paris's four maps of Britain, which I shall reference throughout this paper, are found at: BL MS Cotton Claudius D VI, fol. 12v; BL MS Royal 14 C VII, fol. 5v; BL MS Cotton Julius D VII, fol. 50-53; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 16, fol. v. The maps were also recreated in: Matthew Paris, *Four Maps of Great Britain designed by Matthew Paris about A.D. 1250, reproduced from three manuscripts in the British Museum and one at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), *passim*.

achieving a precise geographical representation for the island.² Consequently, the Claudius map holds an important place in the historiography, appearing in almost every survey of cartographic history. Historians' treatment of the map has been largely casual, however. Most examinations of the Claudius map have acknowledged it primarily for its place in a standard teleological narrative of cartographic development: as an early step on the road towards scientifically accurate mapping. Scholars have looked at the document as an important, though unsuccessful, effort at moving away from the more symbolic and cosmographic style of medieval mapmaking.³ But the work of historians such as J. B. Harley, Thongchai Winichakul, and others provides grounds to reconsider such assumptions. Their studies argue that maps often act as projections of political will disguised as neutral reflections of natural truth. Scholars have begun to move towards applying a wider understanding of medieval cartography along these lines, but the historiography has yet to consider the potential political implications and claims in the Claudius map.

Despite its wide reputation, only a handful of scholars have actually studied Paris's signature map; the critical historiography is remarkably slight. Early discussion of the map centered primarily around the issue of authorship. Frederick Madden first tied all four maps of Britain – Claudius, Julius, Corpus Christi, and Royal – to Paris's hand in

² P. D. A. Harvey makes an emblematic case for this argument. See: P. D. A. Harvey, "Matthew Paris's Maps of England," in *Thirteenth Century England IV: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1991*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Loydd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 109-122.

³ For examples of this reading of Paris's maps, see: David Woodward, "Mappaemundi," in *The History of Cartography, Vol. 1*, edited by J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 276-341; Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 243-244; and Toby Lester, *The Fourth Part of the World* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 25-44.

1866.⁴ Madden also named Paris as the author of several other maps: a *mappamundi*, or map of the world; three regional maps of the Holy Land; and four versions of a pilgrim itinerary map covering the road from London to Rome. In 1871 Thomas Hardy came to a different conclusion, arguing that Matthew Paris could not have penned any of the maps; instead, Hardy suggested that an unidentifiable scribe and rubricator in the St. Alban's scriptorium drew the maps.⁵ Neither Madden nor Hardy paid much attention to the maps' cartographic details. Their focus lay, instead, in a paleographic analysis of the documents' textual aspects to determine the maps' origins.

The German historian Konrad Miller agreed with Madden's findings, linking the maps to Paris in his 1895 *Mappae Mundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten*. Miller's work initiated the trend of focusing on geographic accuracy as the Claudius map's primary feature. He noted that the document stood as Paris's best and most complete map (*und beste, zugleich vollständigste Karte*), essentially equating the document's cartographic value to its thoroughness.⁶ Raymond Beazley also came down on the side of Madden's and Miller's analyses in his 1901 history of cartography, as did J. P. Gilson in his 1928 introduction to Cambridge's reproduction of Paris's maps.⁷ In 1933, J. B. Mitchell published an essay examining the common cartographic elements that tied the four maps together.⁸ She

⁴ Frederick Madden, "Preface," in *Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor: Item, ejusdem Abbrevatio Chronicorum Angliae, vol. I*, ed. Sir Frederick Madden, Rolls Series (London: Longman & Co., 1866), xlvi; and "Preface," in *Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor: Item, ejusdem Abbrevatio Chronicorum Angliae, vol. III*, ed. Sir Frederick Madden, Rolls Series (London: Longman & Co., 1866), li-lii.

⁵ Thomas Duffus Hardy, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Reign of Henry VII, vol. III* (London: Longman and Co., 1871), lxxii-lxxiv.

⁶ Konrad Miller, *Mappae Mundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten, vol. 3* (Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895), 74.

⁷ C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography: A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Close of the Ninth to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century (c. A.D. 900-1260), Part II* (London: John Murray, 1901), 585; J. P. Gilson's introduction in Paris, Four Maps, 4.

⁸ J. B. Mitchell, "The Matthew Paris Maps," *The Geographical Journal*, 81, no. 1 (Jan., 1933): 27-34.

hedged on assigning the maps to Paris's hand specifically but did argue that all four maps of Britain came from the same family and that they likely shared authorship.⁹

Following Mitchell's paper, academic interest in the Claudius map faded. The next mention of Paris's cartography came in 1958, when Richard Vaughn, as part of a broader survey of the monk's work, addressed the maps in his book, *Matthew Paris*. Vaughn claimed the paleographic authority to declare Paris the author of all four maps, and his assessment has since been largely accepted as accurate. Vaughn touched only briefly on the monk's images of Britain; he found Paris's itinerary maps to be of greater interest. However, he did pick up the thread of assessment that Miller and Gilson had begun. He wrote that the Britain images – exemplified by the Claudius version – "are outstanding among early medieval attempts at cartography, in that they represent a genuine attempt at a map."¹⁰ Vaughn pointed out, as had Beazley, the map's north-facing orientation as an important innovation.¹¹ Vaughn also noted evidence in the map's textual elements that Paris had made an effort at drawing the maps to scale. Lastly, Vaughn paid close attention to the road that runs from Newcastle in the north to Dover in the south, identifying it as the map's most important feature. He wrote that the road forms the map's structural spine and argued that the Claudius map – and the other three maps of Britain – should be understood as enlarged versions of the monk's itinerary maps.¹²

The points that Vaughn raised about the Claudius map – its apparent formation around an itinerary baseline and its early efforts, through scale and orientation, at accurate cartography – have gained almost universal currency in the historiography as

⁹ Ibid., 32-34.

¹⁰ Vaughn, 243.

¹¹ Ibid.; and Beazley, 587.

¹² Vaughn, 244.

being the document's most salient features. The image's unique status as one of the earliest maps of Britain has ensured that Paris's work has found a place in most survey histories of cartography, and in most cases the paradigm of understanding that Vaughn synthesized and concretized has been the prevailing viewpoint. Raymond Lister's *Antique Maps and Their Cartographers* provides an excellent example. Of the Claudius map, Lister wrote, "The map is small and bears only a rough resemblance to the shape of Great Britain, yet the beginnings of accuracy are present."¹³ For Lister, and for most other historians who have considered Paris's cartography even tangentially, the monk's nascent attempt at scientifically accurate mapping has provided the paramount point of interest, with the understanding that Paris's reliance on the itinerary road for the map's backbone limited his success. P. D. A. Harvey, in his chapter on medieval maps in the *History of Cartography*, accepted and promulgated this paradigm. In a chapter section entitled, "Itinerary Maps and the Development of Maps Drawn to Scale," Harvey wrote categorically that the map "should be seen as an itinerary."¹⁴ Harvey's interpretation of the map, drawn from Vaughn, has essentially prescribed the borders for the image's scholarship for the past twenty-five years.

Despite its general ubiquity, Harvey's model for examining and understanding the Claudius map ignores the possibility that Matthew Paris's cartography centered more on political issues than on questions of accurate geographic representation. As J. B. Harley demonstrated, maps and mapmaking are often reflections of political power and

¹³ Raymond Lister, *Antique Maps and Their Cartographers* (London: Bell and Sons Ltd., 1970), 17-18.

¹⁴ P. D. A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in *The History of Cartography, Vol. 1*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 464-501 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 496.

ambition.¹⁵ Harley's work shows that maps must be considered as partisan tools posing cartographic arguments rather than as neutral documents presenting facts. Historians of modern European-style imperialism have utilized Harley's methodologies to examine the role of maps and mapmaking in constructing a framework for colonial projects. Matthew Edney and D. Graham Burnett both have written on the ability of maps to legitimate territorial claims through the creation and presentation of coherently conceptualized graphical space.¹⁶ Edney's book, *Mapping and Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*, highlights the ability of maps, through their perceived role as honest brokers of geographic fact, to rewrite political realities; essentially to whitewash areas of actual contestation, and to present a false impression of known, possessed space. Burnett's study of mapping in British Guyana, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado*, also examines the role that maps play in creating the impression of known colonial space. Both scholars demonstrate the means by which cartographic arguments may serve a deeply political and agglomerative purpose by bringing foreign space into the gaze of imperial powers.

Mapmaking may also work in an internal political capacity by formulating a centralized and authoritative view of the nature and shape of the state. Thongchai Winichakul and Raymond Craib both address this aspect of cartography. Thongchai's *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* clearly shows how cartographic

¹⁵ For a representative sampling of Harley's work on the nexus between maps and power, see: John B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), *passim*; and "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments* ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-312.

¹⁶ Matthew Edney, *Mapping and Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1997); D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); and "Traversing Space," in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, ed. Jordana Dym and Karl Offen (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 131-134.

creations, anachronistically projected into the past, may be used to justify assertively a state's existence and aspirations.¹⁷ Craib's book, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes*, further considers the role that centralized, routinized divisions of land – encoded in maps – play in overwriting pre-existing conceptions of territory.¹⁸ Both authors demonstrate the important role that maps, and mapmaking, hold in the establishment of a unified image of state space.

The majority of historians investigating ties between cartography and politics have – like Edney, Burnett, Thongchai, and Craib – examined modern and early modern cases. However, the same methodologies may also be considered in assessing the imperial role of medieval maps. Nick Millea's study of the fourteenth century Gough Map comes to this conclusion, demonstrating that connections between cartography and politics existed in the Middle Ages.¹⁹ Daniel Birkholz's work also argues that the Gough Map acted as an early instance of imperial cartography; he holds that the same base concepts that drove the nineteenth century mapmakers also existed – though in less developed forms – in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁰ In the main, this conversation has not yet extended to consider Matthew Paris's work. However, the St. Albans monk's maps deserve to be included in the discussion; Paris's cartography shares

¹⁷ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), *passim*.

¹⁸ Raymond Craib, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), *passim*. For further iterations of Craib's arguments, see: "Historical Geographies," in *Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, ed. Jordana Dym and Karl Offen (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 153-158; and "A Nationalist Metaphysics: State Fixations, National Maps, and the Geo-Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (February 2002): 33-68.

¹⁹ Nick Millea, *The Gough Map: The Earliest Road Map of Great Britain?* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007); and "The Gough Map: Britain's Oldest Road Map, or a Statement of Empire?" in *The Art, Science and Technology of Medieval Travel*, ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Hampshire and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 143-156.

²⁰ Daniel Birkholz, *The King's Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 108-153.

many of the qualities and conventions found in later, more accepted, instances of imperial mapmaking.

Only three writers have examined Paris's maps with a critical eye toward their political implications and claims. Daniel Birkholz's book, *The King's Two Maps*, contends that the monk's maps, including the maps of Britian, should be seen as making an attempt at positing imperial, or regnal, claims. However, Birkholz also argues that Paris could not divorce himself fully from the theological mapmaking traditions from which he came, and that the Claudius map should be seen as a "failed compromise" on several counts.²¹ It fell short of creating an accurate geographical representation of the island due to its too-heavy reliance on the itinerary route, while at the same time only casting a half-hearted political claim to the island. Birkholz writes that the value of Paris's maps lay in establishing the groundwork for the Gough Map's "stunning departure from cartographic conventions."²² Birkholz ignores the possibility that Paris's maps of Britain were completely formed imperial arguments – stunning departures in their own right.

Like Birkholz, Daniel Connolly's work considers Paris's maps as possessing a political quality. Both Birkholz and Connolly have argued strongly for the itinerary strip maps as acting to transfer authority from Rome and the Holy Land to England. Connolly has also built a convincing case for one of the four Britain maps, the Royal map, posing an imperial claim to the island. His thesis, however, rests on his belief that Matthew Paris did not pen the Royal map. He adapts Thomas Hardy's old contention, arguing that a later, anonymous, monk copied Paris's work in answer to Edward I's call for documents supporting his claim to the Scottish throne. Connolly may be correct about the Royal

²¹ Birkholz, 73.

²² Ibid., 76.

map, but in making his case he largely dismissed the other three as not asserting the same types of claims.²³ Connolly, like Birkholz, sees the Claudius map as representing something of a false start in terms of both scientific and political mapping.

Katharine Breen has also examined Paris's cartography under a political lens, though her work has been largely confined to the monk's itinerary maps. Breen identifies two separate political messages in the itineraries. Like Connolly and Birkholz, she sees the itineraries as transferring the authority of the Holy Land onto England. Breen expands the argument to include the regional maps of Britain, especially the Royal map, as a part of the itinerary map system. She writes that the itinerary road on the regional map brings all of England into the conversation, and infuses the whole of the kingdom – unknown space – with the known holy quality of Palestine.²⁴ She also argues that the itinerary maps project a claim for Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, to the Kingdom of Sicily, though she writes that – given that Paris had little good to say about the expedition to Sicily in his *Chronica Majora* – the map warns against this particular imperial adventure.²⁵ In both cases, Breen works with the assumption that Paris could, and did, carry political messages through his maps. This position underlies much of her understanding of the monk's regional maps; she sees his Britain maps as delineating clear state-level borders, cordoning off Scotland and Wales from England.²⁶ But she does not see an assertive agenda at play in the monk's cartography. Rather, Breen argues for Paris proscribing knowable political borders in order to help define a specifically English

²³ Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys Through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 173-194.

²⁴ Katharine Breen, *Imagining an English Reading Public: 1150-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 165-168; and "Returning Home from Jerusalem: Matthew Paris's First Map of Britain in Its Manuscript," *Representations* 89, 1 (Winter, 2005): 83-87.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, *Imagining*, 158-160; and "Returning Home," 75.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *Imagining*, 141, 167; and "Returning Home," 61.

character. Like Birkholz and Connolly, Breen fails to examine the possibility that the monk wrote an aggressive imperial nature into the framework of his image of Britain.

The Claudius map has been all but excluded from the conversation in part because Breen, Connolly, and Birkholz have tended to examine Paris's maps only in relationship to their individual manuscripts. All three scholars have understood the itineraries as an essential component for connecting the regional maps to a political argument and have limited their studies to those manuscripts that include both an itinerary and a regional map. The *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, which holds the Claudius map, does not include an itinerary, which seems to make the map difficult to consider from an imperial perspective. However, the Claudius map should not be studied in isolation. The map exists as part of a rounded, assertive representation of English Britain that Paris put forth in his whole body of work.

The Claudius map headlined and showcased Matthew Paris's constructed Britain, an imagined realm that the monk built over the course of his career using his histories, itinerary maps, regional maps, and illustrations. Paris understood that, as Doreen Massey noted, "the identity of places is very much bound up with the *histories* which are told of them, *how* those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant."²⁷ Through his writings – especially through his magnum opus, the *Chronica Majora* – Paris laid out a history of the island and its people stretching back to its mythical founding by Aeneas's great-grandson Brutus. The *Chronica Majora*, and the abbreviated versions that sprang from it, contextualized the British past alongside biblical and classical events, connecting Britain to the world's central histories. The monk's chronicles

²⁷ Doreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 39 (Spring, 1995), 186. The italics are included in the original article.

drew a direct connection from the legitimating histories of Brutus and the Romans through to the Plantagenet line. The Claudius map existed in this constructed political world, and Paris did not present the map as fiction. The image accompanied a serious work of history, the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, and the monk clearly intended his audience to understand the map as a projection of cartographic truth. Through its textual, geographic, and iconographic components, the map provides a visual gloss, arguing in shorthand the case that the *Chronica Majora* and the rest of Paris's work makes at great length: that the Plantagenet kings held rightful claim to rule all of Britain.

Paris's image of the island, grounded in his created political framework, would have resonated profoundly with his audience as fact. Modern cartography bases its authority on a wide-spread faith in science, and its perceived ability to confer a wholly accurate understanding of the world. Medieval maps, however, served almost exclusively as tools for understanding visually the works of God on the terrestrial stage. Maps reflected the Divine plan, and Paris's readers – insofar as they understood maps – would have seen his presentation through this lens. Paris reframed the argument, however, adding a political component while attempting to maintain the understood authority of the map as a picture of reality. In repurposing the cartographic rationale, Paris essentially had an open field in which to work; no other vision of Britain existed, and his images made their claims without opposition. Paris relied on the Claudius map's understood, and uncontested, verisimilitude to lend weight to his claim for English suzerainty.

In making such a claim – drawn from the body of his work and graphically presented through the Claudius map– Paris contributed to an ongoing political discussion. The monk's work supported the ambitions of Henry III, the Plantagenet king whose reign

encompassed all of Paris's monastic life. Unlike his predecessors, Henry focused a greater part of his attention on England than on the Continent. He demonstrated a clear personal interest in the English part of his inheritance: he developed a keen fascination with the Arthur legend, and he adopted Edward the Confessor – the last legitimate Anglo-Saxon ruler – as his religious patron.²⁸ Both connections emphasized the legitimacy and the English nature of his rule.²⁹ Henry looked to Britain for his imperial ambitions as well. His reign saw the transition of the Plantagenets from a Continental power, supplied by their properties in Britain, to an English monarchy with holdings in France.³⁰ While Henry never abandoned his Angevin claims, the bulk of his political and military struggles occurred within the boundaries of Britain, often along the Welsh and Scottish frontiers. After Henry's death, his son Edward I maintained this focus, finally – albeit temporarily – claiming English suzerainty over the entire island in 1296.

Though scholars have generally failed to draw connections between Paris's mapmaking and Henry's political aspirations, the monk and the king may have been looking to the same vision of Britain. It does not strain belief to suggest that Henry saw Paris's maps, or that the monk intended his images to catch the attention of the royal gaze. Matthew Paris involved himself in the political affairs of Henry's reign, not only through his writings, drawings, and maps, but also through his personal connections to

²⁸ For Henry's interest in the Arthur legend, see: Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 2008), 165. For Henry's devotion to Edward the Confessor, see: *Ibid.*, 8-9; Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England: 1225-1360* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 2005), 28-30. Henry III's reign also produced the first official government documents written in English since the Conquest. See: Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 9.

²⁹ Prestwich *Plantagenet England*, 28-30. Henry's devotion both to his patron, and to his English heritage were reflected in his choice of name for his eldest son. As Morris notes, not only had the name Edward been unused by royal families since 1066, no noble family in England had named a child Edward since the Conquest, either. See: Morris, 3.

³⁰ John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London and New York: The Oxford University Press, 2001), 1.

people in power. His monastery had long ties to the English throne – especially to the extended monarchical line that Paris constructed.³¹ Matthew Paris himself visited Henry's court, and the king came often to St. Albans, as well. The monastery sat on the highway less than a day's journey to the north of London and boasted a stable large enough to house 300 horses, making it a frequent stop on royal peregrinations.³² Between Paris's trips to court and the king's visits to St. Albans, the two men came into contact on multiple occasions.

In 1247 Henry asked Paris to chronicle the most important religious event of the king's reign: his barefoot pilgrimage to present a vial of Christ's blood at the shrine of Edward the Confessor.³³ After the ceremony, Henry invited Paris to join him for a private dinner.³⁴ The monk recorded other private meetings with the king in 1250 and 1251.³⁵ In 1257 the monk appealed to Henry on behalf of the University of Oxford, whose representatives had requested Paris's help in a conflict with the Bishop of Lincoln.³⁶ That same spring King Henry visited St. Albans and sat with Paris for a week, directing his writings and presenting the chronicler with a list of canonized English kings.³⁷ The relationship between the two men suggests that Paris would have been aware of, and understood, Henry's imperial ambitions for the island.

³¹ Paris wrote that King Offa, in the line of Brutus, had founded the abbey and discovered the body of St. Alban. See: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 331. Paris also wrote extensively on Offa's life in his history of the king's reign. See: Ibid., *The Lives of Two Offas: Vitae Offarum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (Devon, England: The Medieval Press, Ltd., 2010), *passim*.

³² Vaughn, 11. Vaughn also catalogues the many important people whom Paris noted came through St. Albans, including King Henry, his wife and brother, and many noblemen and women. See: Ibid., 12-17.

³³ Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 664-665; Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 29-30.

³⁴ Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 664-665.

³⁵ *Chronica Majora*, vol. V, 129-130; *ibid.*, 246-254. Vaughn believes that the first meeting in 1251 probably occurred during Henry's visit to St. Albans in 1250. See: Vaughn, 3-4.

³⁶ *Chronica Majora*, vol. V, 618.

³⁷ Ibid., 617.

Paris would have also known that the king – having likely never seen a map of his realm – almost certainly held no concrete image of Britain. Henry's conception of the space that he ruled and coveted would have been drawn from his personal experiences, descriptive texts, tax rolls, and from his imagination. However, after 1250, the king's imagination likely concretized, finding delineated shape in Matthew Paris's vision of Britain. For the first time the whole of the island came within the royal gaze. The Claudius map presented the king with an assertive, aggressive cultural artifact whose elements supported and encouraged his dynastic desires. Paris's cartography, in the words of Paul Carter, would have "opened up the possibility of other ways of possession" to Henry III.³⁸

The aim of this thesis lies in beginning an investigation into the methods by which Paris went about connecting the Claudius map to the Plantagenet imperial agenda. The focus of this study is primarily mechanical, addressing claims to rule made by specific components of the map. Three chapters examine the document, covering its three basic geographic sections: England, Wales, and Scotland. Chapter Two begins with an overview of Paris's cartographic background and of the Brutus foundational narrative. The chapter then considers the Claudius map's treatment of England, with a focus on the regions' two most prominent features: the Roman walls in the north, and the pilgrim road. Paris did not employ these elements to assert contentious claims. Rather, the monk used England as a proving ground, laying the legitimating groundwork there for his imperial arguments in Scotland and Wales, at the island's Celtic periphery.

³⁸ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 33.

The third chapter examines Wales and argues that the map's elements created a strongly English claim and presence in the region. The document's textual components both connected the land to the Brutus myth and suggested that Wales held the potential for great wealth. To showcase these cartographic arguments, the monk created a large vacant space in the south of Wales that acted as a stage on which he could both display his chosen histories and contrast the wilds of the trans-Severn with the civilization of England's built geography. The chapter looks at Matthew Paris's editorial decisions in Wales – which towns and castles the monk excluded, which he incorporated, and where he located them – to argue that the Claudius map sought to reverse graphically Henry's recent losses to Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd of Gwynedd. Paris strove, through the Claudius map, to depict an image of Wales dominated by iconography of English control. The map's only graphically reproduced mountain, Mount Snowdon, acts as a focal point for the monk's efforts; the chapter argues that Paris intended Snowdon to act as a symbol of English dominance and power, rather than as a sigil of Welsh resistance.

Chapter Four swings the study's focus to the north. In Scotland, as in Wales, the monk's use of textual labels invoked the Brutus legend while simultaneously appealing to imperial greed. The map calls into question, both implicitly and explicitly, the degree to which the Scots people should be considered as civilized. Paris's decisions regarding natural and built geography acted to delegitimize the sovereignty of the Scottish king, while highlighting Henry III's right to rule the land. The map's geography – especially the creation of an island in the north, labeled *Scocia Ultramarina* – cut the Scottish monarch off from his lands in the north. At the same time, Paris chose to exclude the ritual heart of the Scottish realm, Scone, from his map, and instead overwrote its location with a textual

connection to the line of Brutus. Taken together, chapters three and four demonstrate that Matthew Paris created through the Claudius map the same essential product that national and imperial cartographers in later eras managed – mixing, in Craib's words, "history and geography to connect a conceptual space to a narrated place."³⁹ Paris brought together the multiple elements of his map to craft a coherent imperial argument for English Britain, consistent with the universe of his created past.

The thesis's fifth and final chapter briefly restates the premise and the proof of the mechanical argument before beginning the task of connecting the technical issues at play in the Claudius map to broader historiographic themes. Paris's cartography, understood through a political lens, offers to broaden the scope of studies begun by scholars such as Thorlac Turville-Petre and Kathy Lavezzo, whose work raises the question of nationalism in medieval England. A changed perspective of the Claudius map's purposes – essentially a wiping away of the paradigm established by Vaughn and Harvey – opens the door to further study in these directions and brings into doubt the surety with which historians understand medieval cartography. The questions and connections brought out in the final chapter remain unanswered – the scope of this thesis is too narrow to encompass their consideration – but they are raised with the hope of future scholarly exploration.

³⁹ Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 20.

CHAPTER 2

FRONTIERS OF WAVES AND HISTORY:

ENGLAND AND MATTHEW PARIS'S NEW CARTOGRAPHY

Taking up most of the space on the Claudius map, England's civilized spaces sit at the island's core. The map's center holds most of the island's immediately noticeable features, with the pilgrim highway running from the Newcastle to the sea, and the Roman walls cutting across the north. The heavy preponderance of the map's built geography, including the towns of York, London, and Dover, as well as religious houses such as Paris's own St. Alban's Monastery, appear within the middle part of Britain. Importantly, these elements, central to the map's appearance, also fell firmly within the rule of the English monarchy. The lack of contestation in the realm's heart allowed Paris to use the graphical elements at the core of the map to lay the groundwork for establishing the legitimacy of Plantagenet rule. Through his histories, itinerary maps, and genealogies, Paris crafted an ancient lineage for Henry III's family, tied to Rome and the mythical founders of Britain. Paris's iconography in England reflected this history and imbedded it within the sinews of the Claudius map. The monk used England as the field upon which to prove the legality and the just nature of Henry's reign. This layered authority, in turn, provided Paris with the centered grounding to make the map's more assertive claims at the island's margins.

The Claudius map provides the most complete of Paris's visual arguments for English imperialism. However, the map can not be wholly considered on its own; Paris's cartography formed only a part of his wider historical framework. And, while Paris's

images of Britain offered the earliest efforts to encompass the whole island in a single graphical scheme – thereby providing a new perspective and a new cartographic medium – they were not *sui generis* creations. The maps' icons and labels relied for support and explanation on the text of the monk's histories and on his itinerary maps. Paris, drawing from the traditions of medieval mapmaking, combined and reflected these background elements throughout his regional depictions. In so doing, he used the style and format of the pre-existent *mappaemundi* tradition, borrowing from contemporary mapmaking methodologies to create a new type of cartographic form. Understanding Matthew Paris's later maps requires an understanding of the conventions from which his work grew.

The most common form of cartography in the medieval period, maps of the world, or *mappaemundi* provided the background for Paris's work; early in his career at St. Albans, the monk drew at least one such map of the world. *Mappaemundi* did not present accurate geographical representations. Medieval mapmakers, drawing from classical and biblical sources, varied widely in how they depicted the shape and scale of geographic features – the amount of space a region took up on the page often bore little relationship to its relative geographic size. The cartographers creating the *mappaemundi* tended to show the world as bounded by a ring of water, known as the Ocean River. Often the water trisected the continents, creating a rough T-O shape.¹ Many of the maps, especially after the Crusades, oriented the reader eastwards towards Jerusalem, the known geographic center of the universe.² Sometimes cartographers placed Jerusalem at the center of the map, and sometimes – as in Paris's *mappamundi* – at the top of the page.

¹ For a thorough treatment of medieval *mappaemundi*, see: Woodward, "Mappaemundi," *passim*.

² David Woodward, "Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 75, no. 4 (Dec., 1985), 511-515; and "Mappaemundi," 279.

Regardless, the Holy Land almost always loomed large, either symbolically or graphically, in the *mappaemundi* tradition.³

Despite their lack of geographic accuracy, *mappaemundi* were not manifestations of medieval cartographical ignorance. Their authors never intended the maps to stand for true representations of the physical world. The portolan charts that began to appear at the end of the thirteenth century addressed that concern. Rather, *mappaemundi* presented a mixed text that folded cosmology, myth, and history into a cartographic frame. The mapmakers employed logographic images, written text, and religious symbolism to interweave these diverse elements into a palimpsest of history through time.⁴ The Ebsdorf Map, for example, includes a menagerie of images: Alexander the Great consults the Oracle while Herodotus's pygmies ride crocodiles along the Nile, and the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah lie submerged in the Dead Sea, beneath the shadow of a still-standing Tower of Babel. Paris's *mappamundi*, though only a rough sketch of a more detailed map that has not survived, still contains notes on the history of St. Peter and labels several locations from classical mythology and histories.⁵

The *mappaemundi* tradition also included a broader symbolic understanding of cartographic representation. The waters of the Ocean River, dividing the map and creating the basic T-O form, strongly suggest the shape of the cross. The arms of the cross extend left and right across the page – the Black Sea and the Red Sea – while the Mediterranean makes up the post. Jerusalem stands at the crux of the T, where the head

³ The Hereford Map created around 1290, provides an excellent example of kinds of cartographic depictions common in these maps in the later middle ages.

⁴ In this respect, the medieval *mappaemundi* had more in common with Amerindian mapmaking practices than with the later European cartographic tradition. For more on the logographic mapmaking of the Amerindians, see: Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), *passim*.

⁵ Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1987), 374.

of a crucified man would rest. Some of the mapmakers, most notably those of the Psalter and Ebsdorf maps, took this symbolism further and portrayed the entire world as the body of Christ. In this type of representation, medieval cartographers could show the whole history of mankind in the world – replete with its mythological and cosmological elements – played out on the stage set by Christ's crucifixion.⁶

In applying these overlapping layers of textual and iconographic narratives to their work, mapmakers sought to demonstrate the inextricable ties between Christian history and the geographic world.⁷ Medieval cartographers considered geographic accuracy to be of secondary importance to geo-symbolic meaning; the distortions of relative size in *mappaemundi* show what Suzanne Lewis called "symbolic scale," wherein the geographic size of a region equated to its cosmographical, mythological, and historical importance.⁸ Even when it did not hold the center of a map, the Holy Land always commanded an oversized area. Mapmakers often gave Italy – the seat of God's authority on earth and the *patria* of Western Roman tradition – an exaggerated presence as well. Britain, if the cartographer chose to represent the island at all, usually stood marginalized at the edge of the world.⁹ Paris's *mappamundi* ignored his home island altogether.

By the early 1250s, however, Matthew Paris had made a clear shift in his cartographic priorities. Leaving behind the structures of the *mappaemundi* tradition, he began work on two altogether different styles of cartographic imagination: the itinerary maps and his regional maps of Britain and the Holy Land. The first of these new styles,

⁶ Birkholz, 17; Woodward, "Mappaemundi," 290.

⁷ Woodward, "Reality," 519.

⁸ Lewis, 322.

⁹ Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2-3.

the itinerary strip map, provided a visual rendition of pilgrim routes from London to Rome, and perhaps Jerusalem.¹⁰ These maps list a progression of the towns and shrines through which travelers would pass on their journey. The maps use graphic displays of cities and towns that formed itinerary stops, each a day's travel from each other, arranged in columns on the chronicle page and connected by straight lines of roads.¹¹ Paris included few geographic features in his itinerary maps; rivers, oceans, and mountains generally only appear at the edges of the page, to mark the end of one section of the map and the beginning of another.

Paris did not draw his itinerary maps to be useful tools for route-making. Instead, they served to illuminate the stories of pilgrimages; to help make the road knowable for the reader, and especially for monks bound to their chapter houses by the Rule of St. Benedict.¹² The Church generally discouraged all monks and clergy from pilgrimage, citing St. Jerome's dictum that "it is praiseworthy not to have been in Jerusalem, but to have lived well for Jerusalem."¹³ However, reading through a pilgrimage itinerary while following along with Paris's maps allowed the sedentary monks to take an imagined pilgrimage – to become a *pelegrino in stabilitate*.¹⁴

Like the *mappaemundi*, Paris's pilgrim maps contain multiple layers of meaning. All four of his surviving itineraries impart mythologies and connections through images

¹⁰ Historians, beginning with Konrad Miller's assessment in 1895, have long believed that the Paris's itinerary maps terminated in Rome. See: Miller, 85. However, more recent scholarship by Daniel Connolly, Suzanne Lewis and Daniel Birkholz argues strongly for the itineraries continuing on to include Paris's maps of the Holy Land. See: Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 128-192; Birkholz, 73-75; Lewis, 323-364.

¹¹ Lewis, 323; Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 6.

¹² Daniel K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *The Art Bulletin*, 81, no. 4 (Dec., 1999): 598. For the Benedictine Oath of Stability, see: Anonymous Priest of Mount Melleray, transl. and ed., *The Holy Rule of St. Benedict* (London: Thomas Richardson and Son, 1865), 106-110.

¹³ Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company), 86.

¹⁴ Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage," 598.

and written text. Beyond including a detailed history of Rome and Jerusalem, the monk added an assertive English history to his maps. Alongside the image of London on the itinerary maps, Paris included a brief version of the mythic story of Britain's settlement by Brutus, the great-grandson of Aeneas. In so doing, Paris imbued his England with a foundation narrative rooted in a legitimating past.

The narrative of Brutus lies at the heart of the imperial claims that Paris made in both his itineraries and his maps of Britain. The tale, which Geoffrey of Monmouth made popular in England in the late twelfth century, told of Brutus's coming to the island. Exiled from Rome for the accidental murder of his father, Brutus fled to Greece. There, his heroic deeds drew the descendents of the Trojans, whom the Greeks held in bondage, to his cause. Once the young prince had established a large following, he began to search for a place to build a new Troy.¹⁵ An oracle of Diana sent him west, to a fair green island, once the home of giants but now empty – to England.¹⁶ Brutus landed at the site of London, and there founded the kingdom of the Britons, whom he named after himself. Brutus's sons founded kingdoms in Scotland and Wales, and the line of his decedents included King Arthur. The story came out of ninth century Welsh tradition and had originally been used to establish the legitimacy of the Welsh Britons over their Saxon invaders.¹⁷ Geoffrey of Monmouth, however, had repurposed the myth, claiming that the Welsh, though descendents of Brutus and Arthur, had lost their claim to their inheritance through their poor stewardship of the island.¹⁸ Geoffrey wrote that the Welsh were "very

¹⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth: In Twelve Books*. ed. and trans. A. Thompson and J.A. Giles (London: James Bohn, 1862), 3-14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 14-16.

¹⁷ A. E. Parsons, "The Trojan Legend in England: Some Instances of Its Application to the Politics of the Times," *The Modern Language Review*, 24, no. 3 (Jul., 1929), 260-262.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

much degenerated from the nobility" of their ancestors and, in fact, "were no longer called Britons."¹⁹ The true inheritors of Brutus's legacy, and therefore the rightful rulers of all of Britain, were the men who had shown through their valor and organization that they could seize and rule the island: the Normans.²⁰

Matthew Paris included the detailed history of Brutus's line in the *Chronica Majora*, following the genealogy throughout his history. Though the monk's writings shows some variances from Geoffrey of Monmouth's story, Paris clearly found his inspiration and information in Geoffrey's text. The *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, which contains the Claudius map, does not make mention of the Brutus story in its text; Paris meant the book to be a short history of England after the conquest, and the work operates with a 1067 start date. However, along with the map, the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum's* preface contains a visual genealogy of the kings of Britain, beginning with Brutus, running through Arthur, and ending with Henry III.²¹ This gallery of kings seats the text, and the Claudius map, squarely within the framework of the Brutus foundational myth.

The Brutus narrative held a significant degree of cultural currency in medieval England. Henry III's son, Edward, especially focused on that lineage to bolster his legitimacy. While the signature spiritual event of Henry's reign had been his pilgrimage to the shrine of Edward the Confessor, for his son the 1278 translation of his ancestor King Arthur at Glastonbury proved the most important.²² In 1301 Edward I asserted descent-by-conquest from Brutus to both make his claim to the Scottish throne and to

¹⁹ Giles, 291.

²⁰ Parsons, 261-263.

²¹ B.L. Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 6-9.

²² Antonia Gransden, "The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century," in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, ed. James P. Carley (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), 49.

deny the authority of the Pope.²³ By including the Brutus story in his itinerary maps and in the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum's* gallery of kings, Paris reinforced and reminded his reader of a believable, accepted history. Paris grounded the founding of London in its classical past, tying England to Rome through the straight roads of his itineraries and the lineage of British monarchs.²⁴ These declarations of classical legitimacy set the stage for Paris to argue for a Plantagenets claim to the whole island of Britain – to paraphrase Doreen Massey, the Brutus mythology brought a competing history to the table, to be wielded as an argument over the land's future.²⁵ Matthew Paris strengthened the power of that history by carrying it into an arena where it faced no contestation – his maps of Britain.

At first glance, Paris's regional depictions of Britain seem to be fleshed-out extensions of his itinerary style. Despite representing a novel cartographic form, the Claudius map and its predecessors display a similitude of structure with the itineraries. Running north to south and bisecting the island, the pilgrim road stands as the single most prominent feature of the Claudius map. The highway begins at the Roman walls and tracks down the page to reach the sea at Dover, forming the map's backbone and detailing an itinerary pathway for pilgrims from the north. Paris placed the towns along the road roughly a day's travel apart from each other, just as he had with the itineraries. He also enforced a straight line for the route – again a hallmark of the strip maps – that badly distorted the physical shape of the island. London and Dover, along with Norfolk and

²³ Millea, *The Gough Map*, 43; William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historical Quest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 36; and Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 492.

²⁴ Connolly makes an argument for the visual similarities between Rome and Jerusalem in the itinerary maps indicating a further transfer of authority from the Holy Land to Rome, and thereafter to England. See: Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 111-127. Breen makes a similar type of argument, though with a different understanding of the evidence. See: Breen, "Returning Home," 83-87.

²⁵ Massey, 185.

Suffolk, shifted to the far south, while Cumbria and the Lake District disappeared into Wales. The map's contorted geography seems wholly subject to the structure of the central pilgrim highway. The historiography of the Claudius map has primarily focused on this feature, concluding that Paris drew his maps of Britain as enhanced versions of his itinerary maps.²⁶

Historians have tended to see Paris's inclusion of a territorial component as a significant cartographical improvement but also believe, as Daniel Birkholz wrote, that, "the map must be regarded as something of a failed compromise."²⁷ Indeed, the illustrations holds a liminal space in cartographic history, floating undefined between the medieval and the early modern. Scholars have argued that Paris's Britain maps, including the Claudius map, reflected both his attempt to break new cartographic ground and, simultaneously, his inability to escape the pull of tradition. Paris had tried to move beyond the medieval methods that privileged cosmology over accuracy, but he had not pushed far enough.²⁸

In considering the Claudius map, though, it seems unfair to suggest that Paris had been incapable of the innovation needed to escape either the traditions of the his past or the form of the itinerary maps. The monk demonstrated in many of the other aspects of his maps that he was able to make clean breaks from tradition. The Claudius map itself displayed several novel concepts. The map's orientation alone marked a change; medieval maps generally oriented towards Jerusalem, with east at the top of the page, but Paris penned the island with north at the top. The historiography has been split as to the

²⁶ For examples of this argument, see: Mitchell, 29; Vaughan, 244; Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing Inc., 1985), 143; P.D.A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," 496; Lewis, 367; and Birkholz, 71-74.

²⁷ Ibid., 73.

²⁸ Ibid.; Lewis, 322-323.

reasons for the map's northward view, with the argument revolving around whether the orientation sprang from Paris's exploration of a new perspective or from the expediency of page size.²⁹ Regardless, the map's orientation, considered along with the extension of Cornwall's promontory beyond the map's borders and the monk's decision to not include even symbolic references to the Holy Land, show a mapmaker unafraid of trying new techniques.

Such evidence suggests that Paris could almost certainly have conceived of a cartographic form that broke wholly with tradition. It is possible that, despite the structural similarities between the types of maps, the monk's use of the straight-line pilgrim road served a purpose beyond merely creating an extended itinerary with the Claudius map. The itinerary form may have helped to introduce Paris's audience to a new type of cartographic experience: a map which argues for political power, rather than theological or cosmological authority.

Because the Claudius map represented what Birkholz called an "innovative cartographic proposition," Paris might have feared that his audience would not know how to approach it.³⁰ The map lacks the familiar classical and biblical symbols of the *mappaemundi*, and might have been, in some ways, illegible to its readers. By incorporating the recognizable pattern of the itinerary into the Claudius map, Paris could give his audience a point of cognitive connection and entry. In providing his readers with a tether to the established stability of the highway, Paris allowed them to explore the

²⁹ Susan Lewis holds that the northward orientation indicated a growing sense of cartographic independence. Raymond Beazley praised the decisions as a "victory of revived scientific feeling over the ecclesiastical". See: Lewis, 321-376; and Beazley, 587. The countervailing argument, however, holds that the Paris made the decision because the natural shape of Britain fit best along the long axis of the pages in his book. See: Miller, 83; Harvey, "Mathew Paris's Maps," 111, 114-121; Katharine Breen, "Returning Home from Jerusalem," *passim*; and *Imagining*, 140.

³⁰ Birkholz, 72.

island in safety – to wander off the road when they wished, knowing that they could find their way back.

Paris may also have invoked the itinerary form to symbolically recall the underlying iconography of the *mappaemundi*. The north-south run of the pilgrim road on the Claudius map meets with the Hadrian and Antonine walls, which cut east to west across the island. Considered together, these two features create the visual impression of a cross – the classic T shape of the world maps. While the *mappaemundi* cartographers created their crosses from water, Paris seems to have made one on land, superimposed over the whole of Britain. Like the map's itinerary backbone, this cruciform aspect would have imparted an air of familiarity to an otherwise novel style and helped to acclimatize the monk's audience to his form.

If, rather than providing the Claudius map's *raison d'être*, the pilgrim itinerary instead allows an entry point to a new type of document, then the questions arises: for what purpose did Matthew Paris intend the map? Considered in conjunction with the claims to legitimacy and lineage posed by the itinerary strip maps and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*'s royal preface, the monk's images of Britain appear to support an imperial Plantagenet agenda. The historiography largely falters here; only Daniel Connolly has examined the possibility that any of the four maps may be understood politically, but his conclusion focuses solely on the Royal map.³¹ A close examination of the Claudius map, however, suggests that, by presenting a vision of Britain wholly within the sphere and reach of the English kings, Matthew Paris may indeed have intended to cast an aggressive claim to the whole island. England's lack of borders, considered with Paris's stylistic choices and his selection of symbolic features, support this reading.

³¹ Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 173-191.

Most historians examining the Claudius map have seen distinct political divisions drawn across Britain. The River Severn appears to delineate the border between England and Wales. The ancient Roman walls form a visual break between England and Scotland in the north, seeming to fix that border as well. The map's historiography has taken these perceived state frontiers as definite. Connolly and Katharine Breen both consider clearly defined borders to be one of the most prominent, and salient, features of Paris's Britain maps – Breen notes the document's "precise location of political boundaries" in arguing for the map's utility.³² Connolly writes that the Roman walls on the Claudius map act to divide the island and further argues that the Firths of Clyde and Forth, which stand out prominently on the map, reinforce the visual impression of separate realms.³³ Birkholz stresses the delimiting aspect of Hadrian's Wall with regard to the later Gough map, which suggests that he, too, would consider the walls as a state boundary in Paris's map.³⁴ To some extent, however, authors like Breen and Connolly may see the boundaries that they expect to see; the Claudius seems far more likely to have undermined, rather than supported, the idea of a multi-state Britain.

In fact, the lack of state-level boundaries forms one of the Claudius map's most notable features. The geographic points that have long been considered to form political delineations – the Roman walls and the River Severn – should instead be understood as marking cultural borders. Matthew Paris clearly held that the English sprang from a different cultural stock than either the Welsh or the Scots; that the map should reflect this understanding is unsurprising. However, neither the iconography nor the text suggests that Paris's Britain contains anything other than cultural or ethnic boundaries: the map

³² Breen, *Imagining*, 141, 167; "Returning Home," 61; Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 189

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Birkholz, 109.

entirely fails to identify Wales and Scotland as being sovereign lands. The idea that the map fixes state borders springs from a misinterpretation of Paris's cartographic goals; historians seem to have been guided by their understanding of what a map claims to be, rather than by what the Claudius map actually is – in effect, mistaking a work of fiction for non-fiction. This base-layer mistake has led scholars to view many of the map's aspects, such as the regional labeling, as items of division. Instead, Matthew Paris likely meant them to be seen connectively: as symbols and text that act to incorporate the island's Celtic periphery into Plantagenet Britain.

Paris's textual identification of Scotland and Wales proves illustrative of this point. The labels for *Wallia* and *Scocia Ultramarina* appear at first glance to show – and have been generally interpreted as delineating – separate realms. However, the map denotes those territories outside of English control with the same style of lettering that Paris used to name territory within the English sphere. Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent all appear on the map in the same manner. All eight labels are written in capital letters of alternating red and blue colors; all eight begin with the first color in red. The size of the letters is largely consistent across all eight labels as well.³⁵ The letters in Scotland's label are larger on average, though this should not necessarily be seen as indicating a privileged status for the region. The letters in *Scocia Ultramarina* match in size with the letters for Devonshire's title; Paris placed both labels in relatively empty spaces that allowed him the freedom to write with a larger hand. Moreover, the surrounding space creates an illusion of even greater size; the relative paucity of writing and icons surrounding the titles for both *Scocia Ultramarina*

³⁵ The Chiltern hills are labeled in a manner similar to the major regions, with alternating capital red and blue letters. However, the letters in the label for the Chilterns are smaller than those of the major labels, which accords with the regions lack of political status.

and *Devonia* create the illusion that the letters are larger than they actually are. Conversely, the other regions' labels tend to be crowded by their surrounding information, which creates the opposite illusion. This consistency of style and letter size between the eight major labels acts to grant the same relative symbolic weight to Wales and Scotland that it gives to the English counties such as Norfolk, Suffolk, or Devonshire. Through his choices in labeling his regions, Paris encouraged his audience to understand an inherent equivalency between these regions.

Importantly, the monk reinforced these county-level points of comparison for Wales and Scotland by his decision to not name England on the map. This startling choice has been entirely overlooked in the historiography; because England takes up such a prominent and central part of the map, historians have understood its existence and the absence of a title has gone unnoticed. However, the cartographer's exclusion the realm from his list of regional titles bears close consideration. Paris certainly did not forget to include the name; the monk proved throughout his writings, cartography, and art that he had an acute awareness of England's importance in the world. But, by refusing to label England, Paris limited the available points of visual comparison for Wales's and Scotland's titles to those of the English counties. Denying his audience a state-level comparison, Paris relegated England's sovereign rivals to territorial status, visually incorporating them into a single political body. The lack of a name strengthens the perception of England's dominance and undercuts any conception of boundaries. Furthermore, the absence of a title for England elevated the status of the Plantagenet king, who ruled from the unnamed core. The authority of the English king ran, unhindered by borders, across the whole land.

Paris's toolkit for asserting an imperial claim to Britain contained more than just the stylistic and textual elements. His choice of symbols also suggests a strong statement of territorial entitlement. England contains two major geo-symbolic icons: the pilgrim road from Newcastle to Dover, and the twin Roman walls at the border with Scotland. A third symbolic landmark, Mount Snowdon, sits in the northwest corner of Wales, squarely in the contested territories of Welsh Gwynedd. Graham Burnett has argued for the power of such cartographic landmarks in fixing desired means onto maps. In examining British Guyana, Burnett wrote that landmarks on maps create "nodes of civilization" which "set in motion the saturation of an alien space with European meaning."³⁶ Essentially, these cultural nodes imbue an unknown, unprocessed space with a focal point around which to construct an imperial fiction. Paris used his three landmarks, or geo-symbols, in exactly this manner. All three stand out clearly on his map and allow the reader to see legible claims to the wild spaces which the map's text describes – to read English meaning into the alien space at the edges of Britain. The geo-symbols make a strong argument for English suzerainty of the whole island by incorporating Wales and Scotland symbolically into a unified, coherent, Plantagenet Britain.

The pilgrim route which cuts across the map constitutes the first of Paris's geo-symbolic elements. As has been noted earlier, the road's presence on the map would have served as a point of access for Paris's audience. However, the itinerary highway also enjoyed a layered historical authority that imparted a legitimating claim. The highway from Newcastle to London followed the Old North Road, which itself overlaid the

³⁶ Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, 161.

ancient Roman road of Ermine Street.³⁷ The road makes a historical argument from its Roman roots for English rights to the island. However, the story mortared into the road's history went deeper still, for Ermine Street itself followed the legendary track of Belinus's road. Geoffrey of Monmouth's history recounted the story of King Belinus, who had cast out the invading Danes and had conquered all of Britain. After firmly establishing his hold on the land, Belinus built a paved road from the south coast of England to the northern shores of Scotland in order to define the limits of the realm and carry his law to the whole island.³⁸ Belinus sprang from the line of Brutus, and both Geoffrey of Monmouth and Matthew Paris noted the king's fame as a law-giver. Paris's itinerary route on the Claudius map, then, interplays with a background of Roman and Briton roads that projected historical claims to the whole island.

Understanding the pilgrim highway's connection to the Romans and to Belinus adds significantly to the landmark's symbolic strength and suggests a directionality that the historiography has largely ignored. Historians have tended to view the map strictly as an itinerary guide, with the consequence that the pilgrim road has generally been understood as running north to south. P. D. A. Harvey's description of the road in *The History of Cartography* both demonstrates and informs this paradigm; Harvey wrote that the island's defining itinerary road ran from "Newcastle upon Tyne to Dover" and established the map's axis.³⁹ This understanding conceptualizes Paris's map as looking inward: the whole map exists to bring pilgrims and other travelers to London. However,

³⁷ Edward Conybeare, *Early Britain – Roman Britain* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007), 88-89.

³⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History*, 46; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 59.

³⁹ Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography," 496. Among recent scholarship, only Breen has considered the possibility that the itinerary road should be read as going from London north. Her argument centers on the road's ability to carry religious authority, though its ties to Rome and Jerusalem by way of the itineraries. See: Breen, *Imagining*, 165-168; and "Returning Home," 83-87.

the historical and mythical roads beneath the map – Ermine Street and Belinus's line – served a wholly different purpose. Those roads carried power, law, and culture from the island's core to its distant margins.

Reversing the field of the Claudius map shows the road as an artery of civilization, supporting abbeys, castles, and towns with the heart's-blood of order and authority. The highway springs from England's center and runs northward, terminating at Hadrian's wall. From there the reader's eye continues along the ghostly path of Belinus's road across Stirling Bridge and into the heart of the Scottish highlands. Paris likely meant the road to be read with this directionality. The routes of his itinerary strip maps run from the bottom of the page to the top, always heading away from the reader. Here again, the structural similarities between cartographic forms would have allowed the monk's audience to engage more readily with the Claudius map's political message. The pilgrim road's distinct south-to-north orientation encouraged the idea that Henry III should, like Belinus and the Romans before him, carry law and civilization to the farthest northern reaches of Britain.

The amount of built geography – and, implicitly, civilization – around the pilgrim road in England contrasts jarringly with the lack of cities, abbeys, or castles in Scotland and Wales. The difference in ratio of built geography to descriptive text forms a significant distinction between England and her peripheral neighbors. Moreover, the text that Paris included in the empty areas of Scotland and Wales accentuated the perception of uncivilized space; the monk identified the regions' inhabitants as barbaric, and the land as wild.⁴⁰ Paris made choices in this matter, ignoring existent built geography in order to

⁴⁰ Paris's textual labels in Scotland and Wales are discussed in greater detail in Chapters Three and Four.

construct undeveloped spaces that juxtaposed visually and conceptually with the civilized England. The created disparity crafts the impression of a strong, stable, and flourishing center while diminishing the standing and authority of the Welsh and Scottish at the map's edges. The cultural border of the Severn delineates the difference in civilization between the English and the Welsh, while the pilgrim road's termination at the Roman walls hammers home the lack of order and law in the north.

The Roman walls, under whose shadows the itinerary road ends, form the second of Paris's geo-symbolic elements. Historians have tended to interpret the prominent ramparts as Paris's boundary between the political realms of England and Scotland.⁴¹ Part of Connolly's claim to the imperial nature of the Royal map stems from its failure to prominently include Hadrian's wall.⁴² Walls seem like natural barriers, but in Paris's case they may also have served as doors. Paris labeled both walls, not with names, but with brief descriptions. He noted that at one time (*olim*) the walls served to divide the Scots, Picts, and Angles.⁴³ These labels mark the only place on the map when the word *olim* appears. In using the adverb, Paris chose to emphasize the wholly past nature of the walls' role as political bounding agents. The map, then, makes an implicit argument that the walls no longer served a separating function, though they did act as culture and historic markers.

The Roman origin of the walls let Paris bring the Britain map back to the legitimating historical narratives of Brutus. He reinforced his argument through the historic names he associated with the walls; he listed three of the four recognized ancient

⁴¹ Birkholz, 109; Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 189.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ The legends read: *muris dividens anglos et pictos olim* (Hadrian's Wall); and *muris dividens scotos et pictos olim* (the Antonine Wall).

peoples of the island and noted their submission to Roman law and power. Significantly, Paris omitted the Britons from that list, thereby avoiding a hierarchical contest between the two intertwining branches of Britain's mythic background. Paris mixed the identities of Roman and Briton into the mortar of his walls, allowing the Plantagenets – descended from the founders of both Rome and Britain – to claim those walls as landmarks of their patrimony.

The walls do mark a cultural divide, which Paris recognized by labeling the land above the northern wall as the Region of the Scottish Borders (*Regio Scotorum Conterminorum*). The monk never shied from asserting that the English sprang from different stock than their Celtic neighbors; Paris recognized, and represented, the ethnic and cultural differences that existed between the island's peoples. However, the map's underlying historical narratives, combined with Paris's cartographic choices, acts to strip away any political aspect of the walls' bounding function, allowing them to assert only an ethnic divide. The Plantagenets held claim to the line of Brutus and Belinus and descent from the walls' Roman builders. The walls could not, therefore, bound their authority, but instead reinforced and projected its visual potency. Through the Roman walls Paris asserted the rights of the English Plantagenet kings to rule the whole of Britain, including all of its peoples.

The third geo-symbolic element, Mount Snowdon, acts in a similar capacity in Wales. Even more than the first two elements, Snowdon operates in a firmly aggressive posture. Rather than reinforcing legitimacy in clearly English land or neutralizing a bordering landmark, Mount Snowdon provides an imperial claim in contested space. The mountain marked a historic symbol of Welsh resistance to English encroachment, and in

placing the mountain on his map Paris brought that symbol within Henry III's gaze and grasp. In Wales, as in England, Paris's landmark provided the monk's audience with a focus point that encouraged the perception of possession.⁴⁴

In creating his cultural landmarks, Paris relied heavily on his audience's understanding of the layered historical methodologies of the *mappaemundi* to drive his argument forward. That background allowed the monk to establish the foundations of royal legitimacy in England. The grounding history and lineage that Paris had brought to England through his itinerary maps, pictorial genealogies, and histories laid the substructure for his cartographic assertion for Henry's ancient right to rule. At the same time, the map's lack of political borders and described realms gave the king's authority an open field in which to work. Paris's choices to include or exclude points of civilization – towns, castles, and abbeys – highlighted Henry's ownership of the land, while comparatively diminishing the holdings of the Scottish king and Welsh princes. England, with its preponderance of built geography and implied civilization, stood in stark contrast to the vacant lands at the island's edges. Using these diverse elements – geographic, textual, and mythic – the monk introduced an assertive history into the map's English core and extended a representation of English suzerainty over all of Britain. The following chapters examine the methods by which Paris marshaled these details to bring the Celtic fringe wholly within the ambit of the Plantagenet monarchs.

⁴⁴ The mechanics of Mount Snowdon's role are examined further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE INCORPORATED DRAGON:

BRINGING WALES INTO THE BODY OF ENGLAND

The region marked *Wallia* on the Claudius map sits to the west of the pilgrim road, beyond the River Severn that had historically marked the frontier between England and Wales. Matthew Paris's Wales, like the rest of his map, suffers a fair degree of geographical distortion. Constricted by the page border, Wales does not extend as far west as it would if it were portrayed accurately. Furthermore, the whole of Cumbria disappears into the northern part of the region, becoming undistinguishable from North Wales. Nonetheless, Matthew Paris's audience would have taken of immediate and intense interest in his depiction of the land. Long a frontier of English expansion, Wales had experienced a slow and lumbering process of colonization since the early days of the Norman rule; English kings had engaged in warfare across the Marches since William the Conqueror.¹ Henry III followed in this tradition: the *Chronica Majora* often notes the king's troubles with Wales, and his expeditions into the region. Henry hoped to bring Wales fully within the sphere of English control, and he believed that he had a right to do so.² The Claudius map – through a combination of textual descriptions and graphical elements, carefully created vacant space and the application of legitimating history – supported both Henry's ambition and his sense of just suzerainty.

¹ Rees Davies, *The First Empire: Power and Identity in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 18-19, 145-153.

² David A. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 368.

The aggression of the English kings and their Marcher lords had slowly extended English control in Wales through a combination of colonial and martial efforts. The borders in Wales proved fluid on a year-to-year basis, with the Welsh princes slipping into and out of allegiances and fealties with England. Matthew Paris, commenting on the tendency of the Welsh to foreswear their oaths, wrote that "the faith of the Welsh is to be faithless."³ Consequently, control of Wales proved a see-saw affair; in times of English instability – the Anarchy, or the First Baron's War, for instance – the Welsh princes expanded their reach. During more stable periods, the Angevin kings sought to redress the balance of power and more firmly established their claims in the region. With the exception of Richard, all of the Plantagenet kings spent significant time campaigning in Wales.

For the first half of his reign, Henry III faced a staunch rival in Prince Llywelyn Fawr (the Great) of Gwynedd. Llywelyn proved a militarily and politically capable foe, who was able to hold Henry's Welsh ambitions at bay throughout his life. However, Llywelyn died in 1240, and his passing appeared to open the door to Henry's final conquest of Wales. In 1247, after several years of war, the prince's grandsons, Llywelyn and Owain, came to terms with Henry at the Treaty of Woodstock. The peace split the western half of Gwynedd between the two heirs, while ceding the eastern half to Henry. Llywelyn and Owain both swore fealty to the English crown as a condition of the treaty. For a time, Henry appeared to be wholly in control of Wales.⁴ The subjugation of the country proved illusory, however. Llywelyn rebelled in 1255, defeated his brothers at the

³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. III, 119-121.

⁴ Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, 364; Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 147.

Battle of Bryn Derwin, and marched on Henry.⁵ By 1258, just before Matthew Paris's death, Llywelyn had unified North and South Wales and swept away much of the English resistance in the region. Llywelyn, having reclaimed his grandfather's title of Prince of Wales, seemed poised to throw off wholly the Plantagenet yoke.

As Paris drew his maps, then, Henry III seemed in danger of permanently losing his hold on Wales. The Claudius map may be understood as seeking to reverse those losses. Paris portrayed a region without political

borders; the title, *Wallia*, employs the same size and style of text that the monk used for Scotland, Cornwall, and other county-level labels. The map displays only points of obvious English control. In South Wales, rather than showing castles and towns recently conquered by Llywelyn, the monk created a large vacant space and used it to tie the region to the Brutus foundational myth. He also included textual comments about the barbaric nature of the Welsh people and the economic potential of their land – in one stroke belittling the native people and encouraging imperial agglomeration. The Welsh episcopal Sees introduce another means of English to the map, while Mount Snowdon's

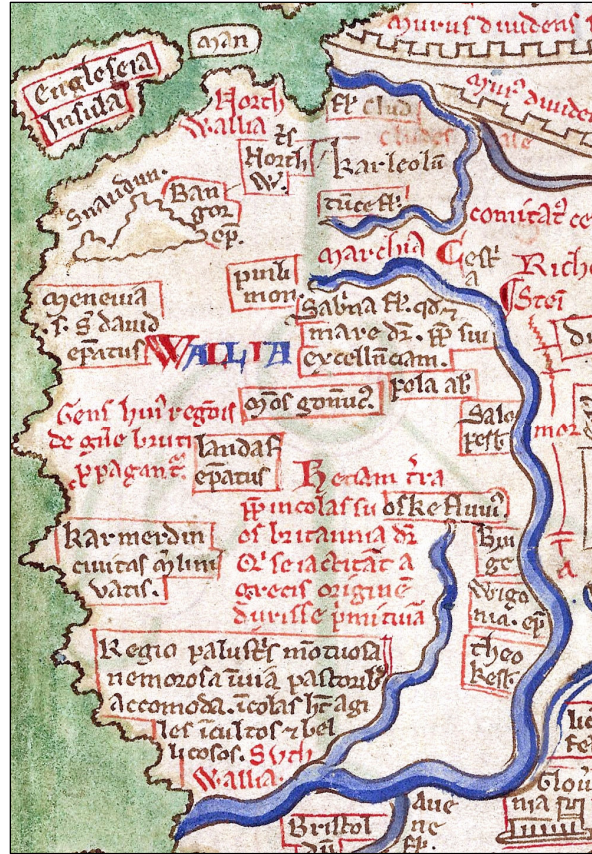


Fig. 2. Wales, from the Claudius Map. Used by permission of the British Library (c) British Library Board, BL Cotton Claudius D VI, fol. 12v.

⁵ Ibid., 142.

presence seizes a potent symbol of Welsh independence and assigns it to the English monarchy. Cartographically, Matthew Paris ignored the setbacks that Henry had suffered in Wales and instead drew a map that stretched the king's writ from the Severn to the sea.

Visually, the Severn, Eden, and Clwyd rivers act to bound the region. The River Severn, especially, stands out on the map as a clear physical break between Wales and England. Scholars examining the map have generally considered the Severn to act as a political border as well. Katharine Breen, giving voice to this surmise, wrote that, "England pointedly does not extend into Wales or Scotland, marked as beyond the pale by the so-called 'Sabrinum mare (sea of the Severn).'"⁶ The Claudius map does not, however, employ the river in this manner. In fact, Paris's placement of the towns of Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Worcester, and Tewkesbury suggests that he intended to portray just the opposite. Physically, the cities all straddle the Severn, keeping one foot in England and the other in Wales. As frontier towns, all four had long histories of going back and forth between Welsh and English control. However, each fell within the ambit of the Plantagenets, and they all served as points through which the English attacked Wales.⁷ Tellingly, despite their actual presence on both sides of the Severn, Paris drew all four cities on the river's western bank. In doing so, the monk used the map to show England's reach as extending across the river. This portrayal denied the Severn its historical role as a political border, suggesting again that the monk intended to show a unified Britain rather than a collection of realms. Paris used the Severn in much the same

⁶ Breen, *Imagining*, 168.

⁷ King John kept Christmas at Tewkesbury in 1205, and used the town as a rallying point for a military expedition into Wales. He kept Christmas at Worcester in 1214, and was buried there. See: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, 490, 584, 668. Henry III kept Christmas at Worcester in 1232, and used Shrewsbury as a staging point for his 1241 expedition into Wales. See: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. III, 240; *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 149.

way he used the Roman walls, to point to a cultural divide without indicating a political frontier.

Across the Severn, past the cities of the Marcher borderlands, Paris split Wales into a northern and a southern section. South Wales offers the reader little in the way of built geography. Rather than filling southern part of the map with icons of civilization as he did in England, the monk instead primarily gave the region over to textual descriptions. Only one town, Carmarthen, appears in South Wales. Consequently, the map presents the south as of a wild and vacant place. Paris did not have to depict the region in the manner; he chose to exclude a number of towns that might have filled in the empty spaces. Cardiff does not appear on the map, nor do Pembroke, Cardigan, or Swansea. These towns, and others like them, did not suffer by comparison to many of the other locations on the Claudius map – their size and importance would have been easily enough for Paris to have considered including them. By leaving them from the map, the cartographer made the decision to limit the aspect of civilization apparent in the region: Paris chose to create the open areas of South Wales. He bounded the region with his placement of the marker for the See of Llandaff (*Landaf Epatus*) in the center of Wales, rather than at the diocese's cathedral seat near Cardiff on the south coast. Through his manipulations Paris created a stage on which he penned three separate labels. The first comment remarks explicitly on the nature of the Welsh people and on the economic potential of the area. The second and third labels address the heritage and background of the people and tie the history of the Welsh back to the Brutus foundation myth. These three textual labels act in concert to describe, through their words and their appearance,

an uncivilized and empty – but potentially rich – land, belonging by rights to the Plantagenets.

The first descriptor that Paris placed in South Wales provides an account of the region and its people. The text reads, "A region of mountainous and impassable swamps and woods, suitable to shepherds, having a wild and warlike people."⁸ Paris reapplied the sentiment, almost word for word, in a label spread across the Scottish highlands. P. D. A. Harvey notes that Gerald of Wales's twelfth century *Descriptio Kambrie* provided the source material for this statement.⁹ For both Scotland and Wales, the text uses the same basic adjective to describes the native peoples: *incultus*, meaning uncultivated, rough, or wild. In a word, barbarian. In phrasing the statement as he did, Paris created a two-pronged attack on native Welsh control of the region, subverting the inhabitant's rights while encouraging English colonization. Existing beyond the laws of civilization, barbarians lacked standing to exert a legal claim of ownership. In identifying the Welsh as *incultus*, the map's text delegitimized the rights of the Welsh to the land. At the same time, Paris's description would have been enticing to any English lord or king examining the map. Though impassable and rough, the countryside held great potential for wealth: the terrain ideally suited shepherds and their flocks.

Wool stood alone as Britain's single most profitable commodity, outstripping the efforts of other markets such as tin, herring, or cloth; no trade good had more value than wool in thirteenth century Britain.¹⁰ Wool accounted for the heavy majority of English

⁸ Regio palustris montuosa nemorosa inuia pastoribus accomoda. Incolas habet agiles incultos et bellicosos. The Latin is taken from Richard Gough, *British Topography. Or, an Historical Account of What Has Been Done For Illustrating the Geographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 1* (London: T. Payne and Son, and J. Nichols, 1758), 70; the translation is the author's.

⁹ Harvey, "Matthew Paris's Maps," 120.

¹⁰ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 45, 46.

exports, with the weavers in Flanders purchasing the greatest share. Moreover, because the Flemish and Italian wool merchants paid in silver, wool exports acted to bring specie.¹¹ Put bluntly, wool meant money. This held especially true in Wales and Scotland, whose economies, lacking England's diversity, remained primarily lana-centric throughout the thirteenth century.¹² By noting South Wale's viability as an area for wool production, Paris pointed to the real potential that the land held to repay imperial agglomeration.

Labeling the native Welsh as uncivilized and barbaric furthered this purpose. Not only could Paris deny them any claim to ownership or sovereignty, but he also brought into question the Welsh people's ability to effectively manage the land and its resources. These two points neatly echo Geoffrey of Monmouth's foundation story. The original Britons lost their patrimony, and even their identity as Britons, through poor stewardship. The Normans – having better managed the island and driven out the barbarians – assumed the legacy and became the true inheritors of Britain. Paris's text points to England's opportunity, and right, to intervene and profit by putting the land to its best possible use.

Paris had a guide in making this type of argument; Gerald of Wales, whose phrasing he borrowed for the description of South Wales, had employed a similar device almost seventy years before. In 1185 King Henry II sent Gerald to Ireland to act as a guide during Prince John's visit to the island. Gerald used the trip to write a study of the land's people and landscape.¹³ The resultant *Topographia Hibernica* presented Ireland as

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 46-48.

¹³ Gerald of Wales, *Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. by H.E. Butler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 86.

a having rich potential: the land held deep veins of metals, pine forests that could provide harvests of incense and frankincense, and many yew trees. Gerald wrote that Ireland boasted fertile soil that would easily support four different types of useful English trees: two fruit trees, and two useful for making "cups and handles."¹⁴ However, even as he extolled the virtues of the physical land, Gerald castigated the Irish as wholly unable – and unwilling – to realize that potential. The Irish were lazy and slothful, a "rude people...living like beasts."¹⁵ They lacked the industry to work their mines and fields or to import and cultivate profitable and useful fruit trees from England. Most damningly, the Irish chose their low condition, in abjuration of the natural order.¹⁶ The Ireland that Gerald of Wales painted across the pages of the *Topographia Hibernica* – a work that he addressed specifically to King Henry II – seemed to cry out for English colonial intervention; certainly the king would have been enticed by the ill-used bounty that Gerald presented to him.

Matthew Paris employed this same type of framework in his descriptions in Wales and Scotland. Through his short notes the monk painted the natives as barbarous, and the land as holding great economic potential. Paris's choice of words, describing a rough land suitable only to shepherds, combined with the visual aspect of the map's created stage to impart a real sense of wholly vacant space. That emptiness reinforced, by comparison, the civilized and built nature of England and would have inspired consideration of the economic possibilities available in the empty place of Britain. Paris's cartographic

¹⁴ Gerald of Wales, "Topography of Ireland, and the History of the Conquest of Ireland," in *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, translated by Thomas Forester, Esq., M.A., edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. (London: H. G. Bohn, 1863), 124 – 125.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Gerald held fairly teleological ideas about human progress. He wrote: "In the common course of things, mankind progresses from the forest to the field, from the field to the town, and to the social condition of citizens." *Ibid.*

argument both reflected and supported current political realities: the traditional Marcher lords and their more recently arrived English peers laid claim to the woods and pastures before all other regions because of their economic value.¹⁷ For Henry III, whose focus turned more and more to Wales in the 1240s and 1250s, the map's combination of legitimating history and alluring, unclaimed wealth would have spoken in chorus with his own desires.

Matthew Paris and Gerald of Wales both presaged, in nascent form, a type of colonial justification that would gain currency much later. The argument they put forward – that a lack of industry by indigenous people offered an opportunity for imperial intervention – became an important nineteenth century mechanism for legitimating imperial claims. In its more developed iteration, the unalloyed lure of wealth came to be replaced with the more solemn claim to responsibility. The implicit contention of Paris and Gerald found a later echo in the writings of John Locke, who held that God did not intend the earth to remain "common and uncultivated," but instead "gave it to the use of the Industrious and the Rational."¹⁸ Susan Schulten has noted how cartographic representations – through the graphical projection of indigenous inferiority and native inability to effectively use natural resources – provided a visible rationale for imperial expansion.¹⁹ John Weaver further noted the role that vacant space, both graphically and conceptually, plays in impelling and legitimating colonial aggression.²⁰ Gerald and Matthew Paris both engaged in these types of dialogue, though without the rationalizing

¹⁷ James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64, no.1 (Jan., 1989), 40-43.

¹⁸ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 291.

¹⁹ Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 129-130. . See:

²⁰ John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World: 1650-1900* (Montreal & Kingston, London and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 11-43, 72-82.

mordant of justification or responsibility. Rather, their portrayals appealed directly to the king's greed and provided a clear motive, without a legal validation, for medieval imperialism. The legitimization of claims had to come from other sources – in the case of the Claudius map, from the Brutus narrative.

The second of the three textual labels in South Wales brings the Brutus lineage directly into play as a factor in the region's politics. Just to the west of Llandaff, Paris wrote that "the people of this region were born of the line of Brutus."²¹ This descriptor does not suggest that Paris thought the Welsh held a claim to their land equal to that of the English. Neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Matthew Paris doubted Welsh descent from Aeneas; indeed, the classical origins of Wales played an important part in the English claims to the land. The Brutus myth made clear that the history of the ancient Britons wove around and throughout that of Wales: the initial settling of Wales had taken place under the auspices of Brutus's youngest son, Camber. After Brutus's death, Camber took the lands to the west of the River Severn for his own, while the eldest brother Locrinus held claim to England, and the middle brother Albanactus inherited the lands to the north. Shortly after founding Wales, however, Camber disappeared from the story.²²

Camber seems likely to have been a part of the tale merely to tie Britain's geographic and cultural periphery to the line of Brutus. With Camber gone, the land of Wales became a part of the wider patrimony of the kings of Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth noted that it was into Wales that the Britons retreated from the Saxon

²¹ Gens hujus regionis de genere bruti propagantur. The Latin is taken from Gough, 71. The translation is the author's.

²² Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 23, 24. After joining Locrinus to defeat the Huns who had conquered Albania, neither Camber nor any of his line make an appearance in the *Chronica Majora*. This part of the story is addressed in more detail in Chapter 4 of this work.

invaders.²³ And Wales served as a the last refuge of the scattered Britons when they had lost the whole of their kingdom to barbarous attack.²⁴ Geoffrey made clear that the Britons had brought this fate upon themselves, calling them a "foolish nation" and laying the blame for their destruction by the Saxons squarely at their own feet.²⁵

The Welsh Britons' willful failure to control and properly manage their island kingdom, according to Geoffrey, resulted in nothing less than a loss of identity.²⁶ The remnants of the Britons, hiding and harried among the Welsh forests, forgot their past and their heritage. Geoffrey held that the Welsh, huddled in their hills, ceased to call themselves Britons. Moreover, through their fall from power and authority the Welsh lost the very right to be called, or even to be, Britons.²⁷ Matthew Paris reminded his audience of the sad degeneration of the Welsh through the third of his inscriptions in Wales.

Placed just to the southeast of the first label, this note tells the reader that "This land is also called Britain by its inhabitants, who claim to derive their primitive origins from the Greeks."²⁸ This second label complements the first, and between the two they sketch the tale that Geoffrey of Monmouth spelled out in detail. The first inscription reminds the audience of the true heritage of the Welsh, as the sons and daughters of Brutus. Paris reinforced this reminder by writing the sentence in the past tense, underlining the historical nature of the statement. The second label, written in the present tense, shows how far from grace the Welsh of Paris's day had fallen. They may still have called the land Britain – though, notably, Paris did not mention the people's identity here

²³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History*, 234.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 233.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 233-234.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 256.

²⁸ *Hec eciam terra propter incolas suos britannia dicitur, que se jactitat a Grecis originem duxisse primitivam.* The Latin is from Gough, 70. The translation is the author's.

– but they had lost the thread of their own history, erroneously believing themselves descended from the Greeks.

These two notes about the Welsh are separate and arguably independent of each other; Paris began the second with an elegant capital versal, an indicator of a new passage or label that the monk used consistently across the whole of the map. However, the passages' graphical elements, their physical proximity, and their juxtaposed narrative strongly suggest that the monk intended his audience to read the two sentences in sequence. Paris wrote both labels in red ink, and the monk left both comments free of a border. No other labels or comments in Wales share these graphic features, and the similarities draw the two labels together in the eye of the reader. The comments' positioning on the face of the map aided this connection. Both occupy the same visual plane, with the last line of the first label sitting level with the first line of the second. The reader's eye, trending from left to right across the map's terrain, naturally runs from the end of the first comment to the start of the second. Only the black-inked marker for Llandaff sits between them as a divider.

Paris decision to place the two contrasting labels in such proximity suggests that he likely intended his audience to see a relationship between them. Reading the two labels together tells a small story – the Welsh descent from Brutus and their subsequent tragic loss of that heritage – and hints at deeper, more subtle motives. The cartographer did not present the Welsh with a viable option for sovereignty, regardless of how his audience read the map. Either the Welsh sprang from the line of Brutus, in which case they had forgotten their past and forfeited their claim to the land, or they were descended from the Greeks. In that case they and the English fostered an ancient enmity. In

ascribing to the Welsh a belief in a classical Greek heritage, Paris fed the map's content into a stream of existent conflict narratives, which echoed and supported the idea of inherited English suzerainty. The Welsh, in their depraved ignorance, had laid claim to an inheritance which put them at deep odds with the Brutus foundational myth. In effect, the pairing of the two myths, Welsh and English, cast Henry III's conflict in Wales as a continuation of the Trojan War.

This framework carried with it deep historical and cultural justification. The struggle begun by Menelaus and Paris of Troy echoed loudly across the ages, detailing an archetypal contestation between East and West. The resonant shadows of the Trojan War, understood through the Aeneas and Brutus history, ran throughout the past: the Roman Empire's conquest of Greece, the Crusades efforts for Christ in spite of the Greek Emperor, and the break between the Latin and Orthodox churches all fell within the scope of this frame. The symbolic weight of the conflict could neither be denied nor ignored; instead it served to put the Welsh into an ancient and intractable opposition to the English. The Claudius map provided Henry III with a lineage for just war in Wales: a fight against a fallen people, claiming descent from a deeply historical occupying foe.

Paris's text served more than to merely justify imperial ambition, however. The comparison between the two claims posed by the juxtaposed labels includes a clear bias, and implicitly defines a winning side. Despite sacking Troy, the Greeks had lost out to Aeneas's line in the end; the rise of Rome included the subjugation of Greece. That trend continued in Paris's own day. The monk's lifetime saw the capture of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade and the appearance of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople. Paris drew his maps as Baldwin II slowly lost ground against the encroaching "insolence of the

Greek schismatics" (*insolentia graecorum scismaticorum*), but he died several years before the kingdom actually fell.²⁹ For Matthew Paris, the Greeks – and the Welsh, by their own choice – had already lost. The assertion of ancient heritage that Matthew Paris granted the Welsh, despite its classical roots, remained subservient to the English claim. Not only had their failures disinherited the Welsh from their true ancestry, but the Claudius map tied them to a new, inferior one.

Paris did not give South Wales over completely to descriptive labels. Amidst the region's text, Carmarthen sits conspicuously isolated. The town's lonely status should not be understood as accidental; Carmarthen's presence on the map provided Paris with multiple pathways to establishing English ownership of the region. The cartographer used the town as a reminder of England's political, historical, and mythical claims to the land. Historically, Carmarthen played a central role in the English conquest of Wales. Pembroke – left from the map – acted as the hub of baronial power in the area, but Carmarthen had long functioned as an administrative center for the throne.³⁰ The city and its castle had been a frequent bone of contention between the English and Welsh, with possession going back and forth over the centuries. As Paris drew his maps, though, England held Carmarthen. The resurgent Llywelyn ap Gruffudd had conquered most of south; among Henry's royal possessions, only Carmarthen and Cardigan held out against the Welsh prince.³¹ Including the town – still under the king's control – on the map while

²⁹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 564. This note comes from a letter sent by the Pope in 1246, soliciting financial support on behalf of the doomed Latin Empire in the East. The 1246 letter was the second of two records that Paris made, noting successive rounds of efforts to save the beleaguered kingdom. In 1237, Paris pointed to a large number of westerners taking the cross in defense of Constantinople, in response to Baldwin's plea for aid. See: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. III, 469-470.

³⁰ Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, and Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 20-21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

excluding other towns and castles that had fallen to the Llywelyn stripped the importance from the prince's victories: his conquests essentially disappeared. The symbolic importance of Carmarthen to Paris's audience would have been great; its place on the map, with its singular importance highlighted by the surrounding vacant space, would have spoken loudly to King Henry, reassuring him of his hold on the country and reminding him of his historic rights.

Even the city's name on the map served to bolster Henry's presence in the region. The map names the town *Karmerdin civitas Merlini vatis* – Carmarthen, the city of the seer Merlin.³² Merlin had a strong presence in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, and consequently in Matthew Paris's writing. The seer acted as a councilor for the legendary King Arthur and for his father Uthur Pendragon. In both the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the *Chronica Majora*, Merlin delivers a long, rambling prophecy which foretells the victory of the true Britons, led by Arthur, over the other peoples of the island.³³ Merlin's prophesy specifically speaks to Arthur's imminent defeat of the Welsh tyrant Vortigern and his Saxon allies. Suzanne Lewis notes that the illustration of Merlin accompanying the prophesy in the *Chronica Majora* strongly suggests divine inspiration for the seer's prophetic utterances, adding the weight of God's judgment to Arthur's victory.³⁴ By including the information about Merlin, Matthew Paris connected Henry III's stronghold in the region with the lineage of Brutus and the divine destiny of Arthur. Not only did Carmarthen appear as the only civilized site in the region, it also acted to remind the map's audience of the historic preeminence of the Britons over the Welsh.

³² The Latin is taken from Gough, 70; the translation is the author's.

³³ For the prophecy in the *Historia*, see: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History*, 123-145. In the *Chronica Majora*, see: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 198-215.

³⁴ Lewis, 94.

While Carmarthen stands as the only settled space on the vacant stage of South Wales, the map presents the northern part of Wales as more developed. The region contains five instances of built geography. Paris included the towns of Carlisle and Welshpool, the strategically important castle of Montgomery, and the two episcopal sees of Bangor and St. David's at Menevia. If the bounding *Landaf Epatus* is considered, then the region shows six points of civilization. North Wales also contains Mount Snowdon, the third of Paris's geo-symbolic elements. All of these additions to the map may be read as supporting Henry III's claim to the land and casting a long English imperial shadow across Wales.

Carlisle's appearance in Wales seems an accident of the map's inaccurate geographies, as the city sits on the Scottish border rather than in the Welch Marches. The distortions caused by the pilgrim road pull all of Cumbria, and with it Carlisle, into Wales. While this may have simply been a result of the island's geography succumbing to the itinerary route, Carlisle's presence in North Wales also gave Paris an icon of English control near the heart of Welsh resistance in Gwynedd. Carlisle belonged firmly to the English; Paris noted that the Scottish king Malcolm IV ceded the city to Henry II in 1156, and it had not left English control since then.³⁵ The cartographer's decision to place Carlisle in North Wales brought a major English stronghold into the holdings of Llywelyn ap Gruffyd. Carlisle's position visibly strengthened the English presence in North Wales, at a time when Henry's actual control had slipped greatly.

English power in the region found further support through the small town of Welshpool, near the headwaters of the River Severn. Paris noted the town for its nearby abbey, using the label *Pola ab* (the abbey at the Pool), referring to Ystrat Marchel

³⁵ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, 214.

Abbey.³⁶ The decision to place the abbey on his map initially appears unrelated to any type of imperial design; the Cistercian abbey at Ystrat Marchel did not possess enough land or influence to be a significant powerbroker in the region. However, Welshpool also served as the capital of Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, the prince of Southern Powys.³⁷ Faced with choosing between the pressing weights of England on one hand and Gwynedd on the other, Gruffydd spent most of his reign as a client-prince of Henry III.³⁸ *Pola ab*, then, identified a regional ally of the Plantagenets and an opponent of Gwynedd's expansion.

The castle at Montgomery, slightly to the east of Welshpool, also served to bolster the appearance of the English dominance in North Wales. The border fortress owned a position of great strategic importance; Henry III had personally ordered the construction of Montgomery to check the incursions of the Welsh.³⁹ The castle saw multiple sieges and generally acted as focus for English and Welsh military activities in the middle Marches.⁴⁰ Suzanne Lewis notes that Paris sketched an outline of the fortress in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* next to the passage discussing Henry III's order to build the castle, suggesting that the monk understood the site's strategic value.⁴¹ Together with Carlise, Welshpool, and the episcopal See of St. David's, Montgomery acted to enclose the northwest corner of Wales – essentially Gwynedd – within a wall of solidly English holdings.

³⁶ Gough, 70; Alexander C. Lamb and William Gibb, illst., *Dundee: Its Quaint and Historic Buildings* (Dundee: George Petrie, 1895), page number unavailable (the page is in the hands of the author).

³⁷ Robert Owen, *Welsh Pool and Powys-land: A History of the Ancient Principality and Later Barony of Powys, and of the Town and Castle of Welsh Pool* (Welsh Pool: R. & M. Owen, 1897), 89.

³⁸ Rees R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 235.

³⁹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. III, 64.

⁴⁰ For examples of these actions, see: *Ibid.*, 158, 202, 203; *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 407-408.

⁴¹ Lewis, 216.

Squarely in the middle of Gwynedd, Mathew Paris drew the third of his geo-symbolic elements: Mount Snowdon. The mountain, labeled *Snaudun*, stands as the only natural terrestrial landmark to appear on the map. Snowdon's presence makes topographic and geographic sense; the peak marks the highest point in both Wales and England. Most historians, in noting the mountain on the map, have suggested that it represents part of Paris's attempt to imbue his itinerary with some degree of cartographic accuracy.⁴² However, Snowdon can not be understood merely as a point of geographic curiosity – as Paul Carter notes, mountains are cultural objects that make a difference.⁴³ Snowdon had real political symbolism as well.

Mount Snowdon anchored Gwynedd as the seat of independent Welsh power, providing both a prominent landmark and also a symbol of native resistance. The rough region around the mountain acted as a natural refuge for the Welsh of Gwynedd; Matthew Paris wrote that they fled to the safety of the mountain's shoulders with their families and livestock at the onset of hostilities.⁴⁴ The mountain also marked the heart of Gwynedd – and Welsh – opposition to the pressing English. Reflecting the peak's role as a symbol of both protection and wild independence, the Welsh prince Llywelyn the Great had titled himself as Lord of Snowdon.⁴⁵ Until his death in 1240, Llywelyn consistently thwarted Henry's Welsh ambitions. Given the mountain's deep symbolic significance, *Snaudun*'s place on the Claudius map might be seen, then, as a statement of Welsh independence.

⁴² For an example of this, see Schulz, who argues that Paris's maps intend "simply to report geographical and topological facts." See: Schulz, Juergen. "Jacopo de Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500." *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 442-443.

⁴³ Carter, 52.

⁴⁴ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. V, 639.

⁴⁵ Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, 323.

Certainly Paris intended the peak to have symbolic weight. His decision to present Snowdon as the sole mountain on the map underlines its primary role as a symbolic, rather than a geographic, feature. His earlier maps did not hew to such a monolithic approach. The Julius map does not portray Snowdon as a single mountain but rather as a ring of mountains or rough hills that made a natural fortress around the heartland of Gwynedd. The Corpus Christi map shows several mountains; Snowdon and another, unnamed peak sit in Wales, and the a range of hills in southern Scotland represent the Cheviot Hills. Paris did not forebear to note geography in the Claudius map; the Cheviot Hills are labeled, as is the Peak District in England, and Plinlimmon in Wales. However, he chose to represent only Snowdon graphically and, moreover, to display it as a single mountain, rather than as a mountainous region as the he did with the Julius map. Paris almost certainly meant for the mountain to be seen as a symbol of power and authority, though not for the Welsh. Instead, the map ceded the mountain and its significance to Henry III.

The very act of placing the mountain on his map asserted a claim to English ownership of the symbol. Paris conscientiously drew Wales without political borders, and he ensured that English holdings had extended across the traditional physical border of the Severn. This lack of boundaries meant that England – unlabeled on the map – ran to Briton's natural edges, encompassing the named territories of the island. North Wales, which included Gwynedd, fell within the reach of the Plantagenet crown: Paris placed Snowdon in territory that the map clearly assigns to England. The monk's audience, which quite possibly included the king, would have been able to see the mountain as a existing within the scope of royal authority.

Furthermore, the mountain had a place in the history of Welsh submission to the Plantagenets. Henry II, the grandfather of Paris's king, had marched into Gwynedd in 1157 in response to Welsh aggression against one of his castles. After a harrowing campaign, Henry brought the Welsh to heel late in the summer, forcing Prince Owain of Gwynedd and many of his nobles to swear their fealty.⁴⁶ Importantly, Matthew Paris wrote that this submission occurred at Snowdon.⁴⁷ When Matthew Paris placed Snowdon as the only mountain on his entire map of Britain, he made sure that the peak acted as a reminder of Plantagenet domination over Llywelyn's family. The Claudius map co-opted the symbolic value of Snowdon from the Welsh and inverted the mountain's role. Rather than proudly proclaiming Welsh independence, Snowdon instead shows a stronghold of the English authority and suzerainty in the middle of Gwynedd.

The events in Wales at the time of Paris's mapmaking would have added extra impetus to monk's efforts. By the mid 1250s, English control of Wales had begun to slip away from Henry's grasp, with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd again establishing an independent Welsh principality. Placing Mt. Snowdon – a reminder of Wales's subjugation to Henry's grandfather – on the map would have encouraged the monk's readers to understand that the king retained his rights in the region. In this respect, Snowdon in the north acted in much the same way that Carmarthen did in the south: both icons minimized Llywelyn's gains while reinforcing the idea of English control and legitimacy. Though it reflected

⁴⁶ John D. Hosler, *Henry II: A Medieval Soldier at War, 1147-1189* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 53.

⁴⁷ Apud Snaudunam multorum cepit homagia, scilicet nobiliorum. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, 214. Paris's language actually suggests a more forceful process of homage, using the word *cepit* (to have taken, or seized). That Henry took, rather than received, the homage of many Welsh nobles at Snowdon suggests ownership; the Welsh would not later have the right or ability to renege on their vows. Paris's word choice here contrasts with his description of Scotland's King Alexander's homage to the French pretender, Louis the Lion, in 1216. There Paris used the word *fecit* (to have made, or done), suggesting that Alexander retained ownership of the vow. This would have been important, as Alexander needed to be able to undo his vows, in order to swear anew to Henry, the true king. See: *Ibid.*, 666.

dynastic desire more than political reality, the geo-symbolic node of Snowdon nonetheless helped to create a cartographic Wales clearly within the English sphere.

Directly next to Snowdon on the map, the label *Bangor ep* introduces the final type of element that Paris applied towards this goal: the episcopal See. England's push into Wales after the Norman invasion included a sustained effort to bring the Welsh church under the administrative control of Canterbury, and Paris reflected this ecclesiastical battle on the map.⁴⁸ Wales traditionally held four bishoprics: Llandaff, St. David's, Bangor, and St. Asaph. The Claudius map includes the first three of these – indicating them by the word *Epatus*, or its abbreviation *Ep*. All three Sees on the map sat firmly within English authority.⁴⁹ St. Asaph, which Canterbury and the Plantagenets did not control, does not appear on the map. St. Asaph's English bishop had been expelled by the Welsh, and he had died impoverished in London.⁵⁰ Anian I, who succeeded to St. Asaph in 1248, had been appointed by order of the Pope, over the objection of Henry III.⁵¹ As he did with Llywelyn's conquests in South Wales, Paris addressed evidence contrary to the Plantagenet imperial claims through exclusion: the map only shows those Welsh Sees subject to the authority of the king.

Despite excluding St. Asaph, Paris still managed to show four Sees in Wales: Worcester's label also includes the *ep* notation, indicating its role as a bishopric. Though

⁴⁸ For a recitation of the Anglo-Welsh struggle for control of the church in Wales, see: John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. II (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longman's, Green and Co. 1912), 447-461; and David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 67-90.

⁴⁹ Bishop Richard of Bangor faced somewhat difficult circumstances. Richard, who opposed Prince Dafydd and swore allegiance to Henry III, had been driven out of his holdings by the Welsh in 1248. He retained his title, however. Richard remained away from Bangor for ten years, only returning to Wales in 1258. See: John Le Neve and John M. J. Pearson, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, vol. 9: The Welsh Cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St. Asaph, St. Davids)*, ed. M. J. Pearson (London: University of London, Institute for Historical Research, 2003), 3-4. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, vol. IV*, 148-149, 323, 647; *Chronica Majora, vol. V*, 2.

⁵⁰ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, vol. IV*, 647.

⁵¹ Le Neve and Pearson, 35-36.

Worcester would not normally have been considered a Welsh See, the map places the town on the west bank of the Severn, squarely in Wales. Tellingly, Worcester's trans-Severn location means that Wales contains every clear instance of the notations *epatus* or *ep* on the Claudius map; Paris did not include any bishoprics in England. The cartographer used the Sees as an explicit tool for advancing English authority over disputed lands.

The Church holdings combine with the other aspects of the map to present a strong case for Wales as a region wholly, and justly, subsumed into England. The cartographic elements that Paris marshaled – graphical, textual, mythic, and comparative – assert an imperial argument that supported English efforts beyond the Severn. And, despite being more aspirational than realistic in its claims when Matthew Paris drew it, the Claudius map's aggressive stance in Wales proved prophetic. By the end of the century, Henry's son Edward I had crushed the Welsh, completing the conquest begun by William the Conqueror. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd died in battle at Orewin Bridge, and his brother Dafydd, the last prince of Gwynedd, met his end by execution several months later.⁵² After the prince's execution, King Edward symbolically subsumed Wales into the body of England, ordering that couriers scatter Dafydd's dismembered remains across the realm, and set his head on a pike in London as a warning against future foes. Edward took the further step of claiming Snowdon as a royal territory, bringing that potent

⁵² Prince Dafydd faced an unusual and grisly execution, as the first nobleman in Britain (and only the second person in English history) to be hung, drawn and quartered. Edward likely meant to make a strong statement; to end the line of Gwynedd kings in a startling fashion. Dafydd's trying parliament included ten earls, 100 barons, civic leaders from 20 major towns and, significantly, no churchmen. The lack of clergy clearly indicates the predetermined nature of Edward's designs, as they would have been religiously precluded from voting for a death sentence which included the shedding of blood. See: J.G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 24-27; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 202; and *Plantagenet England*, 59, 131; Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 47.

symbol within the personal sphere of the monarchy.⁵³ Despite later rebellions, Dafydd's death essentially marked the end of Welsh independence; from 1283 onward Wales would be counted as a part of English Britain. The claims to possession and incorporation in Wales that the Claudius map posited, Edward made real.

⁵³ Ivor Bowen, ed. *The Statues of Wales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), 2.

CHAPTER 4
THE BOUNDED LION:
ENCLOSING SCOTLAND WITHIN A PLATAGENET BRITAIN

To the north of the Roman walls, past where the Claudius map's pilgrim road dies out, lies the land of the Scots. Matthew Paris's visual description of Scotland has much in common with his vision for Wales; both showed many of the area's major cities and castles and included geographical information as well as several textual labels. And, as with Wales, the monk's vision of Scotland makes a strong argument – through its manipulation of geography, history, and appearance – for an English claim to suzerainty over the land. Scotland proved a more difficult case than did Wales, however. Despite disagreements and conflicts, the Plantagenet throne had recognized the Scottish king's autonomy in 1189 at the Quitclaim of Canterbury. Moreover, throughout most of Henry III's reign, the king maintained a fairly peaceful frontier with his northern counterparts. Consequently, asserting a claim of English sovereignty over Scotland presented Paris – and the Plantagenets – with more problems than did the same process in Wales. Nevertheless, the English monarchs had clear designs on the north, and Paris's map makes a serious effort to bring Scotland within the scope of the Plantagenets' imperial gaze.

Despite the relative peace that existed between England and Scotland for most of Paris's life, deeply-entrenched tensions lay between the two realms. English monarchs had struggled with their Scots neighbors since William of Normandy invaded the north in

1071, bringing King Malcolm temporarily to heel at the Treaty of Abernethy.¹ In 1173, King William I of Scotland had thrown in his lot with the Young King's revolt against Henry II, and had invaded Northumbria. William's capture at Alnwick, however, led to the Treaty of Falaise in 1174 that all but gelded the Scottish throne – William handed over most of his major holdings to Henry II, and swore allegiance as a client king of the English throne.² William eventually ransomed his sovereignty and castles back from Richard I for £6,666 in the Quitclaim of Canterbury.³

Hoping to realize ancient claims in Northumbria, William's son Alexander II joined in the First Baron's War against King John. Alexander invaded England in 1216, and drove as far south as Dover. He attended Louis the Lion's declaration of kingship, and swore allegiance for his lands in England.⁴ John's death – combined with Henry III's eventual victory over the barons and Louis – reestablished the political stability between the realms. From 1216 to Paris's death in 1259, the border remained mostly calm; indeed, the marriage of Alexander II to Henry's sister Joan betokened a deepening sense of accord. However, the lack of physical conflict should not overshadow the dynastic tensions that existed between the two thrones. The wholesale loss of the English holdings in France under John – the death of the Angevin Empire – had served to focus the Plantagenet gaze on Britain. Seeking to regain the lands that Richard had auctioned off in 1189, Henry III made repeated claims to lordship over the Scottish kings. In 1221 and 1235 Henry successfully opposed Alexander's appeals for papal blessing of his coronation; the pope refused to recognize the ceremony on the grounds that Alexander

¹ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 120.

² *Ibid.*, 224-225.

³ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁴ Christopher N. L. Brooke, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 56; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. II, 666.

could only be crowned with the consent of his liege lord, the king of England.⁵ During Alexander II's lifetime, however, Henry did not push the issue beyond trying to block an anointed coronation.

In 1249, however, Alexander II died, and Henry made an effort to advance his claim with more vigor. Henry wed his daughter, Margaret, to the new king, Alexander III. Prior to the ceremony at York in 1251, Henry knighted the Scottish king.⁶ Directly after the wedding, Henry requested an oath of fealty for the whole of Scotland from his new son-in-law. The young Scottish monarch, still in his minority, refused, only doing homage for his English territories.⁷ Paris wrote that Alexander would not swear allegiance "as his predecessors had done."⁸ Henry demurred for the sake of peace and never again pressed his rights in Scotland; David Carpenter argues that the king felt less sure about his claims to Scotland than he did to Wales.⁹ Henry's lack of action with regard to Scotland, though, does not suggest a lack of imperial interest. While it fell to his son, Edward I, to make good the claims of his family in the north, Henry III fostered a clear ambition to bring Scotland back within the English sphere. Matthew Paris's vision for Scotland, outlined on the Claudius map, visually and symbolically dovetailed with Henry III's designs, aggressively asserting the Plantagenets' right to hold the north.

As is the case with the Claudius map's claims in Wales, most scholars have overlooked the potential imperial argument posed by Paris's rendering of Scotland. Instead, they have paid the lion's share of their attention to the map's geographic

⁵ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 331, 367; James, Cooper, *Four Scottish Coronations: Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society and of the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society. Special Issue* (Aberdeen: Published at the Request of the Two Societies, 1902), 10.

⁶ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. V, 267.

⁷ Ibid.; Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery*, 367; Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 229.

⁸ Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273*, vol. 2, 469.

⁹ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 368.

distortions. Those inaccuracies towards the south of the island – in the main body of England – may be attributed to the monk's fidelity to the pilgrim route. However, the pilgrim highway that forms the map's backbone ends at the Roman walls, and consequently may not be used to explain the geographic curiosities that the monk visited upon Scotland. The monk's renditions of Scotland suffer from two significant, and obvious, distortions: an eastward sweep of the northern part of the country and the apparent bisection of the country by the Clyde and Forth firths.

The first issue turns on the shape of the land itself; the north of the island shows a sharp bend towards the east. This eastward movement recalls Ptolemy's depiction of Scotland on his world map and has been the most commonly addressed issue with regard Paris's image of Scotland. This



Fig. 3. Scotland, from the Claudius Map. Used by permission of the British Library (c) British Library Board, BL Cotton Claudius D VI, fol. 12v.

similarities have caused some historians to suggest that Paris had access either to a now-lost version of Ptolemy's map, or to his coordinates. Arthur Hinks, in *Maps and Survey*, wrote succinctly that Paris's maps were "based on Ptolemy."¹⁰ Though Hinks wrote in 1913, his opinion still holds currency.¹¹ Other

¹⁰ Arthur R. Hinks, *Maps and Survey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 6.

historians have been less sure that Paris's Scotland overlays a Ptolemaic base, however.¹² Here, as with other aspects of the Claudius map, the historiography has largely focused on aspects of geographic accuracy, rather than political projection. The map's placement of Scottish geography suggests that the region's shape may have been a compromise dictated by the restrictions of the page's length – an issue of expediency as much as anything. The same may not be said for the map's second distortion.

The major second geographical curiosity in Scotland is found in the bisection – or near bisection – of northern Britain by the meeting of the Firths of Forth and the Clyde. Paris drew the firths as converging at Stirling, which he labeled as Stirling Bridge (*Estriuelin Pons*). The bodies of water seem to connect the North Sea to the Atlantic, creating an island of the Scottish highlands. The monk highlighted this cartographic argument though the text of his title for Scotland, which he labeled as *Scocia Ultramarina* – Scotland beyond the sea. This makes for one of the map's most significant departures from geographic reality. The monk seems to have missed the existence of the River Forth altogether, while misplacing the River Clyde far to the south, below Galloway.¹³ Paris did not intend the water of the firths to be mistaken for anything other than arms of the sea. The rivers on the Claudius map all share consistent patterns which are absent in the bisecting waterway. Paris drew his rivers with smooth lines, featuring gentle undulations suggestive of a winding watercourse. The rivers are all bi-colored,

¹¹ The British Library, the current holders of three of Paris's maps of Britain, including the Claudius map, suggests a similar connection in their online description of the document, noting that, "The way in which Scotland veers to the east in Paris's map may suggest that it owes something to the description of Britain by Ptolemy." See: British Library Online Gallery, "Matthew Paris's Map of Britain," British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/mapsviews/mapgb/> (accessed January 17, 2013).

¹² Mitchell penned the classic statement of this argument, writing that, "In no case does it appear necessary to postulate a genetic connection between the St. Albans maps and the Britain of the map designs of Ptolemy." See: Mitchell, 29.

¹³ The river between the Roman walls and the Firth of Clyde bears the label "the river making Clydesdale (*Fluvius faciens Cludesdale*).

featuring both a light and a dark blue. Lastly, the monk appears to have added his rivers to the map after the completion of the island's costal outline: the jagged coastline lies visible at the mouth of each river on the Claudius map. By comparison, the two firths that meet at Stirling share the consistent teal coloration that Paris used for the sea. The shorelines of the firths retain the rough and uneven texture that the island's littoral boundary but without markings visible where the firths meet the sea, meaning that the monk drew the firths as a part of the original coastline. The two arms of water that come together at Stirling are clearly part of the sea.

Whether Matthew Paris actually intended the two firths to appear to connect remains something of an open question. Historians have generally assumed that the monk understood that the country did not, in fact, boast a separate Scottish island. Daniel Connolly, writing for the majority opinion, notes that Paris brought the Firths to a "near meeting, creating an isthmus" at Stirling Bridge.¹⁴ The monk's earlier work suggest that Paris knew enough to represent Britain as Connolly suggests; the Corpus Christi map, in particular, clearly shows the two arms of the sea terminating before they come together at Stirling. The issue may not be quite so settled, however – Connolly and other historians are somewhat guilty here of eliding the messages of the separate maps. The Claudius map seems to show an actual bridge rather than a connecting isthmus such as Paris drew on the Corpus Christi map.

The icon at Stirling on the Claudius map does not share the characteristics of the firths' shorelines. Paris drew the "isthmus" as a rectangle with double straight lines, such

¹⁴ Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 189. Connolly is not alone in his opinion of the connection as an isthmus; see also: Thomas O'Loughlin, "An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis," *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 38n.

as those the monk used to surround many of the town names on the map. These straight lines stand out against the typically corrugated coast. Moreover, the arms of the firths do not terminate naturally in rounded fashion before reaching Stirling, as they do on the Corpus Christi map. Instead they end bluntly in the bridge's sharp lines. In this respect, the representation of Stirling Bridge on the Claudius map has more in common with the Julius map than the Corpus Christi map. The Julius map shows a similar straight-lined icon, which the monk clearly intended to be understood as a bridge – Paris did not color in the bridge, allowing the reader to see the connecting shorelines and sea's teal coloration beneath. With the Claudius map, as with the Julius one, Paris seems to have intended his audience to understand that the highlands of Scotland sat wholly separated from the lowlands by the sea.

Paris's use of the name Stirling Bridge serves to further reinforce this cartographic claim, supporting textually the impression of bifurcation which the map makes visually. The title itself should be provocative, as the actual name of the town and castle was Stirling not Stirling Bridge. Historians, however, have proven incurious about Paris's choice here, perhaps because of the strong place that Stirling Bridge holds in the history of Anglo-Scottish contestation. The name has historical weight. But Wallace's victory over the English at Stirling Bridge came some forty years after Paris penned his maps, and so the monk's choice for his label bears consideration. That Paris would have made a mistake out of confusion – by virtue of using second-hand information, for example – does not stand to reason. The town had long been called Stirling; the earliest extant royal

charter, issued by King David in 1127, identified it as such (*burgo meo...Striuelim*).¹⁵ Later charters, including ones issued during Matthew Paris's lifetime, continued this trend.¹⁶ And while Paris may not have had access to Stirling's charters, none of the earlier writers from whom Paris drew appear to have used the name Stirling Bridge. Roger of Wendover, Gerald of Wales, and Geoffrey of Monmouth seem not to have mentioned the burgh at all. Gervase of Canterbury made note of an abbey at Stirling (*Abbatia de Struelin*), while Roger of Hoveden referred to the castle of Stirling (*castelum de Striveline*).¹⁷ In none of these sources does the name Stirling Bridge appear.

Moreover, the actual bridge at Stirling seems to have been mentioned in documents only sparingly before Paris's time. A law passed during the realm of Scotland's King William the Lion (1165-1214) made the center of the bridge at Stirling the point of restitution for cattle thievery that occurred between residents on opposite sides of the River Forth.¹⁸ Continuing somewhat in this tradition, the reign of King Alexander II (1214-1249) decreed the "Brig of Stirling" to be an approved location for trial by combat for knights and freeholders.¹⁹ Beyond these two laws, the bridge is not mentioned in the legal sources preceding Paris. And while the monk could conceivably have had access to the laws in question, it seems unlikely that he would have mistaken the name of the bridge for that of the town.

¹⁵ Stirling (Stirling, Scotland), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1124-1705* (Glasgow: Printed for the Provost, Magistrates and Council of the Burgh of Stirling, 1884), 2.

¹⁶ Alexander II's charter in 1226 granted a market day to "our burg of Stirling" (*burgum nostrum Striuelyn*). *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁷ Gervase of Canterbury, "Mappaemundi" in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, vol. II*, ed. William Stubbs, M.A., 2 vols., Rolls Series (London & Co., 1880), 442; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica, vol. II*, ed. William Stubbs, M.A., 2 vols., Rolls Series (London: Longman & Co., 1869), 81.

¹⁸ W. B. Cook, "Notes for a New History of Stirling, Part VI: The Battle of Stirling Bridge – The Kildean Myth," in *The Stirling Antiquary: Reprinted from "The Stirling Sentinel," 1903-1906*, vol. IV (Stirling: Cook & Wylie, "Sentinel" Office, 1908), 131.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Paris's choice for the name has been sometimes taken to suggest that the monk recognized the strategic significance of the bridge – that Paris meant to mark the actual bridge itself, not the town, as the important feature.²⁰ Paris's focus on the bridge does make good geographic and strategic sense. Stirling acted as something of a gateway between the lowlands and the highlands. Though Paris's graphic representation of a bisected Scotland did not reflect any real geographic accuracy, the symbolic weight of Stirling Bridge on the Claudius map must be considered. Stirling sits at the lowest fordable point on the Forth; downriver to the east the river could be crossed only by ferry. To the west the countryside falls away into fens and marshes, as it did in Paris's day. This topography made the land between Stirling and the headwaters of the Clyde relatively impassable, especially to an army. Stirling Bridge, watched over by the castle and town, offered the clearest pathway from north to south.

As such, the city and the bridge held an important strategic position. Certainly the monk's work marks the first time the name of the bridge appears on any map.²¹ But assuming that Paris intended the bridge, not the town, to be understood as the region's salient feature seems at odds with the rest of Paris's decisions regarding the choice of Scottish locations for his map. The town of Stirling, with its attendant castle, stood as one of the most important commercial, demographic, and administrative centers of Scotland.²² The Scottish crown held Stirling as a royal possession, and the town sits on Paris's map alongside other similarly important loci of power: Edinburgh, Berwick, and

²⁰ For an example of this assumption, see Sarah Crome, *Scotland's First War of Independence: A Chronicle of the Struggle Fought and Won by Wallace and Bruce* (Alford: Auch Books, 1999), 51.

²¹ John Shearer, *Old Maps and Map Makers of Scotland* (Stirling: R.S. Shearer & Sons, 1905), 24.

²² For the role of Stirling as an administrative center, see: Samuel Cowan, *The Ancient Capital of Scotland: The Story of Perth from the Invasion of Agricola to the Passing of the Reform Bill, vol. I* (New York: James Pott & Co., 1904), 195-196.

Roxburgh – the heart of the old Scottish kingdom. The town's very importance, however, may provide a clue to Paris's decision to renaming Stirling as Stirling Bridge; by using the later title Paris could remove from the map one of the Scottish monarchy's favorite castles, effectively noting the importance of Sterling's physical location while denying Alexander's possession. Furthermore, the towns name, in combination with the image of the bridge, may have been a deliberate attempt to reaffirm the graphical argument – untrue even by the standards of Paris's earlier work – that the sea wholly sundered the lands of the Scots.

If Matthew Paris knew, as the Corpus Christi map suggests, that the sea did not bisect the island, then what purpose did this distortion serve? Connolly holds that the narrowing of the island to an isthmus at Stirling served to solidify visual borders, marking Scotland as an independent realm. He writes that "the very shape of the island is made to separate the main body of the island, that is England, from Scotland."²³ But, as historians have done with the Roman walls and with the Severn River, Connolly may be seeing national borders where Paris did not intend any. The sea does form a clear visual break. However, rather than affirming the identity of Scotland through the fixation of borders, when considered with the map's textual components, the complete bisection of the island by the firths can be better understood as an effort to delegitimize and disinherit the authority of the Scottish throne.

By bringing the seas together at Stirling, Paris could break Scotland into two distinct sections. The southern part of the country lies beneath the firths – essentially the lowlands. The cultural node of the Antonine and Hadrian walls seem to bound the region to the south, marking the territory with the legitimating imprint of the Roman Empire.

²³ Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 189.

Paris's choices lead his reader to understand that two great forces acted to delineate the boundaries of Scotland's southern section: God and the Romans. The choice of borders, then, fell beyond the purview of the cartographer. Instead, the Claudius map claims to project a vision for Scotland's natural boundaries. Connolly suggests as much in surmising that the firths acted to reinforce a Scottish national border, but he may be wrong in his understanding of the particular aspects of the frontier: the firths act to bind the Scottish crown in the south, not in the north.

Almost all of the holdings of the Scottish throne that Paris drew fell into the southern region. The royal castles of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh sit below Stirling and its bridge. Scottish ownership of these three holdings could not effectively be challenged. All three had been in the possession of the English crown after 1174 – the result of Henry II's capture of Scotland's King William and the resultant Treaty of Falaise – but had been returned to William in clear, public fashion.²⁴ In 1186 Henry had gifted Edinburgh to William on the event of the latter's wedding, to be given as a dowry to his new bride.²⁵ In 1189, Richard's need for money to fund his forthcoming crusade resulted in the Quitclaim of Canterbury, which Paris noted expressly returned Berwick and Roxburgh to William.²⁶ Consequently, Alexander III held fairly ironclad claims to those towns. However, while the crown's right to the lands could not be questioned, the holdings themselves could be – and were – constrained by the borders of the map.

Paris's setting of this stage bears consideration because it allowed the monk to partition and absorb Scotland into England. He placed the label for Scotland, *Scocia*

²⁴ Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. II, 80-81.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 310.

²⁶ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum and Historia Minor*, vol. II. Edited by Sir Frederick Madden. 3 vols. Rolls Series (London: Longman & Co., 1866-1869), 13.

Ultramarina, in the northern section of the country, beyond Stirling Bridge. The title itself reinforces the argument that Scotland above the firths – a natural boundary penned by God himself – exists as a region bracketed off from the south. The southern area has no such independent identity; Paris did not include any markings or text in the south to indicate that the region possessed any autonomy. He labeled the area just north of the walls as the Region of the Scottish borders (*Regio Scotorum conterminorum*), but the size and style of his text here suggest that he intended the text to serve as a comment – along the lines of the descriptive text in southern Wales – that helps to delineate an ethnic boundary, but not a political division.²⁷ At the same time, the important word *olim* (at one time) attached to the Roman walls cautions the reader to see them less as an active political border and more as a cultural claim to the region. Consequently, the map does not allow Scotland's southern section an identity at all separate from England. The north of England runs unimpeded through the walls, and the natural border of the firths acts to sever the south from an association with *Scocia Ultramarina*. In creating this image of Scotland, Paris created a framework that subjugated the Scottish king by placing his direct holdings squarely outside of Scotland proper and within the political ambit of Henry III.

The land above the Stirling Bridge, in *Scocia Ultramarina*, shows little royal footprint. Though the map includes a number of royal burgh – towns boasting a royal charter – Paris chose to include few of Alexander III's important personal holdings in the north. Of particular note, Paris excluded the towns of Forfar, Perth, and Scone. Forfar, a small royal burgh just north of Dundee, served the Scottish kings as a center of

²⁷ The Latin is from Gough, 70. The translation is from Lamb and Gibb, illst., page number unavailable (the page is in the hands of the author).

governance.²⁸ Forfar, along with only Perth, Scone, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, hosted meetings of the Scottish Parliament during the reign of Alexander II, whose time on the throne overlapped the bulk of Matthew Paris's career at St. Albans.²⁹ However, given its small size, Forfar's absence from the map is not wholly surprising; the burgh lacked the administrative or symbolic cache of other towns.

Paris's decision to leave Perth and Scone from the map, however, created political distortions in Scotland as dramatic as the geographical distortions seen at the firths. Both Perth and Scone stood as positions of tremendous importance in Scotland's historical and political geography. That the monk would have merely neglected to add these burghs seems unlikely; that he would have been unaware of their existence beggars belief. Perth, a navigable port and home of one of Scotland's first royal mints, held pride of place as the kingdom's traditional capital city.³⁰ Certainly the court did not spend all of its time in Perth; like most medieval monarchies, the Scottish throne maintained a peripatetic existence, progressing throughout the realm over the course of the year. But Perth remained central to those royal peregrinations, not least because of its proximity – little more than a mile – to Scone.³¹

The small village of Scone, with its abbey, held a unique and central place in the ritual and symbolism of Scottish kingship. If Perth acted as the realm's chief administrative center, then Scone stood as Scotland's ceremonial heart. The abbey housed the famed Stone of Scone, on which every Scottish king, following the example of the

²⁸ G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 299.

²⁹ Cowan, 196.

³⁰ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 183; Cowan, vii-ix. Perth retained its status as Scotland's capital until James II moved his administrative center to Edinburgh in the fifteenth century. See: Ibid.

³¹ Michael Spearman, "The Medieval Townscape of Perth," in *The Medieval Scottish Town*, ed. Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman & Geoffrey Stell (Edinburgh: J. Donald. 198), 47.

semi-mythic Kenneth Mc'Alpin, had been either crowned or recognized. The historical rituals from which the Scottish kings drew their authority lay rooted explicitly in the Stone and the relic's physical location at Scone. John of Fordun, the fourteenth century Scottish chronicler, wrote that:

This stone was reverently kept in the monastery [the abbey at Scone] for the consecration of the King of Scotland. Nor was any king accustomed to reign in Scotland, but that first he sat to receive the name of king upon the stone in Scone, that being set forth by the ancient kings as the true high seat of Albania.³²

Preferably, the coronation itself took place at Scone, but even in those cases wherein the coronation occurred elsewhere, the new monarchs made the pilgrimage to Scone as quickly as possible to cement, by ritual, their claim to the throne.³³ The deep symbolic importance of the Stone drove Edward I to remove it to Westminster in 1296 after he conquered the Scots. Edward ordered a coronation throne crafted to enclose his prize, and since 1296 every English monarch has been crowned over the Stone, symbolically sublimating Scotland to English control.³⁴

Given Scone's clear ceremonial and ritual importance, the village's absence from the map is noteworthy. Paris's decision to leave out both Perth and Scone points to the monk making a purposeful choice to undercut Alexander's claim to independent suzerainty in Scotland. By excluding these northern towns, Paris denied any possible

³² Qui lapsi in eodem monasterio reverenter ob regum Albaniae consecrationem servatur. Nec usquam aliquis regum in Scocia regnare solebat, nisi super eundem lapidem regum in accipiendum nomen prius sederet in Scona, sede vero superiori, videlicet, Albaniae constituta regibus ab antiquis. John of Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. William Skene (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), 294.

³³ Cowan, 141.

³⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 474; Kenneth Panton, *Historical Dictionary of the British Monarchy* (Plymouth, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 454.

access to the administrative and ceremonial centers of the kingdom to Scotland.

Alexander's traditional capital and the literal touchstone of his right to rule disappeared from the face of the Claudius map, and, inasmuch as the map makes a claim for verisimilitude, from the face of existence.

Paris did not content himself with merely ignoring Alexander's centers of governance and ritual authority, however. Instead, the monk overwrote them. Scotland's label, *Scocia Ultramarina*, stretches through the region where Scone, Perth, and Forfar sat. Connolly, Breen, and others have worked under the assumption that the label identifies Scotland as a separate country; that the map's text should be read as highlighting clear national borders.³⁵ If that were the case, then Paris's decision to cover over Scone and Perth with the country's name might not matter. However, the *Scocia Ultramarina* title does not, of itself, suggest independence. As has been previously noted, the coloration, style, and to some degree the size of the text in Scotland's label accords closely with that of clearly English counties such as Norfolk, Suffolk and Devonshire. The label appears significantly larger than these others partly because of its isolation; *Scocia Ultramarina* takes up almost all of the middle part of Scotland and is surrounded by only a very few identified locations. Indeed, the space around the text stands out as conspicuous.

The monk's choice to isolate the *Scocia Ultramarina* text further suggests intent, rather than neglect, in his decision to withhold Perth and Scone. The rest of the map gives evidence that the monk did not fear to crowd his regional labels with sites or information that he felt to be important. The labels for Wales and Suffolk, especially, almost

³⁵ Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 189; Breen, *Imagining*, 141, 167; and "Returning Home," 61; Lewis, 367. This interpretation has also been assumed by the majority of works that touch on the map tangentially, especially those dealing with Scottish history. For an example, see: Crome, 51.

disappear into their surrounding text, with the text for Wales actually overlapping the label for the Episcopal See at St. David's. However, central Scotland shows more empty, unwritten-upon space than any other region on the map, with the possible exception of Devonshire – certainly enough space to have included both Perth and Scone, had the monk been so inclined. Instead, the region displays a largely vacant aspect. That text which Paris did chose to write into the space acts to introduce an English claim to the region.

Beneath the *Scocia Ultramarina* title, as a subscript, Paris wrote "Here (this land) is also called Albania" (*hec et albania dicta est*). Connolly takes this text as a further indicator of the cultural and political borders between England and Scotland. However, he makes this assumption because he translates the text as identifying *Scocia Ultramarina* as a land where "albanian" is spoken.³⁶ Indeed, the index to Connolly's book identifies albanian as "the legendary language of Britain."³⁷ This translation, while technically possible, is nonetheless problematic; Connolly seems to be assigning a meaning to *dicta* that Paris did not intend. The monk applied the word *dicta* in two specific ways in his writing, neither of which meant to speak a language in the manner which Connolly understands the word to be used on the Claudius map.

Paris used *dicta* by itself to mean "said" or "say," as he did when writing about the great King Alfred. Paris ended a discussion of the king's habits with the line, "*Et haec de moribus ejus dicta sufficient*" ("And this is enough said about his character").³⁸ Alternatively, the monk used *dicta* followed by a form of *esse* – *dicta est*, *dicta fuit*, etc. – to mean named, or called. In relating Brutus's founding of London, for example, Paris

³⁶ Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 189.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 217.

³⁸ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 1, 406.

wrote: "*Condidit itaque civitatem ibidem, eamque Trojam novam vocavit. Quae postea per corruptionem vocabuli, Trinovantum dicta fuit*" ("And so he built a city there, and he called it New Troy. Later, by the corruption of words, it was called Trinovantum").³⁹ The monk's use of *dicere* with regard to language followed this second pattern. He primarily used *dicere* to indicate what a name or a word was called in another language, as he did when identifying the site of Augustine of Canterbury's second synod, "*quod lingua Anglorum Bangorneburh dicitur*" ("which in the language of the English is called Bangor").⁴⁰

Paris remained consistent in these uses of *dicta* throughout his writing. In the first volume of Luard's transcription of Paris's *Chronica Major*, the monk used the word *dicta* sixteen times, with eight instances being of the *dicta est* variety, the other eight occurring without the *esse*.⁴¹ All sixteen fall within the broad categories outlined above; none mean to speak a language. Other iterations of *dicere* follow the same basic pattern throughout the *Chronica Majora*. Though he also used other words such as *appellare* synonymously, Paris never used *dicere* in any other fashion. The corpus of Paris's work, then, suggests that Connolly is incorrect in his translation of the map's text. Paris almost certainly meant the *Hec et Albania dicta est* label to indicate that *Scocia Ultramarina* could also be called Albania.

On its face, the difference seems minor. Many chroniclers used the name Albania interchangeably with Scotland; certainly John of Fordun used the terms *Albania* and

³⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 258.

⁴¹ Instances of *dicta esse* may be found here: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 21, 22, 34, 52, 71, 126, 193, 450. Instances of *dicta* alone may be found at: Ibid., 51, 92, 158, 159, 308, 361, 399, 406.

Scotia indiscriminately.⁴² Paris, however, would have understood the distinction as important. Where Connolly sees a linguistic border between England and Scotland, the monk instead intended to show a connection. Rather than identifying a separate language, thereby making the text a comment on regional interests, the monk instead tied Scotland to another, older tradition. The reference to Albania brings the Brutus foundational narrative back to the forefront of Paris's cartographic argument and lays an English claim to the north of Scotland through the genealogy of Brutus's sons. Just as Camber had settled Wales, so did Albanactus, Brutus's youngest son, inherit the north of the island, which Paris notes "is now called Scotland" (*quae nunc Scotia appellatur*).⁴³ He named his kingdom after himself, titling it Albania.⁴⁴ The middle part of the island, essentially England, went to the eldest son, Locrinus, who named the land Loegria.⁴⁵

Albanactus owns only a brief role in the *Chronica Majora*; like Camber in Wales, Albanactus's primary purpose seems to be to tie the foundation of Scotland to the line of Brutus. Paris's chronicle wastes no time in spelling out the doomed son's fate: the Huns, led by their king Humber, invaded Albania and slew Albanactus in battle. Locrinus, in his role as the eldest brother, called upon Camber to join him, and then led an army northward. The combined might of Loegria and Cambria brought the Huns to bay at the Humber River, where the brothers defeated the barbarians and drowned the invading king.⁴⁶ Albanactus perished without an heir, and the barbarians were incapable of legitimately claiming the land, even by conquest. By law and custom, inheritance of

⁴² The chronicler's description of Alexander III's coronation at Scone acts as a perfect example. See: John of Fordun, 294.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 23-24.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Albania fell to the eldest brother, Locrinus. Geoffrey of Monmouth added the extra, reinforcing detail that Albanactus's people had fled to Locrinus for protection after the Hun's invasion.⁴⁷ The story, then, set Locrinus up as the rightful ruler of Albania on three counts: inheritance, as the eldest brother; force of arms, as the leader who vanquished the barbarian invaders; and popular acclaim, as the king recognized by the Albanian people.

Paris did not place the name Albania on his map by chance; his particular usage of the names *Albania* and *Scotia* in the *Chronica Majora* strongly suggests that the monk understood the two terms to convey expressly separate ideas. Unlike later chroniclers, such as John of Fordun, Paris never conflated the names. For him, Albania always referred to the ancient kingdom of Albanactus. The last point in the *Chronica Majora* where Paris referred to Albania came in the year 540, when King Arthur fought his way ashore at Richborough (*Rutupi*) against the forces of Mordred. Paris noted that Auguselus, Arthur's client-king in Albania, fell while fighting alongside his king.⁴⁸ From 540 onward – after which point Arthur's Britain fractured, with the kingdom of Northumbria being formed, and the Danes invading the land on a regular basis – the monk declined to refer to the north of Britain as Albania, and only used the name *Scotia*.⁴⁹ Clearly, then, Matthew Paris understood Albania as the historical state, derived from the line of Brutus. Albania stood for British legitimacy, and a right to rule the island. The name *Scotia*, however, Paris tied to the Picts and the Scoti.⁵⁰ These barbarian

⁴⁷ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. I, ed. Neil Wright (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), 15.

⁴⁸ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 241.

⁴⁹ The name *Albania* appears only twice more in the *Chronica Majora* after 540, and neither instance dealt with Scotland; the monk reported that, in 1243, the Italian town of Albano (*Albania*) suffered sackings by the Holy Roman Emperor and the Saracens. See: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 240, 241.

⁵⁰ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. I, 114.

peoples from the far north and Ireland held the land by dint of force, but as barbarians they could press no claim of legitimacy.

Had Paris written the Albania text in the past tense, then the label might have merely been meant as a sidebar comment on the history of the region. However, Paris made the telling choice of writing the label in the present tense. The map asserts that *Scocia Ultramarina* is called (*dicta est*), not was called (*dicta fuit*), Albania. Considering the precision with which the monk used the name Albania in his writing, the distinction is important. The text suggests that the old Brutus claim to the land remained extant. In line with traditions of the *mappaemundi*, writing Albania onto the land in such a way brought the past into the present by folding it within the temporal swirl so common in medieval cartography. The text interweaves distant myths and understood history with the more concrete now, connecting the geographical space of Scotland to the legitimating Brutus myth and reminding the map's audience that Scottish history and authority sprang explicitly from the English throne. The Claudius map argues strongly that *Scocia Ultramarina* remained the land of Brutus, Albanactus, Locrinus, and Arthur, and – more importantly – that it remained the patrimony of the Plantagenets. Notably, Paris did not allow this claim to contest with a countervailing Scottish assertion for legitimacy: the Albania text covers over and replaces the ceremonial center at Scone, wholly supplanting the Scottish legitimating ritual with an English history, and ensuring that his audience could make no such comparisons. Through his choices, Paris presaged cartographically what Edward I would accomplish martially: both men affected the removal of Scone's symbolic importance to England.

The map's portrayal of the remainder of Scotland – the bulk of *Scocia Ultramarina* – reinforces the impression of an imperial agenda. The royal burghs that do appear – Dingwall, Dumbarton, Aberdeen, and Dundee – posed a relatively small royal footprint, which other factors generally eclipsed. Alexander III owned residences in both Aberdeen and Dunfermline, for example, but both burghs also housed important Benedictine monasteries which mitigated their connection to the king. Dunfermline Abbey controlled most of Western Fife and exercised therein a civic authority equal to that of the king.⁵¹ The town of Dundee boasted a strong and growing economy and a royal charter but fell beyond direct royal authority. Neither Dingwall nor Dumbarton held strategic or administrative importance during the thirteenth century. The only other notable built location on the map, the city of St. Andrew (*Civitas Sancti Andree*), marked a significant pilgrimage destination – important in its religious and cultural significance but not attached to the Scottish monarchy.

In the blank spaces of northern Scotland, Paris employed descriptive text much as he had in Wales. The monk described the Scottish highlands as, "a mountainous and woody region, breeding a barbarous and pastoral people due to the marshes and fens."⁵² Paris continued along this vein, noting that the western Scottish coast formed, "a marshy and impassable country, suitable to cattle and shepherds."⁵³ The wording here appears almost identical to the descriptions in Wales; it seems likely that the monk simply replicated, with some small variations, that text. As in Wales, the textual descriptions in

⁵¹ Lewis, 367-368; Oswald Hunter-Blair, "Abbey of Dunfermline," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), 192.

⁵² *Regio, montuosa et nemorosa, gentem incultam generans et pastorem, propter mariscum et haruudinetum.* The Latin is taken from Gough, 71; the translation is the author's.

⁵³ *Patria palustris et inuisa pecudibus et pastoribus apta.* The Latin is taken from Ibid.; the translation is the author's.

Scotland reinforced both the vacant nature of the land and its economic potential. In *Scocia Ultramarina*, by right the inheritance of the Plantagenets, the Claudius map shows an empty space – populated by a barbaric people, set with lucrative potential, and dotted with the economic hubs of Dundee and Aberdeen – that beckoned the English northward.

Paris's combined cartographic machinations in the north created a vision of Scotland that placed a strong imperial claim to the land on behalf of the Plantagenets. The map left Alexander III cut off from the north, subsumed into England, and denied access to the ceremonial heart of his realm. Paris isolated the king from the bulk of his country by the natural – divinely created, even! – borders of the sea, while the visual body of England stretches to the firths unhindered by any indication of Scottish autonomy or sovereignty. All of Alexander's important, indisputable, holdings that Paris chose to include fell within English lands, set between two clear markers of English legitimacy: the Roman walls to the south and the historic kingdom of Albania to the north. The Plantagenet claim to ancient Albania, reinforced by the physical separation of the land from Alexander's holdings, denied the Scottish monarch right or access to remainder of his kingdom, including the center of his ceremonial authority. Through its text, geography, and symbols, the Claudius map embodied, legitimated, and encouraged the English monarchy's desires towards Scotland. And while Henry III never truly threatened the throne of Scotland, his son would take up those aims and make them real, holding Scotland as a part of his kingdom. Certainly Edward went through life guided by his own stars. But with Scotland, as with Wales, the king could rely on Matthew Paris's map to help point his way to a unified Britain.

CHAPTER 5

THE ROAD RUNS ON TOWARDS THE MARGINS:

CONCLUSIONS AND A LOOK FORWARD

The Claudius map is famous, if only by the standards of maps. Most histories of cartography mention it, and tourists buy posters and postcards bearing its likeness in the gift shop at the British Museum. Yet, for all of its fame, Matthew Paris's signature map has been under-studied by academic historians. The interpretation that Richard Vaughn set forth in the fifties and that P. D. A. Harvey strengthened established an easily accepted teleological paradigm describing the document as the early beginnings of the European fixation on scientifically accurate mapping. But the work done by cartographic and spatial historians over the last thirty years suggests that Paris's Britain bears deeper consideration. In constructing the Claudius map, Paris created the perception of Britain as what Matthew Edney called "a pre-existent stage, framed by mountains and oceans, on which the events of history play out."¹ As the first person to make such a map, Paris enjoyed the luxury of building the stage to his liking and filling it with the narrative of his choosing. The history he played out began with Aeneas and ran through Brutus, Belinus, and Arthur, before coming to rest in Henry III and his son Edward, the rightful heirs to the throne of Britain.

Paris knew the king, and he understood Plantagenet imperial ambitions. The choices the monk made in constructing his map – in effect, constructing Britain – acted to reinforce and legitimate those ambitions. Taken as a whole, the Claudius map strengthened the position of the English monarch while diminishing the presence of the

¹ Edney, 16.

his rivals in Scotland and Wales. The document offered strong historical and cultural claims to Britain through the built ties to Rome and through the Brutus narrative. These claims, tied back to Rome and Troy through the itinerary maps and the monk's histories, supported the Plantagenet claim to be true Britons and the true inheritors of the island. The map's geo-symbolic landmarks mixed with the text and layered mythologies on the maps to construct an image of a unified Britain that the king could comprehend and conceptualize— a land without political borders, displaying a civilized English core and a barbaric, empty, and potentially rich periphery. A land where the king's writ ran unrestrained to the island's natural borders and beyond, and where the deep histories of the past gave him every right to pursue his imperial agenda. Looking at the Claudius map and seeing the island of Britain for the first time, King Henry would have encountered a thoroughly English Britain.

This interpretation of the map offers to shift the historiography's understanding of Matthew Paris's cartography. More than that, however, this reimagining of the monk's work creates a platform from which to pursue more detailed academic studies. Broadly, a critical reading of the Claudius map along political lines raises questions about historians' understanding of other medieval maps. Paris's maps of Britain, even the Royal map, demonstrate a refined sense of cartographic possibilities. This thesis has argued that Paris's images represent a break from the traditions of the past, but the maturity of the monk's imperial cartography suggests that this paradigm might also be too limiting. Perhaps, just as historians should not see the Claudius map merely as the beginnings of scientifically accurate cartography, neither should they understand the document as the marking the beginning of politically-driven mapmaking. The *mappaemundi* that prevailed

during the medieval period have been long seen as religious artifacts – indeed, this thesis has worked under that very paradigm. However, might they also been seen as presenting a type of theological imperialism? Perhaps Paris maps exhibited such a maturity of political voice because he did not, in fact, break new ground by reimagining the form's assertive potential. A critical understanding of the Claudius map opens avenues of potential study which offer to test spatial methodologies across a wide range of medieval cartographic offerings.

More narrowly, the arguments presented here project support for a study into how Paris's maps and writings fit into paradigms of early English nationalism. This work has largely focused on the imperial claims put forth by the Claudius map, essentially building the argument that Paris created his image of Britain to fulfill the king's vision. But recent scholarship examining early English national identity offers the possibility that Paris also had a personal vision; that the monk drew his own England, as well as that of his king. A growing body of work by scholars such as Kathy Lavezzo and Thorlac Turville-Petre points to an existent conception of Englishness during the medieval period. In *Angels on the Edge of the World*, Lavezzo argues that a sense of English national and cultural identity sprang into being well before the Norman Conquest.² She contends that early medieval English nationalism had its root in the island's role as a marginal community – on the edge of the Roman world, and always on the edge of the map. *Angels on the Edge of the World* looks at a combination of maps and literature in an attempt to establish this marginal identity among the English. Lavezzo's cartographic proof leans heavily on *mappaemunidi*, and she has largely ignored Paris's regional maps – likely because of the central role they assign to Britain. But the monk's images of Britain, especially when

² Lavezzo, *Angels*, 8-10.

considered with his whole body of work, suggest that even a people whose identity springs from their sense of existing in another's marginal spaces may still consider their own space centrally.

Thorlac Turville-Petre's *England and Nation* examines English writers' increased use of the vernacular, and especially of vernacular English, as a marker for a growing national identity. He argues that, beginning in at the end of the thirteenth century, writers increasingly saw English as the language most appropriate for the discussion of English issues.³ Many of the authors that Turville-Petre uses as case studies came, like Matthew Paris, from monastic backgrounds. He points to both thematic and specific elements in their work that step away from the unified worldview of the Church and demonstrate a more nationalistic English aspect.

Turville-Petre's focus on the importance of written English answers to Benedict Anderson's argument about the central role of the vernacular in building a national sense of self.⁴ Because Paris wrote in Latin, *England and Nation* does not consider his work to be a part of the shift that the book describes. However, the monk's histories presage many of the sentiments that Turville-Petre keys on as exhibiting conscious Englishness. Moreover, while Paris's writings may fail to pass Anderson's bar, his maps do not. In stepping away from the theologically-centered *mappaemundi* tradition and drawing regional maps of Britain, the monk might be argued to have been working in the cartographic vernacular.

Paris's work, taken as a body and understood to present a unified galaxy of argument, may connect to this stream of historiography. The monk's cartography – how

³ Turvill-Petre, *passim*.

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Vero, 1983), 37-46.

he defined and understood the spaces that he created – should be a part of the broadening conversation represented by Lavezzo and Turville-Petre. Such study ventures beyond the range of this thesis. However, the critical attention that this work has brought to the Claudius map suggests that a reevaluation of Paris's cartographic endeavors might prove fruitful and contribute to a better understanding of national identity in medieval England. Matthew Paris may have created an imperial stage that belonged to the king, but he also suggested a national space that fixed its boundaries in the waves of the sea and in the arguments of history.

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