

Chapter 4. The world and the journey¹

Bartholomew was writing and teaching in the 1220s and '30s, only a few years after the death of St Francis. As a Franciscan *lector*, he had the task of transmitting an ideal of homeless mendicancy in town and countryside without appearing to challenge the orthodox ideal of a religious life. Before this, the Benedictine ideal of separation from the world through monastic enclosure had underpinned religious life for five centuries. Although the Minorites shared vows and preaching objectives with their colleagues in the Benedictine and Cistercian Orders, the early years of Francis' Order were nevertheless politically precarious as factions differed in the interpretation of Franciscan poverty and their involvement with laity aroused disapproval. Because Francis had shunned the security of religious enclosure, his ministry appeared to some to be an unseemly immersion in the secular world and its temptations.²

This chapter looks at how Bartholomew weaves into his work a persistent strand of encouragement and information about physical travel across land and sea among alien races, and about spiritual pilgrimage through worldly life, through the subtle use of stories and images taken from both Christian and pagan sources. In this capacity, Bartholomew's work can be seen as being closely allied to contemporary graphic compilations or *mappaemundi*. Like the maps, 'Properties' testifies to contemporary interest in the extent of Christendom and the known pagan lands, the perceived limits of the physical world, and in rumoured places and peoples existing beyond them, perhaps awaiting salvation. Both kinds of text enabled the preacher or reader to travel in spirit to both centre and rim of Christendom.

The Fourth Crusade (1204) to the Seventh (1270) took place during Bartholomew's lifetime. The actuality of the Holy Land inspired people to travel towards the centre of Christendom as crusaders or pilgrims; either literally, or vicariously by means of devotional texts. In addition, known pagan lands beyond the borders of Christendom were the focus of crusade and mission, inspiring movement in a direction away from the Mediterranean centres.³ This chapter examines 'Properties' as a guide and textual map to peoples and places and to survival in the world. It looks at how Bartholomew builds upon the eschatological theme of journeying and labour in 'Properties', discussed in the previous chapter, to create a densely illustrated image of the world in senses described by Meier: as source of information, site of world history and course of preparation for Judgement.

Pilgrimage, crusade, mission, mendicants

The first task, though, is to summarise the context of expansion and mission in which Bartholomew was working. The historical record of mission, pilgrimage and crusade shows that in Bartholomew's time certain kinds of travel were a legitimate part of the religious life.⁴ The record shows a double focus on Christendom: at its heart in Jerusalem and Rome, sites of crusade, pilgrimage and political struggle; and at its fringes where expansion and control were issues for the church. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, at which Innocent III authorised the Order of Preachers under Dominic and the Minorites under Francis, had demonstrated papal commitment to action against heretics in Europe and infidels abroad. The church was supporting the forceful conversion of Cathar heretics in southern France (initially by Cistercians) as well as a crusade against the Moslem presence in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The church was also becoming aware that the Mongol empire was expanding westward.⁵ At the Franciscan General Chapter of 1219, groups of friars had assembled to travel to Germany and eastern Europe, Spain and north Africa.⁶ In the 1220s, Francis and Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre, hoped to undertake conversion of the Moslem world and in 1223 Pope Gregory IX had sent Franciscan envoys to meet both Moslem and Mongol rulers.⁷

Crusades against the Cathars and Slavs would take preachers into barely penetrated regions in the mountain areas of Europe as well as to the fringes of the unknown lands to the east. The steppes of Russia, the Crimean peninsula, Armenia and the Caucasus were all zones of missionary activity by the mid 1240s.⁸ Dominic's main concern became the Cathars in southern France, but Dominican preachers were also involved, from before 1221, in converting the Prussians, Hungarians and Russians. While the Dominicans were trained clerics who met the Cathars with their own weapons of scholarship and reasoned argument, the Franciscans were strongly associated with the laity and the towns, and used affective, dramatic methods and the example of their own poverty to teach the Gospel.⁹

The figure of Francis himself provided followers with the ideal of an evangelist who confronted the dangers of seas and mountains in a physically frail body and received divine confirmation of Christ-like power. In 1219-20 Francis, sick and nearly blind, had made an arduous journey across the Mediterranean on a mission to convert the Moslem Sultan, travelling to Ancona, Crete, Cyprus and Egypt.¹⁰ He died in 1226, and his supposed feats immediately became part of the body of legend that attached to his sanctified image. The belief persisted that he had achieved a light-filled apotheosis attended by Seraphim, and received miraculous stigmata, on Monte Verna in Italy.¹¹

John of Plano Carpini, an early associate of Francis of Assisi who had taken a leading part in the establishment of the Order, became Guardian of the new

province of Saxony in 1222. Later, according to his companion and chronicler Giordino of Giano, he sent friars all over northern and eastern Europe, to Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Denmark and Norway. With his companion, Lawrence of Portugal, Carpini himself left Lyons in April 1245 as envoy of the Apostolic See to the Tartars and other nations of the east. He returned to Lyons in November 1248 and shortly afterwards began writing his *Historia Mongolorum*.¹² Louis IX sent two more Franciscans, William of Rubruck and Bartholomew of Cremona, from Acre to Mongolia in 1253 in the hope of gaining Mongol conversions and support against the Moslem world.¹³ Although Carpini and Rubruck were travelling eastwards close to the time when Bartholomew was compiling 'Properties', their travel accounts did not circulate until after the middle of the century and would not have been available in time for inclusion. For us today, they form a background to the life of Bartholomew and of those for whom he wrote; they also testify to an increasing attention to the fringes as well as the heart of Christendom during those years.

The belief that Christians lived in the fourth or last age of the world, and that the age would soon end as prophesied, added an additional sense of urgency to the idea of global conversion. While missions endorsed by the pope may have been politically motivated they could be justified in scriptural terms as helping to fulfil the prophecy of St John in *Revelation*: 'And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.' Meanwhile, the properties of earth, water and weather in the existing sinful world were realities with which the missionary preacher might have to contend.

Bartholomew and the sea

Bartholomew brings the idea of mission vividly before the reader through two reiterated sets of images, each of which carries an accessible moral subtext. One of these involves realistic and dramatic descriptions of the ocean; the other evokes well-known stories about archetypal travellers over land and sea.

In long chapters on the sea and on fishes in Book 13, Bartholomew compiles empirical-seeming descriptions of the ocean as a heaving mass of water, speculations on the nature of saltiness, descriptions of lunar influence and tides, the sea bed and sea monsters, and the great variety of the underwater world of fishes. In *De mari*, Bartholomew paints a vivid picture of the open sea, with its dangers to sailors: waves, weather, monsters, sandbanks, sea-sickness, distance from land. He cites Aristotle and others on the medicinal properties of sea water, its incessant motion and changeable colours under different winds. Both fog and wind are perilous to those coming towards shore and a ship may be imperilled or late coming to harbour if it is weak, overloaded or poorly steered.¹⁴ He goes on to depict some formidable dangers to shipping: the rock Scylla and the whirlpool Charybdis that nearly destroyed Odysseus; hidden rocks, sandbanks,

and an indeterminate hazard where the bow gets stuck and the stern breaks, called *bitalapsum*; and uneven deeps and shallows called *sirtes*.¹⁵ These were real hazards which any prospective traveller needed to be aware of, and Bartholomew devotes a separate chapter to the Sirtes in Book 15, treating them as a named location off the coast of Egypt and citing their etymological meaning of drawing or dragging.¹⁶

Some of these dangers, then, were and are real enough. Bartholomew states: 'These are dangers for men who sail on the sea, both the Mediterranean and Ocean', but in the midst of describing them he pauses to say that, while many common things are known about the sea, he wants to make sure that his readers have matter with which to persuade simple men of spiritual and hidden truths.¹⁷ In other words, he's talking about the moral as well as physical dangers that the traveller might encounter. The glossator's copious comments confirm that readers could draw deeper connotations of the commotion and dangers of worldly life from under the surface description. They warn that *sirtes* point us to the lure of worldly wealth that can wreck one's hopes of salvation: 'Take note of the condition of the worldly; of the rise and fall of the worldly man; of love of the world and its danger; be on your guard against riches.' At the start of the chapter on the sea, where Bartholomew describes the continual movement, waves and storms, the glossator has written: 'Take note of the condition of the worldly.'¹⁸ Comments against the ensuing column text on rocks and wild weather include: 'Take note concerning usurers and rich men ... concerning the pride and self-importance of the wealthy ... of the infirmity of the body and soul ... of mortal sin.' Against the monsters Scylla and Charybdis, the glossator warns of the changeableness of the world, and its strong appeal: 'Take care against prosperity and adversity in the world; against love of the world and its danger.' Where Bartholomew cites Aristotle on the way the sea becomes changeable in colour in the 'dog days' after the rising of the dog-star *canicula*, the glosses include: 'Take note of Antichrist.'¹⁹ Bartholomew's chapter on the open ocean, *pelagus*, describes a dangerous shoreless waste, very deep and constantly in motion, home of whales and other monsters, windy and full of spray, changing colours, and the din of crashing waves; the glossator likens these to 'worldly tumult' and 'the mutability of worldly things'.²⁰ A warning against the fatal attraction or 'drawing' implied in the etymology of *sirtes* appears again in Book 18 in Bartholomew's chapter on the siren, the monster that seeks to destroy mariners by luring them off course with song, holding out false promises and arousing their lust.²¹ The glossator sees them as reminders of love of the world; the desire of the flesh, lust of the eyes and pride of life; and as warnings against envy, pride and hypocrisy.²² Within the sea lurk creatures of all kinds, just as people of all kinds inhabit the world.²³ These glosses demonstrate a reader's contemplative response to a dynamic description of physical experience. They also show us a stage in the process by which the sea — unstable, stormy and

full of monstrous danger — became such a fruitful metaphor in the later Middle Ages for the world of secular society.

We have seen that Bartholomew's own justification for his work, that the things that are made show us the invisible things of God, recalls Augustine's teaching. He repeats this statement in Book 8 on the sublunary world.²⁴ Similarly, he seems to refer to St Augustine's mention of a necessary mode of conveyance near the start of his own literary undertaking. As stated earlier, he explains in Book 3 that the soul is said to be one with the body — but guides it, as a sailor is one with a ship — a non-bodily substance ruling the body.²⁵ For the Franciscan student such a reading could be appropriate as an Augustinian vision of spiritual pilgrimage; but Bartholomew also provides reminders of the need for courage and faith. In Book 8, the North Star, *stella maris*, reassures those who look on its fixedness, and guides the mariner.²⁶ In Book 13, Bartholomew describes the little fish *aphorus* as very small but full of virtue because it clings to a ship and holds it still and steady in the midst of storms, as Isidore says. Ambrose and Bede say that these fish use stones to help them stabilise ships with a strength beyond their own; they warn sailors to be ready for the coming tempest.²⁷ In Book 15, the island resists the onslaught of waves.²⁸ In Book 17, a plank of wood can save the shipwrecked sailor.²⁹ Like the glossator, Bartholomew seems to encourage the reader to identify with the sinner aware of being perilously exposed on the open ocean of worldly life.

Stories and travellers

In this setting, the reader's imagination is free to place historical and legendary travellers who found or lost their way on the sea — Noah, for example, whose story came to exemplify faith and the promise of salvation.³⁰ Hugh of St Victor had written his treatise on the meaning of Noah's Ark, *De Arca Noe Mystica*, in the previous century, and in the religious drama of the guilds, which developed their full complexity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Noah and his family become exemplary as well as entertaining figures.³¹ The main ingredients of the Noah story are woven into the fabric of 'Properties': Noah's freight of animals and birds in Books 12 and 18 on those topics; the olive tree and the ship-building timbers in Book 17 on plants; the whole sea-going experience of waters and tempests in Book 13; Mount Ararat and Armenia in Books 14 and 15; the rainbow in Book 8 on earth and heaven.

Legends about archetypal travellers — sinful, heroic, misguided and repentant — were available to Bartholomew and his students from the Christian Scriptures, but also from Christianised Homeric legend and from classical history. Bartholomew's graphic description of the sailor in the empty ocean amid wallowing waves could evoke not only the contemporary example of St Francis and scriptural figures such as Noah or the Apostles, but also the pagan figures

of Odysseus and Alexander the Great, whose stories had been adapted by Christian writers. The twelfth-century writer William of Conches is explicit about the allegorical significance for the Christian of Odysseus/Ulysses and elements of his story: 'By Ulysses you must understand the wise man (*sapiens*) whom Circe, that is, abundance of earthly possessions, does not succeed in transforming.'³² Or, as Gerhard Ladner has put it:

... the Fathers of the Church could beautifully interpret the heroic travels of Ulysses as a type of the Christian's journey through terrestrial life. Ulysses had himself tied to the mast so that he would not be lured to disaster by the songs of the Sirens. Similarly, the Christian stranger on earth, the *peregrinus*, could be said to travel through strange and awesome seas in a ship, which is the Church, affixed to the mast of the Cross, absorbing the sweet and far from meaningless Siren songs of the world, without being deflected from the right course.³³

Readers could infer allusions to the *Odyssey* in the monsters Scylla and Charybdis mentioned above, but also in an allusion to the homecoming Odysseus's welcome by his dog: 'Guard dogs can live longer, fourteen or sometimes twenty years, as in Homer.'³⁴ In *De Aeolia*, 'an island of Sicily', Bartholomew alludes obliquely to Odysseus's misadventure on that island by simply saying that the island was named after Aeolus, whom 'poets had made up to be god of the winds'.³⁵

Like Ulysses/Odysseus, the figure of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) had been annexed by earlier Christian writers as an exemplar of Christian vices and virtues, representing the *curiosus*, *gyrovagus* or restless traveller interested in seeing the world for its own sake but saved by the wisdom he eventually gained.³⁶ Literary evidence indicates that stories about this itinerant everyman, repeatedly being taught Christian virtues of humility, patience, poverty and penitence through his worldly successes, encounters and errors, were popular in Bartholomew's time. His arrogant curiosity and pursuit of worldly experiences took him beyond the bounds of normal travel and into contact with exotic and unnatural creatures including Amazon women and sirens.³⁷ It has been suggested that in Christianised versions of the Greek account Alexander embodied the worldly traveller subject to the 'lust of the eyes' and 'pride of life' warned against in the first epistle of John.³⁸ The Alexander stories that existed in the thirteenth century show that the non-Christian hero was strongly associated in Christian imagination with key locations on the map of the world, especially the earthly Paradise into which he tried to force an entry, and its antithesis, Babylon, the city identified in Scripture with the 'mother of whores and abominations of the earth', where he died.³⁹

Bartholomew makes numerous allusions to Alexander in different Books. In Book 15's chapter on 'Amazonia' he tells us about the tribe of homicidal women, their taming by Hercules and Achilles, and how Alexander, after demanding

tribute, learnt a lesson of humility from the Amazon queen.⁴⁰ In the chapter on Persia, Bartholomew refers to the treasure left behind by Alexander in the city of Elemayda.⁴¹ In Book 17, on plants, he notes that there are rushes in India big enough to make boots with, as both Pliny and the Alexander story testify.⁴² He alludes to Alexander's victory in India after which he crowned his soldiers with ivy, since it was sacred to Bacchus and to Mars.⁴³ However, after describing the vigour and usefulness of the palm tree found throughout Syria, Egypt and Palestine, he concludes dryly that, according to Pliny, some of Alexander's soldiers choked on unripe dates.⁴⁴ And in his chapter on the properties of red wine, Bartholomew tells how the mighty Greek spurned the warning of the wise Adronites and, being drunk, slew his friend.⁴⁵ In this Book we also find a comment on Alexander's legendary association with the stag, which Bartholomew says is evidently long-lived since those given gold collars by Alexander were found still living a hundred years later.⁴⁶ In Book 18's chapter on the dog, he reminds us that the king of Alania (a pagan area on the eastern boundary of Christendom) sent Alexander a cross-bred tiger-dog, so strong it could overcome a lion and an elephant.⁴⁷ Bartholomew adds a final sentence at the end of *De sirena* saying that such monsters can be read about in the history of Alexander the Great.⁴⁸ This cryptic reference to Alexander's underwater encounter with sirens, one facet of the Alexander story available to his contemporaries, illustrates the way Bartholomew gives his Christian readers the opportunity to dwell upon a whole set of adventures and resulting wisdoms gained by a pagan hero. In the Christian context of idealised spiritual pilgrimage, Alexander represents the opposite of the ideal; but his story also holds out the hope of salvation for the worldly person who learns and repents.

Stories were a valuable resource for the preacher as a way of engaging the attention of listeners even if they were, as Bartholomew himself puts it, 'pagan follies', *error gentilium*. He also points out in his chapter on Suecia, home of legendary Amazons, that we ought to believe pagan writers, *scriptores historiae tam Graecorum quam Romanorum*, who describe the Swedes as *gens valde robusta*, feared by Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar: as Jerome said, we may trust the sayings of poets and writers which do not harm the faith or contradict known truth.⁴⁹ Moreover it is possible that pagan stories could serve the purpose of heightening the clarity of the sacred through contrast with the profane. Bartholomew's many references to Alexander reinforce the suggestion that pagan stories provide contrasting figures which set off the virtues and significance of the church's objects of veneration. David Williams considers Alexander the Great a heroic but physically grotesque figure, both a builder and a destroyer, as an example of the didactic use of contrast and paradox in Christian teaching:

It is not impossible that in Alexander the Great the people saw shadows of a prototype of Jesus, a manifestation of the paradox of divinity in

which the unnatural, even monstrous, combination of distinct natures, human and divine, unite in a single being. This certainly was the perception of, at least, the thirteenth century Armenian scribe [Ps. Callisthenes] who openly compares Alexander to Christ and who attaches to his poem a plea to be excused for this audacity.⁵⁰

How else, the reasoning might be, to represent Christ and the Apostles but by antithesis? Evelyn Edson notes that for Lambert of St Omer in the twelfth century Alexander was a unifier of the physical world, compared to Christ as unifier of the spiritual world; and that Bartholomew's English contemporary Matthew Paris (d.1259) depicts Alexander and Christ enthroned together.⁵¹

A striking example of the use of contrast and paradox occurs in Bartholomew's introduction to the properties of the earth in Book 14. Bartholomew starts by citing Isidore: the earth is situated in the middle of the heavens, equidistant from all furthest points, signifying both its unity and its variety.⁵² He explains the names given in other times and places to earth: *terra, humus, tellus, ops, arida, solum*, signifying her attributes; in old time she was called 'Ceres mother of gods', and 'Goddess Vesta'. He then describes a great seated female figure wearing a turreted crown, placed on a chariot, accompanied by submissive lions and cocks, holding in one hand a key, in the other a percussion instrument; the charioteers brandish naked swords.⁵³ Peter Dronke, in his chapter entitled "Bernard Silvestris, Natura, and personification" on the philosophy of the school of Chartres, notes that some scholars well into the thirteenth century did represent Earth and *natura* as a personified figure derived from the Roman goddess Terra or Tellus, a *magna mater* who nourishes and protects all.⁵⁴ This dramatic identification of the Christian ideal with the pagan image may therefore have been less surprising to medieval clerics than it is to us.

Bartholomew partly explains his inclusion of the pagan goddess among the properties of *terra* by saying that her attributes signify the seasonal round and the yearly rituals of ploughing and harvest 'under the cover of stories', *sub integumentum fabularum*.⁵⁵ Peter Dronke locates the device of *integumentum fabulae* within the twelfth-century School of Chartres and the philosophy of Bernard of Salisbury: through this device a legendary narrative can encase sub-textual meaning, which it is then up to the commentator to reveal.⁵⁶ In this instance the glossator is a 'commentator' who reveals a deeper meaning available to his contemporaries, lying beneath the description of the pagan earth-mother. The glosses point to the example of the Christian church and the Virgin Mary, to her faith and hope, her fullness of grace, her excellence, ripeness and stability; and to her total devotion to her Lord, in striking contrast to the personification of *terra* described in the column text.⁵⁷ The reader could draw both characters at once from the same page — the pagan story could be a paradoxical cover for, and vivid antithesis of, the image of the church (*ecclesia*) as bride and mother

of Christ.⁵⁸ We might conclude then that this outwardly pagan and surprising passage in Book 14 could serve as a pause for reflection, not only upon the fertilising properties of religious life and the harvest of souls but also upon the virtues of Mary, her example to men and women, and her identification with the church as holy and fertile mother. At the same time, the chapter in Book 14 describing the fruitful properties of the earth prepares the way for Book 15 on the properties of places and peoples found upon its face — some still waiting to be sown with the word of God.

Book of the world, map of the world

Places and peoples known or rumoured to exist appear on world maps made during the Middle Ages. Scholars conclude that large *mappaemundi* such as those from Hereford (c.1280) and Ebstorf cathedrals (c.1300), and the tiny Psalter Map (c.1260), found in a small book of psalms for private devotion, were in effect compilations of theology, history and empirical knowledge, on the theme of salvation, for contemplation of the overarching meaning of the sites of original sin, redemption and judgement. They might serve a public or private teaching function.⁵⁹ Maps therefore parallel Bartholomew's textual image of the world: as a repertoire of places and peoples found within the mental horizons of the thirteenth-century Christian west; as a store of exemplary histories and legends; as an ordered hierarchical image of the cosmos; and as an object of contemplation for the Christian *peregrinus*. As David Woodward notes, the term *mappamundi*, or 'map of the world', could be used in the Middle Ages in an additional metaphorical sense, or to describe a purely textual account of the world.⁶⁰ A textual account of the world is precisely what Bartholomew builds as he takes us from Book 8 on the cosmos to Book 18 on land creatures. Margriet Hoogvliet argues that although many extant maps occur in world book texts, they are not simply illustrative or interchangeable but complementary: the name *mappamundi* belongs rightly to both; and the strong association between maps and texts 'can provide us with some clues for a reconstruction of the spiritual meaning of the medieval maps of the world'.⁶¹ It seems reasonable to suppose that, conversely, our awareness of the forms, content and function of the maps can help us reconstruct the spiritual meanings underlying the properties of things amassed by Bartholomew from his sources.

Early 'Properties' manuscripts do not contain drawn maps but, from their presence in some of Bartholomew's main patristic sources, it seems reasonable to conclude that the compiler would have been familiar with earlier examples of the tradition.⁶² Many of the *imago mundi* texts contain maps, the *Imago Mundi* of Henry of Mainz (floruit 1098–1156) being seen as a prototypical example from the twelfth century.⁶³ Each map is different but, since the maps were graphic representations of historical, geographical and exegetical knowledge, each map-maker had to find ways of encoding within the orthodox scheme, or *imago*

mundi, far more information than could be fully depicted or described in the space available. The density of the maps, like that of 'Properties', suggests that a good deal of imaginative re-creation was expected on the part of both viewers and readers. Within this group, the English Psalter Map is most nearly contemporaneous with 'Properties' and comparable as a book for individual devotional reading (Figure 3).⁶⁴ Whether a map was made for public or private use, it was normal to depict the theme of Judgement in the area immediately inside the frame or edge of the page. In the Psalter map *recto*, the iconography of the Last Judgement is limited to the figure of Christ, but the dragons below could be reminders of the power of Satan to destroy faith — and on the *verso* of the map Christ's feet rest firmly upon them (Figure 4).⁶⁵ The Psalter map depicts earth as a circle within the rectangular page.

Divine and eternal beings, God and his angels, occupy the space outside the circle of the earth and within the rectangular frame. Books 1 to 4 of 'Properties' provide the conceptual framework for the whole work, as the rectangular frame or page does for the Christian cosmos depicted in the map. Bartholomew places God (Book 1) and the angels — good and bad — (Book 2) in the dominant position at the head of the work. Books 1 and 2 correspond to the area outside the circle of the world but within the rectangular frame of the map, embracing and dominating the sublunar world.

Book 3 presents the human soul at the start of its journey through the world and towards God. Book 4, on the four elements and four humours, is consistent with the symbolism of the number four embedded in *mappaemundi* and tetradic diagrams.⁶⁶ Book 4 can also be seen as the centre of a group of seven Books; between the first three Books that deal with the divine, and Books 5, 6, and 7 that deal with the corporeal aspects of the world.

In Book 8, Bartholomew describes the world at the centre of the spheres and furthest from heaven of all the heavenly bodies.⁶⁷ Books 9, 10 and 11 can be likened to the first or outer circle of the map, where the motion of the sublunary world creates the flow of time (Book 9) and the vicissitudes of temperature (Book 10) and winds (Book 11) that we experience.

Figure 3: The Psalter Map, British Library Additional Ms 28681, f.9 *recto*. Circa 1260.



The map is a miniature occurring in a Book of Psalms, but it is thought that it could be a copy of larger-scale maps commissioned by Henry III for the walls of Westminster Abbey. Used by permission of the British Library.

Figure 4: The Psalter Map, British Library Additional Ms 28681, f.9 verso. Circa 1260.



The features depicted on the map, and the places listed on its reverse side, represent the basic repertoire of a *mappaemundi* of 1100–1300 and coincide closely with those named in 'Properties' Books 13, 14 and 15.

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Creatures of air, the subject of Book 12, are the 'ornaments' of that element.⁶⁸ At another level, Book 12 is a list of *distinctiones* into which the symbolic significance of individual birds could be read by those versed in them. It also serves to deepen and expand on the idea of the soul on its journey, and even (like the crane, the swift and the homing pigeon) to symbolise the viewer as *peregrinus* in the world and in the book.⁶⁹

Book 13 on the element of water can be compared to the area on the *mappaemundi* where bodies of water and rivers are predominant features, with the Nile and the Mediterranean separating the world into its three divisions. In this Book, Bartholomew includes the rivers Nile and Danube; and the four rivers that come out of Paradise — Physon (or Ganges), Gyon, Tigris and Euphrates. These, with the rivers Dorix and Jordan, each have a chapter in Book 13. Here, he describes their passage from Paradise in the East, into the Red Sea, through Mesopotamia, Babylon and Armenia; the Jordan flows through Palestine, past Jericho and into the Dead Sea. The rivers Albana and Pharphar flow through Syria and Damascus; the river Gazan flows into the Red Sea; and Chebar, with its sedges and willows, is where God's people sat down and wept by the waters of Babylon. The Dead Sea, Lake Tiberias and Genesar 'pond' each have a chapter. The Mediterranean has a chapter, *De mari magno*, in which Bartholomew draws a verbal map of the coastline and the countries of its margins, including a paragraph on the Red Sea and its environs.⁷⁰ A characteristic feature of contemporary maps is the Ocean that rings the world, dotted with islands, named and unnamed. Bartholomew refers to 'the waters which surround the sides of the earth' at the start of Book 8 on the cosmos. As we have seen, he describes properties of the ocean in general in the chapter *De mari* in Book 13; and the properties of the island in general, as well as known and rumoured islands such as the Cyclades, Ireland and Thule, in Book 15 on provinces and peoples.⁷¹

Books 14 and 15 treat the land features of the maps; the mountains, valleys, islands and provinces. In Book 14, the chapter that follows *De terra* is *De monte*, dealing with mountains, the salient feature of the earth's surface, and also caverns, caves and deserts. Bartholomew's list of mountains encompasses those shown on the maps that were the scene of scriptural events and a goal of pilgrims. Among these are Mounts Ararat, Bethel, Golgatha, Hebron, Carmel, Lebanon, Moria, Nebo, Oreb, Sinai, Syon and Ziph.⁷² He also includes some mountains important in classical writings, such as Mount Olympus. Having dealt with important specifics on the map of the world, both Christian and pagan, Bartholomew treats the properties of general features that result from the lumpy surface of the earth, namely hills and valleys, hollows and caves.⁷³

In Book 15 Bartholomew starts with the division of the world among Noah's three sons according to the Gloss on *Genesis* and other patristic sources, and graphically represented in tri-partite ('T-O') medieval maps.⁷⁴ In the Psalter

map and others of this group, the division of the world into three is implicit in the vertical and horizontal divisions made by the Mediterranean Sea and the river Nile. In the chapter on Armenia, he mentions that this is where the Ark came to rest, having already referred to the legend of the Ark's inaccessible remains in the chapter on Mount Ararat in Book 14.⁷⁵

Other key places we find on maps are the earthly Paradise, Jerusalem and Babylon. Bartholomew describes the earthly Paradise as 'a place in the east', but he then draws on scriptural and legendary sources, including the story of Alexander's journey to Paradise.⁷⁶ Bartholomew presents the properties of Jerusalem in *De Iudea*: 'In the centre of Judea is the city of Jerusalem, as if it were the navel of all this country and land, and it is rich with all kinds of richness.'⁷⁷ In his chapters on Babylon and Chaldea, Bartholomew includes the gathering of giants after the flood and the building of the Tower of Babel; the drama of Semiramis, the rise and fall of the Assyrians, and the foundation of Rome; the captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon's destruction by the Medes and the Persians under Darius. He describes the fertility and richness of the Mesopotamian region and the contrast after its destruction: '[T]he place that Babylon was in is desert and contains nothing but monsters.'⁷⁸

Book 6, on life, death and tasks, is one site for meditation on the theme of our mortality. Book 9 is another. In Book 9, on time, Bartholomew had already pointed to Babylon as the city representing the heathen and false homeland that entraps us in this earthly life. In the chapter on the church's feast of Septuagesima, he says that the 70 days before Easter signify the 70 years in which the children of Israel were enslaved in Babylon, but also prefigure 'the time of our life while it is subject to sin or pain'. At Easter, 'alleluya' is sung to celebrate the release of mankind from the slavery of sin by Christ's passion, even though hardship and pain persist, 'as the people of Israel made joy and mirth because they were coming into Jerusalem, but nevertheless they suffered sorely from the hardness of the way'.⁷⁹ Here, Bartholomew brings to the surface the idea of this life as a journey towards the true homeland or *patria* in which we each play the role of traveller. Like the Children of Israel, we should rejoice that we are on the way home but remain somewhat sad at the thought of our enslavement. In Book 15, the topics of Paradise and of Babylon, as named places on the world map, offer another point of entry into this principal theme. Books 16, 17 and 18 treat (only partially alphabetically) the properties of and distinctions between things of earth — namely rocks and gems, plants, and creatures with legs — maintaining the dual focus on the earth as both delightful vineyard and place of toil and travail.

In Book 19, Bartholomew returns to the overarching idea of the divine framework that holds the world; the rectangle signifies the universal church and the firmness of the faithful person:

For the form of the quadrangle is the most stable and firm, and it signifies the utmost stability of the universal church and the firmness of the faithful soul, as much in spiritual strength as in knowledge and doctrine; and since it is length, breadth, height and depth it embraces all things holy.⁸⁰

This description of a fundamental, universally enclosing form is consistent with the rectangular frames of the Psalter and most other maps, within which God and his angels dominate and surround the round world within.⁸¹

To sum up this chapter: stories of travellers such as Odysseus, Noah and Alexander the Great, encoded on medieval maps and alluded to in 'Properties', were an effective — and affective — means of teaching Christian doctrine and preparing students for missionary work. Bartholomew's images of the land, the seas and the traveller are consistent with his role as a Franciscan *lector* in a frontier area. They draw attention to exotic peoples and places in a positive spirit; encourage reflection on historical events recorded in the Bible that prefigure personal and world salvation; and embody the idea of the reader's own life as a pilgrimage. The glosses indicate that the properties of land and the sea could signify, for near-contemporary clerical readers, the spiritual growth and nurture provided by the church, and spiritual dangers of the world. Special dangers could serve as warnings against worldly perils that could only be survived with divine help and moral strength. This commentary, and our awareness of the literary device of *integumentum*, suggests that Bartholomew's stories about non-Christian places, peoples and adventurers were justified as entertaining and engaging vehicles for Christian teaching.

The narrative devices that link and cross-cut the sequence of Books add to its effectiveness as a teaching and learning tool and help us to form a picture of the mental horizons of the compiler and his students. 'Properties' can give us a clue to the freight of meaning potentially available to the reader of such an outwardly expository text. That is not to say, of course, that the encoded meanings are fully recoverable by historians. We can at least deduce from 'Properties' something of the depth and intricacy of an intellectual system that patterned the world qualitatively rather than quantitatively, in an effort to impose order on the intractable diversity of things and their properties within a balanced and providential whole. Bartholomew's sustained, overarching themes of pilgrimage and salvation show us something of the meaning, for medieval people, of the concept of *imago mundi*.

NOTES

¹ Parts of this chapter have appeared in Keen, Libby, "Under cover of stories: Bartholomew the Englishman and the world of land and sea" in *Our Medieval Heritage*, edited by Linda Rasmussen, Valerie Spear and Dianne Tillotson, 94–108, Cardiff: Merton Priory Press, 2002.

² Mendicants and missionaries were vulnerable to charges of being inquisitive sightseers (*gyrovagi*): Zacher, 1976. Smalley, Beryl, "Ecclesiastical attitudes to novelty c1100–c1250" in *Church, Society and Politics*, edited by Derek Baker, 115–6. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975, finds that the church's attitude to the new during the thirteenth century gradually came to accommodate the friars.

³ Dawson, Christopher, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1955.

⁴ Southern, R. W., *The Making of the Middle Ages*, London: Hutchinson, 1953, pp.211–2; Phillips, J. R. S., *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp.83–4.

⁵ Sources include letters from the Emperor Frederick II to the kings of England and France proposing common action against the Tartars; and Bulls from Pope Innocent IV to the Emperor of the Tartars, carried by envoys who later wrote of their experiences: Dawson, p.xi.

⁶ Moorman, pp.48–59. Africa south of the northern coastal area was almost unknown to Europeans in the Middle Ages, leading to conjecture about rumoured monstrous races inhabiting the interior: Phillips, pp.143 foll.

⁷ French and Cunningham, Introduction; Phillips, pp.260–78, includes a comprehensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources on medieval discoveries and theories concerning the inhabited world.

⁸ Phillips, pp.83–4: 'In the 12th c. there was the movement of crusaders and settlers into the Baltic lands of Prussia and Livonia ... Throughout the period of the most intensive European missionary work in Asia there was ... a parallel movement going on within certain parts of Europe itself.'

⁹ Brooke, 1975; Brooke, Rosalind B. and Christopher Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, p.140; Phillips, pp.15, 84.

¹⁰ Moorman, pp.48–59.

¹¹ Brooke, Rosalind B., ed, 1970, pp.337, 341.

¹² Salimbene, who met Carpini after his return in 1245, records that he often heard him describe his experiences as a traveller and as a guest of the Great Khan: Dawson, pp.iv–viii; p.2. Carpini had taken a leading part in the establishment of the Franciscan Order in western Europe: Phillips, pp.73–82 and foll; Dawson, pp.xv–xviii. Salimbene states: 'In the time of Pope Gregory IX rumors first went abroad about the Tartars, and several Popes sent messengers to them. These Friars Minor returned from the Tatars [sic] without any harm, and they reported many things about them, which I heard with my own ears' (cited by Baird, pp.200–01).

¹³ Phillips, pp.7–16. Dawson, p.88, says, 'Hardly anything is known about this great man except what he tells us in his book. The dates of his birth and his death are unknown, but he seems to have been a much younger man than John of Plano Carpini.'

¹⁴ DrP, Bk 13, cap xxi *De Mari*, pp.569–75.

¹⁵ The Sirtes, Major and Minor, were, and are, areas of shoals and currents off the North African shore in areas now known as the Gulfs of Sidra and Gabès: Westrem, pp.338–9. See Fig. 1. In the mid-sixth century Procopius had described the Greater and Lesser Sirtes as currents with a fatal shoreward drag on ships, requiring special skills and poles to navigate them: Stewart, Aubrey, ed, *Procopius of Caesarea (c560 AD): Of the Buildings of Justinian*, London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896, pp.157, 160. Thanks to Norman Lewis for this reference.

¹⁶ DrP, Bk 15, cap cli *De Syrtibus*, p.702; BA cites Isidore and Sallust as his authorities.

¹⁷ Bk 13, cap xxi *De Mari*, p.572: *Praeter istas autem maris proprietates sunt quaedam aliae communes, et omnibus fere notae, quas tamen propter simplices bonum putavi hic apponere, ut materiam habeant aliqua mystica, per earum similitudinem simplicibus suadere.*

¹⁸ BNF Ms Lat. 60798, f.124v–125v: *Nota de statu mundanorum; Nota de prosperitate & adversitate mundi; Nota de amore mundi et eius periculo; Nota contra divitiis*; Alain de Lille (d.1203) had listed the sea as a symbol of the mundane world: Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Vol.210. Paris, 1882, 685–10–12.

¹⁹ BNF Ms Lat. 60798, f.124v–125v: other glosses against *De mari* include *Nota de mundanis; Nota de mutabiliente mundanorum; Nota de amore mundi*; beside the lines on Scylla and Charybdis, *Nota de*

prosperitate & adversitate mundi; Nota de amore mundi et eius periculo; beside mention of 'Syrtēs' or 'Sirtēs', *Nota contra divitiis*. Williams, David, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature*: University of Exeter Press, 1996, pp.183–5, interprets the significance of Scylla and Charybdis in Christian thought as warnings against the sexual voracity of women.

²⁰ DrP, cap xxiii *De pelago*, p.577; BNF Ms Lat. 16098, f.126r: *Nota de mundanorum mutabilitate; Nota de tumultu mundana*.

²¹ DrP, Bk 18, cap xciv *De sirena*, p.1113.

²² BNF Ms Lat. 67098, f.235r: *Nota de amore mundi; Nota contra invidioses & superbos; Nota contra ypocriticas; Nota de concupi[scentia] carnis et oculorum & de superbia vite*.

²³ DrP, Bk 13, cap xxvii *De Piscibus*, pp.578–87. In BNF Ms Lat. 16098, ff.126v–127r, the glossator interprets kinds of fish as types of people; for example, the first gloss is *Nota de studentibus*.

²⁴ DrP, Bk 8 *de proprietatibus Mundi et corporibus coelestibus*, cap i *Quid sit Mundus*, pp.367–72: *restat ut ad proprietates mundi sensibilis, quantum nobis datur desuper manus apponamus, ut materiam divinae laudis ex proprietatibus operationum possimus elicere conditoris. Invisibilia enim Dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur, ut dicit Apostolus*.

²⁵ DrP Bk 3 *de proprietatibus animae rationalis*, cap iii *De Anima*, pp.46–8: *Quia unitur corpori, scilicet, ut motor mobili & nauta navi, & secundum hoc diffinitur a Remigio sic: Anima est substantia incorporea, regens corpus. Et ab August. de anima & spiritu*.

²⁶ DrP, Bk 8, cap xxxiii *De Polo*, p.421.

²⁷ DrP, Bk 13, cap xxvi *De Piscibus*, p.584.

²⁸ DrP Bk 15, *de proprietate Provinciarum*, cap.lxxxii *De Insula in Salo sita*, p.667.

²⁹ DrP, Bk 17, *de proprietatibus Plantarum*, cap clxii *De Tabula*, p.937.

³⁰ AV, *Genesis* 6–9.

³¹ See Edson, pp.159–63, on Hugh of St Victor's *De Arca Noe Mystica* (1128/29) as a treatise on salvation; on Noah in medieval drama, see Davies, R. T., *The Corpus Christi Play of the English Middle Ages*, London: Faber and Faber, 1972, pp.15–44.

³² William of Conches, *Commentary on Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy*, cited by Minnis, Scott and Wallace, eds, p.129.

³³ Ladner, Gerhart B., "Homo viator: medieval ideas on alienation and order", *Speculum* 42.2 (1967): 233–59, p.237.

³⁴ DrP, Bk 18, cap xxiv *De Cane*, p.1037: *Alii autem canes ut custodies domorum & civium vivunt diutius, quia quatuordecim annis & aliquando viginti, ut dicit Homerus Item li.8*. Author's paraphrase.

³⁵ DrP, Bk 15, cap lv, p.652: *quem poetae finxerunt deum fuisse ventorum*. Author's paraphrase.

³⁶ Zacher, pp.34–5, p.166 n.63.

³⁷ Kratz, Dennis M., *The Romances of Alexander*, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1991; Bunt, Gerith H. V., *Alexander the Great in the Literature of Medieval Britain*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1994, pp.6–7; Stoneman, Richard, ed, *Legends of Alexander the Great*, London: Everyman, 1994. Latin recensions of the Greek history of Alexander appropriated by both Jewish and Christian writers were highly popular in BA's time, such as that derived from the early-fourth century *Res Gestae Alexandri Magni* of Julius Valerius. By the thirteenth century, various versions of the legend existed which made use of Alexander as a moral example to be both observed and shunned by the Christian. Alexander's travels served to bring notions of marginal and monstrous races into the Christian image of the world: Woodward, 1987, pp.286–370.

³⁸ AV, *I John* 2:15–18: 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.' Zacher (p.3) sees this text as fundamental to the medieval trope of *peregrinatio*: 'As one of the earliest Christians expressed it, man must decide between this world and the homeland of the Father; the choice is either *mundus* or *patria*.'

³⁹ AV, *Revelation* 17:5.

⁴⁰ DrP, Bk 15, cap xii *De Amazonia*, p.629. Here BA refers to a legendary letter of reproof from the queen of the Amazons to Alexander, which taught the hero a more humble chivalry. According to Seymour, 1992, p.160, BA's account of the Amazons 'apparently derives from the unidentified version of the story of Alisaundre'.

⁴¹ DrP, Bk 15, cap cxix *De Persida*, p.687.

⁴² DrP, Bk 17, cap cxxvi *De Papyro*, p.906.

⁴³ DrP, Bk 17, cap liii *De Hedera*, p.833.

⁴⁴ DrP, Bk 17, cap cxvi *De Palma*, p.898.

⁴⁵ DrP, Bk 17, cap clxxxv *De Vino rubeo*, p.959. Drunkenness was a problem for the church at this time, the 4th Lateran Council urging temperance among clerics: Williams, Jane Welch, *Bread, Wine & Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral*: The University of Chicago Press, 1990, p.99. Salimbene is an eager witness to clerical appreciation of good wine, both white and red: Baird, p.xii.

⁴⁶ DrP, Bk 18, cap xxx *De cervo*, p.1046; see Bath, Michael, "The legend of Caesar's deer", *Medievalia et Humanistica* 9 (1979): 53–66, on the evidence of a tradition concerning the hart's longevity, derived originally from Homeric and Roman legend. BA's oblique reference to the story suggests that it was known in his time and place and already associated with Alexander.

⁴⁷ DrP, Bk 18, *de proprietatibus Animalium* cap xxiv *De cane*, p.1036; Bk 15, cap xi *De Alania*, p.628; Matthew, p.185.

⁴⁸ DrP, Bk 18, cap xcv *De sirena*, p.1113: *De talibus monstribus legitur in historia Alexandri Magni*. Alexander's descent to the depths of the sea, and his soldiers' encounter with predatory river-women, are described in *Historia de Preliis Alexandri* (tenth century): Kratz, pp.74–6.

⁴⁹ DrP, Bk 15, cap cliii *De Suecia*, p.704: *Poetarum et scriptorum scriptis et dictis fidem adhibere convenit, quorum relatio fides, moribus non preiudicat, nec veritate cognita contradicit*. Sweden had been more resistant to conversion than other Scandinavian countries, and Christianity was not well established there until the early twelfth century: Phillips, p.33.

⁵⁰ D. Williams, pp.183–5; in his Introduction (pp.4–5) Williams proposes that Christian Neoplatonism validated the grotesque and monstrous because the only way to describe God was through what He is not, citing Ps-Dionysius' *On the Divine Names*: 'Indeed, the inscrutable One is out of the reach of every rational process.'

⁵¹ D. Williams, p.249. Edson, pp.103, 111 & p.182 nn.46, 47.

⁵² DrP, Bk 14, *De proprietatibus Terrae* cap i *De Terra*, p.588.

⁵³ DrP, Bk 14, *De terra et eius partibus* cap i *De Terra*, p.590: *In signum autem tantae foecunditatis et virtutis facta est ei magna imago foeminea, et alma mater nuncupata, cum turrata corona, posita super currum, cui leones domiti subiiciebantur. In una manu portabat clavem, in alia tympanum sive cymbalum. Cuius aurigae vibrabant gladiis quos gestabant, et galli matronam sedentem in curru subsequi fingebantur*. Klingender (p.247) describes an image of the *Magna Mater* that combines *Terra*, *Vesta* and *Ceres* in an early-eleventh-century copy of Hrabanus Maurus' *De Universo*. This work and its imagery derive from Isidore of Seville, BA's cited source in *De Terra*; as Donald Byrne has shown, this description suggested to later fourteenth-century illustrators the Roman ceremony of *Cybele*. The figure of Earth depicted in Ms Cod. Guelf, f.176, and BNF ms fr.22531, f.216 to illustrate DrP, Bk 14 in French translation is that of *Cybele*; in the sources *Galli* were her eunuch priests, and it was BA who first rendered them as cocks: Byrne, 1978, pp.159–61.

⁵⁴ Dronke, Peter, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, Rome: Edizione de storia e letteratura, 1992, pp.47–51.

⁵⁵ *His & aliis multis modis describuntur proprietates terrae sub integumentum fabularum, sicut ibidem recitatur ab Isidore*: DrP, Bk 14, cap i *De Terra*, p.591.

⁵⁶ Dronke, p.63: through the device of *integumentum fabulae* 'le sens profond est enveloppé par la narration fabuleuse — c'est donc au commentateur de le découvrir'. See also French & Cunningham, pp.57–9, on the thirteenth-century concept of pagan thought as a useful appropriation, analogous to the 'Egyptian gold' stolen by the departing Israelites.

⁵⁷ BNF Ms Lat. 16098 f.129r: the glosses include *Nota de ecclesia sive virgine benedicta; Nota de fide et spere virginis benedictae; Nota de gracia plenitudine; Nota de eius singulare excellentia; Nota de marie maturitate; Nota de eius intentione tota relata in domino; Nota de fidei et gracia sue stabilitate*.

⁵⁸ Dronke (p.52) examines the identification of *Terra* with *Ecclesia*, the church, in the work of Bernard Silvestris: 'The reason *Tellus* can have such nearness to divinity, and can become deeply comparable to *Ecclesia*, is that the sense of a whole Christian cosmos brought to renewed life — which the shining words of the *Exultet* convey — transfigures *Tellus* and *Ecclesia* equally. Their connotations, that is, move ... as close as possible to those of rejoicing living beings.'

⁵⁹ See Edson, pp.111–7 and Fig.6.3, p.114, for a discussion of the Hereford map as an image of the world 'strictly disciplined and subdued in the service of a greater world order'. For recent analyses of the Hereford map as a teaching tool, see Westrem, 2001. See also Woodward, 1987; also Klingender, p.247, on the *mappamundi* in the Montecassino ms of Hrabanus Maurus' *De Universo*. Whitfield says

(p.14): 'In constructing a world map, the essential principle was to adhere to a tradition. This is not to say that the medieval world map remained static and repetitive; on the contrary the extant maps show a multitude of variations. But the structure remains the same, and the variations are elaborations from literary and religious sources, not geographical developments.' Edson, pp.145–63, explores the spiritual function of maps with reference to the variations they display on a basic repertoire of forms and content.

⁶⁰ Woodward, 1987, p.287; see Westrem, pp.xxxiv–vii, on the recently-discovered *Expositio mappe mundi* and its relation to the Hereford map as an explanatory text.

⁶¹ Hoogvliet, pp.63–4.

⁶² Déstombes, p.189: The Wolfenbüttel codex Helmst. 442 (fourteenth century) contains 'Properties', a *Chronica Mundi*, a map of Palestine and a world map, suggesting that the compiler of this codex associated 'Properties' with the history and geography of the physical world. Thanks to Julie Hotchin for information on this codex.

⁶³ Edson, pp.11–3, and Woodward, 1987, pp.291–313, trace changes and elaborations on the earliest examples from late-Roman and early patristic manuscripts, the so-called T-O maps, showing the tripartite division of the world, Asia, Europe and Africa, between the three sons of Noah. See Woodward, 1987, p.312, on the confused identities of Henry of Mainz and Honorius of Autun; and pp.334–42 on the significance of Noah in the development and symbolism of the maps.

⁶⁴ On the Psalter Map (c.1250), see Déstombes, pp.168–70; Whitfield, pp.18–9; Woodward, 1987, pp.327–50; <www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/themes/mapsandviews/psaltermap.html>. Déstombes, loc.cit., describes this map in detail and notes its affinities with the Ebstorf and Hereford maps. He refers to the work of Konrad Miller, who transcribed all the names on the Psalter map in *Die ältesten Weltkarten* vol III (1895).

⁶⁵ Hassig, p.50, concludes that the dragon was 'bestiary devil par excellence', citing (p.246 n.20) the iconography of the dragon in Apocalypse illustrations.

⁶⁶ Sears, Elizabeth, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp.16–20; Woodward, 1987, pp.335–6.

⁶⁷ DrP, Bk 8, cap i *Quid sit mundus*, pp.367–72.

⁶⁸ DrP, Bk 12, preamble, p.507: *Ad ornatum autem aeris, pertinent aves et volatilia, ut dicit Beda.*

⁶⁹ Klingender, pp.402–51, discusses and illustrates the abundant use of birds to signify human souls in Apocalypse and other manuscripts. On the use of moralised birds as a teaching tool, see Clark, Willene B., "The illustrated medieval aviary and the lay-brotherhood", *Gesta* XXI (1982): 63–74. Cf. DrP, cap xv *De grue*, pp.534–5; cap xxi *De hirundine*, pp.539–40; cap vi *De columba*, pp.524–7.

⁷⁰ DrP, Bk 13, pp.569–75.

⁷¹ DrP, Bk 8, cap i *Quid sit Mundus*, p.368: *Aqua quae terrae latera circumcingit*; Bk 15, cap lxxxii, *De insula in Salo sita*, pp.667–668.

⁷² DrP, Bk 14, pp.596–616.

⁷³ While general at one level, these may have had a specific application to Franciscan readers. BA stresses the emotional responses to the mountain top and to the dark place as shelter or as danger. The chapter on the mountain (DrP, Bk 14, cap ii *De monte*, pp.595–6) concludes with a description of the valley as refuge for hunted animals that come down from the heights. Against this the glossator had written *Nota quod religio est refugium peccatorum*. The glosses against the passage describing the light on the mountain tops include *Nota de contemplativis*, *Nota de exemplis bonis*, *Nota contra superbos* (Meyer, 1988, pp.246–8). They are consistent with the recorded significance of wilderness, mountains and caves for the early Franciscans seeking casual shelters, and especially of Francis's reported sojourns on Monte Verna: see R Brooke, 1970, pp.337, 341.

⁷⁴ DrP, Bk 15, cap i *De Orbe*, p.624; Woodward, pp.301–2 and passim.

⁷⁵ DrP, Bk 15, cap v *De Armenia*, p.626: *Et dicitur Ararath mons, in quo Archa Noae post diluuium requieuit*; Bk 14, cap.iii *De Ararath*, pp.596–7: *Ararath mons est Armeniae altissimus, in quo archa post diluuium requieuit, ut dicit Isidor & usque hodie lignorum archae vestigia in eiusdem montis vertice adhuc apparent.*

⁷⁶ DrP, Bk 15, cap cxii *De paradiso*, pp.680–3. Bartholomew may have drawn on the Jewish story of Alexander's journey to Paradise found in the *Iter Alexandri ad Paradisum* which, it has been argued, was known widely in northern Europe in the Middle Ages: see Bunt, p.11. Lascelles, Mary, "Alexander and the earthly Paradise in mediaeval English writings", *Medium Aevum* 5 (1936): 31–47; 79–104; 173–88, demonstrates that the story of Alexander in Paradise was familiar to medieval English writers. Greatham, 1980, discusses Bartholomew's sources for and treatment of the properties of Paradise.

The Journey of a Book

⁷⁷ DrP, Bk 15, cap lxxvi *De Iudea*, pp.663–4. Author's paraphrase.

⁷⁸ DrP, Bk 15, cap xxii *De Babylonia*, pp.635–6; cap xxxiii *De Chaldea*, pp.640–1: *Locus autem ubi quondam fuit Babylon, est desertus, et nihil continet nisi bestias monstrosas.*

⁷⁹ DrP, Bk 9, cap xxvii *De Septuagesima*, p.459: *In his autem 70 annis captivitatis babylonicae praefigurabatur totum tempus vitae nostrae, quam diu culpa subdimur atque poenae.* The number 70, as the allotted span of life, has its own cluster of associations, including the parable of the vineyard: Sears, 1986, pp.80-1. Landini (pp.24–5) notes that the passage in *Luke* 10:1–5, taken to denote the number of workers to be sent forth into the field, was one of the Gospel texts upon which Francis reputedly founded his Order.

⁸⁰ Bk 19, cap cxvii *De numero quaternario*, p.1223: *Forma autem quadrangula maxime stabilis est atque firma, et ideo maxime stabilitatem signat universalis ecclesie et firmitatem fidelis anime tam in virtutibus quam in scientia et doctrina, que comprehendit cum omnibus sanctis que sit longitudo, latitudo, sublimitas, et profundum.*

⁸¹ The large Hereford map's upper edge is peaked, which strictly speaking makes it a rectangle surmounted by a triangle containing a circle.