Chapter 7. Navigating tides of change: Bartholomew and the English

As we saw in the last chapter, the size and scope of ‘Properties’ allowed it to become a resource to be mined by specialists of various kinds in the later Middle Ages, but it was still kept and valued as a whole work by religious and scholarly institutions and by book-owning individuals at the highest level of society. This chapter asks how ‘Properties’ could present an image of the world that was a guide to salvation at a time when faith, not works, was required; as history, that could meet the needs of the Tudors; as library substitute in the age of the printing press; as a guide to the symbolic properties of things when material properties were politically and commercially important.

The printing press aided and reflected the process by which knowledge was being systematised — not only existing knowledge but also new information and ideas. Continental printed works show that a precedent existed for praising Bartholomew as a writer. In 1494 Johannes Tritheim, Abbot of Sponheim (d.1516), had included Bartholomew natione Anglicus in his catalogue of notable ecclesiastical writers, describing him as a man extremely devoted to the Scriptures and by no means inferior in learning, who produced works of considerable authority.¹ The title-page of the edition of ‘Properties’ printed at Nuremberg in 1519 contains a passage praising Bartholomew for his learning, acknowledging his care and labour, commending the work’s usefulness as an object of study, noting the demand for it in print, and urging the buyer to go ahead and disregard the cost.² The printed editions of ‘Properties’ in England in 1495, 1535 and 1582 imply that in this country also there was a market for the work in an updated and manageable format, in the era of increased book-production and rising literacy.³ Yet these dates are associated now with events or developments that seem, in retrospect, to mark major changes in thinking about the world, human society and religious practice. William Harrison in The Description of England (1587) describes the population in terms of four, not three, estates — nobility, gentry, yeomen and labourers. He expresses concern at the ‘new gentlemen’ such as burgesses and merchants, who import expensive wares and disturb the conventional economies.⁴ There are indications that people were forming new concepts about the nature of an ideal society or commonwealth based on English Protestant culture rather than a shared European and Catholic culture. In the printed editions of Properties we find observable changes in the content to suit an English readership, and circumstantial evidence that influential literary figures appropriated Bartholomaeus Anglicus for England and the English as a symbol of national wisdom and authority.
The Berthelet edition: ‘bycause this werke is so profitable’

On the basis of De Worde’s 1495 edition of Properties, Thomas Berthelet offered readers a much more manageable and orderly text in his new edition of 1535. Berthelet was a successful London printer who produced pamphlets and documents for Henry VIII and was the appointed King’s Printer from 1530 to 1547. Contemporary references and his publication record suggest that, as a practical man of business, he fed a growing market for functional, concise editions of legal statutes, health manuals and translations of medical treatises. Together with the printers Pynson, Redman and Grafton, Berthelet was especially active in publishing legal statutes of a few pages only that could be bound together, ‘indispensable for those actively engaged in the law’. In 1539, Berthelet issued a volume of legal treatises, reissued in 1544; he also published practical health manuals which sold well, and is recorded as ‘talkyng of one boke and of an other’ with Thomas Paynell and agreeing on the usefulness of translating the eminently useful medical works Regimen sanitatis Salerni (published 1528) and De morbo gallico (published 1533).

In his preface to the reader, Berthelet emphasises the educational nature and practical utility of ‘This worke intituled Bertholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum’ as a ready reference on material things. He makes much of his referral back to a Latin exemplar, and the accessibility of the revised format:

newely printed with many places therein amended by the latyne examplare: wherby ye shalle noe the better understand it, not onely bycause many wordes & sentences that were here & there lefte out, be restored agayne, but also by reson the propre names of men, landes, cites, townes, ruyers, mountaynes, bestes, wodes … & fishes, be trewely ortografied. And for bycause this werke is so profitable & the manyfold things therin conteyned soo nedefull to be knowen and had in a redynes, I have distilleed this table wherby ye shal shortly fynd, what ye lisete to rede.7

Berthelet omits Trevisa’s prohemium, and replaces the tabula with a detailed list of topics with Book and chapter references but without page numbers, which could have functioned as both a table of contents and as an index (see Figure 7). The content differs little from that of the earlier edition, with Berthelet also diverging from ‘the latyne examplare’ by omitting all the chapters of Book 1, replacing them with a woodcut illustration of God followed by a passage entitled De Trinitate, on the Trinity, condensed from Bartholomew’s first two chapters. These changes in the presentation of Properties suggest that Berthelet was responding to demands of the market and to competition in the trade, but also to readers who would want interesting informative material, clearly presented and easily accessible.8
The climate of the times demanded careful attention to Henry’s developing policy on religious observance. Henry’s measures against Lutheran infiltration suggest that he was on his guard against this reforming movement in the earlier years of his reign. The Properties edition of 1535 was made before controls on Catholicism tightened under Edward VI, but at a time of increasing tension over definitions of heresy. The printing trade was under close scrutiny: in 1525 De Worde had been called on to show cause why he had printed a work by John Gough, a printer and bookseller under suspicion of heresy and sedition; in 1526 Berthelet had been reprimanded for printing translations of three works of Erasmus, having failed to exhibit the works to the Bishop of London’s officials.9 The years 1534 and 1535 saw legislation, including the Act of Supremacy and the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, which affirmed the king’s control of the church in England.10 Indeed, it seems surprising that Berthelet should publish Properties, a work of Catholic theology and world-view, at a time of such great religious and political change, and in such close proximity to the centre of government. That Berthelet was able to consider the project at such a time lends support to the view of historians who stress the religious continuities in Henry’s reign, and who perceive the break with Rome as a gradual and piecemeal process driven by Henry’s immediate political needs and by the sympathies of prelates such as Cranmer and Cromwell. It was not until the reign of Edward VI and then of Elizabeth that the Anglican prayer book, the English Bible and the doctrine of justification by faith alone were firmly instituted. Christopher Haigh presents a range of evidence for the slowness and reluctance of the country as a whole to follow Henry’s lead in rejecting Catholic practice.11 Such gradual change may partially account for Berthelet’s ability to market ‘Properties’ as an acceptable, useful work.

Another reason may lie in the work’s continuing status as a repository of wisdom. It has been suggested that Henry’s actions were not only driven by expediency and acquisitiveness, but that he identified with Old Testament prophets who purged uncleanness and embodied wisdom. Richard Rex, noting that Henry acted ‘as the chif an best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good Christian kings ought to do’ in the words of Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, suggests that Henry saw in himself parallels with the prophet Josiah and with King Solomon: ‘The royal supremacy itself, with its power to order the church, could be paralleled from Solomon’s establishment of the Temple (2 Chronicles 6). And it was as Solomon in judgement that contemporaries saw the white-clothed Henry preside at the trial of Lambert in 1538.’12

For Henry, as for Guido Buonolcosi and Charles V nearly 200 years earlier, the learning of the past embodied in Bartholomew’s compilation offered a valuable tool for wielding power. Properties did not contradict and could support Henry’s understanding of universal order and lordly rule. From this point of view, it
was permissible to dissolve religious houses and to appropriate their wisdom-conferring libraries. The evidence suggests that ‘Properties’ as a printed book survived increasing scrutiny of the press in Henry’s time partly because, though a Catholic work, its practical utility answered a need of the times. Moral interpretations implied in the glosses were no longer attached to the text; therefore, the text did not need to be associated only with the preaching of Catholic priests and friars; its scope and content could still cast a flattering mantle of omniscience over those who patronised it. As a financial venture it could succeed through the cooperation of a close network of business backers and associates.

**English writers, English history**

Bartholomew’s supposed Englishness may have been crucial to his official acceptance in early-modern London. To appropriate him as an English national treasure would have helped demonstrate English cultural capital to scholars on both sides of the English Channel. There is evidence to suggest that English historians and antiquarians of the day were promoting Bartholomew as a worthy forefather of English writing, asserting that he was both English and of fairly recent noble birth. In 1533, Henry VIII commissioned the lay antiquarian John Leland to search out and describe England’s ancient monuments, and any records of England’s ancient history that might be held in monastic and college libraries — a task that took him six years.\(^1\) Fifty years after Berthelet’s time, Leland produced his commentaries on British writers, which included a biography of Bartholomew. In this, he describes the compiler as ‘Bartholomaeus Glanville descended most nobly (as I understand) from the county of Suffolk’.\(^2\) According to Richard Sharpe, Leland ‘picked up the surname ‘Glanvile’ from the unusual colophon in Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 67, fol. 203’. Gerald Se Boyar suggests that Leland confused the compiler with a Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla of Suffolk, who died in about 1360.\(^3\) Whatever the reason, Leland was able to claim Bartholomew and his authority for the nation, while implying that the Franciscan commitment was merely an act of Bartholomew’s youth before his ‘maturer years’ of study.\(^4\) Moreover, after mentioning Corbechon’s translation (a manuscript of which he claims to have seen at Oxford in Duke Humphrey’s library) he implies a lofty English church connection for Bartholomew by stating that an earlier Glanville, called Gilbert, had been Bishop of Rochester and a friend of Thomas Becket.\(^5\) Leland makes no mention of Trevisa or the translation of the work into English, and his readers could have drawn the conclusion that Corbechon translated the work into French from an English original. According to James Carley, some time between 1533 and 1538 Leland had visited the Franciscan library in Oxford, which he found in sad disarray. He also visited the mendicant and monastic houses at Cambridge, listing their contents. He records a copy of ‘Properties’ in the Dominican library as *Barptolemaeus Anglicus*
Franciscanus de proprietatibus rerum. There is circumstantial evidence that this manuscript could have been among a group sold or sent abroad for safekeeping before 1545 and acquired by Pope Marcellus II, and further testimony to the work’s continuing status at this date.\(^{18}\)

On the basis of Leland’s biography of English writers, his friend John Bale (1495–1563) included Bartholomew in his own chronicle of 1548/9.\(^{19}\) Bale had himself been a Carmelite since the age of 12, but later renounced his vow of celibacy and became a vigorous defender of reformed doctrines under Thomas Cromwell. Bale helped to establish an anti-Catholic discourse that served during later attacks against the Spanish in Elizabeth’s reign, and against those perceived as agents of the devil in that of James I.\(^{20}\) He has been described as ‘an impeccable renaissance humanist’ who felt a weight of responsibility to expound the apocalyptic meaning of the Book of Revelation in terms of the two churches, headed respectively by Christ and by Antichrist. Bale was also among those who, notwithstanding their reforming zeal, were anxious to rescue valuable manuscripts, repositories of knowledge, which were already being pilfered from monastic libraries.\(^{21}\) Bartholomew and his compilation evidently had a part to play for Bale in his attempt to document, through supposedly English writers, a national past distinguishing the British Isles from the papally dominated countries across the English Channel.

Like Leland, Bale faced the problem of how, in the England of the 1540s and ’50s, to claim the writer for England while distancing himself and his subject from the Roman church of which Bartholomew had been a part, and whose doctrine he had expounded. Bale quotes Leland almost verbatim, but he inserts into the second sentence on Bartholomew’s mendicancy the crucial phrase ex nescio qua superstitione (‘from I know not what superstition’), which serves to emphasise that Bale himself is far from condoning membership of the Franciscan order. Like Leland, he accords Bartholomew a noble origin, ‘out of the most noble race of the county of Suffolk’, and a date, 1360, ‘during the reign of Edward the Third’, from which it could be inferred that Bartholomew, though unfortunately a Franciscan, was a member of chivalric society. He adds, moreover, that Bartholomew, a good and devout man for his own day and age, worked hard to the end that those coming after him would understand better the Scriptures and their mysteries hidden beneath the figures and properties of natural things. This is close to Bartholomew’s own statement of his purpose, and may indeed help to explain Bartholomew’s continuing relevance into the Reformation period. The Scriptures were becoming available in the English language, without explanatory glosses, to literate laity. Correct understanding was of paramount importance.
English foundation legends

In the sixteenth century, England’s distant history was still cast in the form of national foundation legends; but these were becoming the subject of re-definition and controversy, and Bartholomew has a part to play in this debate. In a recent study, Anke Bernau describes how, in 1534, Polydore Vergil had fuelled the debate by dismissing two well-established legends about Britain’s origins: first, Geoffrey of Monmouth’s account of Britain’s colonisation by Brutus the Trojan; and, second, later accounts of its first discovery by Albina, daughter of the king of Syria and her sisters. Geoffrey’s narrative of Brutus had provided Edward II and Edward III with justification of English rights over Scotland and Wales. The Albina story, which appears in the fourteenth century as a preface to the Middle English prose *Brut*, and which John Hardyng included in his Chronicle of 1440–7, came to be used, according to Bernau, as a weapon against the Scots. The Scots had their own female foundation figure, Scotia, mythical daughter of a pharaoh of Egypt and foundress of a brave and prosperous race.

A year before Berthelet issued his edition, Polydore Vergil had called into question the veracity of the Albina and Trojan founding myths. However, the legend of the barbarous Albina, her monstrous offspring and their conquest by a civilising ‘Bruytane’ race, remained popular. In 1542, Henry VIII’s *Declaration … present warre with the Scottis* explicitly cites Brutus’s division of Britain to support the claim to English sovereignty, and of London to be the new Troy. As Bernau suggests, this may have been because, just as the giants’ savagery justified Brutus’s violent colonisation of their land, so allegations of Scottish barbarism could be used to justify English colonisation.

For religious reformers such as Bale it was important to publicise a version of English history that supported the idea of a nation based on political and religious autonomy. We find Bale, writing in 1557, involved in the continuing debate and commenting accordingly on Bartholomew’s flattering account of England and the English in his chapter on Britain, *De Brittania*. Bartholomew had recounted part of the legendary material explaining the nation’s origins but this did not satisfy Bale. The name of Albion, he says, comes from the giant Albion, son of Neptune, and from the name of the king of Syria’s daughter — not from the white cliffs first seen by mariners: ‘as brother Bartholomaeus dreamed up in his work *De Proprietatibus rerum*, along with others who followed his ravings’. As if to emphasise that this is the revision of a common article of belief, Bale’s Index includes the item *Bartholomaei de proprietatibus rerum error*, ‘Error of Bartholomaeus, On the properties of things’. Another problem for Bale was that Bartholomew, he thought, had omitted the story of Brutus’ founding of Britain. *Pace* Bale, who cites the chapter *De Brittania*, Bartholomew does recount the heroic foundation of Britain and its kings in his chapter on England, *De Anglia*. I quote Trevisa’s translation which had kept close to the Latin:
And in passing of tym e lordes and noble men of Troye aftir þat Troye was destroied went þence and gadreden naueye and come to þe clyues of þe forseyde ilond ... And þe Troianes fauste with geauntes long tyme þat woned þerynne and overcome þe geauntes boþe with crafte and with strenghþe and conquered þe ilond, and clepid þe londe Breteigne bi þe name of Bruyte þat was prince of þat ooste and so þe ilande hatte Bretayn as it were an ilond conquerede of Bruyte þat tyme with armes and with myþe. Of þis Bruytes ofspring come kynges, and who þat hap likyng to knownere grete dedes rede he þe storye of þe Bruyte.28

Trevisa follows Bartholomew in a further explanation for England’s name based on a supposed English foundress:

Saxones departed þe ilonde amonges hem and æf every prouynce a name by þe propretie of his owne name and nacioun. And ðerfore þey clepid þe ilonde Anglia by þe name of Engelia [þe queen], þe worþiest duke of Saxones douþer, þat hade þe ilonde in possessioun aftir many batailles.29

Bale’s insistence on the need for a correct version supports the view that Henry VII had championed the existing Trojan and Arthurian foundation myth for the English crown to emphasise the continuity and validity of the Tudor claim, and that the later Tudors maintained it.30 There is evidence that during Henry’s reign, the king, government and church were keen to build a basis for English autonomy, not only in religion but also in language, history and legend, landscape and cultural achievements. By claiming Bartholomew as a native-born Englishman and writer, antiquaries and churchmen such as John Leland and John Bale were able to construct an identity for him and his work that supported such nationalistic efforts. A prestigious world book that bolstered Henry’s image and endorsed the national foundation myth was of obvious value, and Bale goes out of his way to apologise for Bartholomew’s apparent shortcoming in this matter.

**Stephen Batman ‘upon Bartholome’**

The last English edition of *Properties* is an annotated and augmented version entitled ‘*Batman vppon Bartholome, his booke De proprietatibus rerum*, enlarged and amended by Stephen Bateman’.31 The Dedication is to Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon (1526–96), who became Lord Chamberlain to Elizabeth in 1585. He was a nephew of Anne Boleyn and cousin to the Queen. George, the eldest son of this magnate, became Lord Chamberlain in 1596 and the patron of the company of players associated with William Shakespeare, the Lord Chamberlain’s Men.32

Batman, then, was a gentleman scholar serving the established church, and having social connections to the government and court.
In the late 1940s, Elizabeth Brockhurst undertook a detailed but unpublished study of Batman which remains of great value. She found sufficient biographical information from church records to show that Batman, or Bateman, was a married Protestant cleric, a pluralist, and a scholar of gentlemanly rank at the level of archiepiscopal employee. He was a clerical servant of Richard Parker (1504–75), who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559 and who, among other achievements, was the author of the *Advertisements* (1566) insisting upon the use of the surplice by parish priests. Batman collected manuscripts for Parker but seems to have been a bibliophile in his own right; his Commonplace Book indicates that he was, in any case, interested in antiquities and had views on the value of historical documents and old authorities. In 1578, Batman wrote:

> He is no wyse men that for the having of spiders scorpions or any other noysom things in his howse will therefore set the whole howse on fier for by that means he disfornisheth himself of his howse; and so doo men by rashe borneng of ancient Recordes lose the knowledge of muche learnenge/there by meanes and wayes to presarve the good corne by gathering oute the wedes.

Batman’s interest in ‘ancient Recordes’ was not necessarily casual. Studies of the Parker circle indicate that they turned to Old and Middle English texts for evidence of the antiquity and purity of the English church to provide an historical and ideological basis for the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. Parker’s interest in manuscripts is expressed in a letter dated January 24th 1566 to William Cecil, thanking him for the loan of a Latin manuscript of the Old Testament with a ‘Saxon’ gloss: ‘in the riches whereof … I rejoice as much as they were in mine own. So that they may be preserved within the realm and not sent over by covetous stationers, or spoiled in the poticaries shops.’ Batman preserved manuscripts for Parker, who later bequeathed his collection, including a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. According to Jürgen Schäfer, Batman claimed to have collected over 7000 manuscripts for his employer.

Batman may have had personal contact with the group of about 30 antiquaries convened by Archbishop Parker in 1572 and dissolved in 1606 (according to the antiquary Thomas Hearne) on suspicion of heresy and through the machinations of enemies in high places. It numbered among its members William Camden, John Stow, Francis Thynne, William Lombard, Sir William Dethick, Garter King at Arms (who made a Grant of Arms to Batman), Sir Robert Cotton and Lancelot Andrewes. Parker’s society met together to read papers, preserved in their records, on antiquarian subjects. In this context, Batman’s analogy of separating good corn from weeds can be seen as a form of justification for the eradication of the monasteries but the preservation of their library contents.
**Batman’s changes**

Brockhurst divides Batman’s alterations into the following categories: editorial changes; modernising of the language; omissions; and additions of material. The last two consist of expansion of Biblical texts and their more detailed ascription to context; replacements with other material; references to, quotations from or paraphrases of modern authors; and original comments and explanations. These serve as a window into an area of confrontation between old and new knowledge about the world and supply a wealth of ethnographic detail, responses to new discoveries and comments on social or political events.

Batman’s re-issuing and updating of ‘Properties’ confronts us again with the contrast between Bartholomew’s Franciscan compilation — with its layers of accrued and hidden meanings awaiting interpretation, written to cater for the specific needs of a controversial new order of mendicant preachers in a frontier area of Christendom — and the urban print culture of late-Elizabethan London. How and why did ‘Properties’ cross so many barriers separating different cultural attitudes and expectations? Batman’s edition is a densely packed source of contemporary comment on Bartholomew, but only some aspects can be looked at in detail here. One is the self-reflexive nature of his comments on Bartholomew; another is the way his responses accord with other evidence for the wish to collect knowledge, possessions and prestige at individual and national levels; a third is the evidence it supplies for the basic continuity of medieval cosmological beliefs well into the early-modern period. David Greetham argues that *Batman upon Bartholome* allows us to see medieval beliefs persisting far later than one might expect.

In the preliminary pages, Batman identifies himself as a new compiler, acknowledges his patron, and addresses his readers in prologues that emphasise their sophistication in contrast to the archaism of the work. The title page at once points to those features of *Bartholome* that differentiate it from earlier versions of ‘Properties’: Batman’s personal role as author and promoter (a role distinct from that of printer); his personally chosen and composed additions and emendations; his use of an updated range of modern authorities; and his optimistic claim that book-readers might be found among ‘all estates’. Batman distances himself and his reader from the earlier work, implying that it is obsolete and incomplete, and emphasising the up-to-date and practical nature of his own version:

> I have ben made able to renew and finish an olde auncient booke, containing the properties of sundrie things, the description of Countries, dispositions of creatures, operation of Elements, effects of simples, and such lyke, no lesse needfull then profitable, as shall appeare, by perusall thereof.
Batman used as his copy-text Berthelet’s 1535 edition, but made further changes to the presentation, the language and the content, the appearance and the overall character of the medieval work. In marginal comments, he refers to De Worde’s version as ‘the olde coppye’. In his address to the reader, Batman sums up the way he changes Properties. Having acknowledged its established reputation, he is going to use the work as a foundation upon which to construct a new account of the properties of things, within a modernised cosmography and geography, from the works of modern writers. His comments and additions demonstrate that his understanding of the physical world was not fundamentally dissimilar to that of Bartholomew, but that his purpose in issuing the work anew was overtly didactic and corrective. They reflect not only his interests and knowledge, but his position as a Protestant clergyman in the difficult later years of Elizabeth’s reign, with links, through his patrons, to the centre of government.

An emphasis on English history

Batman’s emphasis on ‘Bartholomew Glantvyle’ at start and finish of the work combines with numerous added references to England and matters English to give the impression that the assumed Englishness and gentility of the original author are important to him, and that he expects his readers to consider them important also. At the end of his printed version of Bartholomew’s chapter on Britain, Batman adds a lengthy extract from the *Thesaurus linguae Romae & Britannicae* (1565) by Thomas Cooper, English bishop, lexicographer, physician and writer. He does not say why, but we can assume that Cooper, as part of the pro-Parker network of church reformers and supporters of the Elizabethan Settlement, was for Batman a more reliable proponent of British history than Bartholomew. In this extract Cooper lays out the debate over the nation’s origins, first stating that there ‘is yet no certain determination’ of the naming of the island since ‘the olde Britaine bookes (such as were)’ had been destroyed by the Saxons; any works by Roman or other writers on the subject ‘are utterly perished’. The History of Gildas ‘the Briton’ cannot be found; Bede can be discounted; even Julius Caesar, while ‘an excellent Prince, and also a great learned man’, could not discover the origins of the native people. It was, however, called Albion by some, ‘that is to saye, more happie or richer’. If there is any writer earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth or Bede to contest this view, he says, ‘to such will I gladlye give place’. Cooper cites John Stowe’s description of England on the nation’s four peoples — the English, Scots, Welsh and Cornish — saying: ‘All they, either in language, condition, or lawes, doe differ among themselves.’

Cooper is not a supporter of the legend of Brutus’ foundation of Britain. He states that since the Trojans were treacherous and condoned the adultery of Paris and Helen, the Trojan Brutus is merely ‘a vaine Fable’: ‘Yet this follye is founde
almost in all people, which contend to have their Progenitours come first from Troy: which fantasie maye well be laughed at among wise men.’ He had always thought it would be more honourable to have received the first name from admixture with ‘the most wise and valiant people of Greece, vanquishers and subduers of Troians’. He concedes, however, that England’s origins lay with Brutus, and cites the firm opinion of Thomas Lanquet, his contemporary and source, that England was uninhabited when Brutus arrived. After Brutus, his son Locrine ruled England, Camber took Wales and Albanact became king of Scotland. Cooper does not mention the legend of Albina and her giant brood. Batman inserts Cooper’s historical account without further comment. However, he does add an account, taken from Lanquet, of the Scots as formerly savage, cruel and cannibalistic, concluding that on the whole they are now ‘tractable inough with good governement’. Batman’s own interest in pre-Norman English history comes across in comments and additions. To the chapter on Normandy, he adds: ‘The people and inhabitants of this Province or countrie were the last that with William Duke of Normandy, subdued England.’ On Saxony, he says: ‘After the time of Arthur king of Britaine, the Saxons greatly molested the Britons, and helde them in subiection, a long time.’ Here he cites Polydore Vergil, perhaps for the sake of a good story:

Polidorus Virgilius, in his eyght booke of the histories of Englande, maketh mention of Emma, mother of Edwarde, the seconde King of Englande, beeing uniustlye accused by Goodwyn, which after manye attempted injuryes, ceased not to accuse hir of adulterye, with the Bishop of Winchester … the Queene in open view cast her selfe into a great fire.

Batman privileges Thomas Cooper, a supporter of Parker and the English Settlement; on the other hand, he makes a point of dismissing a discredited Catholic work on martyrs published in 1526, Martiloge in englysshe after the use of Salisbury, a translation from Latin by Richard Whitford, a brother of the Brigittine monastery of Syon. In Book 5, chapter vii on blood, Batman notes with asperity that ‘Martiloge, was a booke of all the dedication of saints, and Englished by Richard Whitford, Priest, and brother of Syon, by Richmond, a fond booke’. One might expect to find, but does not, references to churchmen such as Richard Hooker (d.1600) or John Jewel (d.1571) now considered of note. It is hard to believe that Batman did not know of their work but impossible to discern the personal or political nuances that might have caused him to omit them. He does on the other hand refer to a more obscure churchman, William Alley, Bishop of Exeter, to support a lengthy and hostile account of the life of Mahomet which he adds on to Bartholomew’s chapter on Greece.
'The fressher writers'

By the last decades of Elizabeth’s reign the printing press was a key instrument for the sharing of knowledge. In his new presentation of *Properties* Batman does not obliterate Bartholomew’s authorities, but he adds so many others from the many available to him in print that their opinions tend to predominate in certain areas of the work. He tends to direct his readers’ attention to present-day rather than antique authors, although he does show a keen knowledge of classical mythology, especially in Books 8, 9 and 15. Batman cites and borrows from many more authors than the ones he names in his preliminary pages, but that list gives us an indication of those he considers most important:

... whereunto is added so much as hath bene brought to light by the trauaile of others, as Conradus Gesner of Tygure, Phisition, writing of the nature of beasts, birds, fishes, & Serpents. Fuchsius, Mathiolus, Theophrastus, Paracelsus, and Dodoneus, these wrote of the natures, operations and effects of Hearbs, Plants, Trees, Fruit, Seeds, Metalls and Mineralls. Sebastian Munster, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, and others of Astronomie and Cosmographie. Abraham Ortelius of Antwarpe for maps & discriptions: all which woorkes hath done great good in diuerse and sundrie Common wealths.

Batman’s adaptation must be seen, then, in the context of other printed works available at the time from both continental and English contemporary writers. These included the accounts of voyages and new discoveries, catalogues, chronicles, new humanist writings, translations and re-issuings of canonical works, treatises on many subjects, and polemical works from both sides of the religious divide in England. An important authority for Batman is himself; *Batman upon Bartholome* was the last of nine published works which include *The Travayled Pilgrim* (1569), ‘an allegorical poem on the subject of man’s journey through life’; *A chritstall glasse of christian reformation wherein the godly maye beholde the coloured abuses used in this our present tyme* (1569); *The Golden Booke* (1577); *The New Arival of the three Gracis into Anglia, Lamenting the abusis of the present Age* (1580); and *The Doome warning all men to the Judgement* (1581). These titles indicate his concern as a churchman to warn and to reform, and suggest that he may have seen ‘Properties’ as a useful instrument in those causes.

His concerns are also practical and of the moment. He praises modern English writers and notes English translations; for example, ‘Hernan Lopes, a Portingall of Castaneda, his discovery of the East Indias, translated into English by Nicholas Lichfield, gentleman, 1582’. He makes approving mention of English scholars, travel writers and translators such as Andrew Boorde (d.1549) and George Turner (d.1610): ‘Andrew Bord of Phisicke Doctour, an English man, The Breviary of health, printed Anno. 1547; Dedor Turner Phisition, Anno 1551, one that for
his travailes in forren countries, for the onelye benefit of this our realme of England, deserveth perpetuall praise’. 61

Works by classical writers provided another source of newly printed books, and Batman demonstrates in his comments that he was familiar with many, including modern translations of Ovid and Homer. Batman’s evident knowledge of, and interest in, classical mythology is particularly apparent in his marginal comments on Book 8. He stresses the authority of classical writers on India and Asia generally, and he also cites medieval travellers later than Bartholomew’s time such as Marco Polo and John Mandeville (with the aside ‘but manye Fables are set downe of him’).

Many of Batman’s comments and additions confirm the view that the experience of things from beyond former horizons, reported and rumoured, generated new stories but amalgamated them with existing fables and moralisations, as well as producing more careful categorisations of natural phenomena. 62 For example, he adds a long extract from Ortelius to Bartholomew’s four chapters on elephants (which were compiled from bestiary sources) ‘For the better understanding of Elephantes, in what coast they most abound’. 63 His comments demonstrate both a new empiricism and an old adherence to traditional beliefs; thus, into his marginal comment on the monster ‘lamia’, Batman subsumes the traditional bestiary warning against sirena, the monster that seduces and kills sailors. On the other hand, against the chapter on the siren later in the work, he notes pragmatically: ‘Sirene, is the swift course of water, that whatsoever commeth within the violence of it, is carryed away … Those [sirens with wings and claws] are Harpie, & both feyned’.

**Batman at home**

Many of Batman’s comments reflect his concerns as a married cleric responsible for a family as well as a parish, in difficult times of war and taxes. Bartholomew had implied in Book 6 that the sacred properties of spiritual birth, nurture and death are manifested in our experience of the times of day, food and drink, processes of growth and nurture, waking, moving, eating, exercising and sleeping. The glosses show that readers could understand the growth of the foetus and nurturing of the infant as the growth of the soul in the womb of the church and its nurturing by the clergy on the milk of the gospel. For the married Protestant minister of the 1580s — struggling to feed his family on an inadequate stipend, with responsibility for the actual upbringing and disposal of children, for care of the parish and control of dissidents, contending with bad harvests and economic exactions — the vision of heavenly peace and plenty and harmonious family life conjured up by Bartholomew in Book 6, *De cena* and *De prandia*, might have seemed ironic rather than consoling. 64 The entries in Batman’s *Table of Principall Matters* under the heading ‘Liber 6’ point to practical
rather than allegorical concerns with domestic life and Batman's urge to control and restrain it:

- Of conception
- Of chusing wholesome Nurses
- Of taking heede of matching with an uncleane Stocke
- Against dronkennesse
- Of modest Musike

A disquet minde is enemie to digestion

Batman’s marginal comments similarly show a practical concern with child rearing, discipline of servants, household economy, diet, health, and clean living: ‘A slowe horse must have a quicke spur: & a malepart servaunt meate, drinke, lodging, counsel worke, & stripes’.65

How does Batman deal with the sensuous imagery that permeates Books 6, 17 and 19, where Bartholomew conveys the delights of spiritual marriage and of the Lord’s familia and vineyard? Batman seems to call from the margins for restraint and denial: ‘Greedye apetite is hurtfull’, he notes in the chapter on the throat and swallowing.66 At the end of Book 5’s chapter on the genital organs, he adds a long passage warning against ‘Carnall lust’. This ‘tourneth prosperitie into beggerye, health into sicknesse, the soule into sinne: to the bodies covering, the Leprosie, Podegra, the Poxe … griefe of conscience, and contempt of lyfe’. He goes on to say that ‘The love of the world consist in these 3 things, The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, The pride of life’.67 From Batman’s point of view salvation appears to lie not in voluntary poverty or celibacy, but in self-discipline within marriage and family life.

The care of family and parishioners required knowledge of remedies. Batman himself was evidently, from his many marginal comments, an expert in plants and their medicinal uses, noting for example: ‘The common elder is hot and dry in the third degree, especially in the bark, the leaves and buddes, the tender crops or buddes sodden in broath: or Potage, doth open the belly, purgeth flegma and chorarike humours’; and ‘Garden Parsely is hot in the second degree, and drye in the third, it s good against the cough’.68 His comments and additions in Book 19 suggest that he chose to ignore the medieval Catholic resonances of useful and familiar items such as, for example, honey — a potent symbol of the ‘sweetness’ of God for the earlier compilers — in favour of its practical healing properties: ‘Hunny is of great quantitie in north regions, as Plinie writeth … Honnie as well in meate as in drinke, is of incomperable efficacie . . . Sir Tho. Eliot. chap.22 fo.35 in his booke, The Castle of Health’.69

One way in which Batman anglicises Bartholomew and his work is to draw topics of particular interest to himself, and his supposed readers, into the domain of
the local and immediate. For example, Batman annotates Bartholomew’s chapter on the sheep purely from his own experience and opinions. He appears more interested in sheep as a mainstay of the English economy than as a symbol of his pastoral role in the parish:

Of sheepe, their Wooll is a singular benefit in a common wealth, especially the Cotfell wooll for fineness. And in Bartholmes time, the Staple for Wooll, was not so well husbanded as it hath bene since. The increase of pasture for sheepe, hath so much decreased the tillage of corne, that untill it be restored againe, there wil grow a poore common wealth.⁷⁰

Batman’s many allusions to local points of interest, geography, recent surveys and documentation of the economy and state of the nation accord with the historical evidence we have for such projects during the century. Batman alludes to the work of John Stow (d.1605), whose *Survey of London* was published in 1598, and William Lambert’s *Perambulation of Kent*:

in the booke intituled, The Perambulation of Kent, is sufficiently set downe the fertilitie of the soile, the good disposition of the inhabitants, and their modestie: the onelye platforme and beautie of Englande, whose customes and manners are of greatest antiquitie, libertie, and service: Kent lieng in the Southeast region of this realme, hath on the North the river of Thamise, now called Temmes … it extendeth in length from Wicombe in the frontiers of Surrey, to Dele, at the sea side, 50 miles.⁷¹

Batman was not only a scholar, a parish rector, a family man and a herbalist, but also a draughtsman or ‘limner’.⁷² He makes a significant alteration to Bartholomew’s Book 19 by inserting a long passage on ‘limning’ into the sequence of chapters on colours, altering the focus from the properties of light and its spiritual significance, to the properties of pigments and the techniques of applying them to surfaces. As Batman notes, the old skill was necessary to the new map-makers, including Ortelius, who developed the method of colouring engravings for his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. It was also a technique used by heralds for designing and recording coats of arms. From Batman’s addition to Book 19’s chapters on colour, one can infer that he saw ignorance about limning as part of the general cultural and moral decline of his country. This is a far cry from the Franciscan’s belief in colour and light as signs of divine grace. For Batman, the elements themselves are, for users of colour, salutary reminders of human virtues: ‘in studieng for coulours to please the eye, they forget those coulours that beautifie the soule, which are, for fire, love: for aire, faith: for water, hope: for earth, charitie: for voyce, truth: for person, chastitie.’⁷³
Batman’s complaints

Some of Batman’s comments reflect the hostile relations between England and Spain during the 1580s; over competition for New World territory and over the perceived threat from Spain to English autonomy. In this arena, England had suffered some humiliation and economic loss, and the victory over Spain was yet to come in 1588:

As touching of golde, and silver, Spaine is beholding to the Indies, from whence commeth yearely an infinite masse of treasure: which if slouth and distrust, had not bene Pilates of England in times past, those Indies had served England and not Spaine, for the most part, as more plainly appeareth in the booke tituled, the Decade of the West and East Indies, and Andrew Theuet.\(^74\)

Some additions and comments suggest that topics in Properties stimulated Batman to express a desperate level of irritation at the government and its failures. He is enraged by the government’s impositions, such as the taxes or ‘arerages’ imposed on clergy in the late years of the reign:

The Basiliske or Cockatrice, among creeping wormes is the most pestilent. And among men, the most pestilent minded, are the spoilers of the Clergie with such unconscionable arerages, that many Ministers have bene forced to leave their lyvings, and go a begging … My selfe have bene so plagued, that I speak by experience, and have to shewe by proofe, etc.\(^75\)

This sharp reflection upon the world within his local and personal horizons against Bartholomew’s chapter on basiliscus ignores the traditional moral associations of the legendary basilisk. Such a self-reflexive attitude is evident in other comments upon the government and economy, such as his diatribe in the margin of Bartholomew’s chapter on the rose in Book 17. He starts with direct expository statements based on observation of roses, and concludes with an angry tirade against those whom he sees despoiling the garden of Tudor England. He calls on the Queen, ‘rose without thorn’, to take note:

Distilled water of Roses, is necessarie to many uses: the red rose to preserue and to medicine. Dodoneus writeth of ten kinde of roses, among the which, the Eglantine rose, and Muske rose, yeolow and white. There is one rose growing in England, is worth all these, Rosa sine spina; which royall Rose growing in hir proper soyle, is borne up of a well settled stalke, and armed with such thornes, as are apparant to so gentle a kinde, the leaves of lilye hiew, called the orient greene, not withstanding, subject to flawes of dreadfull blastes, as all our common Roses be to tempesteous windes … May not the buds by the common profites, that are made by dayly pillage of the Cleargie, in abusing the gift of the Maiestie, who are never suffred to be at rest by one extreame assault or
other, the taxe of rerages hath almost beggared, the humble and dutiful sujects. God graunt the view of this note to the royall Rose, that the Cleargie be no more oppressed.\textsuperscript{76}

As we saw in the last chapter, when Elizabeth’s grandfather came to the throne, Bartholomew’s account of the fresh and blooming rose had helped to validate the adoption of the Tudor rose as national emblem. Here, that same account of the rose offers Batman a platform for a scarcely coherent blast against taxation policies under the Queen. Through his comment we can sense something of a commoner’s disillusion, a century later, with a somewhat battered and frost-bitten national emblem.

Batman thunders on behalf of the poor as well as the over-taxed clergy. The assertiveness of his comments, and his many references to, and expansions of, biblical texts, also reminds us that he was a popular professional preacher.\textsuperscript{77} It has been suggested that medieval people in the differing environments of cathedral school, university and court had each developed a particular form of discourse suited to their immediate context: the Elizabethan scholar was a new kind of professional who was increasingly perceived as someone who could move readily between these different worlds.\textsuperscript{78} Batman illustrates this notion as he blends the discourse of natural history with those of bitter political complaint and dogmatic assertion.

**Batman and cosmology**

At first glance it appears that social and religious changes would form a barrier against the further transmission in England of a scholastic and Catholic text on the factual and moralised properties of things. Nevertheless, representations of the medieval cosmic scheme in printed maps and books demonstrate its continuity from the medieval into the early-modern period; the printed editions of ‘Properties’ in 1495, 1535 and 1582 are among these representations.

It has been argued that when Christopher Columbus set out on his westward voyage in 1492, his expectations were shaped by biblical, patristic and classical descriptions of geography and world history.\textsuperscript{79} He was also impelled by the Christian notion of the individual as \textit{viator} journeying through the time and space of the world, and by a belief in his own destiny as the one destined to find the new heaven and new earth prophesied by St John. At the time when the Americas came to be reached by European travellers, the cosmos could still be conceptualised not only as something spatial surrounding human existence on earth, but also as a temporal process in which the events of world history played a part. Columbus’s reading-matter, especially his copy of the \textit{imago mundi} map of Hugo D’Ailly, suggest that beliefs about the form and destiny of the world as expressed in medieval world maps still guided the expectations of travellers in his time.\textsuperscript{80} Evidence for the continuation of the medieval conception of the
world at the centre of the spheres, bounded by the ring of Ocean, can be seen in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maps, manuscripts and printed books. In 1481, William Caxton had translated and published *The Mirrour of the World*, a cosmology based on the work of Vincent de Beauvais, Bartholomew’s near-contemporary and fellow *compilator*. This conflation of old and new learning based on thirteenth-century authorities and put into the English tongue for the approval of an English lord, shows that for scholars and nobles at the start of the early-modern period the earth still turned at the centre of concentric spheres, subject to motion, to the balance and imbalance of the four sublunar elements and of finite time, and destined for judgement at the end of time. On the face of the earth the peoples created by God inhabited the three regions of Asia, Africa and Europe founded by the sons of Noah after the Flood.

How does Batman respond to Bartholomew’s Books and chapters on the cosmic scheme, as he found them in Berthelet’s edition? A comparison shows that he makes few major changes to Bartholomew’s chapters on the concentric spheres surrounding earth, on the sublunar spheres of the elements, and on the fundamental form of the cosmos described by Bartholomew in Book 8. He gives us glimpses of English travellers venturing abroad for practical purposes but also gives reminders that some places, though more accessible than they had been in the Middle Ages, were still very near the margins of the map, of people’s experience and of their mental horizon. For example, of Iceland he mentions the mosquitoes: ‘Those that goe thether on fishing, are mervailously troubled with a kinde of Flie like a Gnat, and stinketh foule’; but he also refers the reader to a report of a marvellous property of one of Iceland’s mountains:

mount Hecla, so deepe that no eie canne perceive any bottome, out of the which Abisme, appeareth as it were shapes of men, as though they were drowned, and yet breathing foorth a sound, saing, that they must depart from thence to mount Hecla: as touching the fearefull noyse of the Ile, Read R. Eden, and R. Wells. Batman’s additions to Books 8, 14 and 15 reveal him as a keen armchair traveller knowledgeable about the current travel literature. He effectively privileges the huge array of ‘newe Writers’ and ‘fresher writers’ especially in his additions in Books 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 on newly discovered places, minerals, plants and creatures. He makes references to many of those who had recorded and shared their findings; for example, Humphrey Gilbert’s *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia* (London 1576). He also refers to ‘the newe Cards and mappes’ as if he expected his readers to have encountered them. By his time, English travellers and the English government were well aware of the New World and had encountered some of its people, although a commentator in the preliminary pages of a copy of Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, in the British Library, considers it wonderful that the map adds to the three parts of the world.
another two: Magellanica and America. Batman supplements Bartholomew’s Book 15 heavily with material from Ortelius, adding the Americas as a fourth to the three major divisions of Asia, Africa and Europe. He adds a lengthy section to the end of Book 15 to rectify the geographical content of the Book in accordance with newly discovered countries and seaways; in particular, with the addition of America.

At the end of the chapter on ‘Eiulath’, a province of India, Batman quotes Thomas Cooper:

> In the second of Genesis, the river Pison compasseth the whole land of Heuilah, where there is golde, and the gold there is very good, there is Bdelium and the Onix stone. Euilla or Heuilath, a country in the Orient, about the which the river Pison, which we call Ganges, that commeth out of Paradise doth runne.

The description reveals that a medieval image of the world as depicted in the Psalter and Hereford mappaemundi, in which the four great rivers flow out of Paradise, could still be part of the early-modern scholar’s mental furniture. However, it is here combined with a shrewd awareness of the world’s material potential for the explorer. In Batman’s presentation of the world map we can see a dual focus — that which takes the reader outwards towards the exotic and new, and that which turns inwards towards Batman’s national and local concerns. But his comments on the properties of newly discovered or explored places such as America and India show that the two foci are really one; namely, the resources or advantages, or problems, those places might offer the English in the political arena of the time.

Some of his comments do suggest that old certainties were being questioned or transformed: he adds an ambiguous phrase to the heading ‘The number of spheres’: ‘as the truth is, and as Plato and Aristotle describeth them’; and comments in the margin: ‘The varietie of opinions concerning the heavens, doe manifest the incertaintie of humane skell: Some of the Mathematicians, omit the burning heaven, and adde the tenth … The Schoole men omit the seate of God.’

What is striking about Batman’s cosmological comments is his evident interest in the occult philosophy being expressed by some writers in his own century. In particular, he adds nearly a folio side to the end of Book 8’s final chapter ‘Of darknesse’, saying: ‘I have thought good to set before thee, forth of the booke de Occulta Philosophia of Henrie Cornelius Agrippa, his Ladder, wherein is the wonderfull compact of the universall division of the number of 12, beginning with the twelve orders of blessed spirits, omitting the 12 names of God.’ There follow lists of 12 ‘Angells president over the signes’, Tribes of Israel, Prophets, Apostles, signs of the zodiac, months, plants, stones, ‘principall members’ of the body, and ‘The 12 pointes of the damed Divells’. Then come the four seasons and finally ‘A briefe note how to understand the Ephimerides’.
Batman follows De Worde and Berthelet in omitting chapters iii to xxi of Book 1 on God and the names of God, but replaces them with an extract on ‘the ladder of unity’, again from the De Occulta Philosophia of 1531, by the contemporary continental magus Henry Cornelius Agrippa. Mystical aspects of Catholic doctrine and worship may have been officially discarded, but Batman shows us that a new mysticism, based on occult interpretations of Pythagoras and Plato, still provided explanations about the cosmos and gave status to those claiming esoteric knowledge of its workings. There is much evidence for the use of astrology at this time — both at the level of popular demand for consultations on day-to-day matters, and as a guiding tool for policy makers. Like the magus Cornelius Agrippa and the popular astrologer Simon Forman, John Dee (1527–1608), an English Cambridge graduate who came within most of the contemporary definitions of ‘magus’, is another example of the proponents and codifiers of a new form of medieval cosmology more acceptable to Protestant theologians. Dee owned at least two copies of Bartholomew’s work, one in Latin and one in English. The manuscripts owned by Dee contain ciphers and notes in the margins, some of which have been identified as being in Dee’s hand. By profession he was an astrologer, at one time employed by the Queen but later excluded from the court. His notes and diary record that in 1583 his library in Mortlake was ransacked by angry neighbours who feared him as a conjuror of evil spirits. Some of his property was later returned. The Latin manuscript once owned by Dee and now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is missing a folio containing the chapter on the fall of the evil angels, but one can only speculate that it may have been ripped out in such an incident.

In Book 2 of ‘Properties’, Bartholomew had given a medieval Catholic account of the properties of fallen angels and spiriti maligni drawn from scriptural and medieval sources. Batman’s response to Bartholomew’s accounts of evil spirits tends to confirm that the accepted wisdom on the nature of the cosmos supported the notion of social order based on degree, but also encouraged people at all levels of society to believe in the invisible presence on earth of spirits, both good (personal angels) and bad (the servants and helpers of the Devil). In a long addition to the chapter ‘On dreaming’ in Book 6, Batman cites, among others, his near-contemporaries Peter Martyr on dreams and Edward Fenton on monstrous births. This Protestant interpretation of Bartholomew’s evil angels in terms of human possession by incubi is consistent with the social trends documented in the court records of English witchcraft persecutions in the late sixteenth century. The idea of Lucifer and his aides as part of the Protestant vision of the apocalypse still fitted the idea of a cosmos of spheres teeming with celestial and infernal inhabitants. However, Batman adds comments in the margin of Book 1 on the need for faith as the basis for good works; and on the importance of conscience and true contrition, not confession, as the way to forgiveness — comments in tune with the directives of the Protestant church. He does not
mention the saints or the Virgin Mary, but a reader in a copy of his work has made an anti-marian note in the margin of Book 1, and later calls her ‘an idol’: ‘The virgin Mary was not without sin for John acknowledges Christ her saviour Luk. 1.46.’

‘Warning all men to the judgement’

A hundred years after Columbus, written sources show a continued sense of the decay of the world and an expectation of its ending. Astronomical events, unusual weather, bad harvests, and national and international conflict seemed to point to the fulfilment of this prophecy. While for Columbus, a Catholic, the apocalyptic vision had been that of the new heaven and the new earth, for English Protestants such as John Bale and Stephen Batman it was the downfall of Antichrist, identifiable with the papacy in the climate of the times. Contemporary works warning of imminent apocalypse include Batman’s verse tract of 1581, to which he refers in Book 18 at the end of Bartholomew’s chapter about the dragon: ‘Of the wonderful greatnesse of Dragons and how manye sortes hath bene, and of the mischiefes they have done, read the Chronicle of the Doome.’ In Book 11, he adds a margin note to the column text in the chapter on the rainbow: ‘That the rainbowe shall not be seene 40 yeares before the dome.’ Such comments indicate that Batman saw his own and others’ printed books, especially ‘Properties’, as tools to use not only for declaring political abuses, but also for saving the souls of his parishioners by reminding them that the end was near.

Bartholomew’s chapters on rumoured monsters provide another platform from which Batman inveighs against what he sees as corruption and wickedness, moral and political, in his own country. From his identification of abhorrent and monstrous creatures with the religious sect known as The Family of Love, for example, we can see something of the way the print medium helped to direct establishment hostility towards such non-conformists. In 1578 Batman had likened the founder of the sect, Henry Nicholas, to the monster ‘onacratoles’, and in 1580 the queen issued a Proclamation against the Sectaries of the Family of Love, ordered their books to be burned and members to be imprisoned, but they continued to spread. In Book 5 on the chapter on the head, the column text mentions the fish ‘Lamia, that hath as the Glose saith … an head as a maide, and bodie like a grimme beast’. Here Batman adds a long margin note describing the monster:

Lamie, a kinde of women, by whose sight infants are frighted, & become Elues, they be also those that bee called Ladies of the Fairies, which do allure yong men to company carnaly with them, & after those men are consumed by lechery, they deuour them.
It is arguable that the ‘lamia’ signified for Batman moral corruption, non-conformist sects and, in particular, the Family of Love. In a copy of *The Doctrine of the Heart*, written in English in an early-fifteenth-century hand, Batman had made a marginal drawing of a scaly bird with a woman’s head, wearing a steeple head-dress, and another of a man with a balance; it seems reasonable to speculate on a possible connection between this image of a woman-headed bird and Batman’s marginal comment in Book 5. Similarly, in Book 12 against Bartholomew’s chapter on *mergus*, the cormorant, he adds: ‘Of the doung of these filthie sectes have proceeded a newe Mergus, a cormoranct foule, the familie of love.’ Batman’s shafts aimed at the Family of Love from the margins of *Bartholome* and elsewhere are consistent with the evidence that extreme nonconformist sects were being suppressed during the 1580s.

It is important to note that even though the editions printed by De Worde and by Berthelet, and re-interpreted by Stephen Batman, give *Properties* the appearance of an expository rather than a devotional text, a reader could still find confirmation in them of the belief that the cosmos and the properties of the things within it displayed God’s creation of, and purpose for, the world. This was fundamental doctrine for Catholics and Protestants alike. In spite of new discoveries and technologies, at the start of the early modern period Bartholomew’s work still supported with its authority a fundamentally medieval conception of the physical world and the larger cosmos, of world history, and of belief in the coming of Judgement Day founded on the Bible’s teaching. We can conclude that it was a safe text for readers whatever the prevailing orthodoxy during the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, being an explicitly utilitarian text that could lend itself to a covert devotional purpose.

**Collecting knowledge for the nation**

At this time, travellers were finding plant and animal life that confirmed, contradicted or confused the received wisdom concerning exotic and fabulous creatures. As a collector of others’ work Batman exemplifies a cultural phenomenon that had been gathering pace during the sixteenth century. According to a recent study, a culture of collecting culminated in the seventeenth century in the appropriation by the Royal Society of private collections of exotic natural objects and artefacts, and in the museum movement. However, it had its origins in the intense public interest in the trophies brought back to Europe by the overseas travellers of the later-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As Marjorie Swann makes clear, this earlier interest was in objects as novelties and marvels, and did not imply the rationalist methods of enquiry we associate with the Royal Society and the Enlightenment. There is a shift in emphasis here, away from the medieval concept of compilation as the bee-like plundering of morally useful writings of others and towards the meaning for which Swann
argues: that of collection, applicable to natural and cultural objects, including works of art and books, and to the knowledge embodied by them.

The known provenance of manuscripts and books as they passed through the hands of collectors in the sixteenth century supports Swann’s argument. The dissolution of the monasteries had released many ancient texts into circulation and, in effect, commodified them. We have seen that manuscripts of *Properties* formerly in religious houses, and of the translation *Properties*, were owned and traded by known collectors including Richard Parker, John Dee, Simon D’Ewes and William Dethick. In the light of Swann’s argument, we can consider *Batman uppon Bartholome* as a compilation or collection in which Batman is a declared, named collector of Bartholomew’s authorities, but also of modern authorities and the knowledge they embody. His lists and citations of modern and classical writers, and his recounting of classical myths and other stories, confer a kind of authority on Batman himself. At the same time, he is a collector of property in the new material sense: he collects Greek myths; he collects stories about English history and landscape and about exotic customs; he collects facts, through the observation and categorisation of plants and other natural phenomena; and he collects interesting specimens. The following addition to the end of the chapter on the rhinoceros provides a peep-hole on Batman as the possessor of at least one displayable curiosity:

> The Rhinoceros in Aethiopia, a perpetuall enimie to the Elephant, hee is not so high as the Elephant, armed ouer with shells in stead of haire, so that nothing can easily pearce the same: euen so is the little beast, called of the Affricans Tatton, of Gesner Zibet, in fo.20 at the end of his booke of birdes, etc. Which armed case I haue to shew.¹⁰⁷

Thus, Batman’s additions to, and marginal comments in, *Batman uppon Bartholome* constitute a display of his own collections; and of a personal identity that aims to be both authoritative and authorial.¹⁰⁸

We might also consider the likelihood that Batman, like patrons of *Properties* in the fourteenth century, was endowing his patron with a flattering mantle of wisdom appropriate for one of England’s chief noblemen. Batman expresses the idea of collecting knowledge for the sake of one’s country, as well as one’s patron, in his preliminary address to the reader. Here, having praised John Bale and other ‘famous, and worthy persons, of singular perseverance and learning’, such as ‘Gesner, Fuchs, Mathiolus, Paracelsus, Dodoneus, Munster, Agrippa and Ortelius’, he aligns his own efforts with theirs:

> I haue therefore as an imitator of the learned, for the good will I bare to my countrie, collected forth of these aforesaid Authors, the like deuises, which they in times past gathered of their elders, and so rening the
whole booke, as is apparant by additions, is brought home, the Master, the Pilot, and the profit thereto belonging.\textsuperscript{109}

In this passage, Batman declares his aim as a collector of others’ work, in the sense of both imitator and compiler. Bartholomew had declared a similar aim. Unlike Bartholomew, however, he adds, by means of his maritime metaphor, the connotation of collected wealth from beyond former horizons, like the booty and novelties being brought to English ports from the New World and Asia. Whereas Bartholomew compiled the fruit of others’ labours in order to share its moral usefulness widely through an international brotherhood, Batman collects knowledge for the intellectual coffers of England, his patron Carey and himself.

Swann argues further that the development of the culture of collecting during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave a new meaning to the word ‘property’.\textsuperscript{110} Formerly, the concrete sense of this word had applied to land, but early-modern collectors aimed to fashion an imposing personal identity for themselves through ‘property’ in the sense of awe-inspiring possessions, collected and displayed. Published catalogues of private collections, descriptions of items and lists of donors were texts symbolic of the collection itself, as well as advertisements of that identity. We can deduce that the concept of the ‘property’ of a thing lost the connotation of an underlying moral significance or inherent powerfullness that it had carried in the Middle Ages. Rather, things — including ideas — could become the property of a person, or of a nation. Evidence for the wider existence of such an attitude to intellectual property occurs in seventeenth-century verses written on the flyleaf of a manuscript of \textit{Properties} now in the British Library. These verses extol Bartholomew as an Englishman who bestows ‘property’ on his country, playing on the variable meaning of the word, and as a universal authority:

\begin{verbatim}
On the famous Bartholomew Glanvill commonly called the English Bartholomew relating to his Booke of the properties of things

Thy country truly, but yet subtly too
Hath stiled thee the English Barthol'mew.
Whilst properties of things thou wrost of, shee
Makes sure of Getting Property in thee;
Would from thy name her own new worth Discover,
And be at once unto all learning Mother.
But had shee silent been, thy Booke alone
Had seated thee in a far larger throne:
This but consulted, none could call thee lesse
Then Barthol'mew of the great Univers.
By both these titles be thou euer known,
One for our glory, tother for thy own.\textsuperscript{111}
\end{verbatim}
The verses are followed by a seventeenth-century addition by Julius Glanville of Lincoln’s Inn. According to Seymour, Julius Glanville was the son of Sir John Glanville, who ‘may have owned the manuscript in the belief that Bartholomaeus, traditionally surnamed Glanville, was an ancestor’. The lofty inscription is consistent with family pride in ‘Properties’ as a repository of wisdom and a testament to the worth of the owner.

‘Shakespeare’s encyclopedia’

As Julius Glanville’s interest suggests, the story and the journey of ‘Properties’ does not end with the Tudor era. As far as we know, no editions of the Latin text were printed in England, and there is no evidence that scribes made new manuscript copies of the Latin ‘Properties’ or of Properties in that country after the end of the fifteenth century. For this reason it is usually claimed that Bartholomew disappeared from the English literary scene after 1582. Later evidence shows, however, that the printed edition of 1582 is not followed by the tidy demise that the literature suggests. Manuscripts of Properties used and abused by people unknown to us over recent centuries, further published adaptations of the work, and specific references to it by known readers testify to the work’s prestige and commodification as a historical curiosity.

In the eighteenth century, England’s ancient buildings, historical documents and national heroes again came to be valued as an important legacy from the nation’s past. Thomas Hearne (1678–1735), one antiquary who expressed concern at the loss of England’s medieval manuscripts, pleaded for the re-establishment of an Antiquarian Society of scholars working together to preserve them, such as that founded by Archbishop Parker in 1572. From the seventeenth and into the nineteenth centuries, antiquarians in England and on the continent included Bartholomew among noteworthy authors. English readers continued to make adaptations of it, and claims for it, up to the time of Robert Steele in the 1880s. The belief that Bartholomew was a member of an English aristocratic family may have contributed to the attempts by early Shakespeare scholars — Douce, Anders and Furnivall, followed by Steele, Matrod and Se Boyar — to sustain the view that Bartholomew was a genuine source for Shakespeare, to the extent that the English could not understand Shakespeare without the medieval work as a guide.

Individuals left the mark of their ownership or patronage of ‘Properties’ on individual copies. One of these is a copy of the 1535 printed edition of Properties (see Figure 7). This has the forged signature of Shakespeare at the top right-hand corner of the title page — ‘William Shakspeare his Booke 1597’ — and the library stamp of Joseph Banks in the centre. The forgery dates from the late eighteenth century; the imprimatur of Joseph Banks from a few decades later. The use of Properties as a site for the forgery helps to illumine the role ‘Properties’ could play in an era when the production of counterfeit medieval texts, such as
The Journey of a Book

Figure 7: Title-page and part of Table of Contents, *Bartholomeus De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Printed by Thomas Berthelet, 1535. Copy BL 456.a.1 formerly owned by Joseph Banks.

The table begins with the title *Table of Contents* and lists various sections and their respective page numbers. The page includes several entries such as:

- *Alcide mycke*: 9-10
- *Attercopps egges*: 10-11
- *Addero egges*: 12-13
- *Ampeco egges*: 14-15
- *Armonia*: 16
- *Blonde*: 17
- *Brayne*: 18
- *Blacks of the eye*: 19
- *Brewe*: 20
- *Bearde*: 21
- *Braete*: 22
- *Breth*: 23
- *Bred*: 24
- *Bred*: 25
- *Bladder*: 26
- *Brest*: 27
- *Bary*: 28
- *Burdock*: 29
- *Boone*: 30
- *Blyndane*: 31
- *Bolting apprentice*: 32
- *Blonys*: 33
- *Dying of a mad dog*: 34-35
- *Bythymus*: 36
- *Birde and fowles*: 37
- *Bec*: 38
- *Babylust*: 39
- *Bacri*: 40
- *Bacrania*: 41
- *Brabantia*: 42
- *Brevigl*: 43
- *Britannia*: 44
- *Brittanie*: 45
- *Braille*
MacPherson’s ‘Ossian’, and Thomas Chatterton’s ‘Rowley’ poems, exploited and reflected a fashion for the medieval gothic. It was also a time of fashionable interest in Shakespeare as a ‘primitive’ English genius who, it was assumed, must have had access to Batman’s edition. As Se Boyar points out, Douce had praised Bartholomew as ‘our English Pliny’ and used the compilation to elucidate passages in Shakespeare’s plays. William-Henry Ireland and his family capitalised on the fashion for Shakespeare by buying up sixteenth-century books and papers to put together a ‘library’ of works containing the forged signature of Shakespeare. The copy of Berthelet’s edition of ‘Properties’ shown here is among these works.

The title-page illustrated in Figure 7 includes not only the signature of Shakespeare forged by Ireland, but also the genuine stamp of the travelling botanist Joseph Banks (as do the title-pages of other copies of the printed editions in his collection, including that of 1495, bequeathed by him to the library of the British Museum). This emphasises the question of Bartholomew’s continuing authority for educated gentry. We do not think of Banks as ‘medieval’ in his world-view but, rather, as a modern European open to the novelty of the antipodes; yet he had more than one copy of Bartholomaeus in his scientific library. Banks was a voyager and enquirer into the world who lived at a turning point in the way scientific knowledge was conceptualised and systematised — a position comparable to that of Columbus, who knew of Ptolemy but took D’Ailly’s Imago Mundi on his westward voyage. For Banks, Bartholomew could still be worth owning as ‘our English Pliny’, the transmitter of knowledge from esteemed scholars of the early and medieval Christian era, and the promulgator of a once-enduring Christian image of the world.

We can conclude that, although Bartholomew’s position in the early-modern hall of fame was partly founded on error and prejudice, there are some important continuities in the English reception of ‘Properties’ that help to explain its passage across daunting cultural barriers. The printed editions of 1495 and 1535, in the current English dialects of the London region, each carried Bartholomew’s authority and reputation into another cultural context and readership. As a financial venture, the printing of Properties could succeed through the cooperation of a close network of investors and other interested parties. There is evidence that during Henry VIII’s reign, the king, government and church were keen to build a basis for English autonomy not only in religion but also in language, history and legend, landscape and cultural achievements. By claiming Bartholomew as a native-born Englishman and writer, antiquaries and churchmen such as John Leland and John Bale were able to construct an identity for him and his work that supported such nationalistic efforts. ‘Properties’ as a printed book survived increasing scrutiny of the press in Henry VIII’s time partly because, though a Catholic work, its practical utility answered a need of the times. Moral interpretations implied in the glosses were no longer attached to
the text and thus the text did not need to be associated only with the preaching of Catholic priests and friars; its scope and content could still cast a flattering mantle of omniscience over those who patronised it. Solomonic wisdom was still an ideal connected with nobility, and existing knowledge derived from antiquity underwent a process of accommodation rather than rejection. We might consider the likelihood that Stephen Batman, like patrons of ‘Properties’ in the fourteenth century, was endowing his patron, Lord Hunsdon, with a flattering mantle of wisdom appropriate for one of England’s chief noblemen.

In *Batman upon Bartholomew* we see Bartholomew’s representation of the world on the one hand held out to yet another generation of readers as an authoritative text, by a churchman and scholar; and on the other hand partially retracted or modified by him to bring it into line with the new array of printed knowledge circulating in his own day. Batman’s additions and marginal comments constitute a display of his own intellectual property — and perspicacity. Whereas Bartholomew had been compiling his work for a growing brotherhood of homeless preachers involved in a new kind of Christian outreach, Stephen Batman’s many comments on local objects and topical matters sharply reflect his own domestic life, work and professional interests.

In Batman’s as in Bartholomew’s day, readers’ mental horizons were created by assumptions about the finite nature of the world and its physical extent. Sponsors — whether Pope Alexander IV, King Henry VII or Queen Elizabeth I — sent out travellers for reasons that were political and commercial as well as religious, in both eras. The passion for tangible evidence of other places existing beyond known limits, and the wonder they evoked, suggests an extension of mental boundaries comparable to that of the early Franciscans and Dominicans as they pushed beyond the borders of Christendom.

NOTES

1 Tritheim, Johannes, *Liber de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticus*, Basle, 1494, ff.91r–91v. Tritheim (f.91v) lists BA’s supposed works in addition to ‘Properties’: *sermones varios; alia quorum multa scripisses dicit: sed ad manus nostras minime venerunt* (‘various sermons; many other things he is said to have written, but which have not come to hand’): author’s paraphrase. It is unknown whether such works ever existed.

2 *De proprietatibus rerum*, 1519, BL 44Lh4, title page: *Venerandi patris Bartholomei Anglici ordinis Minorum: viri erudissimi: opus de rerum proprietatibus inscriptum … Vale bone lector, eme, necte precii poenitebit.*

3 See Cressy, pp.157–70.


5 Bennett, H. S., pp.38, 139: Henry had given monopolies to certain printers which ‘clearly gave the Crown a useful, continuous control over various kinds of books, particularly … over service-books and works of elementary religious instruction’; for Henry VIII, Berthelet publicised opinions of the universities in favour of the validity of Henry’s marriage to his brother’s widow; in 1537/38 he published four books, ‘all inveighing against the Pope’s proposal to call a General Council’.

Navigating tides of change: Bartholomew and the English

7 Bartholomeus De Proprietatibus Rerum. Londini in Aedibus Thomae Bertheleti Regii Impressor is. Cum Privilegio a Rege indulto, 1535.
8 Brockhurst, Elizabeth J., The Life and Works of Stephen Batman, unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1947, p.324: ‘De Worde’s text badly needed revision, and Berthelet, who was a careful printer, has produced a beautifully clear and correct version; I have compared his Prologue and Bks 1 and II in great detail with the text of De Worde, and in every instance where they differ, Berthelet’s text is correct, according to the Latin. Berthelet adds a consistent ending for Bk 1, chapter i, and removes De Worde’s extraneous material here. He is, however, modernising the arrangement, and so takes the table of contents out of the text altogether, rearranges it alphabetically, and prefixes it to the Prologue, after the title page. Berthelet also translates De Worde’s Latin chapter headings into English.’ Brockhurst suggests that Berthelet used a Latin copy text in addition to De Worde’s text.
9 Bennett, H. S., pp.33–4.
10 Smith, Alan G. R., The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England 1529–1660, London: Longman, 1984, pp.4–6. In the decades leading up to Henry’s dissolution of the monasteries, the king had been dismantling some traditional roles of church and state in the process of defying papal authority, supported by reforming churchmen such as Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer: the singing of masses in chantries, the use of images, candles and incense, prayers to the Virgin Mary and the celebration of saints’ days were forbidden. There had been the praemunire accusation against the whole clergy in 1530; the ‘Submission of the Clergy’ in 1532; the Act of Supremacy in 1534; and, in the following year, the visitations and valuations of religious houses were put in train, Fisher and More were executed, and the larger monasteries were surrendered by 1540.
11 Haigh, Christopher, The English Reformation Revised, Cambridge University Press, 1987; Haigh examines (pp.10–1) the question of Henry’s ‘Anglo-Catholicism’ and the personal motivations adduced for his opposition to the papacy and appropriation of monastic possessions.
14 Leland, 1709, p.336 (see Chapter 1, Introduction, p.1).
17 One Gilbert Glanville, Bishop of Rochester 1185–1214, was sent by Becket to the pope shortly before the former’s death: Blount, M. N., “Glanville, Gilbert de (d.1214)”. ODNB.
18 Carley, James P., “John Leland on the contents of English pre-Dissolution libraries: The Cambridge friars”, Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 9 (1986), 90–100. The Dominican buildings at Cambridge were being dismantled by 1536/7; shortly before 1545, an unknown person sent as many as 200 Cambridge mss overseas, including F. Bartolomei Anglis de proprietatibus rerum. These mss were acquired by Pope Marcellus.
20 ODCC, p.123; Christianson, pp.13–22, 39.
22 Bernau, Anke, “Myths of origin and the struggle over nationhood in medieval and early modern England” in Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England, edited by David Matthews and Gordon McMullan, 106–18, Cambridge University Press, 2007. According to this legend, Albina and her sisters landed on the island, murdered their husbands, and lived off the land in a lawless and lecherous manner. They gave birth to a race of giants. Brutus on his arrival conquered the giants and began to civilise the landscape with cities and farms. He divided the land among his three sons, Locrine, Albanact and Camber, creating England, Scotland and Wales. In 1480, the Albina story had appeared in print in Caxton’s The Chronicles of England.
24 Readers’ annotations and underlinings in manuscripts and printed copies show interest in this theme over time. In the copy of Bale’s chronicle of writers perused for this study, a reader has underlined some of Bale’s statements indicating a marked response to mentions of the first Britons; readers of
manuscripts of Properties have also noted this information with underlinings or marginal notes. To give a single example: in the fifteenth-century ms BL Harley 614, ff.121r and 122v, Bk 15, De Anglia and De Britania, a margin note reads ‘De Anglia Brutayne’.

25 Bale, p.23.
27 DrP, Bk 15, cap xiv, De Anglia, pp.631–2.
29 Properties, loc.cit.
30 The myth linking Trojan and Arthurian heroic legend had been given literary form by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his Historia Regum Brittaniae (c.1130–40), and embodied in the English verse chronicle The Brut (late twelfth century). Updated to 1479, its value to the early Tudors is reflected in the 13 printed editions by 1528: Pope, Peter E., The Many Landfalls of John Cabot: University of Toronto Press, 1997, p.130.
32 Brockhurst, 1947, pp.48–50: CCC Cambridge Ms Parker 61, f.150v, contains Batman’s signature: ‘This is my booke /S.B. geven to me by Mr Cari the xvij Decemvre anno 1570’; Brockhurst concludes that the donor may have been Henry Carey’s son George (b.1547); he and his siblings were neighbours at Batman’s cure in Newington, where Lord Hunsdon owned the manor of Paris Garden in Brixton Hundred.
33 Brockhurst, 1947, pp.17–29, 46: Batman was rector of Newington in Brixton Hundred from 1569, and also of Merstham in Surrey from 1571; his relations with the See of Canterbury after Parker’s death are not known.
38 James, Montague Rhodes, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1912.
39 Schafer, p.xiii.
41 Brockhurst, 1947, p.331: without detailed comparative study of his sources against his additions, it is not clear whether he paraphrased borrowed passages or inserted them verbatim, or both, or where some of the longer interpolations merge with his own comments. See Parish, Verna M., “Batman’s additions from Elyot and Boorde to his English edition of Bartholomaeus Anglicus” in Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later, edited by E. B. Atwood and A. A. Hill, 337–46, Austin: University of Texas, 1969, pp.337–8, for a succinct account of Batman’s approach as a moderniser.
**Newstead**, edited by Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi and Gale Sigal, 69–84, New York: AMS Press, 1992; Schäfer (p.xvi) also makes the point that Batman’s changes by no means reflect a break with medieval traditions.

43 The findings of Cressy (especially pp.157–70), indicate that in Batman’s time potential book-buyers could have been found among men (not women) of the first three estates only.

44 De Proprietatibus Rerum, 1535, first page.

45 Brockhurst, 1947, p.331: ‘this “old copye” is De Worde’s edition, but Batman’s use of it was probably very occasional; the correspondences with Berthelet are too frequent to be set aside’.


47 BuB, Bk 15, f.245r.


51 BuB, Bk 5, f29v; on the Martiloge see H. S. Bennett, 1952, p.163.

52 Hooker was an Oxford scholar whose *Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* was not published until 1594–7; Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury in 1560, had travelled with Peter Martyr (whom Batman does refer to several times) and was a strong supporter of the Anglican settlement, publishing the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* in 1562: ODCC, p.738.


56 Cunningham, Andrew, “The culture of gardens” in *Cultures of Natural History*, edited by N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spary, 38–56: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.50, 64: ‘This activity in growing new plants in the garden was reflected in print, and a number of large illustrated books on plants were published during the sixteenth century and found a ready market’; Pietro Andrea Mattioli published *Commentarii* on Dioscorides’ *Materia medica* in 1554; Leonard Fuchs published *De historia stirpium* in 1542; Rembert Dodoens published *Crucydeboek* in 1563; Cook, Harold J., “Physicians and natural history” in Jardine et al, eds, 91–105, p.97: ‘Because of both their classical education and their daily concerns, then, physicians took the lead among those who worked to identify accurately the simples used in medicines, especially the botanicals. Consequently, it is no surprise that the greatest sixteenth-century herbalists were physicians.’

57 Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493–1541) was an alchemist who wrote *Liber de nymphis, sylphis, pygmaeis et salamandris et de caeteris spiritibus*; Sebastian Münster ‘was one of the great geographers of sixteenth century Germany; Gesner learned from him what the foxes of Germany and Russia look like’: Ashworth, p.28.

58 On Ortelius, see Nebenzahl, Kenneth, *Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990, p.121: Abraham Ortelis (1527–98) was a friend and rival of Gerard Mercator. His innovative atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was published in several editions from the 1560s to 1590s.

59 Brockhurst, 1947, pp.52–63.


61 BuB, ‘List of Authorities’.

62 See, for example, Ashworth, pp.17–37, on the accommodation of old and new, moral and empirical, in contemporary descriptions of the animal world by Conrad Gesner and others.

63 BuB, Bk 18, ff.364r–365r.

64 Batman was possibly married at Bruton, Somerset, in the early 1550s; three daughters were baptised in the years 1554–59. He indicates in his poem *The Travayled Pilgrim* that he favoured the married state. (Brockhurst, 1947, pp.27–9).
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65 BuB, Bk 6, f.75.
66 BuB, Bk 5, f.48.
67 BuB, Bk 5, f. 62.
68 BuB, Bk 17, f.319; f.313.
69 BuB, Bk 19, ff.402v–403r. From The Castel of Helthe (the popular Latin-English dictionary first produced by Sir Thomas Elyot before 1538, revised by Thomas Cooper in 1548, 1552, and 1559), Batman selected 14 additions to three books: eight to Book 17, ‘Of Trees and Herbs’; one to Book 18, ‘Of Animals in General; and five to Book 19, ‘Of Colors’; BA may have been one of Elyot’s sources on, for example, butter: Parish, pp.338–42, p.341; H. S. Bennett, p.90, p.129.
70 BuB, Bk 18, f.376r; see also his added chapter on the rabbit (Bk 18, f.359v); his pragmatic comments on horses (Bk 18, f.362v); on the fox (Bk 18, f.385r); on the domestic pig (Bk 18, f.377v); on honey, milk and cheese (Bk 19, ff.402v–409r); and on plants throughout Book 17.
73 BuB, Bk 19, ff.390r–v.
74 BuB, Bk 15, f.231r.
75 BuB, Bk 18, f.351r.
76 BuB, Bk 17, f.315v.
80 Watts, pp.197–201, argues for the importance of contemporary apocalypticism, specifically Franciscan Joachimism, to understanding the mentality of Columbus and his motivations for travel and discovery.
81 Caxton, William, trans, Vincentius. The Mirrour of the World, Westminster: Caxton, 1481. A treatise on cosmology by Gossuin de Metz, L’image du monde was based on the Speculum Naturale of Vincent de Beauvais (c.1250). Caxton states in the preface that he acts on behalf of Hugh Bryce, citizen and alderman of London, who wishes to present it to his patron Lord Hastings.
83 Contemporary and recent explorers and navigators whom Batman names include ‘Abraham Hortelius … A Dutch man, and Gerardus Mercator the chiefe Geographer of our time’; Richard Eden, Vasco de Gama, Sebastian Munster, Raphael Mafei (‘Volteranus’), Pius II, Pierre Gilles, Peter Martyr, Paolo Giovio, Maximilian Transilvanus, Ludovicus di Varthema, Laonicus Chalcocondylas, Johannes Macer, Johannes Leo Africanus, Johannes Cuspinianus, Joannes Barreus, Humphrey Gilbert, Guilelmo Gratarolo, Girolamo Fracastoro, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Gilbert Nazarenus, Georg Rithaymer, Georg Meyer, Franciscus Alvares, Dominic Niger, Cosmas Indopleates, Christopher Columbus, Cherubino di Stella, Battista Agnese, Antoni Tingil, Andrew Thevet, Andrés de Laguna, Ancelm & Christopher Cella, Alvise Cà Da Musto; also ‘Ioannes Herbaceus’ and ‘Christopher Richerius of Sene’. Thanks to Iain McLean for help with identifications.
84 BuB, Bk 15, f.220v; f.221r.
85 Ortelius, Abraham, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Antwerp, 1575. (BL: no page no.): Quoque magis mirere, tribus supporadditit Orbis Partibus hic binas alias.
86 BuB, Bk 8, f.122r.
87 BuB, Bk 8, ff.140–2.
90 BL Harley Ms 614, for example, f.113r, Bk 13, De piscibus: the words ‘by signys’ and a red hand pointer against the column text ‘Also he seith at Delphynus knowne bisynes’; and see James, 1921, p.8

91 James, 1921, p.4.

92 CCC Oxford Ms 249, f.10, Bk 2, cap xxi *De casu malignorum spirituum.*

93 DrP, Bk 2, *De proprietatibus Angelorum*, pp.18–45.

94 BuB, Bk 6, ff.83v–85r.


96 BuB, Bk 1, *De Trinitate*, f. 2r.

97 BuB, BL 456.b.15, f.1, f.2.


99 Christianson, pp.4–10, 89.

100 Brockhurst, 1947, p.240, pp.290–2: *The Doome warning all men to the Iudgemente* is an unacknowledged translation of *De Prodigis et Ostentis* by Conrad Lycothenes, d.1560; BuB, Bk 18, f.36fr.

101 BuB, Bk 11, f.161r.

102 Henry Nicholas, a Catholic born in Münster, was much influenced by the Dutch Anabaptist movement and he found many adherents in Holland and in England: ODCC, pp.502, 973. Batman had written prefaces in 1578/79 to John Rogers’ book *The Displaying of an horrible secte … Heretiques and An Answere unto a wicked and infamous Libel*, against The Family of Love. He had also expressed aversion to this sect in *The Golden Booke* of 1577; in *The Doome*, Batman records for the year 1580 a ‘blazing stave’, seen nightly until the 21st of October, which he interprets as a sign against the Familists: Brockhurst, 1947, p.229.

103 BuB, Bk 5, f.36v.


105 BuB, Bk 12, f.186v.


107 BuB, Bk.18, f.378v; on the other hand, he annotates the chapter on the crocodile with a terse comment on the folly of people who pay to go and view crocodile skins (f.359v).


109 BuB, 'To the Reader', no foliation.

110 Swann, p.19.

111 BL Add. Ms 27944, front fly leaf, recto: "Bartholomew de Ordine; verso: Ecclesiasticaus 44 vers the 1st and the 7th: Let us now praise famouse men and our ffathers that begate us. All those were honoured in theyr generations and were the glory of theyr times"; followed by verse. This and the verses are in a seventeenth-century hand.


113 Seymour, 1975–1988 vol.iii, p.13. Ranulph de Glanville of Suffolk (d.1190) was chronicled in the Middle Ages as a prominent right-hand man of Henry II and a respected writer on law ( Hudson, John. “Glanville, Ranulph de [1120s–1190. ODNB], suggesting that connection to the Suffolk Glanvilles would have been as desirable.

114 For example, in 1607 and 1608 Edmund Topsell adapted the work of Gesner, who had drawn heavily on ‘Properties’, to produce *The historie of foure footed beastes*, and *The historie of serpents*.


The Ireland family worked together on the project to fabricate a collection of personal papers, library, and amplified canon of plays, allegedly Shakespeare’s, for commercial gain. The forgeries were exposed by the Shakespeare scholar Edmond Malone (1741–1812) after an exchange of published statements that included an explanation by Ireland that was also largely fabricated. Ireland does not, it appears, value the works he buys for themselves, but for their usefulness in his project: Ireland, William-Henry, *The Confessions of William-Henry Ireland, containing the Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakspeare Manuscripts*, London: 1805, pp.99–103; see also Ingleby, C. Marsfield, *The Shakspeare Fabrications*, London: 1859, pp.194–201.

BL shelfmark 456.b.15.