DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES OF SELF AND OTHER

IN THE GIRONA BEATUS OF 975

Jessica Sponsler

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Approved by:

Prof. Dorothy Verkerk (advisor)
Prof. Jaroslav Folda
Prof. Pika Ghosh
Prof. Elizabeth McLachlan
Prof. Michael McVaugh

ABSTRACT

Jessica Sponsler: Defining the Boundaries of Self and Other in the Girona Beatus
of 975
(Under the direction of Prof. Dorothy Verkerk)

The history of early medieval Spain can be nearly impenetrable to modern
scholars.   Relatively little textual evidence dated before 1000 C.E. exists and those
sources are rarely contemporary to the events they describe.   Luckily early medieval
Christian Iberia left behind artistic monuments, primarily illustrated manuscripts such as
the *Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, for study. This text, written in the latter half
of the eighth century by a monk named Beatus of Liébana, was reproduced in illustrated
versions from the ninth to thirteenth centuries in northern Iberia and southern France.

This project will focus on a single manuscript from this group, the so-called
Girona Beatus [Girona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11)] dated to 975
and probably produced at the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara in León. I will ask
what the images of the Girona Beatus, specifically those images not directly illustrating
the *Commentary* text itself, reveal about the Christians of the northern Iberian Peninsula.
The previous scholars have focused primarily on finding a Late Antique model from
which the Girona Beatus and others were merely copies.   As a result, the historical
context of the Girona Beatus's making has been of little concern in the scholarship.

Through my examination of images that map, chart, or guide, I will discuss how contemporary events and the recent past shaped the iconography of those illuminations in the Girona Beatus.

With my project, I hope to contribute to the study of medieval Iberian art, specifically to the study of the Beatus manuscripts, by presenting an alternative framework of questions with which to approach that art. I also hope to encourage a greater level of interaction between art historians and other scholars of medieval Iberia.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

Every millennium has the apocalypse it deserves.

Umberto Eco

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INTRODUCTION

THE LEGEND OF CHRISTIAN SPAIN

The creation of Spain begins with a legend. According to the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (866-910), after the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 711, the "Arabs" placed prefects or governors in all the regions of Visigothic Spain.[1] One of these governors was Munnuza, stationed in the city of Gijón in the Asturias, who took a fancy to the sister of Pelayo, a local Visigothic nobleman. Pelayo opposed this union as well as Muslim rule in general. To facilitate a marriage with Pelayo's sister, Munnuza sent him on an embassy to Córdoba. When Pelayo returned to Gijón to find his sister wed to Munnuza, he protested so strongly that troops were sent from the south to arrest him. Pelayo eluded the Muslim army in the mountains from where he rallied his fellow Christians to fight with him against the Muslims. A great battle at Covadonga followed on 11 November 714 in which an army of 187,000 men from Córdoba were defeated by

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[1] The invasion of Visigothic Spain, which covered the period of 711-720, began in North Africa and is believed to have been largely composed of Berber troops. The governor of Ifriqiya (the Umayyad province that included modern-day Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria) was a Syrian Muslim named Musa ibn Nusayr and the majority of the troops sent to Spain was recently subjugated and converted Berber tribes, including the leader of the 711 expedition, Tariq ibn Ziyad, who was believed to be a second-generation Muslim and a Berber. Labeling the invading armies as "Arabs" was a generalization, one that many historians are still guilty of committing today. It is also perhaps a misnomer to name the armies "Muslim." There are some who question the level of conversion amongst the Berbers who had only been recently conquered before they were sent to Iberia to fight. For more information, see Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-100*, 2nd ed. (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1995), 144-180, especially 149-151.

the small group of Asturians with the help of a providential earthquake largely believed to have been orchestrated by God to aid the Christians. Munnuza was killed fleeing Gijón, where he had hidden during the battle. Pelayo became king of the Asturias by allying himself through marriage to the surviving Christian heir of Cantabria. Later chroniclers would mark the beginnings of Christian reconquest and unification in the Iberian Peninsula with the story of Pelayo and his victory at Covadonga.[2]

The most noteworthy element of this great battle is that it makes no impact on chronicles in al-Andalus.   There is no mention in surviving documents of an army moving north to subdue Christians in the mountains. Historians generally agree now that the Battle of Covadonga may have occurred as a small skirmish between 718 and 722, not the epic battle later chroniclers described.[3] The Battle of Covadonga's real victory was not as a military success but as a wonderful propaganda tool used to encourage Christian rulers to follow the lead of Pelayo.   The story is filled with Biblical references, such as calling the Muslim leader in Córdoba the "Babylonian king" and comparing the Muslim-killing earthquake to the drowning of the Egyptian soldiers in the Red Sea after Moses and the Israelites were safely on the opposite shore.[4]   The story typologically linked the remnants of a dispossessed, Christian-dominated society in Iberia to the Israelites and their struggles for a divinely-promised homeland.   A brief exchange

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[2] For an English translation by Kenneth B. Wolf of this story in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, please see Olivia Remie Constable (ed), *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 39-42.

[3] Collins, 182 for a discussion of the political situation in the 720s and 225-6 for his analysis of the Pelayo myth.

[4] Wolf, 39 and 42.

between Oppo, an exiled bishop from Toledo and son of the dead Visigothic king Witiza, and Pelayo reinforces that typological connection through their discussion of the lost glory of Visigothic Spain and Pelayo's determination that it was God's will that Spain should be liberated from the Muslims.[5] The ideas presented in this story would resonate in the anti-Muslim rhetoric of later centuries: a desire to reclaim lost lands; God's preference for Christianity, the "true" religion, and the sexual dangers of Muslims. This determination to create a pure Christian kingdom encompassing the Iberian Peninsula would be shared by later kings in Spain's great *Reconquista* until Isabella ordered a cross to be placed on the Alhambra in 1492 signaling the end of Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula.

Was it as simple as that? The history of medieval Spain can be nearly impenetrable to modern scholars. Relatively few texts remain from 1000 or earlier and those that have survived often recount events that had occurred over a hundred years earlier, like the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*. It is clear that the early medieval Christian kingdoms, which were created in northern Iberia during the ninth and tenth centuries, were not united and often worked at political cross-purposes. Nor was the Iberian Church in accord with itself. Bishops were separated from each other and from other ecclesiastical leadership in Western Europe geographically and dogmatically to the extent that bitter accusations of heresy were frequent. Even the unifying idea of crusade simply did not yet exist to the degree that it would in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. How then did the Christian residents of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly those on the

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[5] Wolf, 40-41.

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borderlands with al-Andalus, view themselves in the world? And, what resources remain

to scholars?   Luckily, early medieval Christian Iberia left behind artistic monuments,

primarily illustrated manuscripts, such as the Girona Beatus [Girona, Museu de la

Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11)].   The Beatus manuscripts are a group of

illuminated manuscripts from the late ninth to thirteenth centuries, which were produced

on the Iberian Peninsula and in southern France, that illustrate an eighth-century

commentary on the Book of Revelation.[6] The Girona Beatus, which dates from 975 and

was produced in the medieval kingdom of León, contains a wealth of well-preserved

images that expanded the visual vocabulary of Christian Iberia.   Produced at a crucial

moment in the history of the Iberian Peninsula, the Girona Beatus may be studied to

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[6] The twenty-six Beatus manuscripts are, with dates according to John Williams: Silos Fragment [Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio de Santo Domingo, frag. 4] from 875-900; The Morgan Beatus [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 644] from 940-945; Vitrina 14-1 Beatus [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-1] from 950; Valladolid Beatus [Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433] from 970; Tábara Beatus [Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097B] from 970; Girona Beatus [Girona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11)] from 975; Vitrina 14-2 Fragment [Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2; ff. 1-5] from 950-1000; Urgell Beatus [Urgell, Museu Diocesá de La Seu d'Urgell, Num. Inv. 501] from 975-1000; San Millán Beatus [Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33] from 975-1000 and 1100-1125; Escorial Beatus [Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, &.II.5] from 1047; Fanlo Beatus [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1079] from 1050; Sanit-Sever Beatus [Paris, Biliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8878] from 1050-1075; Osma Beatus [Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 1] from 1086; Turin Beatus [Turin, Biblioteca Nazional Universitaria, Sgn. I.II.1] from 1100-1125; Silos Beatus [London, British Library, Add. MS 11695] from 1109; Corsini Beatus [Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Segn. 40.E.6] from 1150; Berlin Beatus [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 561] from 12th century; Ryalnds Beatus [Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS lat. 8] from 1175; Cardeña Beatus [Madrid, Museuo Arqueológico Nacional, MS 2] from 1180; Lorvão Beatus [Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo] from 1189; Beatus of Navarre [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. Lat. 1366] from late 12th century; Las Huelgas Beatus [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 429] from 1220; Arroyo Beatus [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv.acq.lat. 2290] from 1200-1250; and Rioseco Fragment [Ciuudad de México, Archivo General de la Nación, Illustración 4852] from 1200-1250.   Most of these manuscripts were produced on the Iberian Peninsula. The exceptions are: the Saint-Sever Beatus produced in Saint-Sever-sur-L'Adour in Aquitaine, France; the Berlin Beatus believed to be produced in central Italy; the Lorvão Beatus from Lorvão, Portugal; the Beatus of Navarre believed to be produced in Navarre; and the Rioseco Fragment which may be from Castile or León in Spain or Navarre.

illuminate how identity was defined when European Christian and European Muslim lived side by side before the concept of crusade gripped the medieval world.[7]

This dissertation asks how Christians defined themselves and, by extension, their neighbors in late tenth-century León. What information can be found in the visual text of the Girona Beatus when few other contemporary written texts exist? How do the images relate to the geography of southern León as a frontier held by monks from al-Andalus and a scattering of settlers? How do the images reflect a growing desire by the secular and ecclesiastical leaders of the region to define themselves and their people in order to create social cohesion, often in opposition to the well-organized political entity of al-Andalus? Was it *Convivencia, Reconquista,* or somewhere in between? I will investigate these issues in the imagery of the Girona Beatus, specifically images that are found in the margins or that do not directly illustrate the Commentary text itself. I will argue the iconography and symbolism of these images represent a definition of Self, both spiritual and physical.

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[7] Jewish culture played a large role in both Christian and Islamic medieval Spain but will be little discussed in this dissertation. In al-Andalus in the ninth and tenth centuries, Jews are rarely mentioned in the historical record because their ability to assimilate and adjust to the Islamic government was so successful. Although occasionally Jewish courtiers can be found in the Christian north where they had obtained nearly equal legal status, they do not begin to play a large cultural role in those kingdoms until after the twelfth century when Jews fled the strict Almoravid rule in al-Andalus. For the makers of the Girona Beatus in the tenth century, Judaism and Jewish art appears not to have played a large role in the manuscript, other than following patterns of early Christian typology. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a great flowering of Iberian Jewish culture can be found, especially around Toledo. For more information, see Isidro G. Bango, *Remembering Sepharad: Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain* (Washington, DC: State Corporation for Spanish Cultural Action Abroad, 2003), especially 19-27; Jonathan Elukin, *Living Together Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pages 36-39; Katrin Kogmann-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and Passover Holiday* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); and Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), especially 91.

Understanding the long history of scholarship surrounding the history of medieval Iberian art as well as the history of the tenth century is crucial for any analysis of the Girona Beatus. Chapter One, "Convivencia or Reconquista: The Problem," will focus on providing the necessary scholarly background on the Commentary text and other exegesis, the role of the Apocalypse in Western European art up to the tenth century, and the history of the scholarship for the Girona Beatus itself. I will discuss the questions earlier scholars have asked about the Girona Beatus and offer alternative ways to frame the study of the manuscript based on recent scholarship in medieval identity studies as well as new conversations in other disciplines, like literature and music, on the culture of medieval Iberia.

In Chapter Two, "The Blurred Boundaries of Artistic Exchange," I will directly address the issue of style by presenting one way to consider stylistic and compositional borrowings from the art of al-Andalus. Other scholars have been at a loss with how to deal with the evidence of artistic borrowing from Islamic sources. Was it negative or positive? Is it culturally significant that an Islamicizing artistic influence is present in a Christian manuscript? Instead of viewing in terms of one scholarly point-of view over another, I hope to contextualize the stylistic and compositional "anomalies" that have so puzzled other scholars and offer an alternative framework of links between the Beatus manuscripts.

The physical condition of the land and its political divisions play a large role in my analysis of the Girona Beatus. In Chapter Three, "Charting the Borders of Humanity in the *Mappa Mundi*," I will consider the impact of archaeological and historical evidence

of a sparsely settled tenth-century landscape along the borders of al-Andalus and León on the *mappa mund*i (fol. 54-55v).   The Girona *mappa mundi* was never intended to be cartographically accurate. The Girona *mappa mundi* reveals more about the political dissensions active in tenth-century León and the beginnings of a religious policy that would result in the infamous Spanish Inquisition several hundred years later than as the means of facilitating travel.

Another way of charting, in this example the lineage of Christ, is included in the Girona Beatus. Chapter Four, "Reclaiming Christ's Lineage in the Genealogical Tables," will discuss the theology behind the inclusion of genealogical tables and why certain ancestors were chosen to be emphasized with illustration.   The study of genealogical tables overall is much neglected in art historical discussions on medieval manuscripts; but, the inclusion of such a chart is integral to the purpose of the Girona Beatus.   The illuminations accompanying the names of Christ's ancestors would remind the monks who owned and used this manuscript of exegesis that protected Christians' heritage. These tables can be interpreted as a reclaiming of Old Testament figures from Islamic theology.

The heritage of Christians against Muslim claims will also be investigated in Chapter Five, "Christ vs. Antichrist." The martyr movement of the mid-ninth century in Córdoba had a great impact on how the monks who made the Girona Beatus defined themselves and how they viewed their role model, Christ. The iconography of the images reasserts the role of Christ as the fleshly incarnation of God and acts as a reminder of the divine retribution against those who deny this, namely Muslims and the Qur'anic denials

of Christ as the Son of God. The images would also resonate strongly with a monastic audience who revered the executed Christians in al-Andalus as martyrs and depict a model of behavior to emulate as well as the rewards a Christ-like life would bring.

Through a thorough grounding in the historical context of the illustration's making and a careful use of the theoretical ideas current today on medieval alterity, or concepts of otherness, I hope to offer a new interpretation of the images of the Girona Beatus with this dissertation and contribute to a larger conversation about the cultures of medieval Iberia.   The paintings of the Girona Beatus, which do not directly illustrate the text but instead act as a framework in which to view the ideas presented by Beatus of Liébana, are deeply concerned with boundaries between the natural and the unnatural, charting genealogies, and presenting relevant pictorial models for behavior to their monastic audience.   When these images and the history of their making are considered together, a stronger understanding can be found of how Christian monks in tenth-century Iberia defined themselves and those who held differing beliefs.

CHAPTER ONE

RECONQUISTA OR CONVIVENCIA: THE PROBLEM

How an earlier scholar has framed the questions about a work of art can be greatly influential in how following scholars conduct their examinations. Chroniclers and historians have written and re-written descriptions of the past to best suit the needs of the present from the first Asturian kings in the ninth century to Franco in the twentieth. Discomfort with a Muslim heritage, a wish to connect the Iberian Peninsula more strongly to the histories over the Pyrenees, and a desire to create a long-reaching national identity have all led scholars of any age to frame the evidence to fit their agenda. Even art historians, focused on re-creating older past manuscripts that may have been used as models or on justifying stylistic differences from Northern European examples, have allowed their analyses to be guided by issues which do not give a larger view of medieval Iberia's works of art. In this chapter, I shall analyze the scholarship on the Girona Beatus as well as a brief history of the text and of apocalyptic imagery before the year 1000. Instead of focusing on questions of model-copy, I shall present alternative methodologies, which focus on using iconographical analysis, the examination of marginalia,

and emphasizing permeable cultural boundaries in the middle ages, that will create a new framework in which to study the images of the Girona Beatus.

HISTORY OF THE BEATUS COMMENTARY TEXT

The most diverse of the illustrated manuscripts produced in medieval Christian Iberia are the Beatus manuscripts, which take their name from the author of the text, Beatus of Liébana, a monk who was born around 750 during the reign of Alfonso I (r. 739-757).[1] Although very little is known about the details of his career, Beatus was probably a presbyter and possibly an abbot. He may have been attached to the chief monastery in Liébana, San Martín de Turien.[2] Beatus had some connection to the royal family of Asturia. He witnessed the conventual vows of Queen Abosinda, widow of Silos (d. 783), and authored a hymn, *O Dei Verbum*, which Beatus dedicated to King Mauregatus (r. 783-789).[3] In greater ecclesiastical and imperial circles, Beatus was known for his battle of letters with Bishop Elipandus of Toledo during the Adoptionist

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[1] John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Vol. 1, *Introduction* (London: Harvey Miller, 1994), 14. For the official biography, see *Martyrologium Hispanium* by Juan Tomayo de Salazar (d. 1662) who assigned February 19 as Beatus's feast day and 798 as the year of his death. Beatus was probably born in the valley of Liébana in Asturia or he was born in al-Andalus and emigrated to Liébana during Alfonso I's colonization of the region.

[2] Williams, Vol. 1, 14-15. The monastery had been called Santo Toribio de Liébana and has been Franciscan since the twelfth century. The earliest charter of the Benedictine San Martín dates to 828 but given the fragmentary nature of texts from this period, it may certainly have existed earlier.

[3] Williams, Vol. 1, 15. The hymn elevates St. James as the patron saint of Spain. Concurrently in the ninth century, the apostolic tomb of Santiago de Compostela was beginning to gain its authority as the most important religious site on the Iberian Peninsula. The shrine's identity separated from Toledo, the Primatial See, and connected the northern Iberian kingdoms to the rest of European Christendom via pilgrimage.

controversy.[4] In response to a fringe sect claiming that the divine was manifested in King David, Christ, and St. Paul, Elipandus wrote that Christ adopted his human nature as opposed to the orthodox view that the human and divine natures were both equally present in Christ.[5] Beatus attacked Elipandus's interpretation and, perhaps as a result of Elipandus's request to the Abbot Fidelis of San Torribio at Liébana to silence him, Beatus published *Adversus Elipandum* with the support of Etherius, who later became Bishop of Osma.[6] This battle over dogma held strong political implications for both relationships with the Iberian Church and relationships between Iberian bishops and greater Western Christendom. The bishopric of Toledo, although a Primatial See from the seventh century, was isolated from Christian Europe liturgically with its remnants of Visigothic practices and politically with its geographic position in the midst of the emirate of al-Andalus. Elipandus and his late eighth-century supporters believed they were upholding ancient theological traditions.[7] Charlemagne, with his interest in Church reforms, disagreed and Elipandus was condemned at three different Church councils: Regensburg in 792, Frankfurt in

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[5] Collins, 207-208. For more on the fringe sect, see 206-207. Collins argues that perhaps around 780 a priest named Egila was sent to al-Andalus with papal support to investigate Iberian orthodoxy. Egila seems to have fallen in with this sect that believed the Church in Iberian was being corrupted by cultural mixing with Jews and Muslims. According to reports from a council in 839, the sect seems to have been centered in Cabra and was detached from the Church hierarchy, only accepting the ordinations of an "Agila of Ementia," who may be Egila of Mérida.

[6] Williams, Vol. I, 14. Elipandus was prominently supported by Felix, Bishop of Urgell.

[7] Collins, 209. Al-Andalus did not become a caliphate until the ninth century.

794, and Aachen in 799.[8]   The Church in al-Andalus became increasingly separated from mainstream Western Christianity and, as Beatus's writings show, some within the Mozarabic Church were not pleased with its practices as early as the late eighth century.

Just as Beatus's participation in the Adoptionist controversy reflects religious and political tensions in eighth-century Iberia of which relatively little is overtly known, his late eighth-century *Commentary on the Apocalypse* suggests an active intellectual culture in the northern kingdoms that is not immediately evident from the extant historical documentation. Beatus's writings reveal that he must have had access to a library with a wide range of Patristic texts.   Scholars are unable to locate this library, determine how it came into existence, or what happened to it.[9]   Through his exegetical research, Beatus managed to create in his *Commentary* what Umberto Eco called an "apocalyptic web" in which several trends of apocalyptic exegesis were presented, rather than one unifying idea.[10]

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[8] Williams, Vol. I, 14.

[9]   Williams, Vol. 1, 15. The text is compiled from various sources: a preface that borrows many ideas from the writings of Isidore, particularly *Contra Iudeos* and his monastic rules; a prologue attributed to Jerome; a letter by Jerome that appeared in the *Commentary of Victorinus*; a summa dicendorum that highlights Beatus's glosses and writings by Isidore; the actual *Commentary* itself that is arranged in twelve books with 68 storiae using biblical passages from both a pre-Vulgate North African source and the Vulgate as well as a range of related exegesis; and Jerome's *Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. There has been no firm speculation on the origins of this library. Williams leans toward North African emigrating monks.

[10]   Umberto Eco, "Waiting for the Millennium," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 123. On pages 121-122, Eco also wrote that reading the Beatus *Commentary* was the most boring experience of his life and he argues that Beatus was one of the less intelligent writers of history adding, "but by virtue of Grisham's Law, his book became a bestseller, a cult book, probably because it was as incoherent and unshaped as the *Rocky Horror Picture Show*."

The Revelation of St. John had been a popular topic of exegesis from the beginnings of the Church. Multiple readings of the biblical text were popular during the Late Antique period. Victorinus of Pettau (c. 300) interpreted the text, particularly Apocalypse 1:1, as the literal representation of the Church in contemporary times. His scholarship became the basis of later chiliastic views, or from the perspective that Christ would reign over a millennium of peace, of the Apocalypse text as an outline of the future. The hostile themes present in these beliefs concerning the Apocalypse, particularly towards organized government, like the pagan Roman Empire which had persecuted Christians, created problems for the early Church in its attempts to construct institutions and develop fruitful relationships with temporal powers. To deal with the paradox of the Church adapting imperial structures, Jerome turned the literal reading into an allegory that allowed the Apocalypse to be read as a series of typological events that lead to an unknown future.[11] An exegetical debate began between Jerome and Augustine of Hippo over this interpretation. Augustine in *De civitate dei* strongly repudiated any literal readings of Revelation and instead supported using the text as a metaphor for spiritual growth. According to Augustine, predictions for the end of the world are forbidden.[12] He wrote,

> The evangelist John also spoke about those two resurrections in the book called the Apocalypse; but he spoke in such a way that the first of them has been

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[11] E. Ann Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 38-40. Victorinus and Jerome also emphasized themes surrounding the concept of Christian apocalypse that resonate in popular culture today, such as 666 and the variations on the name of the Beast.

[12] Robert E. Lerner, "The Medieval Return to the 1000 Year Sabbath," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 52.

misunderstood by some of our people, and besides this, has even been turned into ridiculous fables.[13]

Augustine's exegetical legacy was an anti-apocalyptic clerical elite who used the biblical text to encourage the view of the Church as a release from earthly sufferings.[14]   This allowed interpretations of the Apocalypse text to become increasingly concerned with ideas of orthodoxy and heresy, such as *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* by Primasius (527-565), bishop of Justiniapolis in Numidia, who used the symbols of the Revelation text, like the seven seals or the seven plagues, as typological allegories for the Church on earth.[15] Primasius would have a wide influence in early medieval exegesis, like Beatus's *Commentary*.[16]

By the eighth century, concerns over heresy sharpened in relation to the Apocalypse text. Religious scholars disagree on the extent of anxiety experienced about the approaching millennium and are uncertain if clerical and lay populations believed contemporary events held apocalyptic implications. Extant documents that outline any millennial fears are rare and it is possible any millennial anxiety would be shameful, especially in the clergy.[17]   Carolingian

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[13] Augustine of Hippo, *City of God: Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, translated by Henry Bettenson with a new introduction by G.R. Evans (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 906. Augustine spends Book 20, Chapter 7 offering a point-by-point refutation of the argument for a literal reading of Revelation.

[14] Richard Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 245 and 247.

[15] Matter, 44.

[16] Matter, 45.

[17]   Johannes Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 22. It is also possible millennial anxiety around the year 2000 influenced scholars in their view of the year 1000.

interpretations tended to use the Apocalypse text to encourage penance and good works among monastic communities.[18]   Reflecting this trend, the Beatus *Commentary* included mainstream, Augustinian-derived themes such as the sanctity of the Church and its triumph over all enemies.[19]   More specific references to contemporary concerns are absent, making the Beatus text suprahistorical.[20]   Although some would argue the extant illustrated Commentary texts are all based on a single illustrated prototype, there is a curious lack of specificity to the text itself that could have allowed some flexibility of interpretation in visual representation.[21]   It is possible that the generalizing nature of the text gave illustrators in the ninth century, and after, the freedom to insert visual commentaries of their own, particularly with images not directly illustrating the text.   The later image cycles of the Beatus *Commentary* could be viewed as another text placed next to the written commentary.   These images had a separate history and dealt with different historical concerns than the *Commentary* text itself.

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[18] Fried, 23.

[19] Matter, 46.

[20]   John Williams, "Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGuinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 228.   Williams argues against specific references to contemporary events in terms of Christian relations with Muslims during the composition of the text. For more on the history of the scholarship of the text, see 220-221. He summarizes the arguments of Leopold Delisle, Wilhelm Neuss, and Peter Klein in terms of dating the text and the possibility of multiple revisions of the text by Beatus.

[21] Williams, Vol. I, 31. Although Williams emphasizes the generalizing nature of the text, he continues to insist on a single model that influenced all later copies despite variations in iconography and composition (as I will discuss in Chapters Two and Three), independent inclusions of some image cycles (discussed in Chapter Four), and differences in color and style (discussed in Chapter Five).

THE APOCALYPSE IN ART

Apocalyptic motifs, from extant evidence, were rare in the visual arts before 350 in contrast to the early interest shown in exegetical writing on the Book of Revelation. An artistic tradition of images illustrating or more precisely alluding to scenes from the Revelation of St. John began in Late Antique Rome during the reign of Theodosius and continued to develop during the Carolingian period. The earliest motif of the Lamb or *Agnus Dei*, symbolizing Christ in Revelation 5:12-13, appeared on sarcophagi, commemorative objects such as glass and luxury arts like ivories from the latter half of the fourth century (Fig. 1).[22] Even this imagery has been determined as only vaguely apocalyptic. Scholars have argued the Lamb was not specifically related to the Apocalypse text but held stronger Christological significance by referencing the Good Shepherd.[23] The first monumental images only acted as visual summaries of the Apocalypse text, such as the empty throne and scroll with seven seals.[24] Single motifs began to emerge in Roman monumental art during the fifth and sixth centuries in churches like SS Cosma e Damiano (526-530) with its triumphal arch mosaic depicting the worship of the Lamb by

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[22] Dale Kinney, "The Apocalypse in Early Christian Monumental Decoration," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGuinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 200 and 202. The only Apocalypse motif to appear in Late Antique painting is the A and Ω in the catacomb of SS Marcellino e Pietro in Rome.

[23] Kinney, 210.

[24] The seven seals first appear in Revelation 5:1 and the opening of each seal is described in Revelation 6. Seals 1-4 are the Four Horsemen (Conquest, War, Famine, Death) in Revelation 6:1-8; the opening of Seal 5 is a vision of those who were killed for the word of God in Revelation 6:9; the opening of Seal 6 is an earthquake in Revelation 6:12-14; and Seal 7 is opened in Revelation 8:1 marked by seven angels blowing their trumpets through Revelation 8-11.

twenty-four Elders (Fig. 2).[25]   By the early medieval period, apocalyptic motifs were also frequent in book illumination, appearing as single scenes like John's vision on Patmos in an initial from the Carolingian *Juvenianus Codex* [Rome, Bib. Vallicelliana, MS.B. 25.2] dated to the first quarter of the ninth century or in full book narrative cycles such as the Trier Apocalypse [Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 31] (Fig. 3).[26] The illustrated Beatus *Commentaries*, which range in date from the mid-ninth through the thirteenth century, are often viewed by art historians as a separate tradition.[27]   Despite the presence of Apocalypse imagery from imperial centers, Carolingian influence has been limited in the current scholarship to the inclusion of Authors' Portraits and, specifically to the Girona Beatus, the composition of the Christ in Majesty on folio 2 and the Cross Page of folio 1v.[28]   A greater scholarly emphasis has been placed on the possibility of the Beatus manuscripts being a continuation of a Late Antique, North African style,

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[25]   Peter K. Klein, "Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGuinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992) 159-161. For recent work on the mosaics of SS Cosma e Damiano, see Antonia Rava, "Il restauro del mosaico della Basilica dei Santi Cosma e Damiano a Roma," *Kermes* 5:13 (Jan.-Apr. 1992): 19-26 and Vitaliano Tiberia, *Il Restauro della Basilica dei Santi Cosma e Damiano a Roma* (Todi: Ediart, 1991).

[26]   Klein, 171, especially footnote 62, and 177. For bibliography on the Codex Juvenianus, see F. Mütterich, "Manoscritti romani e miniature carolingia," *Roma Età Carolingia* (1976): 79-86. For bibliography on the Trier Apocalypse, see Richard Laufner and Peter Klein, *Trierer Apocalypse: vollständige Faksimile-Ausg. im original format des Codex 31 der Stadtbibliothek Trier* (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1974-1975) and Thomas Renna, "Triers Apocalypse and its patristic origins," *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 9:1 (1990): 49-57.

[27]   The manuscripts that date from 875-1000 are the Silos Fragment, 875-900 [Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio de Santo Domingo, frag. 4]; the Morgan Beatus, 940-945 [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.644]; the Vitrina 14-1 Beatus, 950 [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitrina 14-1]; the Valladolid Beatus, 950 [Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433]; the Tábara Beatus, 970 [Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097B]; the Vitrina 14-2 Fragment, 950-1000 [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitrina 14-2], and the Girona Beatus, 975 [Girona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7-11].

[28] Williams, Vol. I, 62-64. Williams argues both compositional and iconographical relationships exist between the Girona Beatus and the Tours school of manuscript painting from ninth-century, as exemplified by the Vivian Bible from c. 846 [Paris, BN, MS lat.1], especially the Christ in Majesty on folio 329v.

as seen in fifth-century North African floor mosaics (Fig. 4).[29]   This supposed Late Antique influence would link the imagery present in the illustrations more to the context of a hypothetical Late Antique model.[30]   In practice, it is difficult to imagine any illustrator remaining faithful to a model so distant from contemporary concerns.   When the specific context of the making of Girona Beatus is considered, this hypothesis, that North Africa was foremost in its makers' minds, seems unlikely, especially with no surviving evidence of a Late Antique tradition in early Visigothic Iberia.[31]

The Girona Beatus [Girona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11)] is dated to 975 and was probably produced at the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara in León.[32] According to the colophon on fol. 284r, the scribe was Presbyter Senior and, on fol. 284v, the illuminators were Ende and Emeterius.[33] The Abbot Dominicus was the patron of the book which was finished on July 6, 975 while Fredenando Flagíniz was at Villas, near Toledo, fighting the

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[29] Williams, Vol. I 36-39.

[30] Williams, Vol. I, 36.

[31] Williams, Vol. I, 39. Williams says no "Hellenism" (or Late Antique style) exists in the extant monuments of Visigothic art like Quintanilla de las Viñas, *Rose of the Winds* [Verona, Cathedral, Bibl. Capitolare MS. LXXXIX], or relief carvings from San Salvador de Toledo. He argues these examples would have been from the northern, provincial part of Spain, not the Roman-influenced southern regions. Toledo, however, was the capital of the Visigothic kingdom and would not have been considered provincial.

[32] The most recent facsimile of this manuscript is Beatus et al., *Códice de Girona*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Moleiro, 2003-2004). The commentary by Gabriel Roura i Güibas and Carlos Miranda García-Tejedor relies heavily on Williams' analysis as presented in *The Illustrated Beatus* and focuses on drawing connections between a Late Antique model (Tyconius's lost Apocalypse commentary) and the manuscript.

[33] Ende is identified in the colophon as "pintrinx," the feminine version of painter, suggesting that the artist may have been a woman. Although I do not explore this idea in this dissertation, the possibility of a female artist deserves further consideration.

Moors.[34]   The provenance of the manuscript is unknown until October 6, 1078 when it is first recorded in the archives of the Cathedral of Girona in Catalunya, where it has remained to this day. Although not explicitly stated as a product of León by its makers, there are several elements that position the manuscript's site of production in that kingdom.   The script is Visigothic miniscule that was used in León until the twelfth century. Catalan scriptoria, logical alternatives for the manuscript's origin, had converted to Carolingian miniscule by 975.   The name Fredenando Flagíniz has a Leónese origin.   And, there are strong relationships between the Girona Beatus and other manuscripts known to be produced in Tábara: the Morgan Beatus [New York, Morgan Library, MS m 644] and the Tábara Beatus [Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097B].[35] The vellum of the Girona Beatus is prepared in a similar fashion to the other two manuscripts and, most importantly, there are shared artists and scribes. Senior and Emeterius are named in the Tábara Beatus colophon while Magius, whom Emeterius in the Tábara Beatus named as his teacher, was the illustrator of the Morgan Beatus according to its colophon.[36]   The patron, Abbot Dominicus, also can be found in the records of San Miguel where the Morgan

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[34]   SENIOR PRESBITER SCRIPSI/D(OMI)NICUS ABBA FIERI PRECEPIT/ENDE PINTRINX ET D(EI) AIUTRIX FR(A)T(E)R EMETERIUS ET PR(E)S(BITE)R/INVENI PORTUM VOLUMINE vlaF IIa N(O)N(A)S JULIAS/IN IS DIEBUS ERAT FREDENANDO FLAGINIZ A VILLAS TOLETA CIVITAS AD DEVELLANDO MAURITANIE/DISCURRENTA ERA MILLIESIMA XIII.

[35] For a recent facsimile of the Morgan Beatus, see Beatus et al., *Apocalipsis* (Valencia: Scriptorium, 2000).

[36] John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Vol. II, *The Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (London: Harvey Miller, 1994), 51. There has been discussion concerning the second artist, Ende. It is possible according to the word "pintrinx" that Ende was a woman and one of the first named female artists in the Western canon. This suggests a nunnery was nearby or there were female artists in the area. There is no corroborating evidence to support this idea and some scholars have resorted to attempting to identify "feminine" hands in the paintings of the Girona Beatus. None of this can positively be stated and remains an art historical mystery.

Beatus was produced and where emigrating monks from al-Andalus first settled in the late ninth century.[37] Although textual evidence is scant, it would seem a relationship existed between the monasteries and connections existed between the tenth-century makers of the Girona Beatus and ninth-century emigrating Mozarabic monks. Although the manuscripts differ stylistically and often in the composition of the same scene, a relationship of shared techniques and artisans clearly existed that has led scholars to look at these manuscripts, and others from the same period, as one corpus, rather than individualized works of art.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

This scholarship has marginalized the Beatus manuscripts specifically and early medieval Iberian manuscripts in general. The earliest writings on the Girona Beatus and Iberian painting from this period, such as that by Manuel Gómez Moreno and A. Sánchez Rivero, focused upon justifying the very study of this previously ignored, "provincial" style.[38] Viewing medieval Iberian monuments as artistic production from the fringe was further reinforced by the works of Erwin Panofsky who argued that Carolingian imperial centers were building towards a twelfth century "renascence," or a limited revival of classical forms that would find their true rebirth in

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[37] Williams, Vol. II, 27.

[38] Manuel Gómez Moreno, "Iglesias mozárabes," in *Arte español de los siglos IX a XI* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919; reprint Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998) and A. Sánchez Rivero, "En la Exposición de codices miniados Españoles (con dibujos de L. Quintanilla)," *Revista de Occidente* 2, no. 13 (1924).

the Renaissance of the fourteenth century and later.[39]   Wilhelm Neuss introduced a philological

approach to the entire corpus of Beatus manuscripts.   He dated the manuscripts according to

model-copy relationships and developed stemma affiliations between his groupings.   Neuss

argued that the imagery of the Beatus manuscripts was derived from Germanic sources.[40]

In the immediate post-war period, relatively little work focused upon the Beatus

manuscripts.   The idea of a Mozarabic style in early medieval Iberia was developed by Carl

Nordenfalk.   He defined Mozarabic as "a style employed by Christina artists in Spain under

Muslim rule or possibility of Muslim rule but little influenced by Muslim art."[41]   The Beatus

manuscripts, which fell under Nordenfalk's category of Mozarabic painting, were presented as

the primitive results of an isolated society without a strong imperial (i.e., Carolingian)

presence.[42]   This belief in the inherent 'primitive' qualities of Iberian painting of this period

continues with the work of C.R. Dodwell, who described Mozarabic art as a "continuation of the

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[39] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, (Stockholm: The Grottesman Lectures, Uppsala University, 1960). For an historiographical analysis of Panofsky and the concept of renascence, see Carl Landauer, "Erwin Panofsky and the Renascence of the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 47 No. 3 (Summer, 1994), 255-281.

[40]   Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apocalypse des hl. Johannes in altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustrtion*, 2 vols (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1931, Reprint 1988) and for a more in-depth analysis of his arguments, see Marcia Growden, "The Narrative Sequence in the Preface to the Gerona Commentaries of Beatus on the Apocalypse" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976), 9-10 and John Williams, Vol. I, 21 and 32-34. Neuss also subscribed to the Germanic (abstract) vs. Mediterranean (naturalistic) model of analysis for medieval art concluding that painting styles from medieval Spain were a debased Mediterranean style derived from lost Visigothic imagery.

[41] Carl Nordenfalk and André Grabar, *Early Medieval Painting: From the Fourth to Eleventh Century* (New York: Skira, 1957), 161.

[42]   Nordenfalk, 161 and 163. Nordenfalk argued that once contact with Carolingian ateliers occurred in the mid-tenth century, Mozarabic art became increasingly representational. Previously the style, in his opinion, was more related to folk art.

barbarian tradition in Spain."[43]   Dodwell also displayed a growing interest in the political environment of early medieval Iberia and the relationship between the Christian north and the Muslim south. He concluded that the illustrated Beatus manuscripts were meant as a message to Christians assuring them of victory against a Muslim enemy.[44]   Dodwell insinuated that the painting style of Christian Iberia was not Western but followed Islamic prescriptions proposing that ornament in Mozarabic painting does not support the narrative and the result is difficult for the "Western eye" to understand upon first viewing.[45]

Other scholars were interested in specific aspects of the Beatus manuscripts.   Meyer Shapiro noted on the vivid use of color in the Girona Beatus as a remnant of Visigothic art.[46] Otto Werckmeister began to examine individual scenes for implications of religious and political beliefs in the manuscripts.[47]   After the 1976 symposium on the Beatus manuscripts in Madrid,

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[43] C.R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe, 800 to 1200* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), 166.

[44] Dodwell, 101.

[45] Dodwell, 107.

[46]   Meyer Schapiro, "The Beatus Apocalypse of Gerona," *Artnews* 16, no. 9 (Jan. 1963), 36-50, especially 49. Reprinted in *Late Antique, Early Christian and Medieval Art: selected papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), 319-328.

[47]   For more of his work on the Beatus manuscripts, see Otto K. Werckmeister, "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," *Actas del Simposio para el Estudio de los códices del Comentario al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana* Vol. II (Madrid: Joyas bibliográficas, 1978): 165-200; "Three Problems of Tradition in Pre-Carolingian Figure Style: from Visigothic to Insular Illumination," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 63 (1963), 167-189; "Islamische Formen in spanischen Miniaturen des 10. Jahrhunderts und das Problem der mozarabischen Buchmalerei," in *Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medieovo, 1965), 933-967; "Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever," *Studi medievali* 14, no. 2 (1979), 565-626; "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Girona," *Gesta* 36, no. 2 (1997): 101-106.

interest in this group of paintings became more widespread and topics more varied in art historical circles.[48]

From the 1970s until the present, one scholar has dominated the study of Iberian manuscript painting in the English-speaking academic world. John Williams, an American, has written a series of books and articles on early medieval Spanish painting. The culmination of his scholarship is his five-volume work, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, published in 1994.[49] Using a philological approach similar to that of Kurt Weitzmann, Williams catalogued each extant Beatus manuscript from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries and traced the development of imagery in order to recreate the first illustrated Beatus manuscript, the "lost" Ur-cycle.[50] Williams concluded the original Beatus manuscript would have been modeled on a North African text, such as an illustrated Tyconian *Commentary* (a known text that is now lost), that refugees like Abbot Donatus would have

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[48] Topics of papers from this symposium include: J. Beckwith on Islamic details; J. Guilmain on the motifs, sources, and treatment of decorated initials; J. Ainaud on the representation of the figures; P. Klein on the iconographic tradition; X. Barral y Altet on the Beatus manuscripts' impact upon Romanesque monumental art; J. Yarza on representations of the devil; M. Mentré on Noah's Ark; P. de Palol on Early Christian and Visigothic precedents; O. Werckmeister on didactic and spiritual values in iconographic programmes; J. Fontaine on literary sources of manuscript illumination; and J. Williams on additional subjects, e.g. genealogy of Christ or Evangelist Portraits.

[49] Please also see Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York: George Braziller, 1977); "Tours and the Early Medieval Art of Spain," in *Florilegium in Honorem Carl Nordenfalk Octogenarii Contextum* (Stockholm: National Museum, 1987), 197-208; *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*, with codicological analysis by Barbara A. Shailor (New York: George Braziller in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991); "Imaginería apocalíptica en el romántico tardío español, " *Actas* (1992), 371-392; *The Art of Medieval Spain, AD 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993); *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 volumes (London: Harvey Miller, 1994); "Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus map," *Imago mundi* 49 (1997), 7-32; "The Bible in Spain," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* ed. John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 179-218.

[50] For the beginnings of this methodological approach, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: a study of the origin and method of text illustration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).

carried with them to Iberia when they fled North Africa in 570.[51] Williams' work on individual

manuscripts, specifically the Girona Beatus, all related to his desire to arrange the entire corpus

in a stemma that could potentially recreate the lost North African model.[52] He does note two

unique traits to the Girona Beatus: the introduction of new scenes, namely the Christological

cycle in the preface, into the known Iberian repertoire of Christian imagery, and the strong

Islamic influence in ornament and other motifs, although Williams did not find any significance

in that influence.[53] Although this dissertation deviates from the questions posed by Williams in

his scholarship, this project and any subsequent investigation into the Beatus manuscripts are

deeply indebted to his meticulous study of these manuscripts as well as his thoughtful analyses

of the imagery of the Beatus manuscripts that has defined the field of early Medieval Iberian art

history.

A handful of other scholars have added to the discussion of the Beatus manuscripts since

the publication of John Williams' five-volume work. The most significant is Mireille Mentré

whose work has focused primarily upon the influence of spirituality on the development of

motifs. Her scholarship emphasizes a connection between monasticism in early medieval Iberia

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[51] Williams, Vol. 1, 39.

[52] Williams, Vol. 1, 39.

[53] Williams, Vol. II, 52.

and the ascetic nature of worship in Late Antique North Africa.[54]   In her analysis, images were created to clarify the text and had the same status as diagrams in scientific texts.[55]   She otherwise did not comment upon the methodology used by Williams, Neuss, and others but continued to search for the origins of motifs.[56]   By far, Williams has defined the field of early medieval Iberian painting for the past fifteen years.

Although his contributions cannot be underestimated in the field of early medieval Iberian painting, the pictorial recension method used by John Williams in *The Illustrated Beatus* limits a richer understanding of the Beatus manuscripts, specifically the Girona Beatus. Recently, art historians have questioned the efficacy of this type of scholarship.   John Lowden argued it is dangerous and even impossible to use motifs to reconstruct lost materials.[57]   Lowden instead suggested that the making of the book and the content should be emphasized.[58]   Other scholars have agreed with Lowden's criticism and offered other methodological alternatives.

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[54]   Mireille Mentré, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 47-48. Other scholars working on the Beatus manuscripts post-Williams include Elizabeth Bolman, "De coloribus: The Meaning of Color in Beatus Manuscripts" *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999), 22-34; and Lucien-Jean Bord, *L'image de Babylone aux serpents dans les Beatus: contribution à l'étude des influences du Proche-Orient antique dans l'art du haut Moyen-Age* (Paris: Cariscript, 2000).

[55]   Mentré, 109.

[56]   For an example, see Mentré, 57-59 and her analysis of the Girona Baptism scene.

[57]   John Lowden, "The Beginnings of Bible Illustration," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 49-50.   Lowden's other work has also focused on rejected this methodology first introduced by Kurt Weitzman: *The Octateuchs: a study in Byzantine manuscript illustration* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); *The making of the Bible moralisée* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

[58]   Lowden, 53-55.

Lawrence Nees suggested, in his work on Carolingian Bibles, that artistic intent and audience reception should be the focus of scholarship on early medieval book painting.[59]   Dorothy Verkerk's analysis of the Ashburnham Pentateuch criticized the use of pictorial recensions and the isolation of motifs as championed by Kurt Weitzmann and his students in the second half of the twentieth century.   Instead Verkerk has looked for culturally shared patterns in intellectual and cultural traditions to reconstruct a particular social milieu.[60]

Another alternative methodology to manuscript painting can be found in the scholarship of Michael Camille.   In his 1992 book, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, Camille examined marginalia in Gothic art, arguing, "Things written or drawn in the margins add an extra dimension, a supplement that is able to gloss, parody, modernize, and problematize the text's authority while never totally undermining it."[61]   Rather than isolating motifs which do not act as direct illustrations of the manuscript's text, as had been done in previous scholarship, Camille sought to integrate the meanings of individual marginalia into the function of the entire space they occupy.[62]   Although Camille's study is sweeping in scope and often generalizes themes to the detriment of his supporting evidence, the idea presented is innovative and could be

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[59] Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 121-177.

[60] Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 16-17. See also chapter 1, footnote 19 for more on Weitzmann.

[61] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 10.

[62] Camille, 9.

applicable to manuscript painting in other periods. How can this methodology be used in the study of the Girona Beatus? This manuscript has many images not directly illustrating the Commentary text: the Life of Christ cycle, genealogical tables, a mappa mundi and other supplemental or marginal imagery. The past study of the Girona Beatus has focused upon how the images support the text, despite the two hundred years between the writing of the text and the painting of the images. The inclusion of images that do not directly illustrate the *Commentary* text suggests that the makers of the Girona Beatus were offering a commentary, linked to the context of the tenth century, on the eighth-century *Commentary* text itself, just as Camille proposes the inclusion of marginalia comments upon the biblical text of medieval French manuscripts and gives those texts a contemporary framework with which to understand the manuscript. Instead of focusing on model-copy possibilities or examining how the illustrations relate to the text, he asks what these marginalized images could reveal, particularly when viewed in the historical context of the manuscript's making?

Fresh approaches to the Girona Beatus may also be found in recent work by medievalist scholars in other disciplines. The political, cultural, and religious history of medieval Iberia invites discussion on issues of identity and alterity. Older views on the historical development of modern Spain have tended to elide the influence of Islamic al-Andalus and create a narrative that derived Spanish identity from the Visigoths linking modern Spain firmly to northern European Christendom with a shared Roman heritage.[63] By the last quarter of the twentieth century, this

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[63] For an example of this type of scholarship, see Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *Spain: a historical enigma* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975).

fundamental historical perspective began to shift and all medievalist disciplines began to view

pre-1492 Iberia as the locus of relative cultural and religious tolerance between Christians,

Muslims, and Jews creating the idea of "conviviencia," or coexistence. This term was first used

by the Spanish historian Américo Castro in his discussions of modern Spanish ethnicity and its

deep debt to al-Andalus.[64] Art historians embraced this idea and a 1992 exhibition at The Jewish

Museum in New York City, "Conviviencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain,"

introduced a new way of talking about the region's art. Instead of viewing medieval Iberian art

as culturally isolated within hostile religious groups, scholars were encouraged to be on the

lookout for subtle signs of acculturation.[65]

More recently medievalist scholars have begun to use Iberia's cultural overlapping as a

forum to re-examine questions of Self and Other that had been first raised in analyses of

colonialism by cultural historians like Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, who emphasized a

distinct "subjugator vs. subjugated" relationship between cultures.   Some, like Jean Dangler,

have examined medieval Christian Iberian culture, especially during the eleventh and twelfth

centuries, and concluded that because of the permeable social organization of those Christian

kingdoms, modern concepts of identity and Other following the colonial model of one group

completely subjugating another are not applicable.   Instead, medieval ideas of alterity, or of

otherness, were constantly negotiated according to the specific purposes of a particular period

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[64] For an example of his work, see Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judíos* (Buenos
Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948, Reprint Barcelona: Grijalbo Mondadori, 1996).

[65]   Thomas F. Glick, "*Convivencia*:   An Introductory Note," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in
Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller in
association with The Jewish Museum, 1992), 5.

and region.[66]   Looking at medieval Iberia from this perspective of shifting boundaries allows fresh questions to be asked about its culture.

The Girona Beatus was created during a period of Iberian history that is particularly difficult to define in absolute terms.   The memory of the conquest clearly rankled with some elements of Christian society, and the Islamic presence was viewed by these groups as a looming physical and spiritual threat.   Not all citizens of the Christian north, however, would have been so definitive in their negativity.   Economic, political, and cultural contacts occurred regularly. The clear and absolute boundaries between the religions that began to appear at the end of the Reconquista are blurred and permeable at the very beginning.   Even the monastic makers of the Girona Beatus were not immune to this cultural flexibility, despite their own convictions, as can be found in their inclusion of "Islamic" motifs.   This manuscript was probably meant for personal reading in a monastic community, specifically a Leónese community.   The paintings of the manuscript would have been absorbed equally with the text.   These illustrations, particularly those less related to the text, offer a tenth-century gloss on the eighth-century text and even earlier ideas presented there.   By creating a new framework of questions with which to analyze the manuscript, we may see a new understanding of the Girona Beatus begin to emerge.

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[66] Jean Dangler, *Making Difference in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 4-5.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BLURRED BOUNDARIES OF ARTISTIC EXCHANGE

The group of tenth-century illuminated Beatus *Commentary* manuscripts, of

which the Girona Beatus is a member, is often chosen as the exemplar of Mozarabic

painting.[1] Much attention is paid to the bright palette, use of horizontal color fields as

background, linear figures, and Islamicizing motifs in these manuscripts. The style of the

Girona Beatus, as with the other Beatus manuscripts, has defined that work of art in

modern scholarship. Style has influenced how scholars believe the manuscripts relate to

one another as well as to medieval manuscript painting in general. Style has also led to

scholarly conclusions about the historical context of the Girona Beatus's making.

Although technically the term "Mozarabic" was used to describe Christians living

in Muslim-ruled Iberia, recently "Mozarabic" has also been applied to other Christian

cultures in medieval Iberia through the assumption that those cultures would have been

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[1] Most textbooks introducing the history of western art use the Girona Beatus or one of its contemporaries as an example of Mozarabic art such as Marilyn Stokstad, *Art History*, Vol. I, 2nd edition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999), 489-491 or Fred S. Kleiner and Christin J. Mamiya, *Gardner's Art through the Ages: The Western Perspective*, 12th edition (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadworth, 2006), 309-310. The other tenth-century Beatus manuscripts included in this group are: Vitrina 14-1 Beatus [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitrina 14-1] from c. 950, Morgan Beatus [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 644], Valladolid Beatus [Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433] from 970, Tábara Beatus [Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097B] from 970, Vitrina 14-2 [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitrina 14-2] from 950-1000, Urgell Beatus [Urgell, Museu Diocesá de La Seu d'Urgell, Num. Inv. 501] from 975-1000, and San Millán Beatus [Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33] from 975-1000 and 1100-1125.

influenced by contact with al-Andalus.[2] How and why the Islamic influence on Christian art manifests itself in the Beatus manuscripts, specifically the Girona Beatus, still remains unsettled. Previous scholars agree that Islamic or Islamic-derived motifs are present in the Girona Beatus but dispute the importance of those findings. Should the cultural borrowing be considered as a historical statement about Christian-Muslim cultural interaction or were the artists' imagination responsible? As most scholarship has been tightly focused upon finding the lost "Ur" model for the Beatus manuscripts, a similar obsession with style has resulted.

This chapter seeks to untangle the scholarly discourse on applying the "Mozarabic" label to the Girona Beatus and the resulting implications. Instead of offering another means to categorize the artistic offerings of the manuscript according to style, this chapter will present a more concrete alternative. Certain Islamic motifs were included deliberately and probably they commented upon the makers' opinions of Islamic culture. In other examples, however, Islamicizing motifs appear to have been added without thought to their origins. It seems more likely the makers of the Girona Beatus did not share modern scholars' understanding of what would be a "Visigothic" or "Christian" motif versus an "Islamic" motif and the boundaries between the two would have been more permeable than they are in the current study of the manuscript. The concepts of Christian identity presented in the Girona Beatus were not always framed by

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[2] Werckmeister, "Art of the Frontier" in *The Art of Medieval Spain, AD 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 121. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, the first recorded use of "Mozarab" comes from Richard Challoner's *Catholik Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies and Observances of the Church* from the first half of the eighteenth century. In this example, "mosarabe" was used to describe the liturgy of medieval Spain.

style and artistic copying; instead, a shared monastic heritage and a desire to spread the ideas of those monks may be a more informative way to link the manuscripts. In this chapter, I shall briefly describe the evolution of Mozarabic style in the scholarly literature and explain how the understanding of Mozarabic went from indicating cultural contacts and suggesting wild imaginations on the part of the artists to meaning nothing in the historical context of the manuscript's making and being a pejorative adjective to describe a rich artistic tradition. I shall demonstrate that Islamicizing motifs were incorporated into the painting tradition of the Girona Beatus, with both positive and negative connotations. I shall also discuss an alternative network of transmission, via the evidence of the colophons, and suggest that the Girona Beatus functioned, in part, as propaganda to inform wider monastic audience of the perceived dangers of Islam.

THE MOZARABIC STYLE

The earliest discussions of style occurred in Spanish art historical research of the early twentieth century with the work of Manuel Gómez Moreno and A. Sánchez Rivero. Although there had been an interest in the Beatus manuscripts and other examples of Mozarabic painting from the sixteenth-century, the manuscripts were mainly the concern of collectors or scholars interested in the theology of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[3]

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[3] Mentré, 15-16. Philip II of Spain began collecting these manuscripts as evidence of Spain's Christian heritage.   The collecting continued   into the nineteenth century with Leopold Delisle, for example, purchasing Mozarabic manuscripts for the B.N. in Paris.

The general public apparently did not share the enthusiasm of the collectors. The public response to an 1892 exhibition in Madrid was that Mozarabic art was ugly.[4] Gómez Moreno and Sánchez Rivero attempted to rehabilitate that opinion with Gómez Moreno explaining the style was derived from the Islamic art of al-Andalus and Sánchez Rivero attempting to draw comparisons with modern abstract painting.[5] In 1931, however, the scholarly attempts to reconcile modern aesthetic to Mozarabic style ended with Wilhelm Neuss's *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration*. Neuss introduced the philological approach to the Beatus manuscripts, or the scholarly attempt to organize the manuscripts in groups according to model-copy relationships. Style necessarily was an important component in this methodology and was used by Neuss to establish the 'original' Beatus manuscript, which he argues is probably of a Late Antique North African origin.[6] His work and treatment of style as a means to find an original has been echoed in the work of Peter Klein and John Williams.[7] Discussion of style, specifically of how the Late Antique is present in the Beatus

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[4] Mentré, 16.

[5] Gómez Moreno, "Igesisas mozárabes" and Sánchez Rivero, "En la Exposición de códices Miniados Españoles (con dibujos de L. Quintanilla)," 88-103, especially 89-96. Gómez Moreno's work is a wide study including painting and architecture; on the other hand, Sánchez Rivero attempts to prove the modern aesthetic and modern anxieties, such as that found in German Expressionism or Matisse, are present in Mozarabic painting.

[6] Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes*, 237-44. For reviews of Neuss, see M.R. James, "Review: A Commentary on the Apocalypse," *The Burlington Magazine* 61 no. 357 (1932): 292-293 and Dorothy Miner, "Review," *The Art Bulletin* 15 no. 4 (1933): 388-391. Neuss responds to Prof. Miner's review in the same issue of *The Art Bulletin* on pages 391-393.

[7] Williams, Vol. I, especially 31-55.

manuscripts, was used by Neuss, Klein, and Williams to isolate these manuscripts from a larger medieval, art historical context.

While Neuss, Klein, and Williams have been attempting to tie the medieval Mozarabic style of the Beatus manuscripts to a Late Antique heritage, other scholars, like Georgiana Goddard King or Meyer Schapiro, may have widened their outlook too far. King exoticized the painting style of the Beatus manuscripts by comparing that style to Eastern sources unlikely to have been influential, due to distances in geography and chronology.[8] A similar sense of Other appears in the work of Meyer Schapiro on the Girona Beatus. Unlike King, who separates the style of the Beatus manuscripts from its medieval context by looking to far Eastern sources, Schapiro evaluates the style of the manuscript in terms of worth, writing that the Girona Beatus had

> …spontaneous primitive solutions common to many cultures of this level; the older heritage of classic and Oriental forms upon which the naïve fantasy of artists of that isolated region of Spain worked accounts for at least some of the similarities to Moslem art.[9]

Schapiro's comments on the Mozarabic style also compare its characteristics to the later Romanesque. By valuing the Mozarabic as a lesser style and isolating it from the development of the later styles, Schapiro continues this scholarly trend of viewing the Mozarabic as an entity apart.[10]   This emphasis on isolation and separation from

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[8] Georgiana Goddard King, "Divagations on the Beatus," *Art Studies* 8 (1930): 35. For a critique of this methodology, see Cecily Hilsdale, "Towards a Social History of Art: Defining 'Mozarabic,'" *Medieval Encounters* 5 no. 3 (1999): 274-277.

[9] Schapiro, "The Girona Beatus," 49.

[10] Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos", *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1993) 65-66. Originally published in *The Art Bulletin* 21 (1939): 312-374.

contemporary sources while still looking to far away influences appears in most scholarly analysis of the Beatus manuscripts, and the Girona Beatus in particular.

Given how style has been preferred as the identifying characteristic of any Beatus manuscript in much of the scholarship, considering the historical context, the reason for production, or a single manuscript as a work of art has been blocked. Have scholars achieved a greater understanding of the Girona Beatus through this discussion? Cecily Hilsdale, in her critique of the scholarship surrounding the Mozarabic style, argues that the use of Mozarabic style has been pejorative and created a sense of Otherness to Mozarabic manuscripts. The emphasis on ancient pedigree and exotic influences allowed Mozarabic style to be marginalized.[11] Ignoring style completely, however, does not allow issues of transmission, specifically between the Christian kingdoms and al-Andalus, to be fully explored.

BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC

Identifying Islamicizing motifs in Mozarabic art has been a constant presence in the study of early medieval Iberian manuscripts.[12] Although Williams identifies the Girona Beatus as displaying evidence of an Islamic influence particularly in the marginalia, or in images not illustrating the *Commentary* text, he concludes that the

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[11] Hilsdale, 287-288.

[12] John Williams summarizes the history of that scholarship succinctly in Williams, Vol. I, 143-154.

overall contribution to the manuscript is slight.[13]   Instead, Williams identifies motifs

which could have an Islamic source as part of a larger Mediterranean visual vocabulary.[14]

His exploration of what Islamicizing influences could mean for the production of the

manuscript is limited. Considering the anti-Muslim polemic that can be discerned in the

iconography of these marginal images in the Girona Beatus, it could be logically assumed

that the inclusion of Islamicizing motifs would have been a negative remark on Islamic

culture. Otto Werckmeister proposed this theory with his investigation of a full-page

miniature of a rider on folio 134v (Fig. 5). Like the images discussed in this dissertation,

the rider does not directly illustrate the *Commentary* text.[15] Because the rider is repeated

earlier in the manuscript on folio 15v as a representation of Herod, Werckmeister argues

that the later image of the rider would be a negative representation of an Islamic, or

Andalusi, warrior attacking the Church as represented by the serpent.[16] The argument is

interesting, but unlikely. Williams counters Werckmeister's assertion by pointing out that

Christian soldiers had adopted Islamic costumes and, given the long negative history of

the serpent in Christian iconography, this rider more likely represents an ideal Christian

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[13] Williams, Vol. I, 155-156.

[14] Williams, Vol. II, 60-61.

[15] Werckmeister, "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Girona," 101.

[16] Werckmeister, "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Girona," 104-105. Werckmeister's theory, although interesting, does not appear to be likely because of the frequent negative representations of the serpent throughout the manuscript, such as the serpent with Adam and Eve on the *mappa mundi* and the genealogical tables, the serpents in the waters off the coast of the fourth continent on the *mappa mundi*, the serpents surrounding Bablyon on folios 236v-237, etc.

warrior.[17] What neither Williams nor Werckmeister fully investigates is that a warrior in Islamic garb could have a negative connotation as Herod on folio 15v and a positive connotation as a Christian warrior on folio 134v.

Was this an artist's mistake, an example of laziness in designing new figures, or indicative of something else? Islamicizing motifs were used in the Girona Beatus. There are examples, like Herod the rider or the griffins and senmurvs on folios 165v and 175v-176, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, that were meant to associate signifiers of Islamic culture with a negative polemic. A similar argument can be made for the image of the whore of Babylon on folio 63 (Fig. 6). Sitting astride the horse-like beast, the woman clothed in orange and blue raises a cup to a tall tree with brilliant orange and blue foliage. The tree closely resembles trees carved in marble on the tenth-century Audience Hall of Abd al-Rahman III at Madinat al-Zahra (Fig. 7). Both the Girona Beatus tree and the relief tree have a tall, slender trunk with intertwined upper branches and heart-shaped or tulip-shaped leaves. The composition of the whore of Babylon image also echoes the composition of the ninth-century ivory pyxis of al-Mughira in which two riders each reach a hand up to a central tree (Fig. 8). The whore of Bablyon, as a personification of evil and associated with the Antichrist in Revelation, was a negative character in the biblical text.[18]   Although these examples of the whore of Babylon, the griffins and senmurvs, and Herod the rider follow the anti-Islamic polemic found in the iconography of the marginal images discussed in this dissertation, the

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[17] Williams, Vol. II, 60-61.

[18] Revelation 17:4-18.

makers of the Girona Beatus were willing to include Islamic stylistic motifs, even if to denigrate the cultural source.

Access to pictorial models, which would have supplied the inspiration for these motifs, did exist in the tenth century. Textiles and other luxury goods from al-Andalus did travel north and appear in documentary evidence, like a record of the 812 donation of sixty textiles made by Alfonso II of the Asturias to a church.[19] Andalusi textiles also appear in Leónese monastic records of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[20] Ivories from Córdoba could also be traded, but were more often associated with trophies of war. According to legend, Fernán González was said to have taken an ivory box made for the daughter of Caliph Abd al-Rahman III in 939 and donated it to the monastery of Santo Domingo in Silos in 950.[21] The inclusion of Islamic motifs in the Girona Beatus could be evidence of trade and exchange between the two Iberian religions; however, it could also symbolize the commandeering of an Islamic motif for a Christian purpose, as it was possible to take Islamic objects in warfare and re-purpose for a Christian purpose. This argument is made stronger by the use of a bird and serpent to symbolize the

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[19] Williams, Vol. I, 154-155.

[20] Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: the commercial realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 178. The *Liber pontificalis* refers to *genabes mauriscos*, or Moorish cloths, from León.

[21] Avinoam Shalem, "From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 25. Shalem acknowledges most of González's exploits come from posthumous stories; however, I would like to point out these legends of stealing caliphal goods may have been rooted in some truth. There is a long history of war booty in the battles and raids between the Christian kingdoms and al-Andalus.

Incarnation on folio 18v (Fig. 9).[22]   The concept of the Incarnation is a defining characteristic of Christianity and its emphasis on Christ's divine nature is a theme in the Christological cycle that precedes this image. The makers of the Girona Beatus chose to visually express this moment of Christian triumph with a brightly colored bird of teal, blue, red, lavender, and orange with a stylized rendering of plumage. There are limited naturalistic elements to this depiction of a bird; instead, the feathers become an abstracted pattern that is more ornament than bird. Transforming the natural into patterning and ornament is typical of Islamic metalwork, both in Córdoba with a tenth-century bronze ewer in the shape of a deer and Abbasid centers with an eighth-century bronze ewer in the shape of a bird (Figs. 10 and 11).[23] The makers of the Girona Beatus borrowed a stylistic trait of Islamic art, the abstraction of natural forms into ornamentation, in order to express a central idea in Christian theology. They asserted Christian dominance over Islamic claims through their use of artistic transmission.

MONASTIC NETWORKS

The emphasis on style to link the Beatus manuscripts with one another has created a series of stemmas and families in the scholarship of Williams, Neuss, and Klein. Hypotheses of transmission in model-copy relationships between the manuscripts are based on style. An alternative network, however, exists between the manuscripts and can

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[22] The Incarnation is the concept that Christ is both man and God. John 1:14, "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us," is the biblical source for this idea.

[23] Williams, Vol. II, 59 also cites Sassanian sources for the bird.

be tracked through the colophons and the history of individual manuscripts. Where manuscripts were produced and how those manuscripts changed hands between monastic communities suggest the Beatus manuscripts, specifically the Girona Beatus, may have been used to also transmit ideas as well as style.

The colophon on folio 284v of the Girona Beatus reveals pertinent information about the making of the manuscript.[24] The colophon identifies the date, the artists, the scribes, and the patron. As discussed in Chapter One, this information has led scholars to locate the manuscript's production in León and linked the Girona Beatus to the Tábara Beatus and the Morgan Beatus with shared artists and scribes. The Morgan Beatus contains an ex-libris, "Sancti Michael LIB[ER]," on folio 1, probably referring to the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada located east of the capital city León on the Esla River.[25] This monastery was founded by monks emigrating from Córdoba in 912.[26] The Tábara Beatus's colophon contains a reference to Córdoban monks. Emeterius, the scribe of the Girona Beatus, also worked on the Tábara Beatus as a replacement for his former master, Magius who died on 30 October 968, which was also the saint's day for St.

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[24]   SENIOR PRESBITER SCRIPSI/D(OMI)NICUS ABBA FIERI PRECEPIT/ENDE PINTRINX ET D(EI) AIUTRIX FR(A)T(E)R EMETERIUS ET PR(E)S(BITE)R/INVENI PORTUM VOLUMINE vlaF IIa N(O)N(A)S JULIAS/IN IS DIEBUS ERAT FREDENANDO FLAGINIZ A VILLAS TOLETA CIVITAS AD DEVELLANDO MAURITANIE/DISCURRENTA ERA MILLIESIMA XIII.

[25] Williams, Vol. II, 22-23.

[26] Williams, Vol. II, 27.

Faustus, a Córdoban monk martyred in the ninth century.[27]   The colophon also indicates

Emeterius may not have been in resident at Tábara, although it seems he had had his

training there, and so needed to be recalled when Magius fell ill.   Records indicate an

Emeterius was a cleric appointed to a church in Carrecedo by King Vermudo II of León,

who ruled from 982-999. It's possible this later appointment to Carrecedo was one of a

series and Emeterius acted as an itinerant scribe or illustrator.[28]   It appears there was

movement between monasteries and churches in León in the tenth century.   Shared

compositions and basic structures join the Girona, Morgan, and Tábara Beatus

manuscripts; however, the Girona Beatus includes new imagery, like the Old Testament

matriarchs in the genealogy tables and the Christological images.

Focused upon proving his theory of model-copy relationships, Williams has been

brief in his discussion of the Girona Beatus's function. He has placed the book firmly in

a monastic setting but has not fully explored the impetus for the manuscript's production.

Although readings from the Book of Revelation had played a large role in services from

Easter to Pentecost for Iberian Christians since the seventh century, Williams

acknowledged that the Beatus manuscripts are not organized textually to function as a

lectionary.[29] He suggested that they may have inspired Easter homilies or were meant for

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[27] Williams, Vol. II, 43.   See also 45-46. Williams debates that Magius could be the Maius of the Morgan Beatus. He suggests he could be and that San Miguel de Escalada did not have a scriptorium; instead Maius was loaned out for that manuscript and was actually based at San Salvador de Tábara where "Magius" is buried.

[28] Williams, Vol. II, 45.

[29] Williams, Vol. I, 104 and 113.

personal reading because of the presence of glosses on some of the manuscript.[30]

Elizabeth Bolman has also convincingly argued that the vivid colors used in the Beatus manuscripts may have been mnemonic devices that would have been helpful in personal study and memorization.[31] The difficulty in attempting to identify a liturgical use for the Girona Beatus stems from the non-standardized format of liturgical books in medieval Iberia.[32] Another difficulty in understanding the role the Girona Beatus would have played in monastic life is the lack of strong evidence to determine how tenth-century monastic communities were organized in León. The Rule of St. Benedict, although common as a guide for monasteries in the rest of Western Europe, was practiced in Catalyuna only in the ninth and tenth centuries. Benedictine monasticism does not appear to have spread into the rest of northern Iberia until the reign of Alfonso VI of Castile (1072-1109).[33]

Perhaps the Girona Beatus was a new attempt to tie the Beatus *Commentary* text more firmly to tenth-century political and religious situations by adding imagery that visually glosses the texts. And perhaps that is why this manuscript was chosen to be sent to Catalunya in the eleventh century. The eleventh century saw the rise of León-Castile

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[30] Williams, Vol. I, 113.

[31] Bolman, 25. For more on mnemonic devices in the Middle Ages, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), especially 122-155.

[32] Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London: The British Library and the University of Toronto Press, 1998), 69.

[33] Collins, 242. It is possible the Rule of St. Fructuous, a Visigothic monastic organization, was used that employed double monasteries (monks and nuns) and emphasized limited the abbot's powers. For more, see E. Michael Gerli and Samuel G. Armistead, *Medieval Iberia: an encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 578.

in power with the reign of Alfonso VI (r. 1065-1109), who built extensive alliances with northern Europe through both marriage and encouraging the spread of Cluniac monasticism.[34]   Alfonso reformed the Mozarabic liturgy and pursued a stronger relationship with the papacy.[35]   He also began to greatly expand his territory into Muslim lands resulting in León-Castile becoming the largest kingdom, Christian or Muslim, on the Iberian Peninsula.[36] The Counts of Barcelona in Catalunya had similar ambitions but dynastic disputes sidelined their plans.[37]   The gift of a manuscript, which contained iconography that would give theological support to the military expansion of León-Castile into previously Muslim lands, to an important monastery and cathedral in Catalunya was an a strategic gesture toward the clergy of Catalunya. The Catalan Church had followed Rome liturgically since the reign of Charlemagne and may not have been receptive to ideas from the questionably orthodox Leónese Church until Alfonso VI instituted reforms.

Although the Mozarabic style has been used by scholars as a means of organizing the manuscripts, other options remain open.   A monastic network existed that was composed of shared artists and scribes as well as the transmission of manuscripts through gifts.   By emphasizing the use of style as the most important element of the Girona Beatus, scholars have focused on investigating stylistic or iconographic origins and have

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[34] Bernard Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 92-93.

[35] Reilly, 93.

[36] Reilly, 97.

[37] Reilly, 107.

compared the Girona Beatus and the other Mozarabic manuscripts with earlier or later styles, often in ways that are laden with qualifying judgments. Colophons and historical context have been relegated to acting as supporting evidence and footnotes. By narrowing the discussion to a single manuscript and by thoroughly contextualizing that manuscript, much more is revealed about the choices made by the monks who made the Girona Beatus.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARTING THE BORDERS OF HUMANITY

In 960 a Jewish traveler, Ibrahim b. Ya'qubal-Israiili al-Turtushi, from Tortosa, journeyed to the Christian kingdoms in the northern Iberian Peninsula and wrote down his impressions to present to the Caliph of a-Andalus, al-Hakam III. His trip appears in an eleventh-century description of *Jilliqiya*, the Arabic name for the Christian north in general. In his account, Christian Iberia is divided into four parts: Galicia, which also would have included the kingdom of León, in the west; *Ashturish* or the Asturias in the north; *Burtuqalish* or the land of the Portuguese; and *Qashtilat al-quswa* and *Qashtilat al-dunya*, or Outer and Inner Castile, to the northeast.[1] The reports of the people of Christian Iberian were not favorable,

> The inhabitants [of Christian Iberia] are a treacherous people of depraved morals, who do not keep themselves clean and only wash once or twice a year in cold water. They do not wash their clothes once they have put them on until they fall to pieces on them, and assert that the filth that covers them thanks to their sweat is good for their bodies and keeps them healthy. Their clothes are very tight-fitting and have wide openings, through which most of their bodies show. They have great courage and do

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[1]   Charles Melville and Ahmad Ubaydi, *Christians and Moors in Spain, Vol. III: Arabic Sources (711-1501)* (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1992), 52-53.

not contemplate flight when battle is joined, but rather consider death a lesser evil.[2]

The Christians described may have lacked the niceties of sophisticated behavior, as the chronicler surely believed existed in al-Andalus; however, the language is not denigrating and an assessment of the military potential of the region is implied. Clearly, body odor was not a deterrent to admiration for Christian bravery. An account of Iberia through the eyes of its Christian inhabitants in the northern kingdoms is available in the Girona Beatus, albeit a visual account without the specificities of hygiene.

How the Christian kingdoms viewed themselves has been preserved in the *mappa mundi*, or map of the world, that spans folios 54v and 55 in the Girona Beatus (Fig. 12). The known world is bordered by a band of blue representing the world's oceans. These waters are filled with square islands, empty boats, fish, sea monsters, and an enigmatic nude figure. The land is divided into three major regions by the Mediterranean Sea vertically and by the Nile and Don Rivers horizontally. Unlike modern assumptions of north at the top or east to the right, medieval mapmakers were more flexible in assigning cardinal directions. In the lower right, or southwest in this *mappa mundi*, Africa is located with cities such as Alexandria that are labeled. In the lower left, or northwest, is Europe. Many of the old Roman names are used: Macedonia for Greece, Germania for the Ottonian Empire, Roma for Rome, and Euxinus for the Black Sea. Constantinople and Aachen, labeled *Aex*, mark the Byzantine and Holy Roman imperial centers respectively. The Iberian sites are in the bottom left corner of the European continent or

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[2] Melville and Ubaydi, 55. This account was found in the work of al-Bakri (d. 1096).

southwest in this map: the mountains of Gaul or Pyrenees; the regions of Asturia and Galicia; Toledo, the capital of the old Visigothic kingdom, which was under Muslim control in 975; the Guadalquivir River, which runs through Córdoba, the capital of the caliphate of al-Andalus; and, to the west by the sea, Santiago de Compostela, one of the first instances of this major medieval pilgrimage site depicted on a map. The entire upper, or eastern, half of the map is Asia. Here major political regions, mountains, and cities are labeled such as Judea, Mesopotamia, Mt. Sinai, Babylonia, and Jerusalem. Paradise with Adam, Eve, and the serpent commands the central location in Asia. Naked and clutching their hands to their genitals, Adam and Eve stand within a red-bordered square in front of a blue background. The serpent has entwined itself around the left side of the frame and leans in towards Eve, directly at her ear level, perhaps having just whispered in her ear. Far to the south beyond the Red Sea is a fourth continent, a highly disputed location that is sometimes called the Antipodes. The inscription describes it as a wilderness land near the sun that is unknown due to the heat.[3]

What was the function of this map? What can it tell the modern audience how the medieval maker of this map viewed his world? Although related to a prologue image of the apostles, the *mappa mundi* does not directly illustrate any accompanying text. The Girona map offers a definition of the natural world, both physical and spiritual, according an early medieval monastic community. A medieval audience would have considered the physical and the spiritual worlds as intermingling freely. Understanding the overlapping

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[3] Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1997), 151-153 describes how the inscriptions on the Beatus maps relied heavily on Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. Ethiopia, for example, is described as a place of people with strange faces, monsters, serpents, and wild beasts (*Etymologies* XIV, 5). The inscription in the fourth continent, however, is not from Isidore and roughly translates, "from here, a wilderness land close to the sun, there is nothing known because of the heat."

boundaries of these two spheres in the Girona map clarifies the medieval worldview for a modern audience. This chapter seeks to place the Girona map in a larger context of medieval maps and to explain the map's reflection of the geographical, political, and theological realities of tenth-century Christian León.

MAPS IN MEDIEVAL CULTURE

What is a map? In our world of photography from space and MapQuest, maps can be a precise science that traces coastlines and reproduces in scale the distance from point A to point B. A modern map can assist in finding a location or plotting a journey. They also guided people in early medieval Europe; however, without the modern expectations of geographic accuracy. Medieval maps relied more heavily on how the world was viewed spiritually. Like some types of modern maps such as those ubiquitous maps that divide nations according to regional political affiliations, medieval maps could also reveal how the makers viewed themselves in comparison to their neighbors. Mapmakers in the Middle Ages filtered their renderings of the world through their deep awareness of the spiritual realm; however, the physical realities of their environment still influenced how they depicted the world around them.

Although the most comprehensive Roman maps, like that by Marcus Agrippa, appear not to have survived intact, medieval maps owed some debt to Roman

bureaucratic and military maps.[4] The Roman influence may be seen mainly through the

use of classical place-names that indicate those traditions and surviving textual

references.[5] Biblical texts concerning geography also informed medieval maps, such as

Ezekiel 5:5 describing Jerusalem as the center of the world.[6] Early Christian and

medieval writers themselves, however, provided most of the information used by

mapmakers through textual descriptions of geography. In his early fifth-century book,

Historiam adversus paganos libri VII, Orosius of Hippo included a chapter on geography

that may have also contained a Roman administrative map, which is now lost.[7] Isidore of

Seville (c. 560-636) also discussed geography at length in his works *De natura rerum,*

Etymologiae, and *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* the latter of which some have attributed to

him.[8] In *De natura rerum,* a T-O map is usually found in later copies despite a lack of

direct reference in the text.[9] The T-O map, the simplest of the medieval period, is a circle

inscribed with a "T" that divides the world into three continents: Asia, Europe, and

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[4] Edson, 10.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Edson, 9.

[7] John Williams, "Orosius and the Beatus Map," 17. For primary sources, see Orosius, *The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans,* translated by Roy J. Defarrari, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964). For analysis, see A.H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[8] Williams, "Orosius and the Beatus Map," 8. See Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* translated by Stephen A. Barney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *De nature rerum liber,* edited by Gustavus Becker (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1967); *Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patriarcharum,* edited by J. Carracedo Fraga, (Turnholit: Brepols, 1996).

[9] Edson, 44.

Africa (Fig. 13). Maps can be found in the works of other medieval authors, like Bede, Gautier de Metz, or Lambert of St. Omer, but the sources described above are those most likely to have influenced the Beatus *mappae mundi*. The possibility also exists that an unknown map, possibly from North Africa, influenced the format of the Beatus *mappae mundi*.[10] Maps of different parts of the world appear in a recently discovered early eleventh-century *Book of Curiousities* [London, Bodleian Lib. MS Arab. c. 90, fol. 32b-33], most likely created in Egypt (Fig. 14). A map of Sicily is quite similar to the Beatus *mappae mundi* in format as well as the design of geographic features like rivers, mountains, and the sea.[11]

Fourteen of the surviving Beatus manuscripts contain maps, a visual addition that is not found in any other Apocalypse-related manuscript.[12] In each, the map follows the "Prologue" to Book II that introduces Revelation 2 as well as describing the locations of the apostolic missions, which was borrowed directly from Isidore's *Etymologiae* Books VII and VIII.[13] In his commentary, Beatus describes the heavenly Jerusalem as the first

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[10] I discovered the *Book of Curiousities* quite by accident. New questions arise with the discovery of this manuscript and the similarities between its maps and those in the Beatus manuscripts that are outside of the scope of this dissertation. As more scholars begin to study the Bodleian manuscript, new paths of inquiry for the Beatus manuscripts may open.

[11] To view the manuscript, see Emilie Savage-Smith and Yossef Rapoport (eds.), *The Book of Curiosities: A critical edition*. World-Wide-Web publication. (www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/bookofcuriosities) (March 2007).

[12] The manuscripts that contain mappa mundi are: Burgo de Osma, Arch. Cat. Cod. 1, fol. 34v-35; Girona, Mus. Cat. Num. Inv. 7, fol. 54v-55; Lisbon, Arq. Torre do Tombo, fol. 34; London, B.L. Add. MS 11695, fol. 39v-40; Madrid, Bibl. Nac. MS Vit. 14-2, fol. 63v-64; Manchester, J. Rylands Un. MS lat. 8, fol. 43v-44; New York, Morgan Lib. MS 644, fol. 33v-34; Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS n.a. lat. 1366, fol. 24v-24; Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS n.a. lat. 2290, fol. 13v-14; Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 8878, fol. 45; Seu d'Urgell, Mus. Dioc. Num. Inv. 501, fol. VIv-VII; Turin, Bibl. Naz. Sgn. I.II.1, fol. 45v-46; and Valladolid, Bibl. Un. MS 433, fol. 36v-37.

[13] Edson, 150-151.

apostolic church from which Christianity was disseminated. To Beatus, faith is a "sacred and select seed" which was "scattered in the fields of the world which the prophets prepared." He also warns that those persisting in non-Christian beliefs despite the efforts of the apostles will face "perpetual anathema" when Christ returns.[14] Although the text remains the same, each of the fourteen maps differs. Sometimes the world is a rectangle and sometimes an oval. Place-names appear and disappear. Different biblical figures, monsters, and architectural features are depicted on some manuscripts but not others. John Williams has suggested, very interestingly, that the maps acted as a "cartographical bulletin board." He allows for no strong model-copy relationship in this instance and concludes that the maps change according to contemporary events and the desires of their patrons and/or makers.[15] Williams acknowledges that concerns other than close replications of a model manuscript did exist during the Beatus manuscripts making. If artistic license or the demands of the patron were allowed for one image, the *mappa mundi*, could it be argued that such an attention to the historical context could be found in other images? To date, although asserting throughout his large corpus of scholarship that deviations in the model-copy relationship between the Beatus manuscripts are due to artist's error, Williams has given no reasonable explanation to this claim about the Beatus maps.

Williams does not take this comment further. His observations, like earlier scholarship on the Beatus maps, remains primarily concerned with locating the source

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[14] Williams, "Orosius and the Beatus Map," 8. Translations of the text may be found here.

[15] Williams, "Orosius and the Beatus Map," 18.

material for the maps, namely Isidore and Orosius, the latter of whom could be connected to lost North African materials, and how that relates to his overall thesis for the Beatus manuscripts: to re-create the Tyconius Apocalypse.[16]   Within the context of the Beatus manuscripts, Williams does argue that the maps were used to illustrate the description of the Apostolic mission in Book II's "Prologue."[17]   Evelyn Edson agrees with Williams' premise.[18]   She, however, takes a slightly different iconographic approach.   While she agrees the maps are related to apostolic missions, she also argues that the appearance of Adam and Eve in Paradise can account for another iconographic interpretation (Fig. 15). In each depiction, Adam and Eve are shown at the moment of sin as indicated by their covering of their genitals and an occasional appearance by the serpent.   With the introduction of sin into human existence, death also now must play a part in the lives of these two people.   Having an end to life creates a cycle of living and thereby introduces time to the cosmic mix.   Edson also notes other examples of time found in the Beatus manuscripts, like the genealogical tables.   She attributes this interest to a preoccupation with time in Apocalypse texts in general, although Beatus does skirt around predicting the end of the world.[19]

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[16] For Williams' analysis of past authors' attempts to reconstruct an Ur text for the Beatus manuscripts and his own theories, see Williams, Vol. I, 31-36.

[17] Williams, Vol. I, 51.

[18] Edson, 153.

[19] Edson, 158.

Neither Williams nor Edson sufficiently explains the appearance of the fourth

continent in the Beatus manuscripts. The tripartition of the world was most common in

the medieval world based on classical knowledge of the Mediterranean, contemporary

trade knowledge of Arabia and the Indies, and the Old Testament story of Noah's sons.[20]

Isidore refers to Genesis 10, the story of the sons of Noah after the Flood, in his

discussion of the continents assigning Asia to the descendents of Shem, Europe to Japhet,

and Africa to Ham.[21]   But rumors of another continent had been circulating since the

second century BCE.[22]   Christian writers wrote carefully about the fourth continent

because of Church disapproval of an idea that would contradict biblical sources.[23]   This

continent appears on all of the Beatus maps, indicating the willingness of the medieval

Iberian community to contemplate a fourth realm despite the orthodox position on the

matter.   Neither Edson nor Williams, however, adequately explains its inclusion in the

Beatus maps other than to remark that the idea of a fourth continent is counter to the

theme of apostolic mission.[24]

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[20] Rudolf Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages: The Physical World Before Columbus,* translated by Angela Hall (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1996), 40.

[21] Edson, 44-45 translates the pertinent information from *De Natura Rerum*:   "After the confusion of languages and the dispersal of people throughout the whole world, the sons of Shem lived in Asia and from his posterity descended twenty-seven peoples. And it is called Asia from Asia the queen and is the third part of the world…Named after Europa, daughter of King Aegnor of Libya and bride of Jupiter. Where the sons of Japhet were seen to hold land. From this ancestor came fifteen peoples and they have 120 peoples…Called by the name of Afer, on of the descendents of Abraham, which the sons of Ham possessed and from which came thirty peoples. It has 360 peoples."

[22] Simek, 44.

[23] Simek, 51.

[24] Edson, 154.

Williams and Edson have made valuable contributions to the understanding of the Beatus manuscripts, specifically that the maps can change from manuscript to manuscript according to the maker and/or patron's desires and that maps represent a chronological reality as well as a geographical reality that may relate to other visual components of the manuscript. Based upon these arguments, the maps are deliberate and thoughtful components of the Beatus manuscripts. This raises many questions. What can a contextualized view of the maps provide? Some maps, like that in the Morgan Beatus of 940, do not include Santiago de Compostela but the Girona Beatus of 975 does include the pilgrimage site (Figs. 16 and 17).[25] The maps also differ widely in the number of places identified. Could that reflect changes in the landscape and population centers? And how can the Fourth Continent be reconciled to the idea of time and apostolic mission when ostensibly those lands exist beyond the reach of the Church? Why do illustrations of strange peoples appear in some manuscripts, like the Osma Beatus, but not in others (Fig. 18)? Placing the map of the Girona Beatus within an historical context will go far to answer these questions.

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[25] For more on the Morgan Beatus, see John Williams, Vol. II, 21-33; John Williams and Barbara Shailor, *A Spanish Apocalypse: the Morgan Beatus Manuscript* (New York: George Braziller in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991). The Morgan Beatus world map is discussed in Edson, 151-153. A number of theses have been written on the Morgan Beatus. See M. Jeanne Tassé, "An iconographic source study of the cosmological and eschatological character of the illustration of the "Enthroned Lamb" in the commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus: The Pierpont Morgan Library MS 644, Folio 87" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1972); Sheila Pugh Wolfe, "The Early Morgan Beatus, M. 644: problems of its place in the Beatus pictorial tradition" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1988); and Laura N. Spingler, "Relationship of Text, Image, and Caption in a Spanish Apocalypse" (B.A. honors thesis, Bucknell University, 1997).

The Girona map is striking for its empty spaces. Like its most contemporary comparison, the Morgan Beatus, cities, rivers, and mountains do exist but a great deal of nothing appears on the map as well. This is more noticeable when comparing the map to later Beatus world maps, like that in the late eleventh-century St. Sever Beatus (Fig. 19).[26] Not only do more towns appear on the St. Sever map, but these towns are arranged to indicate a sense of organization and connection to one another, such as labeling important duchies like Aquitaine in southern France.   While visual influences or contemporary needs could have influenced the difference between these two maps, the strikingly different geographical realities of the late tenth and late eleventh centuries are also significant. The makers of the Girona Beatus lived in an isolated region of the Iberian Peninsula where towns were widely scattered and trade routes were not as established as in later centuries. Although crucial to the ambitions of kings and caliphs, the Duero River Valley in the southern region of medieval León was described by contemporaries as a desert.[27]

Things had not always been so in the Roman and Visigothic periods but much changed in the eighth century and would continue to change throughout the Middle Ages. The first wave of invasions began in 711 with Berber armies from North Africa. From

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[26] For more information on the Saint Sever Beatus, see Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Vol. IV: *The 11th and 12th Centuries* (New York: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 44-58.

[27] Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 58.

711 to the making of the Girona Beatus in 975, the landscape of the Iberian Peninsula went through drastic changes with over two hundred years of warfare, relocation, and shifting political boundaries. In al-Andalus, Visigothic farms, which still had closely followed divisions of land and farming methods established by the Romans, were transformed by imported Syrian agricultural techniques.[28] Ownership of the land was also redistributed from Christian to Muslim. The new ruling Syrian-Arab minority claimed the most fertile lands in the Guadalquivir River valley while the Berber soldiers, who had decided to resettle permanently, took lands in the mountainous regions.[29] The practice of establishing garrison towns to separate conquering Muslims from the non-Muslim native inhabitants rapidly disintegrated and Muslims moved into pre-existing Roman-Visigothic towns.[30] These towns, with basic infrastructure and road networks ruined by neglect and war, were eventually submerged by Islamic models of a central mosque and market, a fortress citadel, and distinct public/private spaces.[31] By the tenth century, a consolidated political structure was established with the Umayyad caliph in Córdoba at the center of power and local governors ruling the provinces and marches.[32] The majority of the population consisted of Mozarabs or bilingual Christians who

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[28] Glick, 55.

[29] Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 5.

[30] Coope, 2-3.

[31] Glick, 116.

[32] Reilly, 56-57.

adopted Muslim dress and diet while still retaining their religion. The Mozarab population of al-Andalus worked as tenant farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, laborers, and slaves.[33]   Toledo, despite its location in Muslim territory, retained its position as the titular ecclesiastical center of the Peninsula although its bishops were only sporadically in touch with Rome and the Mozarab Church had lost administrative control of the clergy in Christian-controlled lands by the ninth century.[34]   A minority of the clergy, either dissatisfied with Muslim rule or exiled because of provocative behavior, as well as small groups of Christian lay people dislocated by resettlement of the farms and desiring for land ownership, emigrated north to the Christian kingdoms.[35]

Life in the north was vastly different.[36]   After 711, the Visigothic political divisions were in an upheaval. Galicia in the northwest corner of the Peninsula had known settlement since Roman times and its social structure of a small nobility and a large subjugated peasantry had followed in a likewise continued pattern. Catalunya in the northeastern corner had only been lightly occupied by the Islamic armies and in the early ninth century the nobility there reached out to the Carolingian emperors for political protection and cultural guidance. The region from the Cantabrian Mountains to the Pyrenees was populated by mostly Basque groups who were, and still are, hostile to any

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[33] Reilly, 60-61.

[34] Reilly, 72.

[35] Reilly, 72.

[36] For a fuller description of the culture and lifestyle of al-Andalus, see María Rosa Menocal, *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 2002).

centralized power.[37]   It was from this latter region that the first of the "Christian kingdoms" appeared, the kingdom of the Asturias based in the capital city of Oviedo. Historians are uncertain whether these kings were descendents of Visigothic nobility as according to legend, which will be discussed below, or a separate, Basque-related culture.[38] Whatever their origins, the Asturian kings faced frequent raids and the constant threat of large-scale assault from the Umayyad caliph which forced them to desert the Duero River Valley for the safety of the mountains.[39] A severe drought and famine in 750 only encouraged inhabitants of the region to move.[40]   The Duero River became a no man's land where any who remained were in danger from raids by the Muslims and from wild animals.[41]

This did not frighten off everyone. Settlers, primarily immigrants and determined groups of clerics from al-Andalus, began to resettle the area in the second half of the ninth century. What was the attraction? Considering the luxuries available in al-Andalus, it is difficult to fathom why anyone would make this sacrifice; however, a passage from Paul Alvarus's *Indiculus* on living amongst the Muslims in Córdoba may provide a clue,

> And when we delight in their verses and in their thousand fables and even pay a price to serve them and to go along with them in their most evil deeds, and we hereby lead a life in the world and gorge our bodies,

[37] Glick, 43.

[38] Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 14.

[39] Collins, 227.

[40] Glick, 87.

[41] Glick, 62-63.

gathering together from the unlawful services and execrable ministry abundant riches, jewels, perfumes, and a wealth of clothes and different things, making provisions far into the future for ourselves, our sons, and our grandsons…do we not openly bear the name of the beast in our right hand when our feelings are such?[42]

This passage indicates that some members of the clergy would welcome the opportunity to separate themselves from the contaminating presence of Muslims. For the laity, it could simply be need and opportunity. They needed land and it could be had for only the price of their labor. They practiced *aprisio*, or squatter's rights, and the occasional small farm could be found in the region by 900. There were no towns. The largest settlements were monasteries, like the unidentified monastery near Tábara where the Girona Beatus is believed to have been created.[43] The only Iberian population centers on the Girona map are "Tolofu" or Toledo, the Visigothic capital then under Muslim rule, and Zaragossa, also under Muslim rule. Otherwise only the kingdoms of Betica, the Roman provincial equivalent to al-Andalus, and Christian Galicia, with its pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela, are noted. The rest of the Iberian sites are geographical features like mountain chains, the Pyrenees and Asturias, and rivers, such as the Tajo River that passes through Toledo and the Guadalquivir River that runs through the caliphal capital of Córdoba.[44] Even the city of León is not included. Although León was the capital of the kingdom of León, which had been established in 910 and included the Duero River

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[42] Coope, 7-8.

[43] Glick, 89-90.

[44] Beatus of Liébana, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin, Neuss*, Totius codicis similitudinem prelo expressam prolegomenis auxerunt Jaime Marqués Casanovas, Cesar E. Dubler [et] Wilhelm Neuss (New York: P.C. Duschnes, 1962), 83. For a transcription of all the names on the Girona Beatus map, see Appendix II.

Valley, the town had only enough inhabitants to support a weekly barter market in 975 and other commerce would not be seen for another thirty or so years.[45]

The Girona map reflects the geographical realities of small groups of people living scattered and far from any substantial town or city. Regional population centers were minimal and unconnected to the immediate situation of the manuscript's makers, who most likely lived on an isolated monastery which would have acted as the political and religious center of what local life that did exist. Otto Werckmeister and Charles Bishko have described these Benedictine monks as practicing "frontier monasticism."[46] The term is meant to characterize the cultural position of monasteries existing between the Christian north and Muslim south. These monks were meant to spearhead the reconstruction of lands captured from the Muslims and, in doing so, began to espouse a political ideology based on religious martyrdom and the certainty of ultimate Christian triumph.[47] This term is deceiving and highly colored by early twentieth- century historians of the American West and the idea of Manifest Destiny in the United States.[48] Although living on a frontier in the technical sense, what seems apparent from the manuscript itself is that these monks never considered themselves conquering *new* lands in order to expand. The land they were re-settling had once been populated by Christians

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[45] Glick, 117.

[46] Werckmeister, "Art of the Frontier," 121. For more on his source, see Charles Bishko, *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980).

[47] Ibid.

[48] For the most influential, see Federick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920). Professor Turner would later win a Pulitzer Prize in 1933 for his investigations into the effects of a frontier on American identity.

during the Visigothic era and these monks were re-taking this land which their Christian ancestors had owned. The worldview which the makers of the Girona map present therefore has an important distinction in its notion of frontier: they were taking charge of their rightful possession and regaining what had been lost.

TENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL REALITIES

Although the exclusion of kingdom of León, situated geographically south of the Asturias with Galicia to the West and al-Andalus to the south, as well as its capital city of León, is logical from a cartographical standpoint because of its low population, its absence on the Girona map gives remarkable insight into the political beliefs of the manuscript's makers and/or patrons. The inclusion of Toledo and Santiago de Compostela is equally illuminating. These three locations and their appearance (or non-appearance) on the Girona map help confirm theories that the monks were Mozarabic immigrants from al-Andalus, or at least aligned themselves with that group. They would not be satisfied by this new kingdom of León and its recent capital city; instead, the monks insisted on the ancient center of political and ecclesiastical power on the Iberian Peninsula, Toledo. The map also may imply a balance of power between ecclesiastical and secular rulers that was desired by these monks, who undoubtedly remembered the power of Visigothic bishops over the kings at the synods held in Toledo before 711 as well as the prestige they earned through those councils. And, the map begins to hint at

the political role of the clergy in developing the ideology of Reconquista, aided by pilgrimage, with the inclusion of Galicia and the Asturias mountain chain.

Toledo had been the center of Visigothic power in the Iberian Peninsula before 711. It had been the primary residence of the Visigothic kings since the reign of Leovigild (ruled 569-586) as well as an archdiocese since 610.[49] Toledo was also the first major conquest of the Berber general Tariq after the Visigothic king Roderic was killed in battle. It remained the center of Muslim power until 756 when Abd al-Rahman established the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus and the new capital of Córdoba.[50] Although it seems that Toledo had surrendered to the Muslims with minimal resistance, it became one of the most consistently rebellious cities in al-Andalus where it appears the Arab, Berber, and Christian populations could not live peaceably together.[51] The city revolted against Córdoban leadership in 761, 784-768, 788, 797, 872, 873, and 887.[52] Nor did the ecclesiastical community fare any better with the greater Christian community both on the Iberian Peninsula and further abroad. The author of the Beatus Commentary text, Beatus of Liébana, engaged in a heated eighth-century exchange with the Archbishop Elipandus who advocated Adoptionism, a heretical dogma that posited

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[49] Although through the Edict of Milan (313) Toledo was granted metropolitan status, this was not confirmed until 610 with a special synod. The Archbishop of Toledo did not become the Primate of Spain until 1088 under commands by Pope Urban II. Despite this, Toledo was considered pre-711 as the ecclesiastical center of Spain by Christendom and continued to consider itself as so after the Muslim invasions. For more see, Collins, particularly 58-86, on the rise of Toledo in Visigothic ecclesiastical politics.

[50] Collins, 166.

[51] Collins, 187. .

[52] Ibid.

that Christ was born human and became divine.[53] Beatus argued for the orthodox dual

nature of Christ and was supported by Felix, Bishop of Urgell, which was then the

premier diocese of Catalunya, and by the Carolingian emperor Charlemagne.[54] The

decline of Toledo's power continued. The makers of the Girona map would have

included the city on their map for its historical and symbolic significance. Despite

contemporary political machinations, it would not be a stretch to suggest the Mozarabic

emigrant monks would still view Toledo as a center of Christian life on the Iberian

Peninsula.

By the ninth century, however, the archbishop of Toledo lost administrative

control of clerics outside al-Andalus. The Asturian bishops assisted the king of the

Asturias to elevate Oviedo over Toledo as a center of power and location for both royal

burials and royal coronations, according to the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.[55] The bishops in

Galicia, the other Christian region in the ninth century, were equally unconcerned with

the mandates of Toledo. Interconnected through family relationships, these bishops were

more interested in wresting power from the king in Oviedo, as shown by royal charters,

than in bothering themselves with Toledo, which indicates how little Toledo figured in

these matters.[56] The Galicians, using the leverage of having the only Episcopal see not

[53] For more on this dispute, see *Beati Liebanensis et Eterii Oxomensis Adversus Elipandum Libri Duo*, edited by B. Lofstedt (Turnhout: Corpus Christianarum Continuatio Medievalis LIX, 1984).

[54] Williams, Vol. I, 13-14.

[55] Linehan, 95-98.

[56] Linehan, 111. The August 900 royal charter re-establishing the see of Orense indicates the back and forth between the Asturian king and Galician bishops.

conquered by Muslims in Iria Flavia, managed to locate the burial place of the Apostle James in Santiago de Compostela, despite its backwater location and poor defenses.[57] Ninth-century politics were essentially a tug-of-war between Galician bishops and Asturian kings with their entourage of Asturian bishops.

Toledo continued to be ignored in the tenth century. The Asturian kingdom was divided in 910 between the three sons of Alfonso III: Fruela received Oviedo, Ordoño received Galicia, and García received León. Luckily for Ordoño, García died and León united with Galicia creating a new kingdom with a potent religious site under the king's jurisdiction. Although the Episcopal see would not be transferred from Iria to Santiago de Compostela until 1095 or become an archbishopric until 1120, the cult of St. James was a powerful tool in Christian politics. St. James was first recognized by Beatus as the patron of Spain in his hymn, *O Dei Verbum* (783-789).[58] By the 950s pilgrims from outside the Iberian Peninsula, like the Bishop of Le Puy in 951 and the Archbishop of Rheims in 961, were beginning to arrive at the shrine and pass through León.[59] And, the new Leónese royalty of the tenth century began to take a great interest in the cult.[60] The kings allied themselves with the bishops of Iria-Santiago de Compostela as is demonstrated in extant documents like a charter in 954 in which Ordoño II calls himself the "servant of the servants of the Lord" and refers to Bishop Sisnando as the "bishop of

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[57] Linehan 115.

[58] Williams, Vol. I, 15.

[59] Linehan, 170.

[60] Collins, 235.

the whole world."[61]   In the increasingly complicated political situation between competing Christian kings, Santiago de Compostela was used to enhance the prestige of León. The makers of the Girona map were well aware of the growing role of the shrine and the Cult of St. James. Ostensibly the site should be included on any of the Beatus maps because it illustrates the Apostolic mission and it would be appropriate to mark the burial site of the Apostle to Hispania in a manuscript by monks of that region. But it does not appear on the earlier Morgan Beatus map of 940.   At that time Santiago de Compostela would just be one of many cult shrines and not merit such importance. The political maneuverings of Galician bishops and Leónese kings changed the role of St. James in Iberian political and spiritual life in just thirty-five years.

Santiago de Compostela and the Cult of St. James would not be the only reasons Galicia and the Asturias would be included on the Girona map. Galicia remained "pure" in a sense from the taint of Islam. Muslim presence was minimal there in the eighth century and Iria Flavia even managed to evade occupation entirely.   This would be significant in the early Reconquista rhetoric that began to appear in the ninth-century and would grow more important by the end of the tenth.

The historian James Linehan claims the Reconquista was born in the 880's with the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and its account of the Battle of Covadonga.[62] Previously the only Christian document dealing with the Muslim invasions and occupation dates to 754 and was written by an unknown Mozarabic author probably living in Toledo. In the 754

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[61] Linehan, 170.

[62] Linehan, 103. See also page 7 where Linehan compares the alleged moral decrepitude of the Visigoths and its impact on the invasions to nineteenth-century English views of the 1066 Norman invasion.

account, the author tells of the great confusion of the Islamic conquest and remembers the rule of the Visigothic kings, specifically the penultimate king Wittiza, as good.[63] By 900, the prevailing rhetoric amongst the Iberian Christians views the Muslim conquest as a punishment for the sins of the Visigoths and the victory of Pelayo over the Muslims at Covadonga as a purification of those sins. The Asturias is the location of that divine act that gave freedom to the Christians.[64]   The Asturias, to where the Visigothic nobility allegedly fled, was also a legitimizing connection between the old Visigothic kingdom and the new Christian kingdoms.[65]   To include the location of the beginnings of a Christian reconquest in the Asturias as well as the site of continued Christian presence on the Peninsula would be a logical choice for the makers of the Girona map. These places could be the source of the re-Christianization of the Iberian Peninsula.

TENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS REALITIES

The theme of Apostolic mission, as proposed by Williams and Edson, was undoubtedly intended to be the overall message of the Girona map. Just as the Apostle James spread Christianity in Roman Hispania, Christians in northern Iberia should again

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[63] Linehan, 12-13.

[64] Linehan, 105.

[65] Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 9.

spread Christianity throughout the entire Iberian Peninsula. But this new mission, as presented in the Girona map, would offer little mercy to non-Christians. Throughout the Beatus manuscripts, including the Girona Beatus, Islamic iconographic motifs are used to identify apocalyptic forces, like the Anti-Christ, with Muslims.[66] The inclusion of the fourth continent, with its possibility that some may never be exposed to Christ's mission, and the treacherous ocean border filled with sea serpents, symbolizes an increasing intolerance on the part of the Christians for nonbelievers.

Without the presence of the fourth continent, the Girona map would be a more straightforward mappa mundi illustrating Apostolic mission and logically accompanying the preceding illumination of the Dispatching of the Twelve Apostles. The map would also follow in line with the overall orthodox message of the text: the apocalypse was an allegory of the Church on Earth. Beatus's text describes the sanctity of the Church, defends the divinity of Christ, and hopes for the triumph of the Church over enemies.[67] The Girona map could indeed be an illustration of the Church on Earth but, with the inclusion of the inaccessible fourth continent, the Apostolic mission cannot be completed and the promise of Revelation cannot be fulfilled. Or can it? Perhaps the makers of the Girona map had begun to believe certain peoples might never be reached with Christ's message and that would not affect the final result of Revelation because those people might not be as human as Christians.

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[66] Williams, "Purpose and Imagery," 228.

[67] Matter, 44-45.

Muslims were identified as outside the legitimate biblical genealogy in the 883 *Prophetic Chronicles* which described them as "Agareni" (from Hagar) or Ishmaelitae, referring to Abraham's illegitimate son Ishmael by his wife's slave Hagar in Genesis.[68] A circa 850 *Istoria de Mahomet* from the Iberian Peninsula reinforces Islam's deviation from an Old Testament tradition. The Prophet Muhammad and his preaching is described as,

> The same false prophet composed psalms from the mouths of irrational animals, commemorating a red calf. He wove a story of spider webs for catching flies. He composed certain sayings about the hoopoe and the frog so that the stench of the one might belch forth from his mouth and the babbling of the other might never cease from his lips. To season his error he arranged other songs in his own style in honor of Joseph, Zachary, and even the mother of the Lord, Mary.[69]

The monstrous qualities of the Prophet Muhammad as described above are similar in sentiment to Isidore of Seville's description of the inhabitants of the fourth continent, which he called Ethiopia, who were "people with strange faces and monsters of horrible kinds."[70] In the ninth century, Eulogius of Córdoba, while criticizing the Muslim practice of a call to prayer, wrote,

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[68] O'Callaghan, 15.

[69] Kenneth B.Wolf, trans., "History of Muhammad (ca. 850), in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, edited by Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 49. Clearly the author of this text had some knowledge of the Quran and possibly of the Hadiths as well. The red calf may refer to Sura 2, particularly lines 67-71 (in the biblical version of this story, Numbers 19:2, the calf or heifer is referred to as red, not fawn or yellow, as in the Quran. References to the red calf or heifer in association with the crucifixion or end times also appear in non-canonical Christian sources such as the Book of Enoch 86:6 and the Epistle of Barnabas. The story of spider webs probably references Sura 29 line 41 of the Quran: "The semblance of those who take protectors besides God is that of the spider. She arranges a house for herself, but the flimsiest of houses is the spider's. If only they had sense!" The frogs are probably associated with the nine plagues of Egypt discussed in Sura 7 line 133. The biblical figures of Joseph, Zachary and Mary also appear in the Quran: Joseph in Sura 12, Zachary in Sura 19, and Mary in Suras 3 and 19.

[70] Edson, 152. From *Etymologiae* XIV, 5.

And today, the priests of his [the Prophet Muhammad's] impiety, educated by him observe this rule: like donkeys, their jaws gaping, their filthy lips open, they bray their horrible edicts, but first block both ears with their fingers, as if they themselves could not bear to hear the wicked edict that they proclaim to others.[71]

In a similar vein Paul Alvarus also described Muslims in bestial terms, "gnashing their teeth and raging with wide-open dog mouths, hissing with a viper's mouth, roaring with the fierceness of lions."[72] By associating the Prophet Muhammad and his followers with animalistic characteristics that would render them less than human and by also removing them from legitimate biblical lines of descent, it was possible to present Muslims as something other than human and apart from the world of the Apostolic mission.

Evidence of the suspect humanity of those living outside the borders also appears throughout the manuscript in the four examples of marginalia. Two grotesque human figures may be found on the margins of folio 157v (Fig. 20). The figure on the left is a bearded, almost entirely nude, male with wings growing from his upper back. A cloak drapes around his waist to hide his genitals while in his right hand he is clutching a fish and in his left arm he holds a long staff. He is riding a fearsome sea serpent with sharp teeth. The figure to the right is a fully clothed hunchback with a tall hat riding a horse, who is either headless, as Williams suggests, or has an oddly flat head, and carries a spear. The horse rears his head, or neck stem, back so that the hunchback may kiss him. Williams associates these two figures to a line in the text that describes an angel of the

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[71] John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2008): 152. Tolan translated this passage from Eulogius's *Liber apologeticus martyrum*.

[72] Coope, 65.

abyss, whose "name in Hebrew is Abadon and in the Greek Apollyon," that rules a horde of locusts.[73] He suggests the figure riding the sea serpent could be the angel of the abyss alluding to the Greek god Poseidon who ruled the deep seas.   Another reference to Classical Greek culture would be the hunchback's Phrygian cap which would connect him to the part of Anatolia generally associated with ancient Troy.[74] These references to the Classical and pagan past exist in the Girona Beatus in areas beyond the boundaries of Christian life, in other words beyond humanity from the viewpoint of the makers.

Visual references to Islamic culture also exist on the margins of the manuscript. On folio 165v, a senmurv appears with an eagle clutching a gazelle, imagery that Williams has associated with Islamic motifs (Fig. 21).[75] Senmurvs, hybrid creatures that are part bird, possibly peacock, part dog, and part lion, originated in Sassanian Persian art.   Senmurvs were not adopted by Western artists until the early modern period and would have been associated with Muslim culture in tenth-century Iberia.[76] The eagle and gazelle motif was a popular motif in the art of al-Andalus, like the lid of an ivory pyxis from late tenth-century Córdoba (Fig. 22).   On folios 175v-176, the Islamic motifs continue with a series of griffins, another favorite fantastic animal of Córdoban ivory

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[73] Williams, Vol. II, 58.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Williams, Vol. II, 59.

[76] For transmission of the senmurv to the West, see David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Vol. 58 (2004): 197-240. For the iconography of the senmurv, see Prudence Oliver Harper, "The Senmurv," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series Vol. 20 No. 3 (1961): 95-101.

carvers (Fig. 23).[77]   Outside the narrative of the text and the flow of the paintings illustrating the text, these fantastical and monstrous creatures remind the reader of the dangers of Islam lurking around the corner.   Another example of monstrous imagery, which may be the strangest and most disturbing of the three, is a group of four rabbits under three trees on folio 159.   Innocent enough except that three of the rabbits have oddly forked tongues (Fig. 24).   An inscription roughly translates to 'even the smallest are oppressed by the desire for the gilded city.'   Could this city be Córdoba?   And, perhaps, these rabbits through their desire for the Islamic lifestyle have become grotesque and possibly dangerous with their forked, snake-like tongues.   By no longer desiring to remain within the Christian world, the animals have become subverted and separate from the natural world.

The rhetoric that Muslims were unnatural and monstrous had existed since the ninth century.   The imagery of the Girona Beatus explores those ideas through the theological questioning of the fourth continent in the mappa mundi and the placement of pagan- and Islamic-associated motifs outside the boundaries of the text indicating they should not be considered within the Christian, or natural, construct of the world.   Such uses, however, are meant for a monastic audience with the education to make sophisticated exegetical leaps.   To convey these ideas to a lay audience, the imagery would need to be more sensational and more easily accessible to congregations than books.   As a result, the unnatural qualities of Muslims would be expanded in later Christian artistic examples, which would become more public as well.   As the idea of

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[77] Williams, Vol. II, 59.

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Reconquista spread and Christians began regaining land from Muslim rulers, the idea of

Muslims as inhuman and grotesque was visualized by images of Muslims as bestial and

hypersexualized on the sculptural programmes of churches.[78] The exterior roof corbels of

churches presented an excellent format to present these images of Muslims.   At San

Martín de Elines in Cantabria, one of the corbels depicts a bearded man grimacing and

masturbating (Fig. 25).   His circumcised penis is grossly oversized.   Both the

circumcision and the beard would have been associated with Islamic practice.[79]   Other

aspects of Islamic religious life were subverted on other churches.   The corbels of the

eleventh-century San Martín de Frómista subvert the Muslim practice of bowing during

prayer.[80]   In one example, the figure bows into the mouth of a lion (Fig. 26).   And, in

another, the praying figure is nude and the viewer below would see his exposed buttocks

and genitals (Fig. 27) This sort of imagery, meant undoubtedly to inflame a lay audience,

is cruder and more explicit than that presented in the Girona Beatus, whose subtlety may

be influenced by the shared knowledge of the monastic maker and the monastic audience;

however, the idea behind the relief corbels and the marginalia of the Beatus manuscript,

namely that leaving Christianity opens one to the danger of losing one's humanity, is the

same.

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[78] Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, "Holy Wars and Unholy Art: Muslims on Christian Churches"   (lecture, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, April 4, 2008).

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

The Girona map also emphasizes the danger of leaving the world of natural beings, or Christians, with the ocean border encircling the land. Off the coasts of Europe, boats fill the sea's waters. As the ocean moves further from Western Europe, these ships are replaced with fish and finally on the southern end with menacing sea monsters. These sea creatures closely resemble the serpentine dragons surrounding Babylon with the same undulating bodies and collared necks. The Girona Beatus often quotes itself in its visual motifs and compositions. Indeed, the composition of the Babylon miniature with its ring of dragons around the city echoes the map with its encircling oceans (Fig. 28). Symbolic themes are also repeated. Treacherous waters filled with corpses also surround Noah's Ark (Fig. 29).   The fourth continent was also separated from the rest of the world's landmass with a line of fire representing the equator.

Why would such dangerous boundaries separate the fourth continent and its monstrous peoples from the rest of the world?   Mozarabs in al-Andalus would have understood the temptations of a different culture. Paul Alvarus in the mid-ninth century wrote of his fellow Christians in Córdoba,

> The Christians love to read the poems and romances of the Arabs; they study the Arab theologians and philosophers, not to refute them but to form a correct and elegant Arabic. Where is the layman who now reads the Latin commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, or who studies the Gospels, prophets or apostles? Alas! All talented young Christians read and study with enthusiasm the Arab books; they gather immense libraries at great expense; they despise the Christian literature as unworthy of attention. They have forgotten their own language. For every one who can write a letter in Latin to a friend, there are a thousand who can express themselves in Arabic with elegance and write better poems in this language than the Arabs themselves.[81]

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[81] Translated by Menocal, 67.

The monks who made the Girona map may once have been exposed to such temptations or descended from a Mozarab who left al-Andalus perhaps to avoid these situations. It would be within human nature to desire the knowledge of the Arabs that Paul of Alvarus describes. The Girona map does not forget this – Adam and Eve are depicted in Paradise at the moment of their shame, clutching their genitals, with the serpent slinking up the side of the frame. As Edson points out, the Beatus maps with their representations of Adam and Eve introduce sin to the world.[82]

Why would the creators of the Girona map exclude an entire group of people from their spiritual view of the world? The makers of the Girona may be presenting a possibility for a national identity, a Spanish identity that would encompass a recovered Visigothic Christian kingdom. Modern concepts of cultural difference, like that of the Exotic East presented by Edward Said or the colonial subaltern by Homi K. Bhabha, depend too heavily upon theory of the superior Self dominating the subjugated Other.[83] In order for a Spanish (Christian) identity to triumph, under Said or Bhabha, the Muslim or Jewish elements must be erased or entirely submerged beneath Christian Spain. As I discussed in the introduction with the concept of Mozarabic art, this was not entirely the situation even with the Girona Beatus. Certainly Islamic artistic motifs are used to represent the inhuman or evil; however, the manuscript is still stylistically indebted to an Iberian artistic culture shared with the Muslims as well as ornamental features that are

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[82] Edson, 158.

[83] Dangler, 3-4.

derived from Islamic art forms. The irony, or perhaps hypocrisy, of these artistic choices

is not acknowledged by the makers of the manuscript because for all their polemics, they

retain qualities of the culture they wish to destroy or denigrate. Jean Dangler argues that

medieval society on the Iberian Peninsula did not entirely raise or entirely lower certain

groups in their society in the manner found in the early modern period.[84]   Medieval

definitions of identity and alterity were not homogeneous and could be contradictory in

their differences.   While Paul Alvarus, for example, may be railing against seductive

Arabic poetry, it appears that many members of his community (who should agree with

his definition of identity, at least in his opinion) have adopted aspects of Muslim life into

their own identities. The makers of the Girona map are attempting to follow the example

of Paul and eliminate the temptations of Andalusian life from their world by completely

isolating Muslims geographically and genealogically. They are presenting an orthodox

Christian identity that exists within the boundaries of the Church against a group of

people whose religion has placed them outside the margins of the Church and of

humanity itself. But they still retain qualities of Muslim culture, which they may not

recognize they have. The Girona Beatus is the beginning of a long process of shedding

cultural traits, most often by perverting those qualities into an unnatural characteristic, in

order to obtain a purified Christian identity. The stricter definition of Self and Other

becomes more fully articulated by the Spanish in the fifteenth century with the perceived

degeneracy of Mozarab Christians and the deep suspicion of converted Jews and Muslims

which eventually led to the expulsion of non-Christians in 1492 and the introduction of

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[84] Dangler, 13.

the Inquisition's heresy laws.[85]   The Girona map is an example in which this concept of

Spanish identity is at its seminal stages and is merely one possible definition of Self

amongst many for the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula.

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[85] James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003), 130-132.

CHAPTER THREE

RECLAIMING CHRIST'S LINEAGE

The vastly influential fourth-century exegetical writer Ambrose of Milan wrote in

his *Expositio evangelii secundam Lucam*,

> The cross of Christ, then, is the *sacramentum* of our salvation. Various
> prefigurations are here fulfilled; like Joseph with his brothers, Christ 'has
> delivered us from shame by the sacrament of the Lord's Cross'; Jonah was
> a pale figure of Christ, 'who fulfilled that figure with the sacrament of his
> death,'; the three hundred chosen by Gideon to do battle against the enemy
> foretell in figure that 'the Savior begins to reveal increasingly the
> sacrifices of his passion,' since what is prophetically announced there is
> fulfilled in the gospel. The Cross of Christ gives meaning to that entire
> history; indeed it was already figuratively signified by the wood which
> Moses threw into the bitter water.[1]

The first fourteen folios of the Girona Beatus pictorially express a similar sentiment to

Ambrose's belief that the sacrifice of Christ, which was prefigured and prophesied, was

central to Christian salvation and gave meaning to the biblical history that came before it.

Beginning with the cross page on folio 1v, the monastic audience of the Girona Beatus

would have known that, like biblical history, the rest of the manuscript should be viewed

through the lens of Christ's sacrifice and his suffering emphasized by symbols of the

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[1] Chapter 15: 22-25. See Enrico Mazza, *Mystagogy: A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age (*New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1989), 21.

spear and sponge, which accompany the cross (Fig. 30).[2] To underline the truth of this point-of-view, the following page (folio 2) depicts a full-page painting of Christ in Majesty and refers to Matthew 25:31, "…and the Son of Man shall come into his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory" (Fig. 31).[3] The map of heaven (folio 3v-4) introduces the concept that Christ sits at the center of the universe with the sun and the moon (Fig. 32). Creatures of the natural world adore him from whom all virtue originates.[4] To learn more about how to share in this glory, the reader is reminded to read the Gospels with the inclusion of the author portraits on folios 4v-7, such as a portrait of Matthew (Fig. 33).

These prefatory images prepare the audience for the succeeding folios.   The ancient prophecies and Old Testament prefigurations, which result in salvation from Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, are alluded to in the genealogical tables of the Girona Beatus that may be found on folios 8v to 14v (Figs. 34-40).   Charting the descent of Christ from Adam and Eve to Mary, these diagrams act as a bridge between the introductory images to the Christological cycle (fol. 15-18).   The names of Christ's ancestors, around six hundred in all, appear in linked medallions that are roughly divided into four groups: Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to David, and David to

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[2] Williams, Vol. II, 52.

[3]   For a similar interpretation of Christ in Majesty, see Robert G. Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 91.

[4] See Williams, Vol. II, 52-53 for a transcription of inscriptions, including the biblical passages, and a helpful diagram of the image.

Mary.[5] The tables are not entirely devoid of illustration. Adam and Eve appear on fol. 8v standing under an arch; both figures are nude, clutching leaves to their genitals, and the serpent is entwined on the post of the arch next to Eve (Fig. 41).   On fol. 9v, Noah, making a blessing gesture with his right hand, stands before an altar with two white doves (Fig. 42). A barefoot Abraham wearing only a skirt and belt is halted in his sacrifice of Isaac on fol. 11 (Fig. 43). While Isaac lies fully clothed on the altar with arms and legs in the air (possibly meant to indicate a struggle), Abraham, with his left hand gripping Isaac's hair and his right hand holding a knife, turns to look behind him where the hand of God is reaching out from the heavens. A sheep standing behind Abraham also looks up to God, perhaps realizing his fate as the substitute for Isaac. The narrative qualities found in the first three illustrations are lacking in the latter four which would more rightly be called portrait heads. Isaac appears again on folio 11v; however, this time as a man with his head encircled by a nimus. He is seated on a low stool and faces to the right while making a blessing gesture (Fig. 44).   Encircled by decorative frames, a seated Jacob and his wife Leah appear on fol. 12 (Fig. 45). They appear to be reaching out to embrace one another across the page.   Jacob's other wife, Rachel, follows on fol. 12v (Fig. 46). The images end on fol. 13v with a portrait of David seated and extending his hand in blessing over the names of his descendents (Fig. 47).   A musical note accompanies his portrait. Like Jacob and Leah, Rachel and David are also enclosed with circular, decorated borders and identified by labels.

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[5] Wiliams, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration," 208.

Small and lacking in the elaborate iconography of either the preceding or succeeding illustrations, the imagery of the genealogical tables is little discussed in the existing scholarship. As art historian James Elkins has pointed out, art historians are often at a loss when dealing with what he calls "nonart art" or organized information more related to writing or science.[6] With the exception of the study of twentieth-century artists' use of scientific illustrations, Renaissance medical drawings, and dioramas or anthropological imagery, art historians have largely ignored images that organize information.[7] This avoidance can be found in the study of genealogical tables as well. Scholars take note when genealogies are shown pictorially, as in the late eighth-century Lorsch Gospels [Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyáneum, fol. 14r], which depicts Christ surrounded on his left by a bust of Abraham and fourteen men representing the fourteen generations descended from Abraham; in the center by David with his generations; and on the left with Jehokiam King of Judah with his generations (Fig. 48).[8] Or, scholarly interest has focused on an iconographic detail within the overall organization of the genealogy such as the study of the genealogy of the Book of Kells [Dublin, Trinity College MS 58, fol. 200-202]. In this manuscript, the genealogical information is condensed and the data is arranged in columns, but the scholarly focus is upon the only

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[6] James Elkins, "Art History and Images That are Not Art," *Art Bulletin* 77: 4 (1995): 553-555.

[7] Elkins, 555-557.

[8]   For more information on the Lorsch Gospels, see Boinet, *Miniature Carolingienne* and Koehler, *Karolingischen Miniaturen II.*

figural ornament to the Kells genealogy, a fantastical man pointing to "Iona" or Jonah and believed to be connecting the manuscript to the monastery at Iona.[9]

In this chapter, I shall present a possible history for the genealogical tables of the Girona Beatus and explain where the makers of this manuscript may have found inspiration for the format. I shall also discuss why the inclusion of an extensive genealogy of Christ was integral to the manuscript as a whole and what these tables can tell us about the theological concerns of some Iberian Christian clerics. The decision to include a genealogy of Christ, as well as the choice of ancestors to illustrate, was a resounding refutation of Islamic claims on Old Testament figures and the Islamic significance placed on the genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad as well as visualization of theological tensions between Christians and Muslims in tenth-century Iberia.

FINDING A SOURCE

Before the twelfth century and the popularization of the Tree of Jesse in monumental French Gothic architecture, other ways to represent family descent existed in Europe. The Roman nobility, according to literary sources, displayed their ancestors in the atria of their homes.[10]   The medieval Christian Church used the *Arbor Iuris* to

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[9] Paul Meyvaert, "The Book of Kells and Iona," *Art Bulletin* 71:1 (1989): 6-19, especially 6-8. Meyvaert uses this figure to support his thesis that the Book of Kells originated in the monastery of Iona.

[10] Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, London: Oxford University Press, 1934: 37-38.

determine inheritance and consanguinity amongst European royalty and nobility.[11] Isidore of Seville mentions this format in Book 9 Chapter 6, "de Agnatis et Cognatis," of his *Etymologiae* by describing how the branches of a tree or wreath could show shared relationships by charting sons, fathers, grandfathers or those related by blood and shared male ancestor.[12]   It is believed a chart would have accompanied this text although no contemporary visualization exists and the earliest illustration dates to the eighth century.[13] Although not describing the genealogy of Christ, a discussion of how to organize familial relationships had existed since Roman times.

Christ's human family tree was introduced in the New Testament by Matthew and Luke, perhaps in response to Old Testament prophecies like that in Isaiah chapters nine through eleven which foretell the coming of a mighty prince of peace embraced by Gentiles that will come from the House of Jesse.[14] Matthew 1:2-16 describes the descent

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[11] Watson, 39.

[12] "Stemmata dicuntur ramusculi, quos advocate faciunt in genere, cum gradus cognationum partiuntur, ut puta: ille filius, ille pater, ille avus, ille agnatus, et cognatus, et caeteri, quorum figurae hae sunt."

[13] Watson, 40.

[14] See especially Isaiah 9:6 and Isaiah 11:1-10

of Christ from Abraham.[15]   Luke goes back further to Adam in Luke 3:23-38.[16]   Early

Church Fathers, like Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263-339) and Augustine of Hippo

(354-430), discussed these genealogies and the discrepancies between Matthew and

Luke, namely how different sons of King David are named as ancestors. Eusebius in his

history of the Church refers to Julius Africanus' explanation of Jewish genealogy and the

Levirate marriage, in which an unmarried man will marry his brother's childless widow

so that the brother's name will continue, to explain the differences.[17]   The early

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[15] Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac the father of Jacob, Jacob the father of Judah and his brothers, Judah the father of Perez and Zerah, whose mother was Tamar, Perez the father of Hezron, Hezron the father of Ram, Ram the father of Amminadab,   Amminadab the father of Nahshon, Nahshon the father of Salmon, Salmon the father of Boaz, whose mother was Rahab, Boaz the father of Obed, whose mother was Ruth, Obed the father of Jesse, and Jesse the father of King David. David was the father of Solomon, whose mother had been Uriah's wife, Solomon the father of Rehoboam, Rehoboam the father of Abijah, Abijah the father of Asa, Asa the father of Jehoshaphat, Jehoshaphat the father of Jehoram, Jehoram the father of Uzziah, Uzziah the father of Jotham, Jotham the father of Ahaz, Ahaz the father of Hezekiah, Hezekiah the father of Manasseh, Mannasseh the father of Amon, Amon the father of Josiah, and Josiah the father of Jeconiah and his brothers at the time of the exile to Babylon. After the exile to Babylon: Jeconiah was the father of Shealtiel, Shealtiel the father of Zerubbabel, Zerubbabel the father of Abiud, Abiud the father of Eliakim, Eliakim the father of Azor, Azor the father of Zadok, Zadok the father of Akim, Akim the father of Eliud, Eliud the father of Eleazar, Eleazar the father of Matthan, Matthan the father of Jacob, and Jacob the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

[16] Now Jesus himself was about thirty years old when he began his ministry. He was the son, so it was thought, of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Melki, the son of Jannai, the son of Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos, the son of Nahum, the son of Esli, the son of Naggai, the son of Maath, the son of Mattathias, the son of Semein, the son of Josech, the son of Joda, the son of Joanan, the son of Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the son of Neri, the son of Melki, the son of Addi, the son of Cosam, the son of Elmadam, the son of Er, the son of Joshua, the son of Eliezer, the son of Jorim, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Simeon, the son of Judah, the son of Joseph, the son of Jonam, the son of Eliakim, the son of Melea, the son of Menna, the son of Mattatha, the son of Nathan, the son of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Boaz, the son of Salmon, the son of Nahshon, the son of Amminadab, the son of Ram, the son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the son of Serug, the son of Reu, the son of Peleg, the son of Eber, the son of Shelah, the son of Cainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Kenan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God.

[17] Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine*, translated by Rev. C.F. Crusé, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853: 19-20. See especially chapter 7 of Eusebius' text. For Augustine of Hippo, see *De Consensu Evangelistarum* chapter 2. Augustine concurs with Eusebius.

Christians, primarily St. Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses* (c. 180), used the genealogy of Christ to connect the Old Testament prophecies with the arrival of Christ and, in connection with his baptism, to emphasize his human birth.[18]   The monks of Christian Iberia would study the information from Matthew and Luke and, like the Church Fathers, use the genealogy to combat attacks on Christianity, in their situation, from Islam.

The inspiration for how to visualize Christ's ancestral heritage in the Beatus manuscripts most likely came from the Iberian Peninsula itself and the mode in which information was being organized in other Christian manuscripts produced there.   John Williams has suggested that the genealogical table format and the inclusion of portrait heads that is found in the Beatus manuscripts may be derived from a Visigothic Bible with rich Late Antique iconography, possibly even relating to Dura Europas.[19]   This association with Dura Europas and the wall paintings in the Jewish house-synagogue has been refuted on the basis of iconographic and compositional differences as well as the improbability that the house-synagogue at Dura would have been readily accessible.[20] More likely, the portrait heads were an element of a larger Late Antique artistic culture of which Spain was certainly a participant.   The makers of the Girona Beatus probably did not have to look so far away to determine a means of organizing and illustrating the genealogical information.

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[18] Dwight Jeffrey Bingham and Lucas van Rompay, *Irenaeus: Use of Matthew's Gospel in Adversus Haereses* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1998), 126.

[19] Williams, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration," 209-210, especially footnote 18.

[20] Gutmann, "The Dura Europas Synagogue Paintings and Their Influence on Later Christian and Jewish Art," *Artibus et Historiae* Vol. 9 No. 17 (1988): 25-29.

Instead, a similar way of organizing the information can be found in the San Isidoro Bible of 960 and there is some contextual evidence that indicates that genealogical tables like these could be found in an eighth-century Gospel text that had been in the collection of the Cathedral of Oviedo.[21] The use of arches can be found in the canon tables of the Léon Bible of 920 [Léon, Léon Cathedral, 6, fol. 149v] as a means of separating columns of data (Fig. 49). Similar framing can be found within the genealogy text itself in the Girona Beatus on folios 9 and 10 as well as around the images of Adam and Eve, Noah, and Abraham and Isaac. Even more secular sources could offer a model, such as the Visigothic *Tabula librorum et titulorum* from the *Lex Visigothorum*. The ninth-century copy from Catalunya [Paris, B.N.F., lat. 4667, fol. 7v], could offer an example of how to organize information. In the Catalan example, circles with decorated borders can be found to set off some text much as the portraits of Jacob, Leah, Rachel, and David are framed (Fig. 50). Williams also looks to secular sources older than the Visigoths in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*:

> Indolence has destroyed the arts, and since our minds cannot be portrayed, our bodily features are also neglected. In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the object displayed to be looked at…   The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines (stemmata) running near the several painted portraits.[22]

The genealogical tables of the Girona Beatus visualize Pliny's description with lines connecting groups of names and the inclusion of revered ancestors' portraits.

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[21] Williams, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration," 209-210.

[22] Williams, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration," 209. Translation by H. Rackham.

The narrative scenes, particularly the Sacrifice of Isaac, may have also been inspired by Iberian sources. The pillars in the nave of the late seventh-century Visigothic church San Pedro de la Nave in Zamora depict biblical scenes carved in relief on their capitals. The Sacrifice of Isaac can be found with Abraham clutching a struggling Isaac's hair in one hand and a raised knife in the other. The hand of God reaches down from the sky to prevent Isaac's death while a sheep waits off to the side for his substitution (Fig. 51). Although the compositional arrangement is not identical, the same elements appear in the capital relief as in the Girona Beatus. Unfortunately many Visigothic churches did not survive and those that remain are in varying degrees of preservation. Visigothic churches and other works of art from that period may have provided models for the Beatus illustrators that are now simply lost to modern scholars.

Genealogical tables survive from two earlier Beatus manuscripts: the Morgan Beatus and Tábara Beatus. Genealogical tables appear on folios 0-1v of the Tábara Beatus (Fig. 52). A format of names enclosed within circles and connected by lines similar to that found in the Girona Beatus may also been seen here. The accompanying illustrations, however, are missing. Pieces that appear to have been cut from the folios may have contained illustrations. The Tábara Beatus also includes a simple tripartite map of the world marking east and west (Fig. 53). The continents are labeled Asia, Europe, and Libya. This map does not appear in either the Morgan or the Girona manuscript. The Morgan Beatus' illustrations are still intact. Like Girona and Tábara, the names of Christ's ancestors are arranged in a series of circles and lines. And, like Girona, Morgan also contains illustrations of Adam and Eve, Noah, and Abraham and Isaac. But the

portraits of Isaac, Jacob, Leah, Rachel, and David are missing, and there are some iconographic differences between the existing illustrations and those in Girona. In the illustration of Adam and Eve, for example, their hands alone are covering their genitals and the serpent is missing. With Abraham and Isaac, there is no sheep as an alternative sacrifice. Abraham is also fully clothed and wearing shoes, and, Isaac seems to be putting up less of a struggle. Only the illustration of Noah is similar. Clearly the manuscripts are related, possibly with shared scribes and illuminators as discussed earlier, but the makers of the Girona Beatus chose to embellish existing imagery by adding the serpent or making the sacrifice of Isaac slightly more exciting as well as adding portraits of other ancestors, including two Old Testament matriarchs who are never mentioned in either Gospel source.

CLAIMS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Qur'an features many events and people also found in both the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible, including many of the ancestors of Christ: Adam, Enoch, Noah, Eber, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Saul, David, Solomon, and Mary.[23] Of biblical texts or figures illustrated in the Girona Beatus, there are also Qur'anic equivalents: Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham's sacrifice (though in the Qur'an, it is an

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[23] The creation of Adam appears in Sura 7; Enoch in Suras 19 and 21; Noah appears in Suras 4, 7, 10, 11, 17, 23, 26, 29, 37, 38, 40, 50, 53, 54, 66, and 71; Eber in sura 11; Abraham appears in Suras; Isaac in Suras; Jacob in Suras 2, 12, and 38; Saul in Sura 2; David in; Solomon in Sura 34; Mary in Suras 3 and 19.

unnamed son), Jacob and David. Leah and Rachel are not mentioned by name in the Qur'an. In Sura 7 lines 19-25, the Qur'an describes the expulsion of Adam and an unnamed wife from Paradise.[24] Noah is mentioned extensively in the Qur'an in connection to his role in the Flood as well as his teachings; in fact, he is held up as an example, with Abraham, as a great prophet.[25] Abraham also appears in thirty-five different suras of the Qur'an. He is celebrated for his monotheism, for founding a community based on God's law, and for his submission to God's Will. Sura 37: 102-108 describes Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his unnamed son.[26] Jacob's submission as well as his spreading the faith of Abraham, i.e. Islam, to his descendents is praised.[27] Noah, Abraham, and Jacob were all revered prophets in the Qur'an. David, on the other hand, was given a special gift: the authorship of the Psalms.[28] All these Qur'anic

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[24] "And you, O Adam and your spouse, live in the Garden and eat your fill wheresoever you like, but do not approach this tree, or you will become iniquitous." But Satan suggested to them in order to reveal their hidden parts of which they were not aware and said: "Your Lord has forbidden you this tree that you may not become angels or immortal." Then he said to them on oath: "I am your sincere friend." And led them by deceit. When they tasted of the tree their disgrace became exposed to them and they patched the leaves of the Garden to hide it. And the Lord said to them: "Did I not forbid you this tree? And I told you that Satan was your open enemy." They said: "O our Lord we have wronged ourselves. If you do not forgive us and have mercy upon us, we shall certainly be lost." "Go," said God, "one enemy of the other and live on the earth for a time ordained, and fend for yourselves." "You will live there, and there you will die," He said, "and be raised from there."

[25] Sura 56:27.

[26] When he was old enough to go about with him, he [Abraham] said: "O my son, I dreamt that I was sacrificing you. Consider, what do you think?" He [the son] replied: "Father, do as you are commanded. If God pleases you will find me firm." When they submitted to the will of God and Abraham laid his son down prostrate on his temple, We [God] called out: "O Abraham, you have fulfilled your dream." Thus do We reward the good." That was a trying test. So We ransomed him for a great sacrifice, and left his memory for posterity.

[27] Sura 2:132-133.

[28] Sura 17:55 and Sura 21:105.

descriptions of Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and David are favorable. What could be found here that would be offensive to the makers of the Girona Beatus?

Qur'anic exegesis attacked the reliability of the Bible. The most basic argument by Muslim theologians was that Jews and Christians falsified their religious books.[29] The basis for this accusation appears in the Qur'an itself in Sura 2:79, "But woe to them who fake the Scriptures and say: "This is from God," so that they might earn some profit thereby; and woe to them for what they fake, and woe to them for what they earn from it!" The commentator al-Tabari (d. 923) combines this verse with one of the Hadiths, which asserts that the Jews added or deleted what they liked from the Torah, to explain differences in the Prophet Muhammad's information and that found in the Jewish Bible.[30] Another commentator from Córdoba, Ibn Hazm (d. 1064), produced an exhaustive compendium, "On Religion and Sects," which included a now-lost treatise on changes made to the Bible by Jews and Christians.[31] Overall his writings are extremely critical and derogatory of Judaism and Christianity.[32] These Islamic exegetical writers merely borrowed techniques from Christian exegesis on Judaism. The *Adversus Judaeos* tradition in the early Church emphasized the inferiority of Jewish law and asserted that Christians had gained a new covenant with God because of Jewish people's inherent

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[29] Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 19.

[30] Lazarus-Yafeh, 20-21.

[31] "On Religion and Sects," is said to be based on earlier commentaries of the Quran. See Lazarus-Yafeh, 26. For more analysis on Ibn Hazm's writings, see Camilla Adang, *Muslim writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible : from Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996).

[32] Lazarus-Yafeh, 26-27.

rebelliousness, idolatry, and mistreatment of prophets, who were also prophesying the coming of Christ.[33]   With commentators like al-Tabari and Ibn Hazm, Christian theologians could take offense three times over.   Not only did the Qur'an claim ownership of many important Biblical figures, Qur'anic exegesis also adopted similar techniques to those Christian exegesis had used against Judaism to claim Biblical sources for those figures were deliberately falsified.[34]

Such claims would not go unnoticed by Christians.   Williams argues that the inclusion of the genealogical tables in the Beatus manuscripts allowed the *Commentary* text to extend back to the beginnings of time, particularly the image of Adam and Eve which served a similar function in the *mappae mundi* (see Chapter Three). The struggle of the Church against evil is not merely confined to the New Testament but can be perceived in the Old Testament as well.   Williams, however, does not see pictorial evidence of a direct struggle against Islam in the Beatus manuscripts.[35] What Williams did not realize was that the makers of the Girona Beatus offer a response to these Muslim charges with their choice of Old Testament figures to illustrate. The iconography of the narrative scenes, no matter how abbreviated, highlights differences in the Qur'anic text from the Biblical narrative while the inclusion of the portrait heads reclaims Old

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[33] Cohen, 21-22 and Rosemary Radford Ruetner, "The *Adversus Judaeos* Tradition in the Church Fathers: the Exegesis of Christian Anti-Judaism" in *Aspects of Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages* edited by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1979), 27-50, especially 30.

[34] To the extent of my research, I have yet to find a medieval Christian writer who can compare this situation with the Quran and the Old Testament figures to earlier Christian commandeering of the Torah.

[35] Williams, "The Beatus Commentary and Spanish Bible Illustration," 219.

Testament figures for Christianity and echo older, exegetical arguments made by Christians as to the superiority of their claim to God's favor.

In the image of Adam and Eve, the biblical text of Genesis 3 is summarized in three figures: Adam, Eve, and the serpent. By clutching leaves to their genitals to hide their nakedness, Adam and Eve reveal that they have already eaten from the tree of knowledge. The inclusion of Satan in the form of a serpent comes from the Genesis text while the Qur'an does not mention a serpent. By placing the serpent on ear level with Eve, the Christian makers of the Girona Beatus are emphasizing her role as a temptress, another Biblical fact omitted from the Qur'anic version. Eve's part in this story is integral to Christian exegesis. Without her offering the apple, there can be no original sin and therefore no need for the Virgin Mary's redemptive labor.[36] The Adam and Eve image of the Girona Beatus pictorially refutes Muslim claims of Christian addition or deletion; instead, it was the Qur'an that deliberately eliminated important details in the Biblical text that emphasize the special place the Virgin Mary and the birth of Christ hold in the history of the world.

Perhaps the most contentious issue between the Qur'an and Christian Bible is Abraham's sacrifice, another Old Testament event that related to Christ. As discussed above, according to the Qur'an, Abraham prepares to offer an unnamed son as a sacrifice to God. Although the identity of the son was under dispute in the early stages of Islam, eventually Muslims came to believe the son must be Ishmael, not Isaac, because Isaac

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[36] For a collection of exegetical writings and analysis, see Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent: Sex and Politics in Early Christianity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989) and Gary A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection: Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), especially chapter four for a discussion of Eve and Mary.

had been promised to Sarah and Abraham by God and to sacrifice that gift would have been a blasphemy.[37] For Christians, Genesis 22:1-19 tells a very different story in which Abraham offers Isaac, referred to as his *only* son, as the possible sacrifice. In later Christian exegetical writings, this would be pivotal in understanding how God prepared for the coming of Christ in the Old Testament. Paulinus of Nola wrote,

> Like Melania, father Abraham got back his one son whom he offered to God, because when the demand was made he readily offered the child. The Lord is content with the perfect sacrifice of heartfelt love, so the angel's hand intervened to stay the father's right arm as it was poised for the blow. The angel snatched up the victim and in its place set a hastily furnished sheep, so that God should not lose his offering, or the father his son. There was this further reason, that the mystery to be fulfilled in Christ and rehearsed in Isaac (so far as that image of God could rehearse it) could be given shape through a ram. For the lamb that was to be later sacrificed in Egypt to prefigure the Savior was thus already anticipated by a beast of its own species – the ram that replaced Isaac as victim to prefigure Christ. So the ram was found for Abraham, since the highest sacrament was not his due, but it was killed for him for whom the fulfillment of the sacrament was being preserved.[38]

Paulinus states that the substitution for the ram as a sacrifice was meant to foreshadow the Crucifixion of Christ, thereby creating a typological relationship between the Old and New Testatments of the Christian Bible. John Chrysostom also viewed the Genesis text in similar terms, "A lamb was offered for Isaac, and a spiritual lamb was offered for the world."[39]   Early Christian artists also popularized this theme and the image of the

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[37] For the development of the Sacrifice of Ishmael in Islam, see Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), especially 123-128 and chapter 16.

[38] Robin M. Jensen, "Early Christian Images and Exegesis," *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): 80-81 . From Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae* 29.

[39] Jensen, 81. From John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Genesim* 47.3.

Sacrifice of Isaac dates back to the earliest of Christian art, such as the fourth-century Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Fig. 54). The image in the Girona Beatus is an affirmation of the Genesis text as well as of the typological relationship between Isaac and Christ.

Noticeably absent in the Girona Beatus is Ishmael, Abraham's son by the slave Hagar. Ishamel and his mother had already been cast out to the wilderness in Genesis 21, before Abraham's sacrifice in the following Genesis chapter.   The Biblical text emphasizes Ishmael's illegitimacy by taking him out of consideration as Abraham's sacrifice and, although he is from Abraham, Ishmael is not his son and not enough of a sacrifice. As discussed in Chapter Two, Ishmael was also associated with Muslims by Christians in Spain. The claim made by Muslims that Ishmael was the sacrificial son would have placed the individual, whom Christians believed began the Arab (i.e. Muslim) race, into the typological equation with Christ.   The makers of the Girona Beatus also included a portrait head of Isaac on folio 11v perhaps to reinforce the Christian claim that Isaac was the sacrificial son over the Muslim claim that it was Ishmael. Emphasis on Isaac as the chosen son and typological forerunner of Christ can be found in a later example of Leónese art.

A twelfth-century relief carving in the tympanum above the south door of the Collegiate Church of San Isidoro in León contains an iconographically rich depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 55). In the center of the composition, Abraham is stopped by the Hand of God just before plunging his knife in the throat of a bound Isaac. To the left, the angel of God offers a ram. Directly above Isaac and Abraham is a haloed Lamb with cross in a roundel supported by angels. By locating the Lamb so close physically on the

composition to Abraham and Issac, the sculptors of this relief were reminding their audience of the familiar typological relationship between the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Crucifixion.[40]   The makers of the relief also wished to underline that it was Isaac, not Ishmael, chosen for the sacrifice by including Ishmael, who is holding a bow, and Hagar, his mother, in the lower left corner of the tympanum. John Williams has argued that the presence of Ishmael as an archer would have linked that biblical character to raiding caliphal armies in the minds of relief's contemporaries.[41] He also points out that Hagar is depicted lifting her skirt, a symbol of sexual licentiousness, in the relief to further denigrate her status and that of her child.[42]   In this relief, these representations of Hagar and Ishmael would convey anti-Muslim sentiment and support of the *Reconquista* present in twelfth-century León.[43]   The concepts presented here, such as the typological allegory of sacrifice and the preference of Isaac over Ishmael, are elaborated more fully in the twelfth-century relief; nonetheless, the origins of these attitudes and the application of biblical exegesis on this topic can be found in the painted image of the genealogical tables. The intervening years between the painting of the Girona Beatus and the carving of the San Isidoro relief saw an increase in anti-Muslim polemic and *Reconquista* rhetoric, which would have made a wider audience receptive to applying the Sacrifice of

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[40]   Williams, "Generationes Abrahae," 5. Williams dates the relief to the 1140s, before the church's 1149 consecration.

[41]   Williams, "Generationes Abrahae," 6-7.   Ishmael is identified here because he is carrying a bow. Ishmael as an archer relates to Genesis 21.

[42] Williams, "Generationes Abrahae," 8-9.

[43] Williams, "Generationes Abrahae," 11.

Isaac to the Christian-Muslim conflicts on the Iberian Peninsula. It is quite possible that the working out of the visual particulars of that message began in the tenth century for the monastic audience of the Girona Beatus.

Allegorical connections between the Old and New Testaments did not end with the story of Isaac in the genealogical tables of the Girona Beatus. Other examples of typology can be found with the portrait heads of Jacob, Leah, and Rachel. The choice of placement for the portrait heads and the body language of the figures echo the biblical text. In Genesis 29, Jacob the grandson of Abraham goes to work for his relative Laban who has two daughters, Rachel and Leah. Jacob and Rachel fall in love and Jacob makes an arrangement with her father to work on his farm in order to win her hand in marriage. Laban tricks Jacob into marrying the elder daughter Leah first before he allows a marriage to Rachel. The polygamous arrangement is not entirely successful. Jacob clearly prefers Rachel although she was unable to conceive a child until late in life. Leah, on the other hand, is fertile and bears Jacob eight children, including Judah who becomes an important Old Testament ruler and ancestor of Christ. Her role as the mother of Judah may have been enough for her portrait to be included on the Girona Beatus' genealogy tables. Leah's biblical circumstances also appear to have been considered. She longed for Jacob's love and, in the Girona Beatus, she leans forward toward him fully extending her arms. Rachel, whose sons are not as glorious, appears alone on another folio.

But their roles as ancestors would not be the only reason they would be included as illustrations. Jacob himself was often viewed as the typological precursor of the Church. Irenaeus describes the relationship between Jacob and his brother Esau as that to

Christianity and Judaism, "Jacob suffered the plots and persecutions of a brother, just as the Church suffers this selfsame thing from the Jews."[44] A similar sort of typology was employed when discussing the half-brothers of Jacob's two wives, one barren and one fertile, in early Christian exegesis. Cyprian argued that Leah was the synagogue and Rachel, the mother of Joseph whom Cyprian compares to Christ, represented the Church.[45] Gregory the Great also used Rachel and Leah in his letters. To Gregory, barren Rachel was more conducive to Christianity than fertile Leah just as, in the New Testament, contemplative Mary is more open to Christianity than busy Martha.[46] Indeed, the theme of barren yet blessed wife vs. fertile but unimportant wife was used throughout the Old Testament, famously with the example of Abraham's wife and Isaac's mother, Sarah. In Galatians 4:22-31, Paul declares Christians are like Isaac, the child of a barren mother who was promised a son by God. In this allegory, both Christians and Isaac, being the result of a promise, are free unlike the slave Hagar and her son Ishmael, who was born as a result of lust. Women in the New Testament who spent significant periods of their life as barren are also blessed with remarkable sons. Like Sarah, Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias, was barren but, after a visit to Zacharias by an angel of God, had a son named John who would later baptize his cousin Christ.[47] By including Rachel, the artists

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[44] Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Translated by Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006): 14. From Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses* 4.21.

[45] Cyprian, *Testamonia*, 1.20.

[46] Walter J. Wilkins, "Submitting the Neck of Your Mind: Gregory the Great and Women of Power," *The Catholic Historical Review* Vol 77 No. 4 (1991): 586.

[47] Luke 1:5-24.

of the Girona Beatus are reminding their monastic audience of exegetical arguments and biblical texts about the primacy of Christianity through the allegory of the barren wife; however, they have not forgotten Leah and her contribution to the genealogy of Christ with her marriage to Jacob.

Noah was another important contributor to the genealogy of Christ through his son, Shem (who was also the ancestor of Europeans as discussed in Chapter Two). And, like Christ, he was an important model of virtuous behavior in early Christian exegesis. John Chrysostom wrote in his *Homiliae Genesim* 23,

> (Noah) was like a skilful skipper, handling the steering-oar of his mind with great alertness, not allowing his vessel to sink under the violent waves of wickedness. Instead, he got over the storm, and, rocking through the sea, arrived at a harbor. In this way, by holding the rudder straight, Noah saved himself from the deluge, which was about to engulf all the inhabitants of the world. Indeed, this is what virtue is: eternal and perpetual, unlike all the perversities of this present life, hovering above the snares of wickedness.[48]

In the Girona Beatus, Noah is depicted after his struggle during the Flood. In Genesis 8:20-22, Noah builds an altar to make an offering to God who then promises Noah not to curse mankind again. The Girona image represents Noah in the moment of his offering standing before an altar while God voices how pleasing he finds Noah. According to John Chrysostom, this was how Noah prefigured Christ. By pleasing God and behaving virtuously despite a wicked world, Noah gained God's favor for himself and his descendents just as Christians are rewarded by God because of Christ's sacrifice.[49] By

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[48] Hagit Amirav, *Rhetoric and Tradition: John Chrysostom on Noah and the Flood* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2003): 165.

[49] Amirav, 173.

including an image of Noah at his most Christ-like, the makers of the Girona Beatus were reminding their audience how to behave in the face of deluge of wickedness that threatened to take over their entire world, very good advice for a group of Christians who felt their world could easily be consumed by Islam.

Another model for monastic life in ninth-century Iberia presented in the Girona Beatus is David. Although his role as a biblical king was popular under Charlemagne in Western Europe and would become popular again in the Gothic art of the French kings, the image of David in the Girona Beatus does not emphasize his kingly persona.[50] Instead, David is simply dressed and sits with his hand extended in a gesture of blessing; however, he is accompanied by a musical note indicating this is David the Psalmist. Isidore of Seville defined the Psalms in his *Etymologiae*, "A psalm (psalmus) is the name for what is sung to the psaltery (psalterium). History records the prophet David played this instrument, in a great mystery."[51] This particular depiction of David was popular in Early Christian and Byzantine art, such as the mid-tenth century *Paris Psalter* [Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. gr. 139] from Constantinople (Fig. 56).[52] David was often depicted in those examples accompanied by animals relating him more to Orpheus or the Good Shepherd. The David presented in the Girona Beatus has no accompanying

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[50] For analysis of David portrayed as king, see Daniel Weiss, "Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art," *MLN* 8 no. 4 (1993), 710-737;

[51] Etymologies, Bk, VI Isidore, translated by Stephen Barney, 147.

[52] See Hugo Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: a study in middle Byzantine painting* (London: Warburg Institute, 1968); Carolyn Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 186-187; and Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 291.

animals reflecting more the monastic reality of singing the psalms. For monks in early

medieval Europe, the psalms and David himself permeated every aspect of their life. The

anonymous fourth-century text *De poenitentia* states,

> Even in the fields and deserts and stretching into uninhabited wasteland,
> he rouses sacred choirs to God…In the monasteries there is a holy chorus
> of angelic hosts, and David is first and middle and last. In the convents…
> David is first and middle and last. In the deserts…David is first and
> middle and last. And at night all men are dominated by physical sleep and
> drawn into the depths, and David alone stands by, arousing all the servants
> of God to angelic vigils, turning earth into heaven and making angels of
> men. [53]

It is more than likely that the monks who made the Girona Beatus sung the psalms often

and probably had memorized all 150 psalms.[54] The psalms existed in monastic life as

more than musical accompaniment. The psalms are cited as a source of prophecy for the

coming of Christ by Church Fathers.[55] Not only was singing the psalms a means of

organizing the liturgical day, but the repetition of the psalms would have reminded the

monks who sang them of complicated intertextual and exegetical meanings.

The monks, for example, would undoubtedly been aware of Peter quoting Psalm 2

in Acts 4:25-26 when he tried to comfort the apostles after Christ's death, "Who by the

mouth of thy servant David had said, Why did the heathen rage and the people imagine

vain things? The kings of the earth stood up and the rulers were gathered together against

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[53] Joseph Dyer, "The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office," *Speculum* Vol 64 No. 3 (1989): 535 and footnote 1.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Dyer, 535-536.

the Lord, and against his Christ." The monks may have been thinking of Christ's death

and the promise it held for his followers when they sang, "Let us break their bands

asunder and cast away their cords from us."[56] Singing the Psalms was also an act of

rebellion. In an 851 letter to Bishop Wilisindus of Pamplona, Eulogius compares

Christian monastic life in al-Andalus to that he experience while visiting Pamplona the

year before. In Pamplona and other monasteries in the Christian kingdoms, hundreds of

monks could sing the Psalms together while in Córdoba, according to Eulogius, the only

singing of this sort occurred in jail.[57] By placing an image of David in the genealogy of

Christ, the makers of the Girona Beatus were denying Islamic claims on an Old

Testament figure they would have believed was a source of Christological prophecies as

well as a part of their daily life in the service of God.

GENEALOGY OF MUHAMMAD

The use of genealogy was not the sole domain of early medieval Christians to

justify dogma and strengthen the claims of the religion. Ideas of lineage and its function

as justification for religious practice are presented in the Qur'an as well,

> Strive in the way of God with a service worthy of Him. He has chosen
> you and laid no hardship on you in the way of faith, the faith of your
> forebear Abraham. He named you Muslim earlier, and in this [Quran], in

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[56] Psalm 2:3.

[57] Coope, 36-37.

order that the Prophet be witness over you and you be witness over mankind. [58]

Like Christians, Muslims also claim descent from Abraham and use that heritage to bolster their claims of superior religious truth and to defend the spread of their faith over the world. This interest in genealogy in the Muslim world was used in Islamic exegesis to honor the Prophet Muhammad and results in a stronger rivalry with Christ. Genealogical concerns may also be found in early medieval secular life in al-Andalus and these concerns highlight an area of extreme tension between Muslims and Christians there. In both religious and lay culture, genealogy became another arena in which Islam and Christianity competed for supremacy.

Ibn Ishaq, an eighth-century Arab historian, created a genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad, probably in imitation of the genealogy of Christ found in Matthew.[59] Tracing the Prophet Muhammad's lineage from Abraham through his older son Ishmael, as opposed to Christ's through the younger son Isaac, caused very little controversy and was widely accepted by most religious scholars.[60]   Different means of depicting the Prophet Muhammad's genealogy were developed, such as a tree or the relating of tribal divisions of his lineage to major body parts, which became popular in the work of Ibn al-

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[58] Sura 22:78

[59] Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 51. The works of Ibn Ishaq are lost but thought to be preserved in the writings of other Islamic scholars like Ibn Hisham and al-Tabari.

[60] Daniel Martin Varisco, "Metaphors and Sacred History: The Genealogy of Muhammad and the Arab Tribe," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 no. 3 (1995), 140.

Kalbi who died in the early ninth century.[61]   The inclusion of each tribal group into the heritage of the Prophet Muhammad, even those that no longer exist or were probably legendary, must have been carefully planned by early medieval scholars.[62]   According to the Quran, all Muslims descend from Abraham. A genealogy was developed that allowed a combination of legendary Arab tribes with the heritage of Adam through Abraham by marrying Ishmael, who in the Quran settled near Mecca, to a daughter of the Jurhum tribe.[63]   Adnan, a descendent of Ishmael and the founder of the "Northern Arabs," was universally agreed to be the source of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage and typically lineages begin with him.[64]   Although the genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad is generally patrilineal, significant female ancestors are included; particularly those who can strengthen the Prophet Muhammad's claim to descent from Abraham, like Adnan's wife who was said to descend from Yaqshan, another son of Abraham.[65]   Some female ancestors, like the wife of Hashim, indicate political considerations in the genealogy. Hashim's wife was said to from the "Southern Arabs," thus creating a pan-Arab alliance with their marriage.[66]By including these biblical and mythical figures, creators of the Prophet Muhammad's genealogy were justifying the acceptance of his leadership to

[61] Varisco, 141.

[62] Varisco, 144-145. There is no evidence the Prophet Muhammad wrote his own genealogy.

[63] Varisco, 147. Exactly how you get from Ishmael to Adnan is debated.

[64] Varisco, 145.

[65] Varisco, 149.

[66] Varisco, 150.

Arabs who needed to view him in terms of legendary leaders and to Christians and Jews to whom his Abrahamaic descent could have legitimized some of his religious claims. Certainly details of the Prophet Muhammad's genealogy had reached north of the Pyrenees by the twelfth century. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, described the genealogy as "most foul and false."[67] What did tenth-century Christian Iberians think of the claims of Muslims about the Prophet Muhammad's genealogy? As this chapter has discussed, the genealogical tables in the Girona Beatus can be viewed as a response by emphasizing certain events and ancestors claimed by Islam.

Genealogy, or *nasab*, in secular life in al-Andalus would have also been a source of great tension between Christians and Muslims. Although most Arabs and Berbers who settled on the Iberian Peninsula would have preferred to marry within their kin group, intermarriage did occur with the indigenous population in which a Muslim husband would take a Christian wife. This wife would never have been included as a significant ancestor in any family genealogies, but she would have at least been welcomed if her family was wealthy or well-connected.[68] The more dogmatical Christians were extremely ambivalent about these mixed marriages. For them, how could they view these women except as the worst betrayers of their faith and as shameless harlots? These women, however, could and did provide a valuable service to increasing Christian numbers.

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[67] Dominique Iogna-Prat, "The Creation of a Christian Armory against Islam," in *Medieval Religion: New Approaches* edited by Constance Hoffman Berman (New York: Routledge, 2005), 327. For more on Peter the Venerable, see Giles Constable, *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967); Hugh Goddard, *A History of Muslim-Christian Relations* (Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, 2000); and J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

[68] Coope, 12-13.

Although legally the children of a mixed marriage would be considered Muslim, women did have the possibility of secretly teaching Christianity to their children[69]   At least twelve people executed for apostasy or denigrating Islam in the mid-ninth century where the children of a Christian mother and Muslim father.[70] Tenth-century Christians would, and did, view these executed Christians as martyrs for the truth of their faith.

These struggles between Christians and Muslims in medieval Iberia often deal with declarations of truth and accusations of falsehood. Whose faith was *really* following God's greater plan?   Because both religions adopted figures from the Jewish Bible to justify assertions of truth, they battled over who could rightfully claim Adam, Abraham, Noah, or Jacob. The genealogy tables of the Girona Beatus directly address this conflict. Although the iconography is simple and the compositions could be considered more chart-like than art-like, the tables are an extremely essential part of the overall manuscript. They refute Muslim claims of ownership over critical Old Testament figures and they emphasize how those figures prefigure the coming of Christ. The genealogy of Christ with its mere existence would also stand against claims that the Prophet Muhammad shared a similarly rich heritage.   Beside these theological concerns, there also existed a deep anxiety over family lineage in the Christian-Muslim society of al-Andalus, a tension which would have resonated with the emigrants and the descendants of emigrants who settled in the Duero River valley.   Identity was defined largely by religion and religion was guided by family. The mixed marriages between Muslims and

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[69] Coope, 14.

[70] Coope, 12.

Christians confused the boundaries between the religions and, in some instances, caused violent repercussions. The genealogy tables of the Girona Beatus reminded its readers of the validity of always championing the "true" faith. Like the *mappa mundi* that mapped the boundaries between the unnatural and natural, the genealogical tables mapped the truthful descent of humanity from Adam and Eve to Christ as opposed to the untruthful Islamic claims of Muhammad's descent. These tables with their illustrations define the boundaries of a Christian faith.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHRIST VS. ANTICHRIST

Depictions of Christ, both figural and symbolic, can be found in the earliest of Christian art. From the simplest catacomb painting to complicated monumental mosaics, visual representations of Christ were popular and widespread from the beginnings of Christianity. The inclusion of a Christological cycle of images, however, is unique to the Girona Beatus in both the corpus of Beatus manuscripts and contemporary Christian Iberian art. Surviving images of Christ's life are rare on the Iberian Peninsula before the late tenth century. The earliest extant example of New Testament imagery connected to Christ's life can be found as in a seventh-century relief carving of his ministry in the church of San Salvador de Toledo. The León Bible of 920 [León, Cathedral, Cod. 6] and the Antiphonary of León from 950-975 [León, Cathedral, Cod. 8] both contain New Testament scenes. Four images from the Infancy are found in the Bible and the Antiphonary has eight marginal images from the New Testament.[1] By including images from the life of Christ in the Girona Beatus, its makers were breaking away from

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[1] Williams, Vol. II, 54.

established models of earlier illustrated Beatus manuscripts, like the Morgan Beatus, as well as presumably adding new imagery to the visual vocabulary of Christian Iberia.

The source material of the Christ narratives from the Girona Beatus has been the focus of most scholars on this topic.[2] There is a general agreement amongst scholars that the makers of the Girona Beatus looked outside the Iberian Peninsula for compositional and iconographic models, mainly from Byzantine and Carolingian/Ottonian material.[3] The search for compositional and iconographic source material can be informative. In the case of the Girona Beatus, the connections between a monastery in a desolate region of León and Eastern and Western imperial artistic centers found in this search are fascinating; however, the immediate concerns of the Iberian monastic community were unrelated to the imperial iconography of Christ in the north. The scholarly desire to recreate the makers' source material ends in a rather circular argument.   Instead of contributing to a discussion that others have done more thoroughly, in this chapter I shall not ask how this imagery came to be in the Girona Beatus, but why it was included.

The Christological cycle is a crucial bridge from the prefatory images in the preceding folios to the illustrated *Commentary* text itself.   Leading directly from the genealogical tables, the images of Christ's life prepare the manuscript's audience for the text of the *Commentary*.   They visually instruct the reader how the following text and illuminations should be understood.   Interpreted within the context of monastic life in tenth-century León, the Christological cycle becomes much more than a copy of older,

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[2] In particular, these scholars are Neuss, Growden, Williams.

[3] Williams, Vol. II., 52.

imperial source material with its inclusion of unique iconography that would have related to the theological concerns of an Iberian monastic community.   The imagery serves a function within the manuscript and illuminates how the monks could have viewed their way of life.   Christ's ministry is absent from the narrative.[4]   The makers of the Girona Beatus, instead, chose to focus on other events from the Infancy, Passion, and Resurrection.   The inclusion of these unusual scenes relates to the greater discourse that had been occurring in Córdoba since the ninth century: negotiating the boundaries between Christianity and Islam on the Iberian Peninsula.   By emphasizing the persecutions of the Infancy, the sacrifice of the Passion, and the glories of the Resurrection, the Christological cycle reminds the monastic reader why he must strive for a pure Christian existence without the taint of Islam. If he would have continuing doubts, the inclusion of the Baptism of Christ on folio 189 reminds the audience of the sanctity of the Christian Church and Christ's role in defeating the Antichrist and his cohorts.   The images of Christ are a call to arms, theologically and perhaps literally, for the monastic communities on the border with Islamic al-Andalus.

INFANCY

The Christological cycle, beginning on folio 15 with scenes of the Annunciation and Nativity, flows directly from the genealogical tables which end with the arrival of

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[4] Williams, Vol. II, 55.   Williams suggests the Ministry scenes may be missing but acknowledges that the quire arrangement of the manuscript does not seem to indicate any missing scenes.

Christ on folio 14v (Fig. 57). Framed in a decorative vegetal border that breaks into a horseshoe arch in the center, two different scenes are depicted within the same compositional field. On the left stands a veiled and sandaled Virgin looking at the Archangel Gabriel with her left hand held out palm up. Gabriel, winged and barefoot, faces Mary and reaches out to her with his right hand in a blessing gesture while holding a staff in his left. On the right side of the composition, the Nativity is depicted. Joseph is seated on a chair holding his chin in his right hand and resting his left hand on his knee. Beside Joseph lies the nude infant Christ who holds an orbed staff in his right hand and raises his left towards the ass and ox standing behind his manger. Inscriptions, *Sce Maria*, *Gabriel*, and *Ioseb*, label the Virgin Mary, Archangel Gabriel and Joseph. The words *Presepe DNI*, or "manger of the Lord," are inscribed on the front of the manager. It is believed that additional text was added at a later date: *Angelus egregis; dni fert iussa Marie* or "the Angel miraculously brings commands of the Lord to Mary" and *Adpresepe di, te novit bos et asellus* or "at the cradle of the lord, the ox and the ass acknowledge you."[5]

Textual information appears beneath the image that gives the reader a brief summary of the life of Christ. The text box reads,

> Mary from whom Jesus Christ, son of God, was born in Bethlehem, in Judea according to the flesh. And when the thirtieth year of his life was completed he was baptized in the river Jordan by John the Baptist, son of the priest Zachariah of the division Abijah, on the day of his appearance. After that, in the following year, he did those miracles which are recorded in the Gospels. Truly in the thirty-third year of his birth, instructing his disciples in the divine sacraments, he charged them to preach conversion

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[5] Growden, 25-26 and 61, esp. footnotes 1-3.

to God to all peoples of his earth. However, in the thirty-third year of his life, fulfilling the prophecies which were bespoken concerning him, he went to his passion in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. Taking our sufferings upon him, taking away our guilt by his goodness, he shed glory upon us by the splendor of his grace.[6]

Two other inscriptions are found in roundels. The upper roundel reads,

> Just as Luke the Evangelist has indicated that his line was traced through Nathan to Mary, so also the Evangelist Matthew showed that his line was traced through Solomon to Joseph. That is, out of the tribe of Judah.[7]

The lower roundel inscription is,

> That the divine tribe appears to proceed to them and thus to Christ according to the flesh that it might be fulfilled which was written. Behold the lion from the tribe of Judah has conquered for the family tree of the Lord. He is the lion from Solomon and descendant of Nathan.[8]

As well as describing the highlights of Christ's life (birth, baptism, miracles, and passion), the inscriptions also highlight Christ's genealogy, tables of which immediately precede these images creating both a visual and textual link the other prefatory material. The genealogical tables have prepared the reader of the manuscript for a further, visual exploration of Christ's heritage.

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[6] Growden, 26 and 61 footnote 4. In Latin: *Maria de qua dns jhs xps dei filius in bethlem Iudae secundum carnem natus est. Tricesimo etenim etatis sue anno expleto a johane babtista filio zacarie sacerdotis de vice abia in iordane flumine babtizatus est, in die apparitionis sue. Inde squenti anno mirabilia queque in evangelio scripta sunt fecit. In anno vero xxxiii nativitatis sue discipulis suis divinis imbuens sacrmentis imperat ut universes gentibus predicent conversionem ad dnm. Tricesimo autem et tercio etatis sue anno, secundum prophetias que de do fuerent prolocute, ad passionem venit anno tiberii xviii. Paciens que nostra sunt auferens oproprium beneficio suo et gratie sue splendore nos hiluminavit.*

[7] Growden, 26 and 61 footnote 5. In Latin: *Sicut Lucas evangelista per natan ad Mariam originem duci. Ita et matheus evangelista per salomonem ad Iosep originem demonstrabit. Id est ex tribu Iuda.*

[8] Growden, 26 and 61 footnote 6. In Latin: *Ut apparet eaos divina tribu exire et sic ad xpm secundum carnem pervenire ut compleatur quod scriptum est. Ecce vicit leo de tribu Iuda radis domino. Leo ex solomonem et radis ex natan.*

Further incidents from Christ's Infancy are depicted on folio 15v in three horizontal registers: the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight to Egypt, and the illness of Herod (Fig. 58). The Adoration of the Magi fills the composition of the top register. On the far left, Gabriel watches the scene with his chin in his hand, much like Joseph on the preceding folio.   Mary is seated in a low stool with the Christ Child in her lap. Interestingly, Mary's veil forms a cross-inscribed nimbus around her head while no nimbus surrounds Christ, who makes a blessing gesture toward the approaching Magi with an extraordinarily large hand.   The Magi, wearing Phrygian caps and short capes that flow behind them, carry gifts covered with cloths that veil their hands to indicate the sanctity of their gifts.[9] Above Christ's head is an eight-pointed star, presumably the Star of Bethlehem. As in the previous scenes, the figures are labeled: *Gabriel*; *nna magi* with the individual names of *melcior, tagasma,* and *altisara*; and the gifts of *aura*, *tuus*, and *m* for myrrh.[10]

As do the Annunciation and Nativity, the Adoration has early Christian roots and appears in Byzantine and early Western medieval iconography, usually with some

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[9] According to Weitzmann, Phrygian caps could be iconographic symbols of "the East" and in late Roman art were used to associated Mithras and Orpheus as Eastern. See Weitzmann, "The Late Roman World," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35 no. 2 (1977), 35.

[10] Growden, 67 footnote 43. She disagrees slightly with the facsimile transcription that the gifts are *aura thus mirra*. Although the names are slightly different versions of Melchior (*Melcior*), Balthasar (*Altisara*), and Capsar (*Tagasma)*, these forms of the names were not standardized until the twelfth century.

combination of Virgin and Child, Magi, angel and/or Joseph.[11]   The implications of including an Adoration scene in a monastic manuscript, however, have not been considered in the existing scholarship. It is possible the scene would have held a certain resonance with a pious member of the clergy.   Pope John VII (d. 707), for example, dedicated his oratory in Rome to the Virgin and clearly viewed himself in the role of a Magus according to his epitaph,

> Previous squalor removed, he brought together splendor from all parts so that posterity might be amazed by the lavishness, not the eagerness for ostentations…but with pious fervor for the mother of God. Not sparing riches, he divided whatever he had that was precious in your service, holy mother.[12]

Like one of the Magi, John offered rich gifts to the Virgin and Child. For an audience who had devoted their lives in service to Christ, the idea of placing themselves in the role of a supplicant to God and the Mother of God would have been an everyday occurrence.

Below the Adoration in the middle register, the Flight into Egypt is shown. On the left, Mary and Joseph stand with an angel who holds the Christ Child while a man on horseback rides toward the group from the right carrying a long spear. The angel spreads out his wings and gestures toward the rider. Beneath the horse lies a nearly nude male figure. The Holy Family and angel are labeled and text accompanies the image of Herod as well, but at points it is badly worn. It appears to read something like this:

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[11] Neuss first suggested in *Katalanische Bibelillustration* the angel in the Girona Beatus was an artist's mistake and was meant to be Joseph. See Growden, 42-43 for an expanded investigation of this possibility. Williams agrees with Neuss in Williams, Vol. II, 54. In my opinion, the angel was intended and the echoing of the pose of Joseph in the Nativity is an example of the makers of the Girona Beatus repeating poses, figures, or compositions rather than an "error" in copying.

[12] Ann Van Dijk, "The Angelic Salutation in Early Byzantine and Medieval Annunciation Imagery," *Art Bulletin* 81 no. 3 (1999), 422.

Herod found Christ and his Mother and Joseph and the Angel of the Lord when they were proceeding to Egypt. Herod throws him with his horse and he strikes him in his leg.[13]

Because of the worn text, several interpretations of the text exist. The consensus is that both the rider and the semi-nude figure could be Herod depicted at different points of the story: Herod while riding and Herod thrown from his horse.

On the bottom register is the illness of Herod as identified by the inscription, "They wait upon Herod with the fruit of the honeyed apple, when Herod was sick from the blow of his horse."[14] Herod is the figure lying in a jewel-encrusted and cushioned bed with his eyes open attended by a group of four men. Three men are focused on Herod but the fourth looks to the viewer. A nimbus surrounds his head and he makes a blessing gesture with his right hand. Although the folio begins with a clear depiction of the Adoration, the composition ends with a curious depiction of Herod.

The source material for these two scenes, Flight to Egypt with Herod and the Illness of Herod, are very likely new visual iconography created by the makers of the Girona Beatus to illustrate stories found in apocryphal and Jewish texts as well as the New Testament story of the Massacre of the Innocents and Flight.[15] The fourth- or fifth-century Coptic apocryphal text, *The Death of Joseph the Carpenter*, describes Herod

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[13] Growden, 46-47. Growden believes the text reads: *ubi erodes xpm invenit et mater ejus et Iosep et angelus dni quando pergebant ad egyptum; ubi erodes recalcitrabit eum equo suo et percussit sum in femore sue.*

[14] Growden, 47. In Latin: *ministry erodes cum poma malo mellis; ubi erodes egrotatus est de percussione equo suo.*

[15] Williams, Vol. II, 54-55. Williams cites later examples of Herod in art but, upon investigation, it is unlikely they are related to the Girona Beatus and I would argue do not affect the interpretation presented in this dissertation that involves a tenth-century Leónese context. The Massacre of the Innocents appears in Matthew 2:16-18 and the Flight into Egypt appears in Matthew 2:13-23.

attempting to kill Christ, the act which led to the Holy Family fleeing to Egypt and remaining there until Herod's death, which was "because of the blood of the sinless little children which he shed."[16] Other apocryphal sources, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* and *The Book of Adam and Eve*, repeat this assertion that Herod's death should be viewed as divine punishment for his sins.[17] Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian, describes Herod's illness (although Josephus does not attribute it to a fall from or attack by his horse) in his *Antiquities of the Jewish People*,

> But presently…he Herod was overborne by his pains and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough and endeavored to prevent a natural death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife; for he used to pare apples and eat them: he then looked around about to see that there was nobody to hinder him, and he lifted up his right hand, as if he would stab himself; but Achiabus, his first-cousin came running to him and held his hand and hindered him from doing…So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years…[18]

There is a possibility the monks at Tábara were familiar with Josephus and may have owned his work. A marginal inscription on the Tábara Beatus next to the Name "Josephus" notes "the distinguished scholar."[19] If the makers of the Girona Beatus were

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[16] Growden, 48. For a brief history of the text and a bibliography of the text in many languages, see James Keith Elliot, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in English Translation based on M.R. James* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 111-117.

[17] Growden, 48-49.

[18] From Book I, Chapter 33. See Growden, 49. For more on Josephus, see Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged, The New Updated Edition*, translated by William Whiston (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1983); Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus Between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002).

[19] Williams, 55. The marginal gloss was in Arabic and translated by Neuss.

aware of Josesphus's account, they altered the visual representation of the story to remove his attempted suicide and emphasize his illness.[20]

These alterations allow two lower registers to tell a dramatic story of sin, divine protection, and punishment.[21] In his attempt to kill Christ, Herod found that the Infant was literally protected by God. The angel, who is holding the Child, keeps the Virgin and Joseph behind his outstretched wings and raises his hand against the approaching Herod. It was possibly this intervention that caused Herod to be thrown by his horse. The natural world revolted against his unnatural attempt to murder a baby who was also the son of God. The result of Herod's action results in his ill health and ultimate death. To emphasize the role the divine played in Herod's punishing death, amongst the attendants is a man with a halo making a blessing gesture signaling God's approval at how this story ends. The writing of Isidore reinforces this interpretation,

> Herod, who brought death to the children [of Bethlehem], expresses the shape of the devil, or of the pagans who, wishing to extinguish Christ's name from the world, rage in the slaughter of martyrs.[22]

Identifying Herod with those who wish to end Christianity and are willing to martyr the faithful would resonate strongly with the tenth-century makers of this imagery who face the constant threat of Islam.

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[20] Growden, 49-50.

[21]   Growden, 55-56. Growden believes this may be understood within an anti-Adoptionist context (those who deny Christ's divinity are punished) instead of a warning for those who deny Christianity; however, her entire dissertation is focused on contextualizing the Christological cycle in a *seventh-century* context (Beatus and writing the text), not the actual date of the painting.

[22] Werckmeister, "The Islamic Rider," 104. Translated by Werckmeister from Isidore's *Allegoriae*.

Old Testament figures were not the only biblical figures who make appearances in the Qur'an. Several major figures in the Gospels, including Jesus and Mary, are discussed. Although Christ and the Virgin are treated with respect, the basic assertions of Christianity are denied. The essential tenet of Christianity, that Christ is the fleshly incarnation of God, is thoroughly rejected on several occasions in the Qur'an, such as "Verily they are unbelievers who say: 'The Messiah, son of Mary, is God,'" and, more explicitly,

> O people of the Book, do not be fanatical in your faith, and say nothing but the truth about God. The Messiah who is Jesus, son of Mary, was only an apostle of God, and a command of His which He sent to Mary, as a mercy from Him. So believe in God and His apostles, and do not call Him 'Trinity.' Abstain from this for your own good; for God is only one God and far from His glory is it to beget a son.[23]

This is not to assume, however, that Jesus was not held in respect by Muslims or that he was not believed to hold a special role in the Qur'an. In the nineteenth sura, entitled "Mary," Jesus explains to his mother's family that he is God's servant and chosen by God to become a prophet although it is emphasized that it would not be fitting for God, as an immaculate being, to have a son.[24] And, although one of the Hadiths claims that Christ was not squeezed by Satan at birth (which makes babies cry) and the Qur'an accepts

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[23] Suras 5:17 and 4:171.

[24] Sura 19:30-35.

Mary's continued virgin status, the Qur'an is equally clear that Mary suffered from birth pains that led her to wish death.[25]

The imagery of the Girona Beatus directly contradicts these claims. Through its iconographic references in the scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity, the Girona Beatus emphasizes the Virgin's role in creating a human incarnation of God in Christ. The iconography of these two scenes and its accompanying text emphasize the divinity of Christ's birth as well as underline how he, in life and death, would use the promises of his birth to fulfill God's plan for the people on earth as according to ancient prophecies. Mary's virgin pregnancy had been a feature in Christian imagery since the Council of Ephesus (431) stated she was *Theotokos*, or Mother of God, and she can be found in many manuscript examples, like the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels [Florence, Bibl. Laur., Cod. Plut. I, 56, fol. 4r] and the León Bible of 920 [Leon, Cath. Arch. Cod. 6, fol. 201v]. Mary had also been long celebrated in the liturgy and theological writings of Visigothic and Mozarabic Iberia. Traditionally the Church celebrated March 25, around the vernal equinox, as *Conceptio Domini* or the day Mary assented to carry God's child.[26] The Visigothic Church at the Tenth Council of Toledo in 656 chose December 18 as an additional festival for the Virgin, *Dies Sancte Marie*, which would become a very important feast day for Christians living in al-Andalus.[27] The *missa* for the Mass on *Dies*

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[25] Coope, 45. The Hadith referenced is Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 54, No. 506 and the Quranic verse is Sura 19:23.

[26] Elizabeth Del Alamo, "Triumphal Visions and Monastic Devotions: The Annunciation Relief of Santo Domingo de Silos," *Gesta* 29 no. 2 (1990), 173 and footnote 27.

[27] Del Alamo, 173.

Sancte Marie, which occurred after the sermon and before the Offertory, begins, "I ask, dearly beloved, that we raise our eyes to the heavens to witness the glory of our Savior; in what manner the Virgin was considered worthy, and so conceived; in what manner the Mother was rewarded, and so gave birth."[28] As Elizabeth Del Alamo has pointed out, this statement emphasized the Virgin's exemption from physical torment.[29] These ideas were not new to the Iberian Peninsula. In his seventh-century treatise, *De virginitate perpetua beatae Mariae*, St. Ildefonsus, Archbishop of Toledo, celebrated Mary's virginity and her role as both Mother of God and as "handmaiden" of God.[30] The inclusion of the Virgin and the Annunciation scene in the Girona Beatus reiterates the importance of Mary to the understanding of Christ as the human fleshly incarnation of God.

This point is further emphasized by the appearance of a nude Christ Child in the adjoining Nativity scene. It is possible that the decision to exclude a swaddling cloth and expose the Child's body was intended to underline Christ's humanity.[31] The Nativity scene also reminds the viewer of how Christ's human life will be served with the inclusion of the ox and the ass. Although not included in either the Luke or Matthew version of the Nativity, the ass and ox can be found in some early Christian Nativity iconography, like the third-century sarcophagus lid fragment from Rome now in the

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[28] Del Alamo, 176 and footnote 60.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Del Alamo, 174.

[31] Growden, 35. Growden acknowledges this image would be the first example of a Christ Child shown nude in the 10th century and such imagery does not become widely circulated until the later medieval period.

Church of St. Ambrose in Milan.[32] The two animals are also prominent in the sermons of

Augustine and Ambrose who both use the ox as a symbol of the Jewish people and the

ass as that of the new Christian people.[33]   There may be another, slightly different

interpretation as well.   The ass and the ox may refer to the eighth-century *Gospel of*

Pseudo-Matthew 14,

> And on the third day after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, Mary went out of the cave and, entering a stable, placed the child in a manger, and an ox and an ass adored him.   Then was fulfilled that which was said by Isaiah the prophet, "The ox knows his master and the ass his master's crib."   Therefore the animals, the ox and the ass, with him in their midst incessantly adored him."[34]

The labels accompanying the image of Christ in the manger emphasize the presence of

the ox and the ass as well as their acknowledgement of him as the Lord. The reference in

Pseudo-Matthew to Isaiah 1:3 stresses the importance of recognizing Christ as the

incarnation of God on Earth. The full text of Isaiah 1:3-4 reads,

> The ox knows his master and the ass his master's crib; but Israel does not know, my people do not consider. Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel into anger, they are gone away backward.

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[32] David Cartlidge and James Keith Elliot, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 18-19 figure 1.3.

[33] Eric Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome*, (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschnieder, 2002), 40.

[34] Laura Hobgood-Oster, *Holy Dogs and Asses: Animals in the Christian Tradition*,   (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 47-48.

The inclusion of the Annunciation and the Nativity recognized Christ's position as the human incarnation of God as well as his mother's divinely appointed and divinely rewarded position.

Highlighting these important doctrinal differences between Islam and Christianity on the subject of Mary and Jesus would have been of high importance to some members of the Christian community on the Iberian Peninsula. They found that Christians, particularly those living in al-Andalus in close association with Muslims, did not find much difference between Islam and Christianity.[35] Paul Alvarus complained bitterly,

> What trained person, I ask, can be found today among our laity who with a knowledge of holy scriptures looks into the Latin volumes of any of the doctors? Who is there on fire with evangelical love, with love like that of the prophets, like that of the apostles? Do not all the Christian youths, handsome in appearance, fluent of tongue, conspicuous in their dress and action, distinguished for their knowledge of Gentile [Muslim] lore, highly regarded for their ability to speak Arabic, do they not all eagerly use the volumes of the Chaldeans, read them with the greatest interest, discuss them ardently, and collecting them with great trouble, make them known with every praise of their tongue, the while they are ignorant of the beauty of the Church and look with disgust upon the Church's rives of paradise as something vile.[36]

Clearly, in Alvarus's opinion, the average Christian lay person in al-Andalus was not familiar with the history of Christian patristic scholarship nor did he have an interest to learn further. Both Alvarus and Eulogius claimed that in ninth-century Córdoba, many Christians would argue Islam and Christianity held identical positions on the nature of

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[35] Coope, 45.

[36] Coope, 8.

Christ.[37] There is a suggestion that the boundaries were becoming blurred between Islam and Christianity from the Muslim authorities as well. A ninth-century jurist wrote about the problems with Muslims, especially women, observing the Sunday Sabbath, celebrating Christmas with feasts and gift exchanges, and decorating their homes for Midsummer's Day.[38] The makers of the Girona Beatus warn against such permeability between the religions. One either accepts the divinity of Christ and Mary's role as *Theotokos* or one denies Christian dogma and becomes, like Herod, an enemy of Christ and his followers thus inviting divine retribution. The scenes of the Infancy in the Girona Beatus emphasize two major points: Christ is the human incarnation of God who should be worshipped as such and those who attack him, his divinity, or his supremacy will be punished by God. The iconography of these scenes also underlines the theological importance of Mary as *Theotokos* that allowed the pious, including the monastic community, to honor her as well. Those who deny these basic tenets of Christianity and seek to persecute the followers of Christ will be punished by God, an undoubtedly attractive idea to tenth-century Iberian Christians.

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[37] Coope, 11.

[38] Melville and Ubaydi, 28-31. The document can be found in a fifteenth-century collection of legal documents, *Kitab al-miyar al-murib*, by al-Wansharishi (d. 1508) in Fez.

Although part of the Passion narrative, folio 16 immediately follows scenes from the Infancy discussed above (Fig. 59). Two registers appear: Christ before Caiaphas on the top and Peter's denials on the bottom.[39] The upper scene of Christ before Caiaphas describes Christ's interrogation and may be conflated with the Mocking of Christ.[40] The scene begins with the far left appearance of Christ, with nimbus, making a blessing gesture towards the six other figures.[41] The next figure, leading Christ forward, raises his hands towards the group of three men: a haloed figure holding a book and pointing to Christ, with hand raised, in the center who is turned toward another figure caught in the moment of slapping Christ's face. On the far right, a figure who is slightly larger than the other figures, sits on a cushion and rests his feet on a footstool. Wearing a headdress and holding a staff, this figure is turned away from the action but looks over his shoulder to observe the scene. The composition is nicely balanced: two figures observe either on the

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[39] Williams refers to scenes of Christ washing the disciples' feet, the Last Supper, and the Betrayal of Judas on page 55 of Vol. II based on the Christological in the Turin Beatus. This scene does not exist in the Girona Beatus. On folio 15v, there is the Adoration and Herod scenes immediately succeeded by Caiphas and Peter's Denials on folio 16. And, as William notes on page 61 of Vol. II, there is no disruption of the folios and there is a logical pattern of hair side to flesh side of the vellum. Perhaps these scenes are original, then, to the Turin Beatus. Like with many medieval manuscripts, the copying of the Beatus manuscripts was by no means slavishly devoted to the model.

[40]   Growden, 75. Caiaphas appears in Matthew 26:57-67 where he joins with other rabbis in the interrogation of Christ and in John 11 and John 18 which expands upon his decision to sacrifice Christ to avoid the wrath of the Romans.

[41] Growden, 75-76. Growden lumps Christ with the next figure on the left arguing he is ushering Christ into the interrogation. I argue, in the context of the manuscript, it is more likely that Christ is both being lead into the scene AND observing (and approving through his blessing) the proceedings and thereby not directly connected to the action.

far right or far left and two figures raise their hands to Christ and the pointing figure in a way that frames the action in the center of the register.

Two inscriptions accompany the images. The first, at the far left, reads, "They led him before Caiaphas and gave false testimony against him."[42] The text provides a summary of the action occurring to the far left of the composition: Christ being taken to Caiaphas. The second inscription appears over the other appearance of Christ in the center of the composition, "Spitting in his face, and they hit him with their fists (saying) 'prophesy to us Christ.'"[43] This scene may be a more violent interpretation of Luke 23: 8-12 where the Herod Antipas mocks Christ during his trial. It is also possible the pointing figure holding a book may be Judas because of the halo surrounding that figure's head. This figure is also dressed in a similar manner to Caiaphas in a red-hemmed white robe and violet cloak, thus connecting him to Caiaphas. This would make the scene a mixture of Christ before Caiaphas, the Mocking of Christ, and the Betrayal of Judas.

Although images of Christ before Caiaphas or Annas, the other High Priest appear very early in the early Christian Passion cycle and continue in both Eastern and Western imperial iconography, the composition of the Girona Beatus has both compositional and iconographic differences from earlier examples.[44] The costume of Caiaphas is highly

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[42] Translation by Growden, 114 footnote 2. In Latin: *Isti duxerunt ihm ante Cayfam et falsum testimonium posuerunt contra eum.*

[43] Ibid. In Latin: *expuentes in faciem ejus et colafis eum cediderunt profetiza nobis Xpe.*

[44] Growden, 77-79. Growden lists earlier and contemporary examples of Christ before one or more priestly judges: the carved doors of Santa Sabina, the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, the St. Augustine Codex [Cambridge, Corpus Christi, Ms. 286, fol. 125r], the Aachen Gospels [Aachen, Cathedral Treasury, fol. 229v], the Munich Gospels of Otto III [Munich, Staatsbibl. Clm. 4453, fol. 247r], and a ninth-century Psalter at Mt. Athos [Mt. Athos, Pantocrator, Ms. 61, fol. 39v].

unusual and is not found in early Christian, Byzantine, or Ottonian representations of the priest.   The robes, the pointed, mitre-like headdress, and staff are rare in portrayals of Caiaphas. In later examples, he can be found crowned, probably meant to symbolize his authority.[45]   In the early eleventh-century Iberian example of the *Codex Aemilianensis* [Escorial, Inv. No. d.I.1., fol. 453r], the Bishop Sisebutus appears in the lower register seated and wearing a pointed headdress, presumably a mitre, and carrying a staff (Fig. 60).[46] Within an Iberian context, therefore, the Girona Beatus's image of a seated figure wearing a triangular-shaped headdress and holding a staff would conform to contemporary images of power, possibly royal but more likely ecclesiastical.[47]   While others betray, physically abuse, and mock Christ's teachings, Caiaphas in the guise of a bishop watches and does nothing.   One of Christ's followers, possibly Judas, betrays Christ's teachings and aligns himself with the neglectful Caiaphas, a point emphasized by the identical robes. Christ himself, far from intervening or punishing those who actively or passively participate in the abuse, approves of this course of events. He sanctifies his own suffering with the blessing gesture of the Christ figure on the far left. The message is clear: Christ suffered, the priests/bishops did nothing to intervene, but he did not deny his message and because of that, such behavior is divine. It would be a model for his faithful to follow.

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[45] Growden, 80.

[46]   *Codex Aemilianensis* dates to 1002 and is a copy of the 976 *Codex Vigilanus* [Escorial, Inv. No. d.I.2]. See Charles Bishko, "The Abbey of Dueñas and the Cult of St. Isidore of Chios in the County of Castile (10th-11th Centuries) in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), 345-367.

[47] Growden, 80-81.

The lower register of folio 16, featuring the Denials of Peter, emphasizes how difficult following Christ and his behavior could be.[48]   Peter appears three times in this register: seated with halo at the far left while talking to a woman standing in front of him, standing in the center also with a halo gesturing toward the right while looking back to a second woman raising her hands to him, and standing with a halo again on the far right with another haloed man.   The inscriptions give a clear idea to the story being depicted.   The first inscription on the far left over the first Peter and the first woman reads,

> When Peter was seated in the atrium of the high priest's house and one of the serving maids came up to him who said, "And you were with Jesus of Gallilee," and he denied it in the face of all, "I do not know who you mean."[49]

The second inscription over the second grouping reads, "And the maid said to him, 'He was also with Jesus of Nazareth,' and he denied it a second time with an oath saying that 'truly I do not know the man.'"[50]   To emphasize this is the second denial, the figures are labeled *scdo* or "second."[51]   The final and third inscription describes Peter's third denial, also marked with a Roman numeral three for third, " And shortly thereafter the

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[48] The denials of Peter can be found in Matthew 26:69-74.

[49]   Growden, 118 footnote 38. In Latin: *ubi petrus sedens in atriu sacerdotis et accessit ad eum una ex ancillis dicens et tu cum ihu Galileo earas et ille negabit coram omnibus dicens nescio qui dicis.*

[50]   Growden, 118 footnote 39. In Latin: *alia ancilla dixit ei et hic erat cum ihu nazareno et iteru negabit cum juramento quia non nobi ominem.*

[51]   Ibid.

bystanders approached and said to Peter, 'Surely you also are one of them.' Then he broke into curses and swore he did not know the man."[52]

Like Christ before Caiaphas, there are many earlier and contemporary examples in art of the Denials of Peter and, as in the scene in the upper register, there are unusual features about the Girona Beatus's depiction.[53] In her discussion of the iconography, Marcia Growden remarks on the lack of important figures and events in both the Caiaphas and Peter scenes. Using William Loerke's discussion of the Rossano Gospels, Growden argues that since Pilate, the representative of the Roman legal system, does not make an appearance in the Girona Beatus, then guilt of Christ's condemnation lies solely with Caiaphas and the High Priests.[54] Although Growden does not identify the figure as such, the possible inclusion of Judas in the scene with Caiaphas also lays some blame for Christ's death upon him as well. This scene of betrayal by a follower (Judas) and an ecclesiastical leader (Caiaphas) is juxtaposed with the three denials of another follower (Peter). Unlike Caiaphas or Judas, Peter sees the error of his lack of faith and redeems himself with his actions after the Crucifixion and his foundation of the Church.

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[52] Growden, 118 footnote 40. In Latin: *et pusillum accesserunt qui stabant et dixerunt petro: vere et tu ex illis es, tunc cepit detestare et jurare quia non nobi ominem.*

[53] Growden, 87. For a full listing of the Denial of Peter in art, see Growden 86-89.

[54] Growden, 89. See also William Loerke, "The Miniature of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin* 43 no. 3 (1961), 171-195.

By identifying Caiaphas, Christ's condemner, with ecclesiastical authority and identifying Judas, a former follower, as Christ's betrayer, the iconography of the Girona Beatus's scene of Christ before Caiaphas reflects the historical circumstance of the mid-ninth century in Córdoba. From 850 to 859 the government of Córdoba executed forty-eight people on either the charge of making denigrating remarks about the Prophet Muhammad or the charge of apostasy.[55] Around 800, al-Andalus had stabilized. The emirs were no longer facing provincial uprisings and tax revenues became more secure. As a result, the court became a dazzling center of culture and economic prosperity.[56] Christians became more likely to convert in order to gain economic and social success. Although no conversion rate is known, it has been estimated, according to records of name changes, in al-Andalus, that 20-30% of the population were Muslim by 850, 50% by 961, and 90% by 1200.[57] In reaction, a minority in the Christian community began to practice an extremely ascetic form of monasticism in small, isolated monasteries outside Córdoba's city walls.[58] Although they were not Benedictine, exactly what rule they followed is unknown. Eulogius describes the life of a monk named Habentius, who was executed in 851, in the monastery of St. Christopher's,

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[55] Coope, ix.

[56] Coope, 4. Al-Andalus did not become a caliphate until 929; until then, it was an emirate.

[57] Coope, 10.

[58] Coope, 21.

> There he was dead to the world and endured a very strict rule for Christ's sake. He willingly had himself shut away in a cell; from within, surrounded by high walls and held fast with iron bonds against his flesh, he showed himself through breaches in the wall to visitors.[59]

Monks like Habentius would have been disgusted by the accommodations to Muslims made by their fellow Christians, including other members of the clergy. As Alvarus wrote, an assimilated courtier "rose up against his own faith like a rabid dog and offered a sword to the gentiles [Muslims] with which to cut the throats of God's people."[60]

One hundred years later a similar disgust for the assimilated Christians could still be found. A monk, John of Gorze, visited Córdoba in 953 as an emissary of Otto I to the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III and recorded his impressions. Aside from the higher instance of conversion, those who associated with Muslims often obeyed Islamic food laws and practiced circumcision. Instead of finding a clergy inflamed by martyrdom, John was disappointed to find the clergy also assimilating and adopting Muslim practices.[61] The act of circumcision was a highly contentious issue for Christians, such as John or Paul Alvarus, the latter of whom associated circumcision with the mark of the Antichrist.[62] Even more upsetting to the more ascetic group of Christians was the willingness of the higher clerical authority to collaborate with the Muslim government. Around 860, the Abbot Samson of Pinna Mellaria was asked by the Córdoban

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[59] Coope, 22.

[60] Coope, 65-66.

[61] Coope, 67.

[62] Coope, 58.

government to translate letters to European courts from Arabic to Latin. He was accused of slipping military secrets into the letters. As a result, he was accused of heresy by Bishop Hostegesis of Málaga in an 862 bishops' council. Another council in 864 called by the emir renewed these charges and was attended by Muslim courtiers.[63]

The scene of Christ before Caiaphas would have been repeated in Córdoba with monks and Christian lay people standing before a qadi or judge and being condemned for their faith while the ecclesiastical authority did nothing or even actively collaborated with the sentence. Like Christ, those condemned would have also been met with a denial of their beliefs. In the 971 biography of Aslam b. Abd al-Aziz, who the chief qadi of Córdoba from 924 to 926, a Christian seeking martyrdom came before Aslam,

> It was due to the imbecility and ignorance of the Christian, who thought he would thereby acquire merit, [although] no such example could be found [in the teachings attributed to] Jesus, son of Mary, may God bless Muhammad and him.[64]

The Christian seeking martyrdom by following Christ's model, he or she would find many similarities to the Biblical description as illustrated by the Girona Beatus. The readers of the Girona Beatus were reminded, by the accompanying image of Peter and his three denials, which even those who have been tempted to deny the followings of Christ could be forbidden and could, like Peter, spread Christ's teachings. Eulogious, around 850, did just that by going on a type of outreach mission and traveling to Pamplona and

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[63] Coope, 56-57. Abbot Samson wrote in 864 an account of these accusations and listed the faults of his enemies in *Apologeticus*.

[64] Melville and Ubaydi, 38-43, especially 41.

maintaining contacts with the ecclesiastical community there.[65]   Perhaps because of his

associations with the martyrs movement, he was elected bishop of Toledo but unable to

occupy the see. News of the martyrs had reached north of the Pyrenees by 858 with two

Parisian monks who had heard about the movement in Barcelona and arrived in Córdoba

to buy relics which they took back to France.[66] And certainly the stories had reached the

Ottonian Empire by the mid-tenth century for John of Gorze to be familiar with the

stories. The makers of the Girona Beatus remembered the struggles of both Christ and

the martyrs of Córdoba with the image of Christ before Caiaphas as they reminded their

audience of how, even after denying Christ, they could be forgiven.

CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION

The scenes from the Crucifixion are arranged codicologically in pairs: the

Crucifixion with scenes surrounding the Entombment (fol. 16v-17) and the Harrowing of

Hell with rejoicing at the Resurrection (fol. 17v-18). The Crucifixion encompasses the

entire page on folio 16v. It is a vividly colorful and crowded composition (Fig. 61).

Dominating the center of the folio is a living Christ bearded, with a nimbus, wearing a

purple loincloth, and bleeding profusely from the wounds in his hands, feet, and side.

The inscriptions under his arm read *fixuras clavorum* to emphasize the placement of the

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[65] Coope, 36.

[66] Coope, 52-53. The story of the Parisian monks can be found in Book I of Aimoin's *De traditione*.

nails.[67] On the arms of the cross are personifications of the sun, labeled *sol obscuratus* or "darkened sun" referring to the eclipse mentioned in the Gospels, and the moon with the inscription *luna non dedit lumen suum* or "the moon does not give its light" which also references biblical sources.[68] Above the celestial bodies are two angels swinging censers. A chalice sits below his feet to catch his blood. Below stylized foliage growing at the base of the cross is a sarcophagus containing the linen-wrapped corpse of Adam whose name is inscribed on the lid. Longinus piercing Christ's side with his spear and the crucified thief Gesta, both conveniently labeled, are found on the left side of the composition. On the right are Stephaton (or *Stefaton* here) and Limas on his cross. At each base of the thieves' crosses are men with clubs raised preparing to break their legs. Above Gesta is the inscription *Memento mei Dne*, referring to Luke 23:42-43 when one of the thieves, unnamed in the Gospels, asks Christ to remember him and Christ replies the thief will join him in heaven. To reinforce this promise, an angel flies at Gesta's head. The other thief Limas, who in Luke 23:39-41 hurls insults at Christ, clearly has a more difficult afterlife ahead of him as indicated by the little devil poking him with a trident.

Christ's actual death is not shown in the manuscript. He is still alive in the Crucifixion scene and the opposite page depicts events from the Resurrection (Fig. 62). Folio 17 is oddly organized and the four bands of background color do not appear to

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[67] See Growden, 119 footnote 59. She alludes to John 20:25, "So the other disciples told him, 'We have seen the Lord!' But he said to them, 'Unless I see the nail marks in his hands and put my finger where the nails were, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe it.'"

[68] See Luke 23:44-45, Mark 15:33, and Matthew 27:45-54. For reference to the moon, see Matthew 24:29.

actually organize the three events shown; instead, these seem to have been meant to be read in a clockwise manner.[69] Juxtaposed with Christ's triumphant crucifixion on the opposite page is Judas hanging from a tree with spiny, intertwined serpentine branches ending in stylized leaves on the far left center of folio 17. Although the paint here is partially rubbed off, a demon floats toward Judas. An inscription next to Judas reads, "Judas hanged himself by a noose," and next to the demon, "enemy devil."[70] A different hand added, "Here he hanged himself who sold Christ for money."[71] The next scene in the sequence is the Entombment in the bottom section of the page. In the center, there is a large ornate sarcophagus: a lower arcaded platform on which lies the coffin with the body of Christ inside, as indicated by the inscription *Corpus DNI* or "body of the Lord," and a very elaborate lid of semi-circles with a stylized vegetal pattern. Two figures, labeled *custodes* or "custodians," are on the left of the sarcophagus. Although not sleeping, they are leaning on their swords and probably meant to portray the sleeping soldiers guarding Christ's tomb as described in the Gospels.[72] Some sort of stool or low column rises out from the lid upon which sits the figure of Joseph of Arimathea labeled *Ioseb*.[73] He watches the approach of two women, labeled *Maria Magdalene et altera*

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[69] Growden, 132. Growden believes there are two registers but upon viewing the manuscript, I did not get that sense. I do agree there is a circular, clockwise viewing pattern to the scene.

[70] Growden, 177 footnotes 1 and 2. In Latin: *Iudas laqueo se suspendit* and *Zabule inimicus*.

[71] Growden, 177 footnote 3. In Latin: *Hic se suspendit xpm qui munere vendidit.*

[72] The story can be found in John 19, John 20, Matthew 27, Luke 23, and Mark 15.

[73] Growden, 137. She identifies this Joseph as Joseph of Arimathea.

Maria or "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary," from the right.[74] The tomb is featured

again at the top of the folio in the last scene on the page. To the left, an angel, labeled

Angelus Dni or "Angel of the Lord," opens the lid of a sarcophagus, through the sides an

empty shroud can be seen, and gestures toward Christ with two women.   A series of

inscriptions describe this scene. Under the opened sarcophagus lid is *lapidem revolutum*

or "the stone rolled back."[75]   There is another inscription written around the figure of

Christ, "Jesus said to the men, 'go and tell my brothers that they should go to Galilee.

There they will see me.'"[76]   The next pair of folios relates what happens while the

apostles wait for Christ to return to them and what their reaction will be.

Devils are an important motif in another full-page painting in the Christological

cycle, the Harrowing of Hell on folio 17v, the story of Christ descending to Hell after his

death to retrieve worthy souls and guide them to heaven (Fig. 63).[77]   Two inscriptions,

one believed to have been added later, can be found in the margins above the border:

"Here is the Lord after the Resurrection cleaning out hell" (the older inscription) and

"The cast down doors; I am the plunderer of the foul cohort."[78]   The ornamented arch

with flames shooting from either side resembling theatrically draped fabric frames the

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[74] Growden, 138. This part of the painting is damaged and the inscription is difficult to read.

[75] Growden, 180 footnote 42.

[76] Growden, 181 footnote 44. This inscription quotes Matthew 28:10.

[77] The Harrowing of Hell is based on several Old and New Testament sources, Acts 2:27 and 2:31, 1Peter 3:19-20, 1 Peter 4:6, Ephesians 4:8-10, Zechariah 9:11, Isaiah 24:21-22, and possibly 2 Corinthians 2:14.

[78] Growden, 188 footnotes 71 and 72. In Latin: *Ubi dns post resurrectione sua explains inferna* and *Abjectis portis; sum tetre predo choortis.* See Growden, 157 for her argument the inscriptions were done in two different hands and the first matches inscriptions on fol. 15v-16r.

three layers of the underworld. At the lowest level is Satan, the largest figure, depicted as

a seated black figure with wild shocks of hair sticking up around his head, overlarge eyes,

fangs, and two hands ending in clawed fingers crossed on his lap.   A serpent wraps

around his body as well as a line of nude figures on the left binding them to Satan. These

figures raise their hands and one throws his head back, possibly in a scream. Above these

figures is a demon, who, like Satan, is black with wild hair, and pulls a nude figure from

the second layer. On the right, six nude figures, lined up in two rows of three, are falling

into hell, four headfirst and two upright. A two-headed serpent attacks the middle figure

in the top row while a scaled, serpentine creature with two taloned short arms bites the

head of the figure on the far left of the same row.   Five nude figures are found in the

second level above Satan's head.   Raising their hands, they look up to a haloed Christ,

accompanied by the only other clothed figure, probably John the Baptist.[79]   Christ pulls

one of these figures out of hell into the upper level of the underworld; possibly this level

is part of the earth as indicated by the two coffins on the left.   Two monstrous creatures

clinging to the frame on either side of the second level look down towards Satan.   They

have the same wild hair as the demon and Satan but these creatures appear to be Cyclops.

A two-part inscription in mirror writing reads "Death I will be your sting; O Death I will

be your destruction," undoubtedly relating to Christ and his coming resurrection.[80]

     The celebration of the resurrection appears on the opposing page, folio 18, and is

depicted in three registers (Fig. 64). The upper and lower registers each have five figures

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[79] Growden, 161-162.

[80] Growden, 182 footnote 70. Growden relates this inscription to Hosea 13:14 and I Corinthians 15:55. In Latin (reversed to be read correctly): *Ero morsus tuus inferne; O Inferne ero mors tua*.

separated by an arcade of horseshoe arches. The upper register depicts seated figures all wearing crowns with two crosses except for the figure to the far left. The lower register depicts standing figures. In both registers, the two figures to the left gesture to the right and the two figures on the right gesture to the left. Both center figures have both hands raised in the orant position. Inscriptions appear in both lower and upper registers: "After the Resurrection of the Lord, the just are shining in glory" in the upper and, although partially defaced, possibly "From the vision of the Lord…and lives because of virtue" in the lower.[81] In the center register are eight standing figures all looking to the left towards the Harrowing of Hell on the opposite page. All have cross-inscribed nimbuses, except the figure to the far right. From left to right, some figures hold various objects or raise their hands in various gestures: (1) both hands raised at waist level, (2) hands hidden, (3) holding a scroll, (4) hands cannot be seen, (5) holding bread, (6) holding a chalice and stringed musical instrument, (7) holding a stringed musical instruments, (8) hands empty but right hand raised. An inscription describes the scene as, "those rejoicing in the Resurrection of the Lord."[82] This four-image cycle begins with the Crucifixion and ends with the triumphant consequences of that event. How can the iconography of these images relate to the context of the manuscript's making?

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[81] Growden, 182 footnote 74 and 76. Growden attributes her translation of the defaced inscription to the transcription Neuss facsimile commentary. In Latin: (upper) *post resurrectionem Dni iusti sunt fulgentes in Gloria* and (lower) *Ex L…N… de visionis …NICCL…SUS et vibit ex Virtute Sua.*

[82] Growden, 182 footnote 75. In Latin: *Guadentes de Resurrectione Dni.*

Like the previous imagery in the Infancy and Trial scenes discussed above, the iconography of the Crucifixion and Resurrection images deals emphasizes Christ's divinity and the consequences of betraying the tenets of Christianity as well as introducing the importance of commemorating sacrifice in Christianity through the celebration of the Mass. For a tenth-century Christian community aware of Islamic claims concerning Christ's death, reiterating these ideas would have been necessary in light of definite Qur'anic denials of Christ's resurrection,

> And for saying: "We killed Christ, Jesus, son of Mary, who was an apostle of God;" but they neither killed nor crucified him, though it so appeared to them. Those who disagree in the matter are only lost in doubt. They have no knowledge about it other than conjecture, for surely they did not kill him.[83]

The assertion in the Qur'an is that Christ was not crucified and those that believe it are suffering from delusions. And, not only does the Qu'ran deny this basic tenet of Christianity, it also adopts him as one of Islam's great figures,

> When the example of Mary's son is quoted before them, your people cry out at it, and say: "Are our deities better or he?" They say this only for disputing. Surely they are a contentious people. [Jesus] was only a creature whom We favored and made an example for the children of Israel. If We pleased We could have put angels in the place of you as trustees on earth. He is certainly the sign of the Hour [of change]. So have no doubt about it, and listen to me. This is the straight path.[84]

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[83] Sura 4:157.

[84] Sura 43:57-61.

The iconography of the Girona Beatus, therefore, must emphasize difference in the theological understanding between Islam and Christianity and reclaim the Christ from Islam.

Ninth-century Crucifixion exegesis and the resulting visual imagery in the Carolingian north focused on the concept that Christ's Crucifixion was a sacrifice that benefited future Christians with the absolving of sin through his death.[85] While that implication is not absent in the Girona Beatus's depiction, another iconographical interpretation can be found, one that would also explain why the Last Supper was not chosen to be included in the narrative. The unusual addition of angels waving censers over the crucified body of Christ changes the understanding of the body of Christ.[86] According to the *Missale Mixtum*, a collection of Mozarabic liturgical documents, censers were an important element of the Mass of the Presanctified celebrated on Good Friday, the day of Christ's death. During this Mass, the celebrant was specifically told to cense the Host, just as Christ himself is being censed on the cross on the day of his death.[87] The Crucifixion in the Girona Beatus, therefore, is not merely the Crucifixion or a depiction of Christ's sacrifice for the benefit of mankind; the image also presents an allegorical depiction of the celebration of Mass. The inclusion of the chalice catching the

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[85] Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 143-144.

[86] Growden, 97. Growden remarks although angels are known to hold objects over Christ when pictured at the Crucifixion (books or tablets, for example, in the St. Gall Gospels [Stiftsbibl. Cod. 51]), there are no parallels to the inclusion of censers.

[87] Ibid. The *Missale Mixtum* was a compilation of liturgical texts that date from the seventh to sixteenth centuries. The Host being censed on Good Friday comes from one of the earlier (7th/8th century) texts. For further, see Growden, 125 footnote 97.

blood of Christ at the bottom of the crucifixion only strengthens this allegory. Both the

chalice and the body refer to the biblical story of the Last Supper,

> For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the cup when he had supped, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood: do you this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death until he come.[88]

 The body and blood of the Eucharist are literally illustrated in this scene. The thief

Limas who mocked Christ was therefore mocking the celebration of Mass.   His

punishment for denying this basic tenet of Christian worship is everlasting torment as

represented by the demon poking his head. Gesta, on the other hand, asked Christ to

remember him and as a reward for choosing to participate in this Christian ritual would

be rewarded in heaven.

The timeless nature of Christian worship and its long heritage are symbolized by

the inclusion of Adam's corpse at the base of the cross. Patristic writing had dealt with

Christ as the new Adam and the *Commentary* text itself addresses this issue,

> Paradise is truly the figure of the church, and the first man Adam is a shadow of the future one; and the second Adam, Christ, is the sun of justice who illuminates the shadow of our blindness. And the first Adam, as the Apostle says, is earthly from earth; and the second Adam is heavenly from heaven. Now in the church are two Adams, the earthly and the heavenly, in so far as it is earth, such members are earthly; in so far as it is heavenly, such members are heavenly, because Adam is divided as old and new. The old is he to whom the tree of life was not given to touch because he was not willing to put off the old man, that is the carnal man. The new Adam is he who has been bound to Christ the conqueror and he

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[88] I Corinthians 11:23-26.

was the tree of life, the power, because he had it and if he is not yet attached to Christ in the body, nonetheless he is in spirit.[89]

Although written in different circumstances, the text would have echoed ideas of the superiority of the spiritual life over the carnal in the anti-Islamic polemics of Paul Alvarus and Eulogius when discussing the Cordoban martyrs. Alvarus describe the basic character of Muslims thus:

> Muslims are puffed up with pride, languid in their enjoyment of fleshly acts, extravagant in eating, greedy usurpers in the acquisition of possessions and the pillaging of the poor, grasping without piety, liars without shame, deceitful without discernment, wanton without modesty, cruel without mercy, usurpers without justice, without honor, without truth, unfamiliar with kindness or compassion, ignorant of the humility of piety, fickle, fashion-conscious, crafty, cunning, and indeed not halfway but completely befouled in the dregs of every impiety, deriding humility as insanity, rejecting chastity as though it were filth, disparaging virginity as though it were the uncleanness of harlotry, putting the vices of the body before the virtues of the soul, advertising their characteristic way of life through their acts and deportment.[90]

According to Alvarus, the Muslims revel in the carnal, earthly aspects of life: fashion, sex, and eating. Such behavior is related to the earthly nature of Adam and his sins against God. Christians, on the other, can be assumed to be the opposite. Focused on spiritual life and shaped by their "new Adam," Christians, in Alvarus's opinion, would be kind, merciful, humble, chaste, and careful eaters. By connecting Christ to Adam and the celebration of Mass to the beginnings of time, the makers of the Girona Beatus were emphasizing how the sacrifice of Christ, although rejected by Islamic sources, was a justification for those who chose the spiritual over the carnal.

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[89] Text from folio 174v of the manuscript. Translation by Marcia Growden. See Growden, 100.

[90] Coope, 49-50.

Juxtaposed with the two thieves and the allegory of Mass on folio 16v, the suicide of Judas and the two scenes at the tomb on the preceding folio 17 echo themes of choice. The death of Judas, with its accompanying devil, bridges the message of the Crucifixion to the two scenes at the Christ's tomb. Judas was the betrayer and arch-traitor of the Passion narrative. By comparing his death in a tree with Christ's death on a cross, a sort of tree as indicated by the vegetal motif at the bottom of the cross, Judas's death becomes worthless.[91] He committed a great sin and tried to pay for that by taking his own life as related in Matthew,

> Then when Judas, who had betrayed Him, saw that He had been condemned, he felt remorse and returned the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood." But they said, "What is that to us? See to that yourself!" And he threw the pieces of silver into the temple sanctuary and departed; and he went away and hanged himself.[92]

Although he returned his silver and took his own life, his sin of betrayal was too great to be forgiven and the devil waiting by the tree alerts the reader that Judas's torment is only about to begin.

Judas's betrayal contrasts sharply with the two scenes of loyalty and devotion in the Entombment imagery. Without Judas, the tomb scenes would continue a visual illustration of the narrative but lack thematic depth. The tomb scenes themselves appear to be an adaptation of a Byzantine tradition; however, new elements were added to the lower scene that adapted any possible Byzantine models: the inclusion of Joseph of

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[91] Growden, 136. Growden notes that the inclusion of the devil (or any symbol of evil) is not part of an early Christian tradition of representing Judas; but, appears in two ninth-century Byzantine Psalters: Chludof Psalter [Moscow, Hist. Mus., MS Gr. 129, fol. 113] and another Psalter [Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS Gr. 20, fol. 23].

[92] Matthew 27:3-5.

Arimathea, the elaborate tomb structure, and Christ's body in the sarcophagus.[93]   The

lower scene emphasizes the need for a sanctified location for Christian worship and

relates to the function of relics in early Christian and medieval societies.   Jerome in

Contra Vigiliantium,

> [So you think,] therefore, that the bishop of Rome does wrong when, over
> the dead men Peter and Paul, venerable bones to us, but to you a heap of
> common dust, he offers up sacrifices to the Lord, and their graves are held
> to be altars of Christ.[94]

Jerome could have been writing this response to Muslim leaders in al-Andalus.   The

evidence indicates that church construction under the emirs and caliphs of al-Andalus

was rare, particularly after the ninth century.   In 852, Emir Muhammad I ordered all

recently built churches to be destroyed; this must have also included monasteries because

a year later the monastery of Tabanos, hotbed of the martyrs' movement, was torn

down.[95]   With even those monasteries, it is doubtful that they included churches, since

comments by Eulogius concern hearing worship at monasteries in Christian lands unlike

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[93] Growden, 140-141. Contemporary Byzantine examples include the Chudof Psalter and a tenth-century Gospels in Russia [St. Petersburg, Public Libr., Petropol 21, fol. 7v].

[94]   Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 36. Translation by Brown.

[95]   Sally Garen, "Santa María de Melque and Christian Church Construction under Muslim Rule," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 no. 3 (1992), 303-304. Garen does point out that in the eighth century it appears compensation occurred for the destruction of Church property. In 784, Abd al-Rahman I paid for St. Vincent's, on whose land he built the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and ordered payment for other churches destroyed during the conquest. One church that Garen does assert was built during the tenth century was Sta. María de Melque due to its strong stylistic resemblance to Khirbat al-Mafjar. See pages 296-298 for her stylistic analysis. She is refuting earlier claims that the church was built in the seventh century and survived the conquest.

in al-Andalus, and Mass was probably celebrated in their cells.[96] The Muslim authorities in Córdoba highly discouraged Christians turning the corpses of executed monks into relics by burning the bodies then throwing the ashes in the river or publicly displaying the bodies as a warning, but under heavy guard.[97]   Clearly some relics were salvaged, as indicated by the Parisian monks on a relic-buying trip, but it was doubtful that they could openly displayed in al-Andalus.

The importance of worship near the bones of martyrs was an important aspect of Christian worship from the beginnings of the religion. The desire to be close to saints' relics is echoed in the Girona Beatus's depiction of the entombment. The elaborate nature of his tomb in the lower scene may have been a comment on how the relics of the Córdoban martyrs did not receive such lavishness in their burials. It was left to the Christians in the north to guarantee the martyrs were properly remembered. The Asturian king Alfonso III in an agreement for a truce with al-Andalus in the late ninth century set the condition that the remains of Eulogius be surrendered to him so they could be transferred to Oviedo.[98] Unlike the clergy in the south, those in the north behaved with loyalty; just as, compared to the disloyalty of Judas, Joseph of Arimathea and the Maries were faithful and attended to the relics of the martyr Christ. As a reward, the Maries are assured of their faith by the risen Christ's appearance to them in the upper scene. Like

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[96] Coope, ix.

[97] Coope, x.

[98] Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, Vol I: 711-1150, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1988), 51.

those who faithfully remember the martyrs of Córdoba, the Maries receive the assurance that Christ was indeed the son of God and his death was for a greater purpose. That greater purpose is revealed on the succeeding folio with the Harrowing of Hell.

The Harrowing of Hell, or Christ freeing souls from Hell, is an amalgam of biblical passages and stories from the apocrypha. The Gospel of Nicodemus describes how Christ first blessed then saved Adam then,

> …the patriarchs, and prophets and martyrs and forefathers, and he took them and leaped up out of Hades. And as he went the holy fathers sang praises, following him saying: Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord. To him be the glory of all the saints. Thus he went into paradise holding our forefather Adam by the hand, and he handed him over and all the righteous to Michael the archangel.[99]

This image can be read as an allegory of how faith in Christianity can save the pious from the perceived dangers of Islam. The monstrous demons guarding Hell and tormenting the damned can be related to the discussion of the portrayal of Muslims as unnatural creatures in Chapter 3. The rhetoric that denigrated Muslims in this fashion had been popular amongst certain elements of the monastic community for over a hundred years before the making of the Girona Beatus. The portrayal of Satan and his closer minions as black reflects an early racist polemic that circulated around the Iberian Peninsula leading to one chronicler to describe the "Moors" as, "their faces as black as pitch, the handsomest among them was black as a cooking pot, and their eyes blazed like fire."[100]

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[99] Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Vol. I (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), 475. The passage references Psalms 118:26.

[100] Smith, 19. This is a description of 711 from *Estoria de España* commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile-León (1252-184). The chronicle compiled previous sources up to the ninth century. See also Smith, 3. For further reading of black Satan, see Dorothy Verkerk, ""Black Servant, Black Demon: Color Ideology in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Journal for Medieval and Early Modern History* 31 (2001): 57-77.

The imagery in the Girona Beatus echoes the rhetoric surrounding Christians collaborating with their Muslim neighbors: Muslims and Christians are not the same, Muslims are unnatural creatures, and Islam can ensnare you as Satan ensnares the damned in the Girona Beatus. Only Christ can save you from these dangers.

This knowledge is celebrated on the opposing folio 18. The scene can be divided into three groups of Christians: the prophets and martyrs with their crowns in the top register; the clergy, their successors, in the middle; and the faithful on the lower register.[101] Another interpretation is that the scene follows Iberian history with the Visigoth kings on the top, the Asturio-Leónese kings in the middle, and the faithful monastic chroniclers on the bottom.[102] Although it seems likely that a similar type of theme is present in this image, it more likely relates to the martyrs of Córdoba which would have had the greatest resonance with a monastic audience. The upper register of crowned figures relates to patristic literature associating martyrdom with crowns. Ambrose wrote,

> …you too have given in your name for Christ's contest; you have entered
> for an event and its prize is a crown. Practice, train, anoint yourself with
> the oil of gladness, an ointment that is never used up… Keep your body
> chaste so as to be fit to wear the crown. Otherwise your reputation may
> lose you the favor of the spectators, and your supporters may see your
> negligence and abandon you.[103]

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[101] Growden, 172.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Translated by Annabel Wharton. See "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna," *The Art Bulletin* 69 no. 3 (1987), 375.

The upper register of figures then would be martyrs, like those executed a century previously in al-Andalus. The middle register can be interpreted as the clergy. They carry the implements of worship: the chalice (wine) and bread for the Eucharist and stringed instruments for the singing of the Psalms that was a large part of daily monastic life. The lower register of simply dressed people depicts the laity who relied upon the clergy and monastic communities to guide them in their faith and teach them about the sacrifices of both Christ and his martyrs. The promise that Christ, as pictured on the opposing folio, will save souls from Satan/Muslims would prompt rejoicing in a tenth-century monastic audience.

BAPTISM, ANTICHRIST, AND PROPHECIES

The final scene of the Christological narrative cycle does not appear until folio 189 (Fig. 65). In addition to being out of sequence with the prefatory images, this scene, The Baptism of Christ, also does not follow the narrative chronologically. It does appear to have been added later. It falls within quire 25; the hair and flesh side of this quire follows a logical progression.[104] The makers of the Girona Beatus chose to locate this image before the *Commentary* text on Revelation 14:1-5, a discussion of the Antichrist. Like the Crucifixion, a single scene, the baptism of Christ, fills the entire page. In the upper left-hand corner, the River Jordan, labeled *Fons Jor*, begins as a corkscrew shape around a

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[104] As far as I can tell upon viewing, it was not added later.

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brownish circle. The river flows downward in a left to right diagonal. At the opposite

corner the River Dan, labeled *Fons Dan*, begins in the same pattern and flows downward

in a right to left diagonal. In the center of the composition, the two rivers meet and, in

this larger body of water, stands John the Baptist with red hair and gold robes presumably

on the shore, which is represented by a brown, scaled patch in the blue of the water. He

reaches his hands out towards Christ who is naked and standing in an elaborate baptismal

font of orange, yellow, and blue. A dove, undoubtedly representing the Holy Spirit, dives

into Christ's head. Four fish swim in the river: two swimming upstream toward Christ

and John the Baptist, one swimming toward the source of the River Jordan, the last

swimming toward the source of the River Dan. An inscription reads, "where Christ and

John were dipped in the River Jordan."[105]   The subject matter is obvious but the

iconographic details are unusual.

The division of the Rivers Jordan and Dan and their subsequent joining

surprisingly resembles a rudimentary outline of ovaries and a uterus.   Tenth-century

knowledge of female anatomy was extremely vague and relied heavily upon earlier

scholarship. The most accurate descriptions of the uterus are found in Arabic texts that

describe the womb as sort of bladder with two attached tubes which supplied blood and

pneuma, or the soul.[106]   Although it is difficult to connect the monks who made the

Girona Beatus to any exact Arab text, the idea the river was meant to represent a womb is

not surprising in the context of exegetical rhetoric about Christ's baptism. The fourth-

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[105] *Ubi xpi et iohanne in iordone flumine tinctus fuerunt*

[106] Claude Thomasset, "The Nature of Woman," translated by Arthur Goldhammer in *A History of Women: Silences in the Middle Ages* edited by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 51-52.

century St. Ephrem connected baptism, Christ's incarnation, and the descent into hell through womb imagery,

> The river in which Christ was baptized conceived him again symbolically; the moist womb of the water conceived him in purity, bore him in chastity, made him up in glory. In the pure womb of the river, you should recognize Mary, the daughter of man, who conceived having known no man, who gave birth, without intercourse, who brought up, through a gift, the Lord of that gift.[107]

Ephrem also connected the womb and baptism with the Eucharist,

> Fire and spirit are in the womb of her who bore you [Christ],
> Fire and spirit are in the river in which you were baptized,
> Fire and spirit are in our baptism,
> And in the Bread and Cup is Fire and the Holy Spirit.[108]

Ephrem was not the only source for this sort of rhetoric; it can be found in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, Jacob of Serugh, and Philoxenus.[109] The baptism scene in the Girona Beatus is connected to the narrative of the earlier Christological imagery in the manuscript's prefatory folios which deals with the divine nature of Christ and the promise for reward to those who are faithful to Christ, even up to martyrdom, as well as retribution against those who persecuted Christ and his followers.

Birth imagery in connection to baptism also appeared in Iberia. Pacianus, the fourth-century bishop of Barcelona, declared that within the womb of the Church, the

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[107] From *Hymns on the Church* 36:3-4. Translation found in Killian McDonnell, *The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan*, 104-105.

[108] From *Hymns on Faith* 10:14. Translation found in McDonnell, 105.

[109] McDonnell, 101-102.

Holy Spirit conceives Christ's children, the faithful, who are born in the baptismal font.[110]

It is possible the makers of the Girona Beatus wished to emphasize this image by depicting Christ here as a child, not the adult of the Gospel story. In other depictions of Christ the adult in the Girona Beatus, he is portrayed with brown hair and a full beard. In the baptism scene, Christ is beardless and blonde.[111]   It is possible in this image the baptism is not only of Christ but also of his children, the faithful.

This image of Christ appears in the Girona Beatus out of sequence with the narrative; but it follows a discussion of the Antichrist and is found near the Antichrist Tables, or the lists of the names of the Antichrist, found on folios 185v-186. Mireille Mentré has emphasized the deliberate placing of the baptism image and how it connects baptism with a refutation of the Antichrist; in Mentré's analysis, the Antichrist would be those guilty of the Adoptionist heresy.[112]   She argues that the split in the water, into the Jordan and the Dan, relates to II Kings 2:3-14,

> He picked up the cloak that had fallen from Elijah and went back and stood on the bank of the Jordan. Then he took the cloak that had fallen from him and struck the water with it. "Where now is the LORD, the God of Elijah?" he asked. When he struck the water, it divided to the right and to the left, and he crossed over.

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[110]   Pamela A. Patton, "Et Partu Fontis Exceptum: The Typology of Birth and Baptims in an Unusual Spanish Image," *Gesta* 33 no. 2 (1994), 86.   Patton discusses how this birth imagery can be found in the twelfth-century capital in the church of San Juan de la Peña.

[111] Many blonde children's hair darkens as they age.

[112] Mentré, 57.

This allusion to Elijah links the image to Iberian baptismal liturgy and to those who believed the return of Elijah marked the beginnings of end times.[113]   Although likely the baptism scene was meant to allude to Elijah, the Antichrist in question was probably not the Adoptionist heretics at whom the *Commentary* text itself had been directed in the eighth century.   A more immediate threat was at hand in the tenth century when this manuscript's images were produced.

The rhetoric existed on the Iberian Peninsula connecting the Prophet Muhammad with the Apocalypse figure of the Antichrist through the Old Testament Book of Daniel, specifically through Jerome's writings on Daniel.   His *In Commentarium in Danielem* appears in many copies of the Beatus text.[114]   Williams doubts this was included in the "original" version and implies that the inclusion was not integral to the understanding of the manuscripts.[115]   The inclusion of the baptism scene and its function as a bridge between the themes of the prefatory narrative cycle and the discussion of the Antichrist make Williams's implications doubtful, particularly considering the integral role Jerome's commentary played in the writings of Paul Alvarus.   In part two of his *Indiculus luminosus* (854), Alvarus focuses on the Book of Daniel and connects the Prophet Muhammad to the Antichrist. According to Daniel 7:23-25,

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[113]   Mentré, 59. Mentré refers to a line from the liturgy "who before the arrival of your majesty sent in advance Elijah" or *qui ante adventum majestatis tue in spirtu Elie premisisti.*

[114]   Besides the Girona Beatus, the Book of Daniel *Commentary* can be found in the Morgan Beatus (940-945), the Vitrina 14-2 Beatus Fragment (950-1000), the Tábara Beatus (970), the Valladolid Beatus (970), the Urgell Beatus (975-1000), the Saint-Sever Beatus (1050-1075), the Turin Beatus (1100-1125), the Silos Beatus (1109), the Rylands Beatus (1175), and the Huelgas Beatus (1220).

[115]   Williams, Vol I, 25-26.   He dismisses the inclusion of Daniel commentaries because they do not consistently appear in his Branch I (or oldest) stemma.

The fourth beast is a fourth kingdom that will appear on earth. It will be different from all the other kingdoms and will devour the whole earth, trampling it down and crushing it. The ten horns are ten kings who will come from this kingdom. After them another king will arise, different from the earlier ones; he will subdue three kings. He will speak against the Most High and oppress his saints and try to change the set times and the laws. The saints will be handed over to him for a time, times and half a time.

Alvarus argues the armies of the Prophet Muhammad had subdued three kings: the emperor of the Greeks, the king of the Visigoths, and the king of the Franks; the Prophet Muhammad had also spoken against God with his revelations, the Qur'an.[116]   Alvarus also connects Daniel 11:38-39, "he shall worship the god Maozim in his place…and he shall do this to fortify Maozim with a strange god, whom he has known," with the Arabic phrase *Allah akbar*.[117]   Alvarus seems to have known that *maozim* means "great" in Hebrew as *akbar* means "most great" in Arabic,

Thus he fortified Moazim with a name of veneration, calling him 'Cobar' [which Kenneth Baxter Wolf argues could be phonetically related to *akbar*], that is, 'the greatest.' And [he has fortified him] with a strange god, that is, with the demon that appeared to him under the guise of Gabriel, so that he could concel his error from the hearts of his believers and extol, in the name of the great God, this ritual of shouting, and, through this superstitious effort, infect the souls of noble men with the evil spirit.[118]

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[116]   Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Muhammad as Antichrist in Ninth-Century Córdoba," in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change* edited by Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 7-8. Wolf confesses to not quite understanding how the Prophet Muhammad defeated the King of the Franks since Charles Martel stopped the Muslim invasion of France at the Battle of Tours in 732. Alvarus also goes into an extremely lengthy discussion about the sexual practices of Muslims (Wolf refers to it as a "mini dissertation," see pages 10-11) to prove his point so it is possible facts were sacrificed in order to prove a point.

[117] Wolf, "Muhammad," 11-12.

[118] Wolf, "Muhammad," 12.

Alvarus goes further, and by doing so reveals a sophisticated knowledge of Islam,

> At this same time [each year], from long ago, this same people, placed among the nations, has hastened forth from all regions to the above-mentioned idol, just as now the same lost multitudes rush to the same demon – which they regard as having been extracted from that place by the magnitude of their faith – and they serve it every year. They have worshipped Maozim "in his place" – just as the prophet [Daniel], [inspired] by the divine spirit, said [they would] – up to the present time, and they refer to these days by the accustomed name and call that month "Almorram," just as the worshippers of the idol previously established, so these ones today, with more abundant perfection – or so it seems to them – advance all the way to heaven.[119]

Although Alvarus is connecting the Prophet Muhammad and the practices of Islam (the Ka'aba Stone and hajj, the month of al-Muharram) to Daniel's prophecies of the Antichrist, Wolf argues that Alvarus is more concerned with denigrating Islam than predicting the coming of the Apocalypse.[120]   He suggests Alvarus saw the Prophet Muhammad not as *the* Antichrist but as one of the antichrist-types identified in Jerome's commentary.[121]   The Prophet Muhammad and his followers displayed, in Alvarus's opinion, Antichrist-like behavior. This assertion sets Islam against Christianity whose members were imbued with the Holy Spirit through baptism and follow a true path set by Christ, as opposed to the demon-led, idol-worshipping Muslims. It is possible the makers of the Girona Beatus also meant to locate the geographical origins of the Muslims with the addition of the fourth continent in the *mappa mundi* of folios 154v-155 (see a further

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[119] Wolf, "Muhammad," 13.

[120] Wolf, "Muhammad," 16.

[121] Wolf, "Muhammad," 14. Jerome's antichrists include Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Nero.

discussion of the fourth continent in Chapter Three). By including the image of Christ's baptism in the midst of a discussion of the Antichrist, the makers of the Girona Beatus were connecting the concept of the Antichrist to the earlier anti-Muslim polemic introduced in the prefatory narrative cycle.

The Islamic community and Christians who collaborated with Muslims are portrayed in an unforgiving light through the iconography of the Christological cycle presented in the Girona Beatus. The images dealt with topics of deep social and spiritual anxiety for a culture in which two religions often clashed. The iconography of Christ's Infancy emphasized the divine nature of Christ, a topic about which some Christians may have had confusion, and the punishments meted out to those who denied that divinity. These paintings also underlined Mary's role as *Theotokos*, thereby reclaiming her from the Qur'an. The struggle with Islam is further illustrated in the images of the Trials of Christ. The trials and executions of Christians who proclaimed Christ's divinity had occurred in the mid-ninth century and would have continued to resonate for monastic audiences one hundred years later. The collusion of Caiaphas with the trial would have been echoed in the collaborative practices of the Church in Córdoba. These images could offer both a model of martyrdom and an example of ecclesiastical behavior not to follow. Other models of behavior can be found in the faithful Maries at the tomb who understood the importance of worshipping at the site of saints' relics and honoring the martyred dead. At the heart of these visual reminders and admonitions is a promise that Christ would prevail over Satan and the faithful would rejoice. Christ's victory over his enemies was prophesied in Old Testament sources and would have been studied by monks in

exegetical sources, such as Jerome's writings on the Book of Daniel. The images of the Christological narrative remind and elaborate upon that theme preparing the monks who used this manuscript for the Beatus *Commentary* text itself and connecting these ideas to the Book of Daniel *Commentary* through the Baptism scene. Although these paintings do not directly illustrate the text, they do act as a visual gloss and map for a tenth-century monastic audience as to how that text should be understood.

CONCLUSION

In the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, the Christian nobleman Pelayo declares,

> Christ is our hope that through this little mountain, which you see, the well-being of Spain and the army of the Gothic people will be restored. I have faith that the promise of the Lord which has spoken through David will be fulfilled in us: 'I will visit their iniquities with the rod and their sins with scourges; but I will not remove my mercy from them.' Now, therefore, trusting in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I despise this multitude and am not afraid of it. As for the battle with which you threaten us, we have for ourselves an advocate in the presence of the Father, that is, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is capable of liberating us from these few.[1]

Although it is unlikely to be a direct quote, Pelayo's message probably resonated strongly with certain elements of early medieval Iberia's Christian population. Pelayo described a hopeful future for Christian Iberia, one liberated from Muslim rule, though not without painful punishments on the way to achieving that goal. As long as a strong faith in Jesus Christ remained, the pious could hope for the fulfillment of the divine promise of a once-again Christian Iberia. A group of people in Córdoba, both monks and laypersons, embraced these ideas in the mid-ninth century by seeking martyrdom at the hands of the government of al-Andalus. This was a radical protest against both Muslim rule and complacent Christian collaboration, which included the highest-ranked members of the

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[1] Wolf, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 41. For the quote from David, Pelayo referenced Psalm 89:32-33.

clergy. The polemic of the Córdoban martyrs' movement, as expressed by Paul Alvarus and Eulogius, was vicious against Islam and the aspects of Islamic culture that had been embraced by their fellow Christians. Muslims, in their writings, were foul, over-sexed, monstrous, and unnatural. The society of al-Andalus, which encouraged acculturation and assimilation to Islamic culture, endangered Christians' immortal souls. This rhetoric was powerful enough to excite another monk, John of Gorze, who visited Córdoba one hundred years later, and he looked for evidence of a fiery Christian culture, which, however, no longer remained in al-Andalus.

Where did these monks go? The Andalusi government destroyed their monastic communities outside of Córdoba. The ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Mozarabic Church punished transgressors of Andalusi law and discouraged the martyrdoms. Al-Andalus was not a conducive environment for a Christian firebrand, particularly as rates of conversion to Islam appear to have grown. There is evidence that some monks settled in the Duero River valley, especially at San Miguel de Escalada, under the auspices of the Leónese kings. More monasteries began to appear in this region at the beginning of the tenth century and relationships between them can be traced. One would expect, therefore, a continuation of the rhetoric of Paul Alvarus and violent denunciations of Islam coming from these monastic settlements. Instead, these monasteries produced illuminated manuscripts, specifically manuscripts illustrating the eighth-century *Commentary on the Book of Revelation* by the monk Beatus of Liébana, who was known as a supporter of orthodoxy against heresies within the Church, not as an opponent of Islam. Because of the text chosen by the tenth-century makers of the Girona Beatus and

others, scholars have assumed that the images of the Beatus manuscripts relate solely to eighth-century issues, such as the Adoptionist controversy. These attentions, however, to the historical context of the manuscripts are rare. Art historians have created a framework of questions around the Beatus manuscripts that focuses almost entirely upon stylistic origins. Instead of asking how the imagery of the Girona Beatus could reflect the historical conditions of its making, art historians have asked what the manuscript could reveal concerning a supposed, fifth-century Ur-cycle that served as model.

This dissertation avoids engaging in this discourse of origins and style. I have focused upon images in the Girona Beatus, which do not directly illustrate the text, and I have found this imagery functions as a gloss on Beatus's *Commentary* by creating a pictorial framework within which to understand the text. These paintings all map, chart, or organize, and, through iconographic analysis, they all reveal a visual commentary on the conditions of the late tenth century for a Christian monastic community living on the borders of a powerful Islamic neighbor. The monks who made the Girona Beatus lived in a world where the Christian kingdom of León was sparsely settled and economically inferior to al-Andalus. It did not have the same claims to Visigothic lineage found in the kingdom of the Asturias or the protection from Carolingian and Ottonian emperors found in the Catalunya. In 975, León was only beginning to expand its borders and become the strong political entity it would be, with Castile, in the eleventh century. The religious rhetoric of *Reconquista* had not spread fully over the entire population there or in the rest of northern Iberia; but, it was beginning to with manuscripts like the Girona Beatus.

The iconography of the Girona Beatus was intended for a monastic audience who were likely well-aware of the Córdoban martyrs and the rhetoric surrounding that movement. The readers of this text probably knew of the designation of Muslims as unnatural and dangerous. The *mappa mundi* of folios 54v-55 describes a world where monstrous creatures could exist outside the bounds of apostolic salvation, just as monstrous creatures, based on Islamic motifs, exist in the marginalia of the manuscript. The genealogical tables of folios 8v to 14v trace the heritage of Christ and emphasize aspects of exegetical studies that refute Islamic claims against Christ's divinity and remind the readers of the superiority of the Christian Bible over the Qur'an. The Christological narrative cycle (folios 15-18) also underlines Christ's divinity, a claim disputed in the Qur'an, as well as promisng divine retribution for those denials. They also speak to an audience well-versed in judgment and punishment, by Muslims and their Christian collaborators, in their presentation of Christ's trial. The promise of ultimate salvation for the faithful by Christ and Christ's triumph over evil are offered in scenes of his Crucifixion, later events in the Resurrection story, and his Baptism as prophesied in older biblical stories like the Book of Daniel. The majority of these images serve as prefatory material, which would have notified the reader as to how the *Commentary* text should be read, or are scattered within the body of the *Commentary* as marginalia or non-illustrative images to remind the reader of what lay beyond the boundaries of the natural, Christian world as well as the promises of the prefatory iconography.

The monastic makers of the Girona Beatus would have probably identified themselves according to the iconographic themes of the material discussed above. The

rest of their society, however, would not have necessarily thought in similar terms. Ideas of identity and alterity shifted constantly in the early Middle Ages, and the borders between Self and Other could be porous, allowing subtle ambiguities to occur. The popularity of a Christian Self and Muslim Other, however, would gain in popularity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the appearance of grotesque images of Muslims on church corbels or *Reconquista*-themed iconography on relief sculpture. Eventually the characteristics of a Christian crusading warrior became a part of Spanish national identity, a phenomenon which has colored the analyses of scholars until recently. How this Spanish identity can be connected to the early medieval period of Iberia may be found in the imagery of the Girona Beatus. The erudite, exegesis-based iconography of this manuscript, probably always intended for a monastic audience, was transformed into cruder, more explosive imagery in the later medieval period to influence a lay audience.

Studying the iconographic themes of the Girona Beatus reveals a greater understanding of the manuscript's historical context, a period on the Iberian Peninsula just before *Reconquista* spread and when interactions between the Peninsula's religions were frequent. This dissertation proves that much can be learned by focusing on the unique characteristics of a single manuscript, despite its many shared traits with a larger corpus of manuscripts. The imagery of the Girona Beatus tells a story of identity and alterity through religion and constructs the boundaries of Christian Self against Muslim Other in the tenth century.

APPENDIX 1: FIGURES

Fig. 1: Lamb Sarcophagus, early 6th century, San Apollinare in Classe (Italy)

Fig. 2: Apse mosaic, 6th century, SS Cosma e Damiano (Rome, Italy)

Fig. 3: Trier Apocalypse, 9th century, fol. 38r

Fig. 4: Floor Mosaic from Carthage, c. 400, Musée de Bardo

Fig. 5: Rider, Girona Beatus, fol. 134v

Fig. 6: Whore of Babylon, Girona Beatus, fol. 63

Fig. 7: Relief, Audience Hall of Abd al-Rahman III, Madinat al-Zahra, 10th cent.

Fig. 8: Pyxis of al-Mughira from
Córdoba, 968
Musée du Louvre (Paris)

Fig. 9: Incarnation, Girona Beatus, fol. 18v

Fig. 10: Bronze Deer from Córdoba, 10th cent.
          Museo Arquelógico Nacional (Madrid)

Fig. 11: Brass Bird Ewer, 797 CE
          Museum for Islamic Art (Berlin)

Fig. 12: *Mappa Mundi*, Girona Beatus, fol. 54v-55

Fig. 13: T-O Map, London, Brit. Lib., MS Rawl. G. 44, fol. 17v
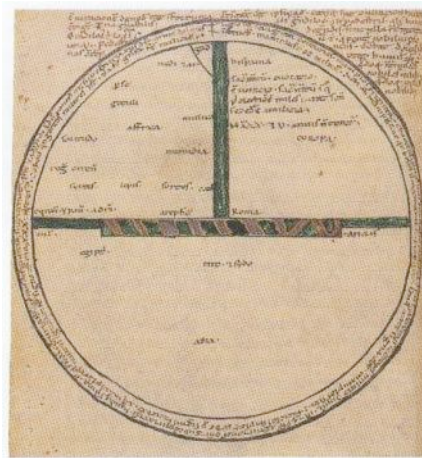
Fig. 14: Map of Sicily, London, Bodleian Lib. MS Arab. c. 90, fol. 32b-33
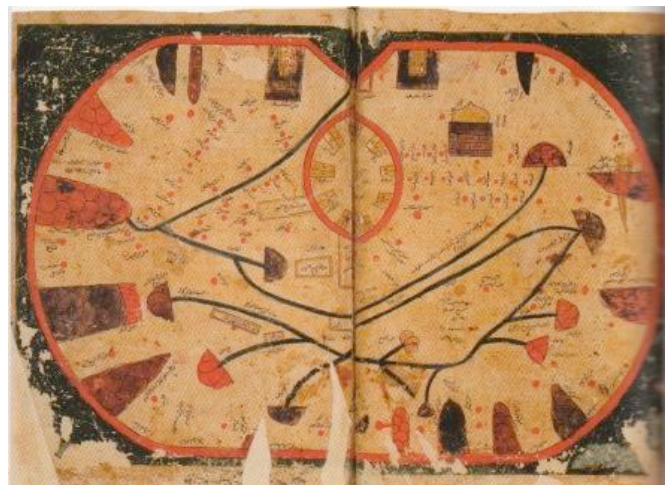
Fig. 15: Adam and Eve, Girona Beatus, fol. 55

Fig. 16: *Mappa Mundi*, Morgan Beatus, fol. 33v-34
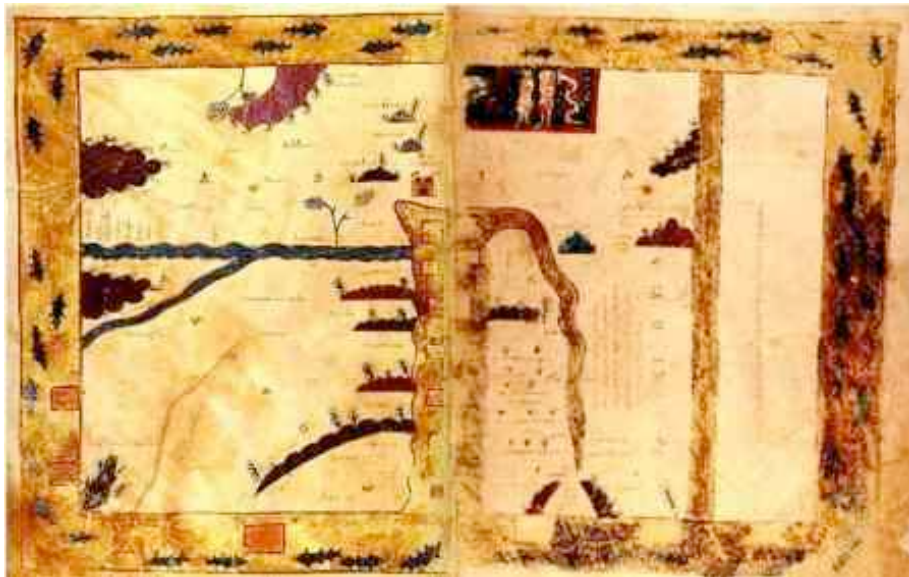
Fig. 17: Santiago de Compostela, Girona Beatus, fol. 54v
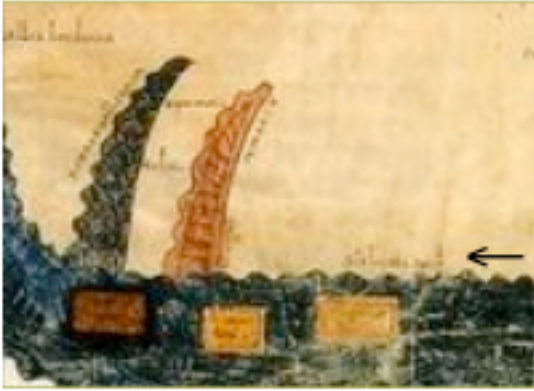
Fig. 18: *Mappa Mundi*, Osma Beatus, fol. 34v-35

Fig. 19: *Mappa Mundi*, Saint Sever Beatus, fol. 44v-45

Fig. 20: Grotesques, Girona Beatus, fol. 157v

Fig. 21: Senmurv and Eagle, Girona Beatus, fol. 165v

Fig. 22: Ivory Pyxis, Victoria and Albert Museum

Fig. 23: Griffins, Girona Beatus, fol. 175v-176

Fig. 24: Rabbits, Girona Beatus, fol. 159

Fig. 25: Corbel, San Martín de Elines (Spain)

Fig. 26: Corbel, San Martín de Frómista (Spain)

Fig. 27: Corbel, San Martín de Frómista (Spain)

Fig. 28: Babylon, Girona Beatus, fol. 236v-237

Fig. 29: Noah's Ark, Girona Beatus, fol. 102v-103

Fig. 30: Cross Page, Girona Beatus, fol. 1v

Fig. 31: Christ in Majesty, Girona Beatus, fol. 2

Fig. 32: Map of Heaven, Girona Beatus, fol. 3v-4

Fig. 33: Author portrait of Matthew, Girona Beatus, fol. 4v
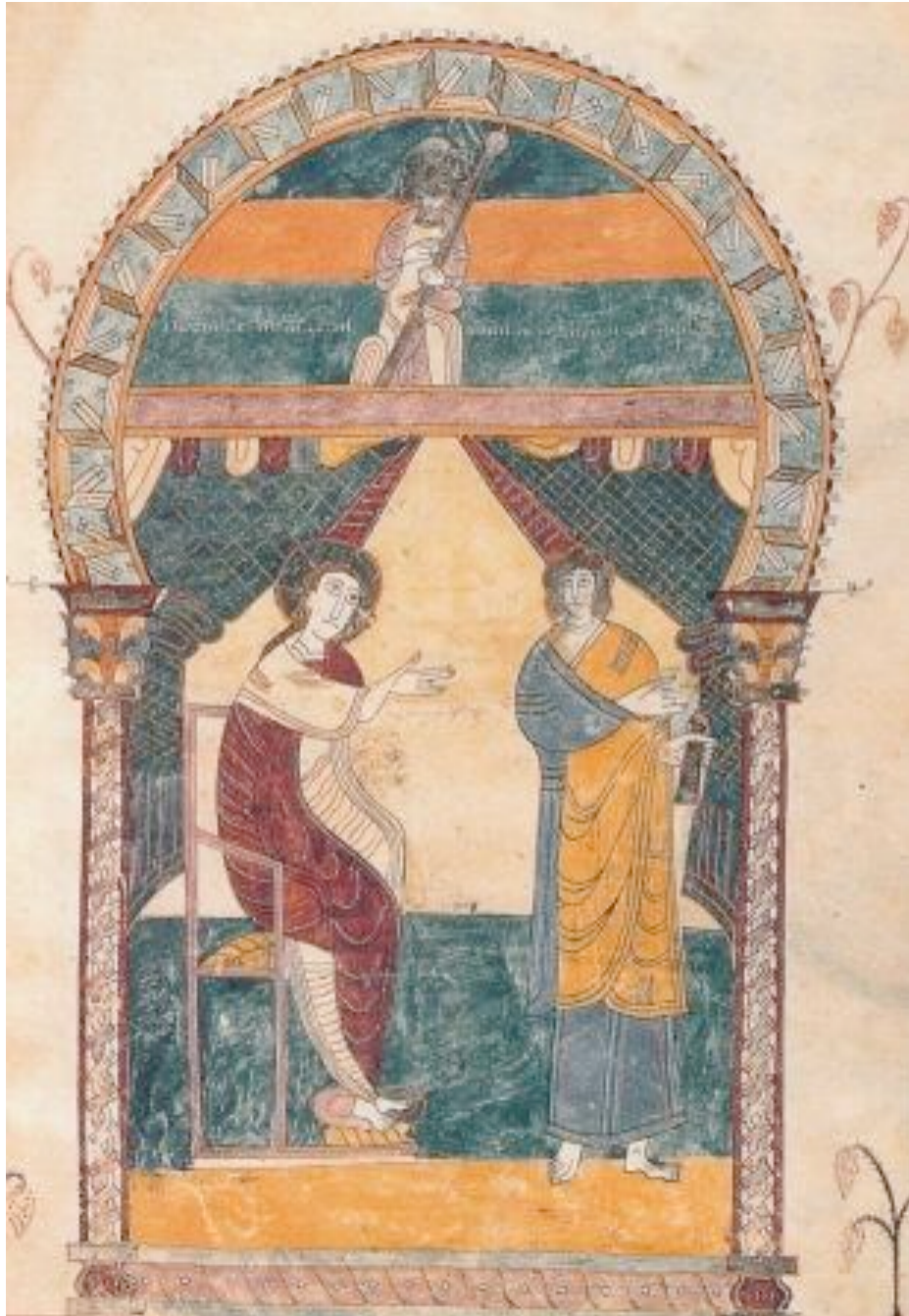
Fig. 34: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus,   fol. 8v-9
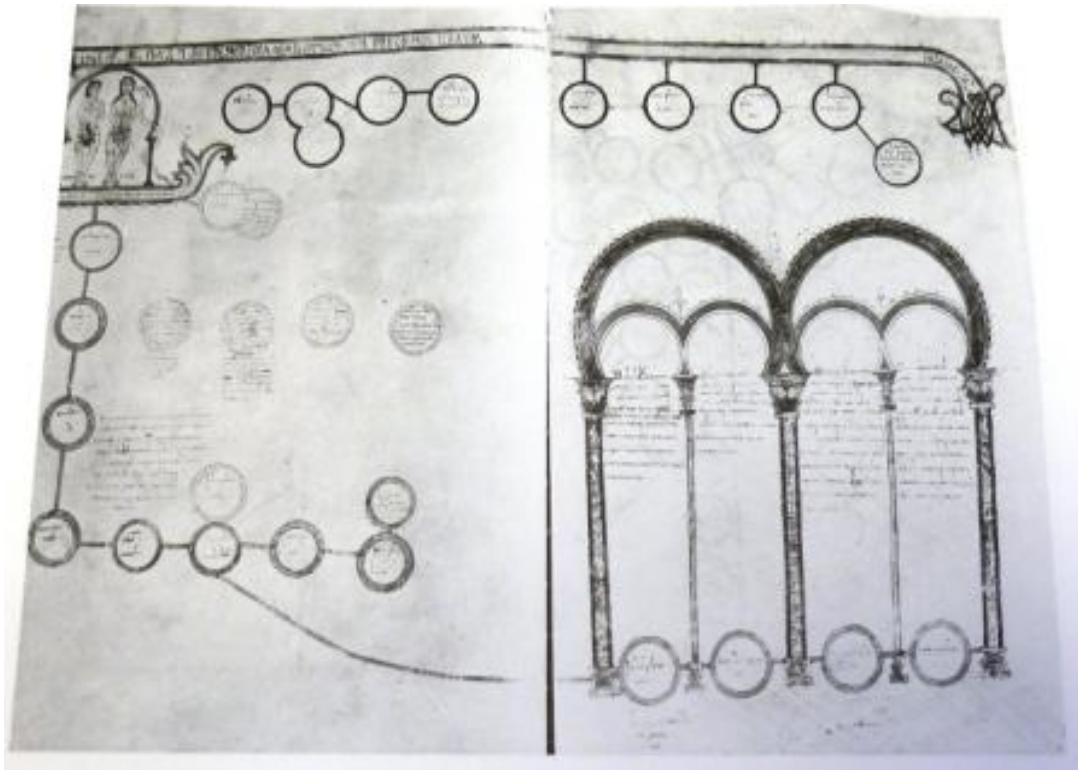
Fig. 35: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus, fol. 9v-10
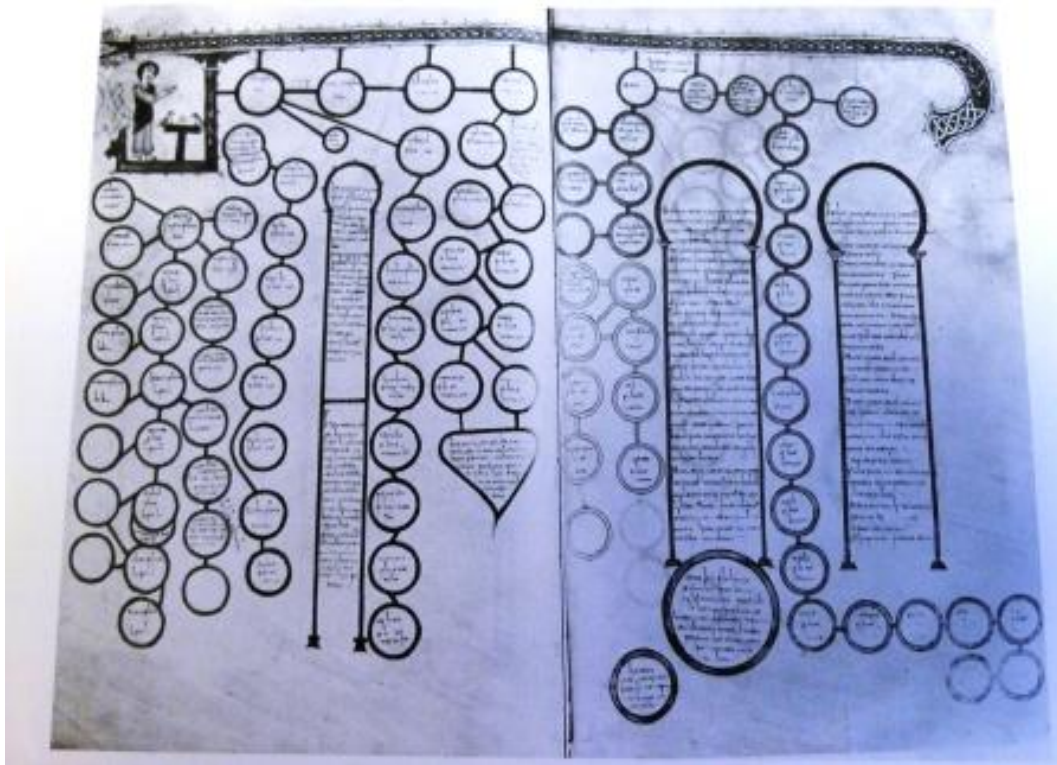
Fig. 36: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus, fol. 10v-11
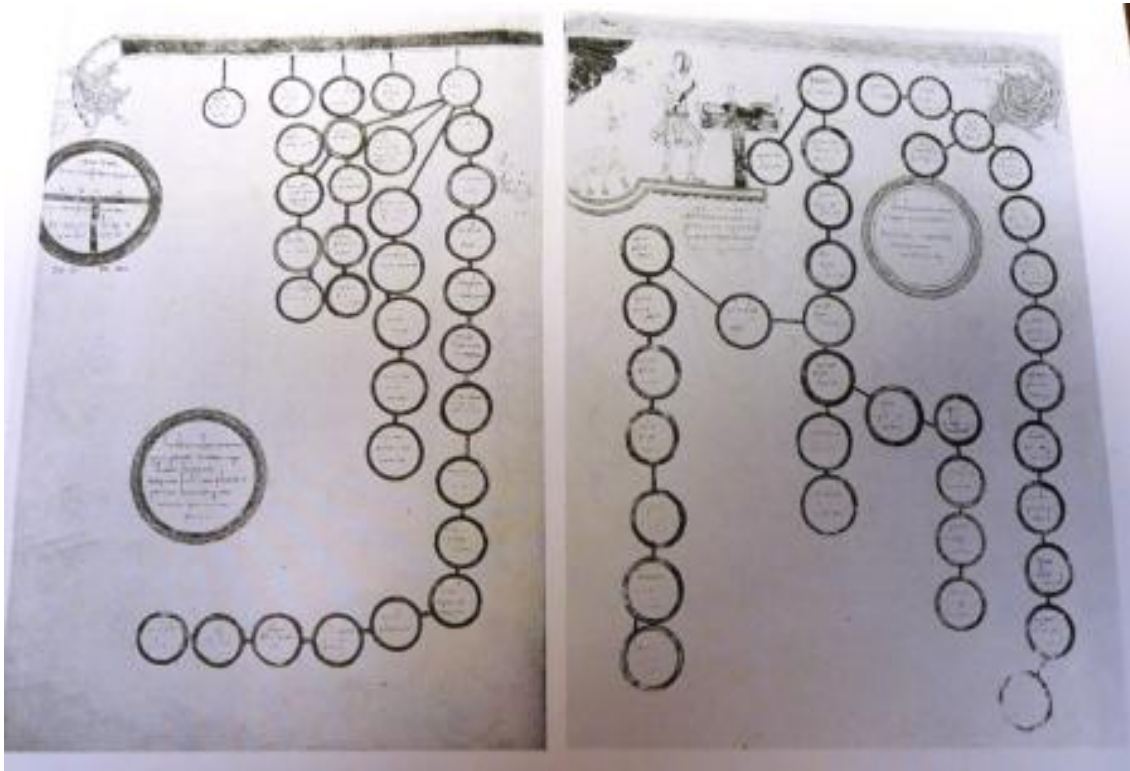
Fig. 37: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus, fol. 11v-12
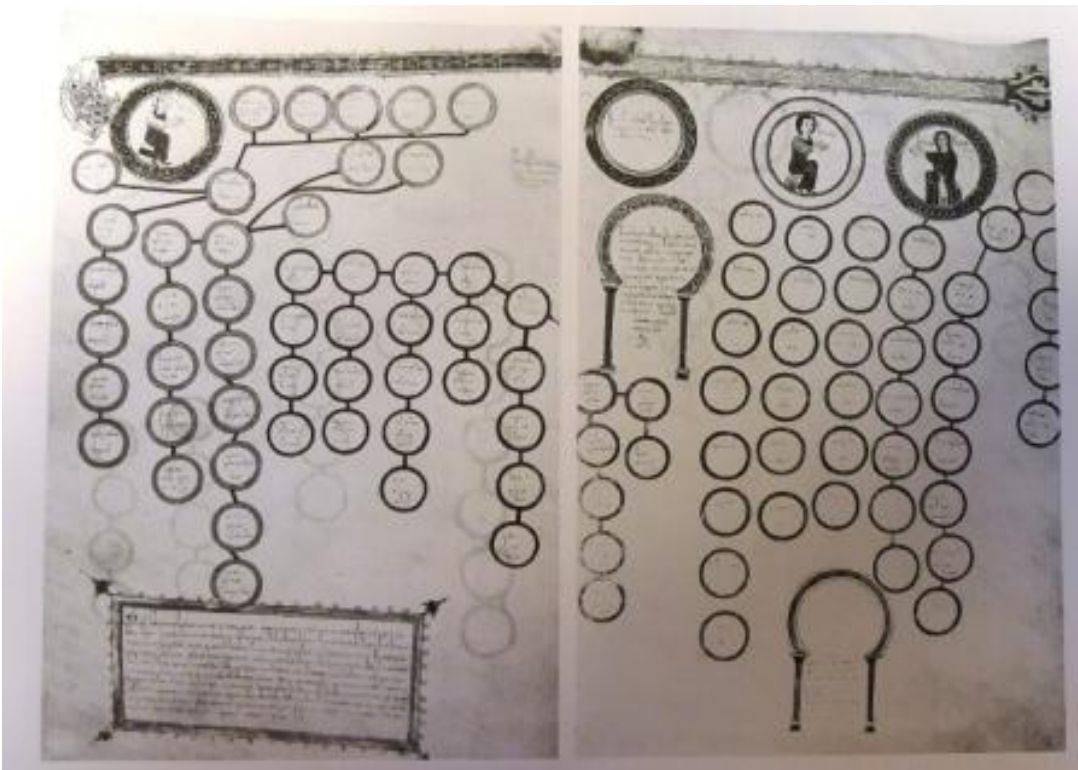
Fig. 38: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus, fol. 12v-13
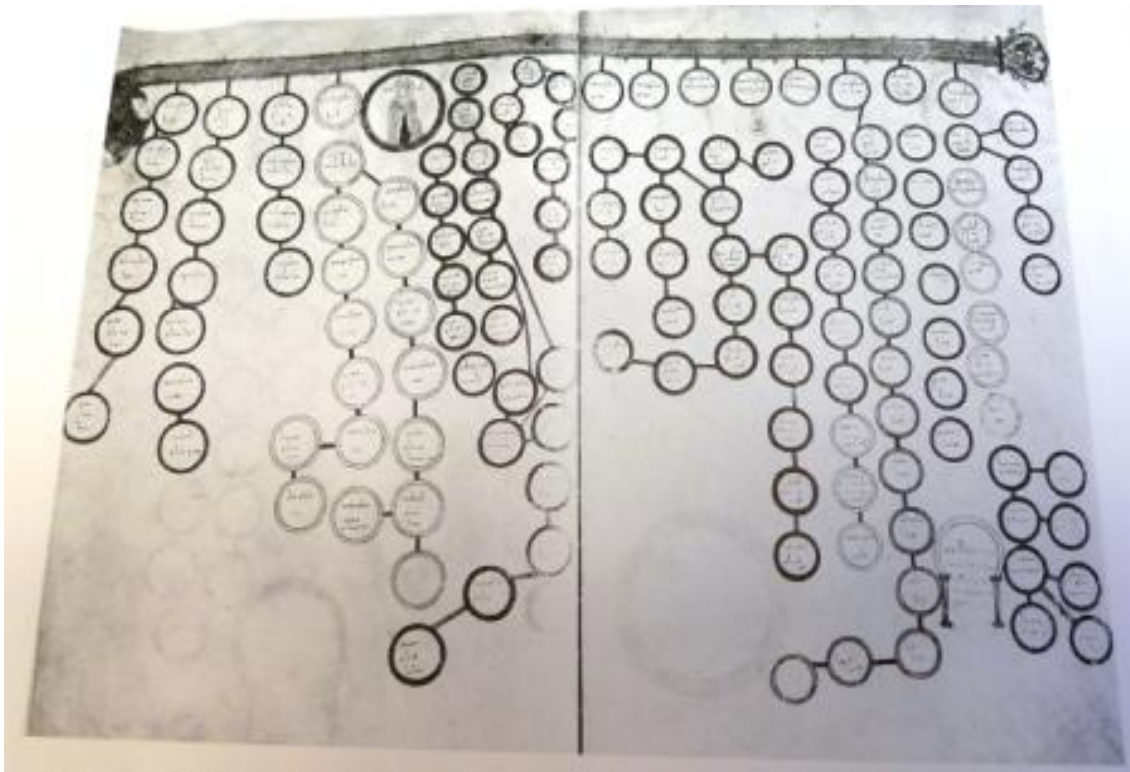
Fig. 39: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus, fol. 13v-14
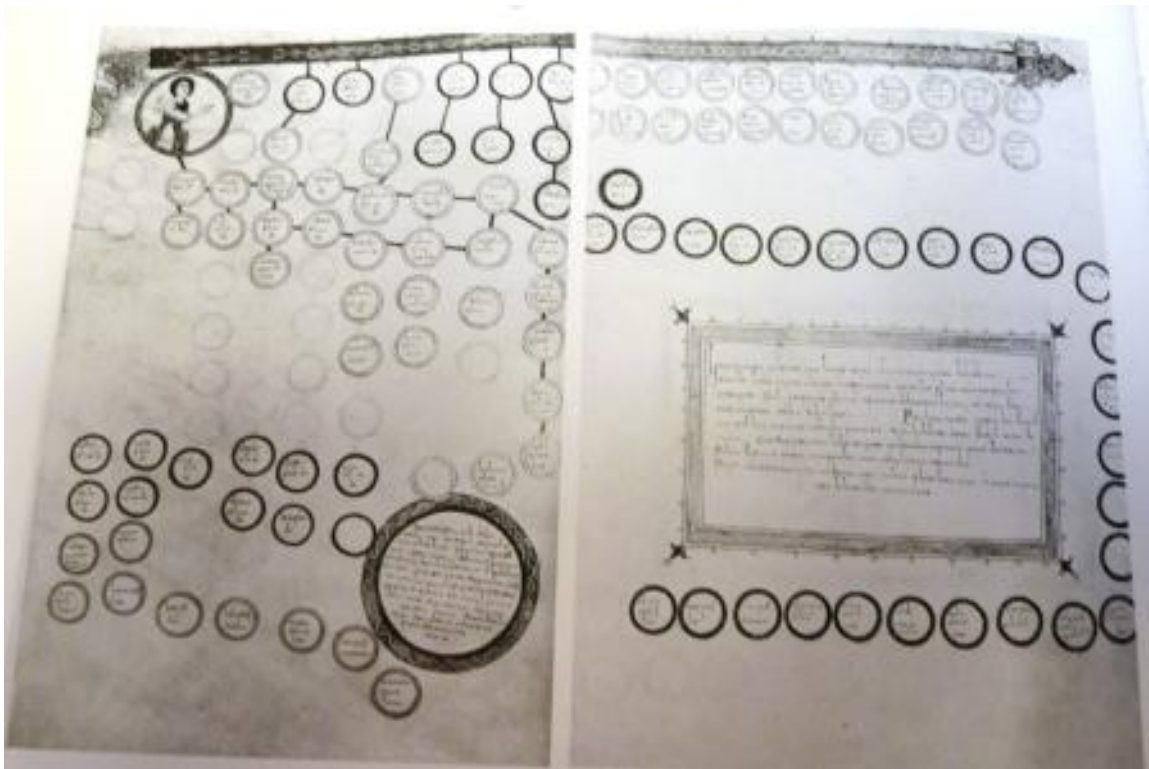
Fig. 40: Genealogical Table, Girona Beatus, fol. 14v-15

Fig. 41: Adam and Eve, Girona Beatus, fol. 8v

Fig. 42: Noah, Girona Beatus, fol. 9v

Fig. 43: Sacrifice of Isaac, Girona Beatus, fol. 11

Fig. 44: Isaac, Girona Beatus, fol. 11v
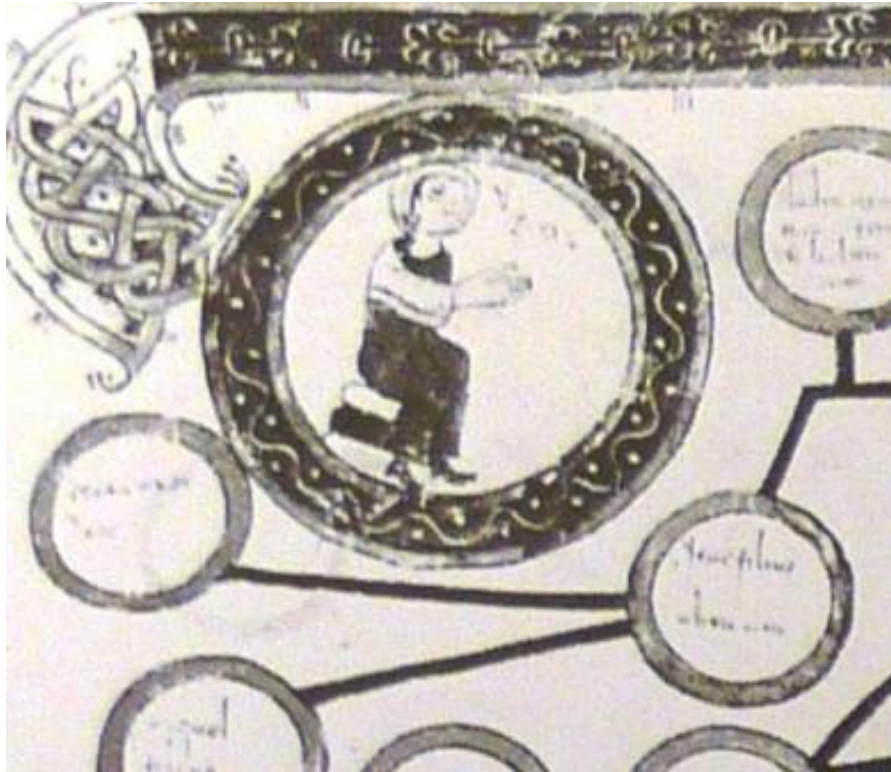
Fig. 45: Jacob and Leah, Girona Beatus, fol. 12

Fig. 46: Rachel, Girona Beatus, fol. 12v

Fig. 47: David, Girona Beatus, fol. 13

Fig. 48: Lorsch Gospels, Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyáneum, fol. 14r

Fig. 49: Léon Bible of 920, Léon, Léon Cathedral, 6, fol. 149v

Fig. 50: *Tabula librorum et titulorum*, Paris, B.N.F., lat. 4667, fol. 7v
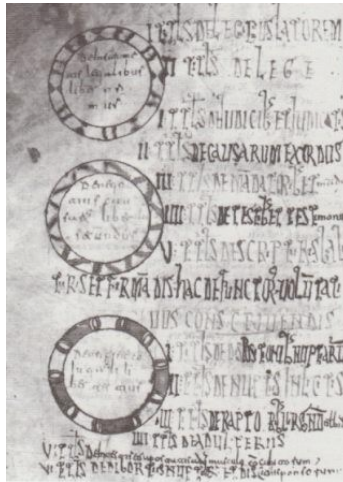
Fig. 51: Sacrifice of Isaac, San Pedro de la Nave (Spain)

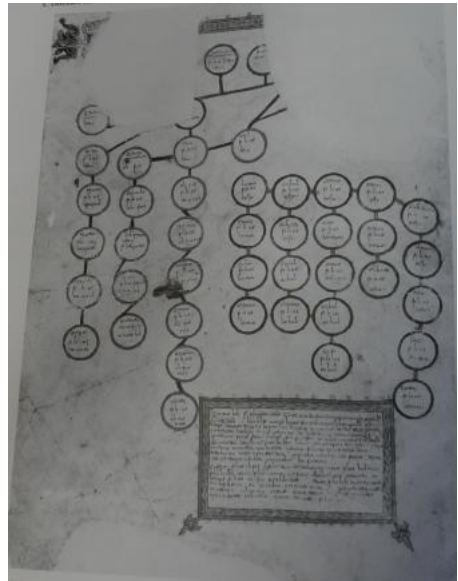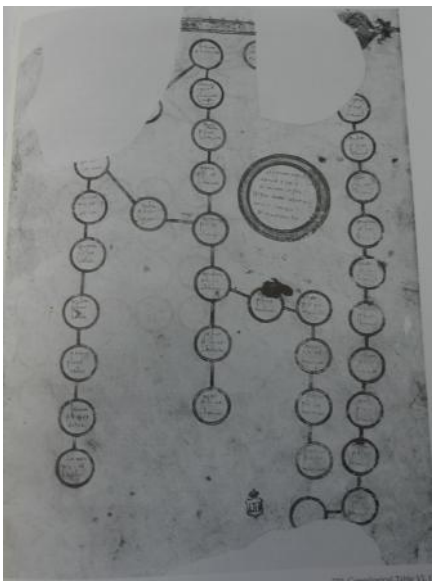Fig. 52: Genealogical Tables, Tábara Beatus, fol. 0-1v
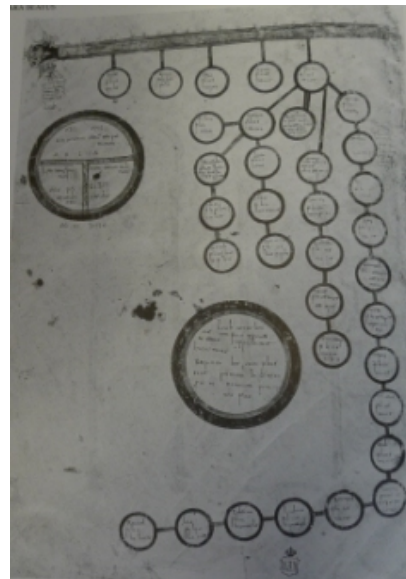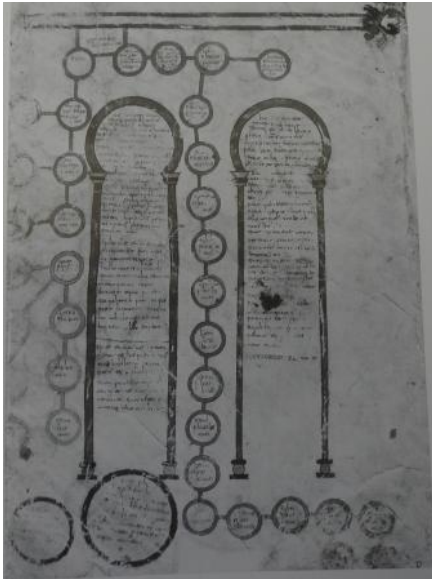
Fig. 53: T-O Map, Genealogical Tables, Tábara Beatus, fol. 0-1v
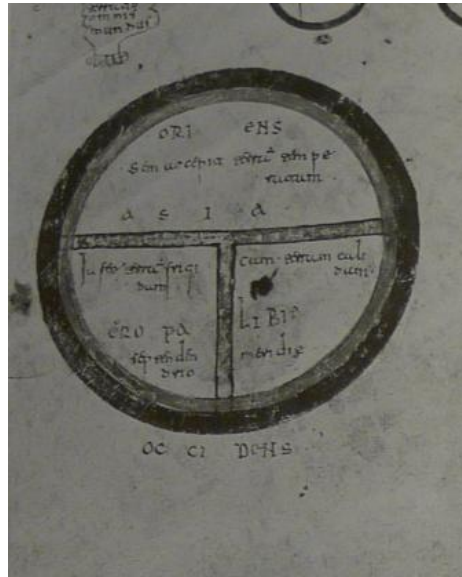

Fig. 54: Sacrifice of Isaac, Junius Bassus Sarcophagus, 4th cent.
          Vatican Museums (Rome)

Fig. 55: South Tympanum, San Isidoro, León (Spain)

Fig. 56: David, Paris Psalter, 10th cent., Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. gr. 139

Fig. 57: Annunciation and Nativity, Girona Beatus, fol. 14v

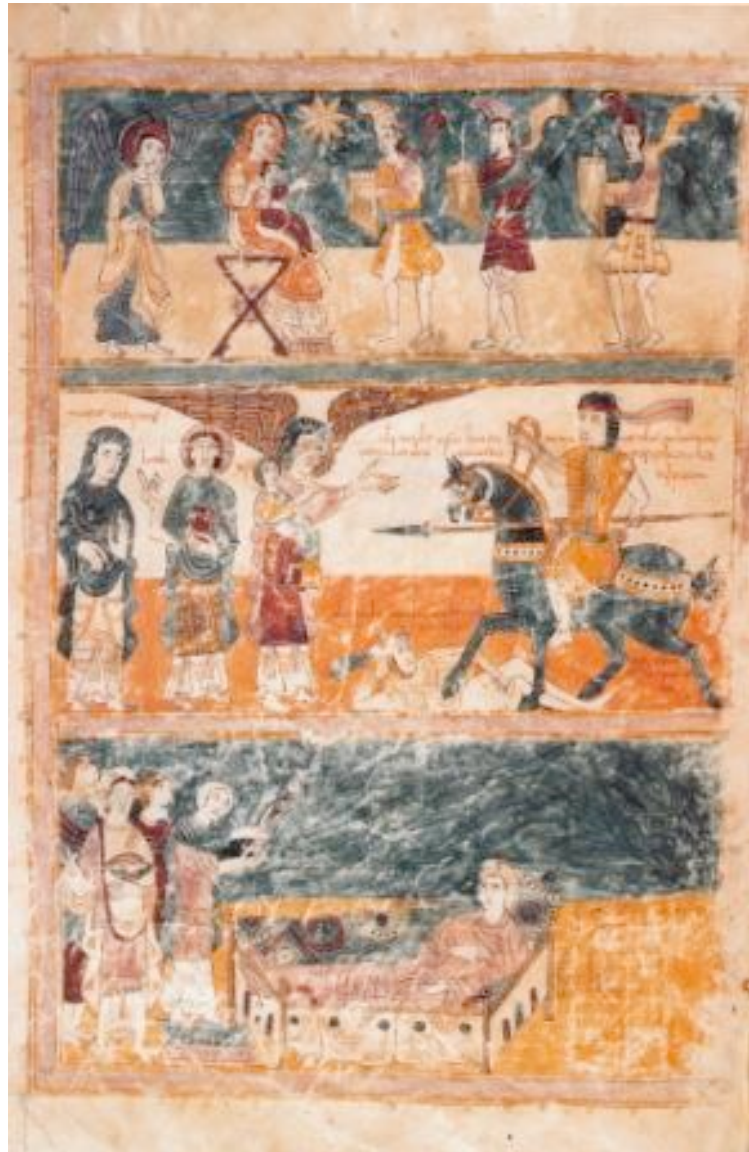Fig. 58: Adoration, Flight, and Herod, Girona Beatus, fol. 15v

Fig. 59: Christ before Caiaphas and Peter's Denials, Girona Beatus, fol. 16

Fig. 60: Codex Aemilianensis, Escorial, Inv. No. d.I.1., fol. 453

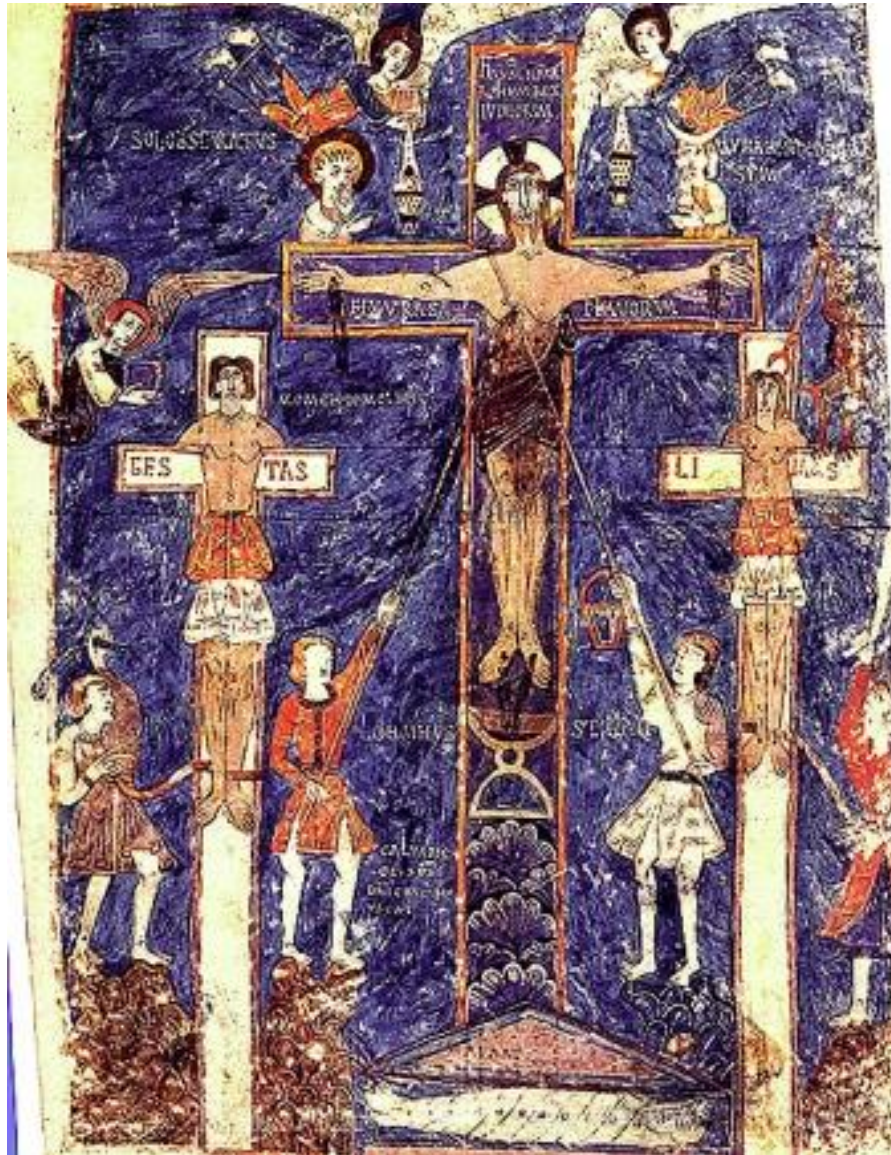Fig. 61: Crucifixion, Girona Beatus, fol. 16v

Fig. 62: Judas, Entombment, Resurrection, Girona Beatus, fol. 17

Fig. 63: Harrowing of Hell, Girona Beatus, fol. 17v
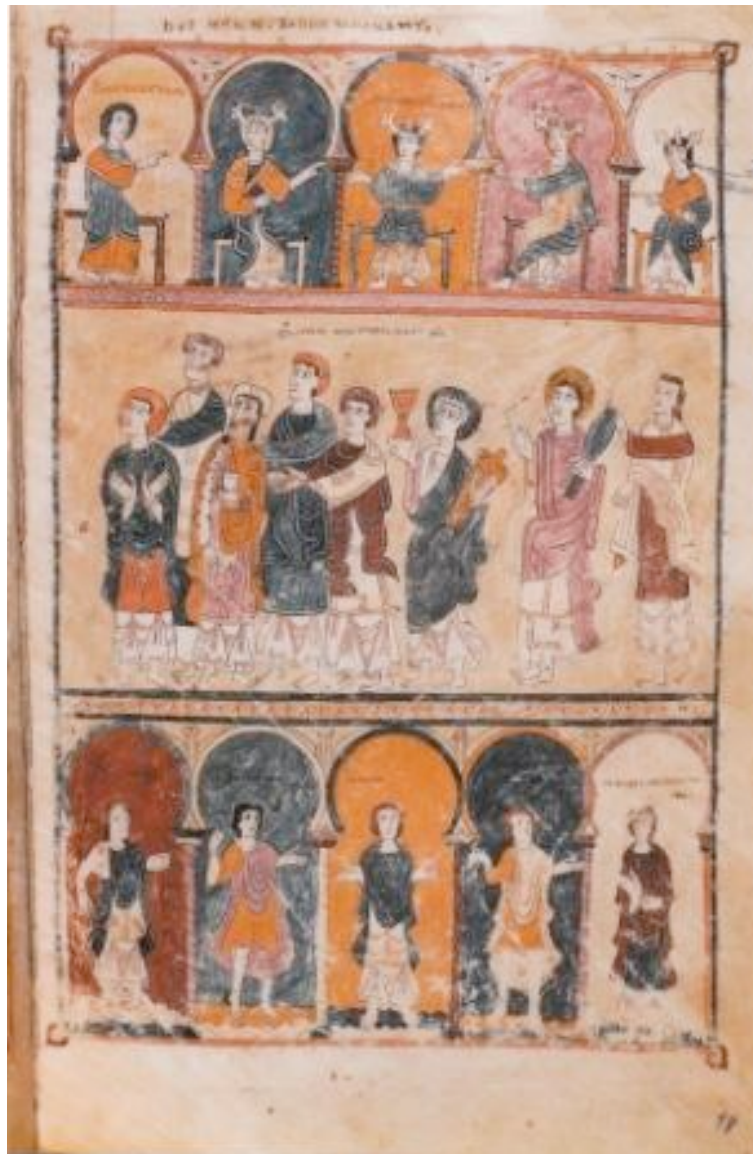
Fig. 64: Rejoicing, Girona Beatus, fol. 18

Fig. 65: Baptism, Girona Beatus, fol. 189

APPENDIX 2: TRANSCRIPTION OF *MAPPA MUNDI*

The following list includes the transcription of place names, regions, geographical features, and inscriptions found on the *mappa mundi* of the Girona Beatus on folios 154v-155, and when I could, I have included translations in parentheses. This list was performed to the best of my abilities and is open to further correction. I have divided the list according to the continents: Europe, Asia, Africa, and the fourth continent.

In Europe:

Hic capvi Garope

Macedonia (region of southeastern Europe in the Balkan Peninsula including modern Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Serbia)

Tesalonica (Thessaloniki, a Greek city)

Sqolis

Dardania (mythical city in northwestern Anatolia)

Constantinopolis (Constantinople, capital city of the Byzantine Empire)

Ftm Evsis

AQvilela (probably Aquileia, an Italian city on the Adriatic Sea important during the Late Antique and early medieval periods)

Epirum (probably Epirus, a Roman province that included parts of southeastern Europe including modern Greece and Albania)

B..enna Talmacia
Salerna (probably Salerno, a town on the southern Italian Peninsula by the Tyrrhenian Sea)

.ene..enesis (maybe Viennensis, a Roman province in modern France south of the Loire river)

Roma (Rome, the capital of the Roman Empire and seat of the Latin papacy)

Tascia (possibly Tuscia, referring to the Tuscan region of the Italian Peninsula)

Cesar Gvsia (maybe Carthaginiensis, another name for Roman Hispania or the Iberian Peninsula, that refers to Hispania's supposed Carthaginian heritage)

Narbona (probably Narbonne, a city in southern France)

Ftm q..vvus (possibly the Tagus River on the Iberian Peninsula)

Be…ica (possibly Baetica, the Roman province in the southern Iberian Peninsula which was al-Andalus in the tenth century)

Sci Iacobi apoti (Saint James the Apostle or the pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela)

Asturias (the medieval kingdom of the Asturias)

Gallicia (Galicia, part of the tenth-century kingdom of Leó)

Aquiauniu (maybe Aquitainia, the Roman province in Gaul, and later medieval duchy of Aquitaine)

Tolufu (Toledo, city in central Iberia that had been the capital of the Visigothic kings)

Montes Galliaram (Gallic Mountains which may refer to the Pyrenees)

Gallia Lvedunsrii (probably referring to a Gallia Lugdunensis, a Roman province that is now a part of modern France)

Gallia Belgia (a Roman province that encompassed parts of modern Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Germany)

Francia (probably referring to the kingdom of the Franks or modern France)

Epirum apolin spoliqe

NiavRARia (possibly Navarre and could refer to the Latin or even Basque name for the tenth-century kingdom of Pamplona that became the later kingdom of Navarre)
Suebi (could refer to the Suebi or Suevi people who migrated to the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth century and settled primarily in Galicia or could refer to Swabia, a medieval duchy in modern southern Germany)

Ftum dunubias (probably refers to the Danube River)

Aex (possibly Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle, the capital of the Carolingian empire)

Germania (Roman name for the land east of the Rhine River)

Beaqu.cum…

Nortcum.noricum (maybe refers to Noricum, a Roman province in central Europe including modern Austria and Slovenia)

M…cu

Sarmagi

Taciavbi et Goti (refers to Goths and probably another group of people, likely one of the Germanic tribes)

There are also islands, depicted as rectangles, located off the coast of Europe:

Aile/insv/la (maybe referring to the island of Ireland)

Britanica Insula (probably refers to the island of Britannia or the Roman colony of Britannia)

Scoaraln Insul… (may also be the island of Ireland which was sometimes called Scotia)

In Africa:

Gingi

Abenqahia (possibly Abyssinia)

Gens

Dvalpes con grarvsibi

Garamontes BaGGI Geavli

Monoogruit luni

l…cur

There is also an island in the waters of Africa:

Furavi…m Invl

In Asia:

Asia (refers to the continent)

Deser/ta (possibly indicating a dessert or from the Latin *desertum*)

Arehosa

Asia Minore (Asia Minor)

Frigia (probably refers to Phrygia, a region in Asia Minor)

Pampilia (probably refers to the Roman province Pamphyilia in Asia Minor)

Calcedonia (probably Chalcedon, a city in Asia Minor)

Capadocia (probably Cappadocia, a region in Asia Minor)

Mon caucasut (probably the Causcaus Mountains that divide Europe and Asia)

Armenia (Armenia)

Mons libanus (probably Mount Lebanon)

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Sidon (likely Sidon, a Phoenician city in modern Lebanon)

Iordan (likely the Jordan River)

Mons Sinai (Mount Sinai)

Mons carm/lvs (probably Mount Carmel)

Ihoslom (Jerusahelm)

Ascalones (possibly the ancient city of Ashkelon in modern Israel)

Iupen (might refer to Iudea)

Babylonia (Babylonia)

Sinurarabicuf (probably both the Sinai and Arabian Peninsulas)

Anciocia (might refer to the city of Antioch)

Mare rebrum (Red Sea)

Mon t..r..bia

Mensopotamia (Mesopotamia)

Abicusia

Separated from the rest of Asia with a line border is:

DErGraiea/..enora India (probably refers to the Indian subcontinent)

There is also an inscription near India in Asia:

Timis…/ici campi/abbra…ih.ere/ciore gen../fer…rubic…/Lse

The islands in the Asian waters are:

Aubroaund insula

…se ea.sgve insula

There is also an inscription in Asia which may refer to Isidore of Seville's comments on Ethiopia in the *Etymologies*:

Flubius nilur quGmalii..ucqones serun..r/procul ubi a…n… mori… ab G…r eaconia/ inuo .uneir InmGagi Inde Inanagusaco/In miangi brebifp..qum uar…ssimo luco/ dars…ea…nenosu eo… ethiopia

The Fourth Continent:

Ex coru..ares ..um pu…sorbir quaroaip… …runi aceunam inaGmoreta Quirolir cordore Incgonicaci bubulor….re/ Inubia..e prodin…r

Roughly it refers to a land unknown due to the extreme heat from its proximity to the sun.

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