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Extra-Apocalyptic Iconography in the Tenth-Century Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse as Indicators of Christian-Muslim Relations in Medieval Iberia

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Appendices
Appendix 1A: Details of the 26 Extant Beatus Fragments and Manuscripts

1. The Silos Fragment
   Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio de Santo Domingo, frag. 4
   1 folio; 305 x 250 mm
   Last quarter of the 9th century
   Origin: Possibly Asturias

2. The Morgan Beatus
   New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 644
   300 folios; 387 x 285 mm
   c. 940-945 AD
   Origin: Tábara (?) (for Santo Miguel de Escalada)
   Illuminator: Maius

3. Vitrina 14-1 Beatus
   Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-1
   144 folios; 345 x 257 mm
   Middle of the 10th Century
   Origin: Castile (?) Kingdom of Léon (?) San Millán de la Cogolla (?)

4. The Valladolid Beatus
   Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433
   230 folios; 350 x 240 mm
   8 June-8 September 970
   Origin: Kingdom of León (Valcavado?)
   Scribe and Illuminator: Obeco

5. Tábara Beatus
   Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097B
   168 folios; 360 x 255 mm
   Origin: San Salvador de Tábara
   Scribes: Monnius, Senior
   Illuminators: Magius, Emeterius

6. Girona Beatus
   Girona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11)
   284 folios; 400 x 260 mm
   9 July 975
   Origin: Kingdom of Léon, probably Tábara
   Scribe: Senior
   Illuminators: Ende, Emeterius

7. Vitrina 14-2 Fragment
   Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, ff. 1-5
   5 folios; 355 x 230 mm
Second half of the 10\textsuperscript{th} century  
Origin: Kingdom of León

8. The Urgell Beatus  
La Seu d’Urgell, Museu Diocesá de La Seu d’Urgell, Num. Inv. 501  
232 folios; 402 x 265 mm  
Last quarter of the 10\textsuperscript{th} century  
Origin: Kingdom of León

9. The San Millán Beatus  
Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33  
Last quarter of the 10\textsuperscript{th} century (RAH 33 Mozarabic Part)  
First quarter of the 12\textsuperscript{th} century (RAH 33 Romanesque Part)  
Origin: Castile (Mozarabic part) (?); San Millán de la Cogolla (Romanesque part) (?)

10. The Escorial Beatus  
Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, & II.5  
151 folios; 335 x 225 mm  
c. A.D. 1000  
Origin: San Millán de la Cogolla

11. Facundus Beatus  
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitrina 14-2  
312 folios; 360 x 280 mm  
A.D. 1047  
Origin: León (city), Royal Scriptorium (St John)  
Scribe (and illuminator?): Facundus

12. The Fanlo Beatus  
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1079, ff. 6-12  
17\textsuperscript{th} century facsimiles of seven pages of a mid 11\textsuperscript{th} century Commentary, formerly in the Monastery of Montearagón  
c. 1050  
Origin: San Millán de la Cogolla (?) (for San Andrés de Fanlo)  
Scribe: Sancius

13. Saint-Sever Beatus  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8878  
292 folios; 365 x 280 mm  
Third quarter of the 11\textsuperscript{th} century  
Origin: Saint-Sever-sur-L’Adour  
Illuminator: Stephanus Garsia Placidus, et al

14. The Osma Beatus  
Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 1
15. The Turin Beatus
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Sgn. I.II.1
223 folios (214 original); 372 x 296 mm
First quarter of the 12th century
Origin: Catalonia, probably Ripoll

16. The Silos Beatus
London, British Library, Add. MS. 11695
280 folios; 378 x 235 mm
18 April, 1091 (writing); 1 July 1109 (illustration)
Origin: Santo Domingo de Silos
Scribes: Munnio, Dominico
Illuminator: Petrus

17. The Corsini Beatus
Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Segn. 40.E.6
151 folios; 170 x 95 mm
Early 12th century
Origin: Sahagún

18. The León Beatus
León, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Perg., Astorga 1
2 folios; 390 x 310 mm
Mid 12th century
Origin: Kingdom of León (Astorga region?)

19. The Berlin Beatus
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 561
98 folios; 302 x 190 mm
12th century
Origin: Central Italy

20. The Rylands Beatus
Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS lat. 8
248 folios; 454 x 326 mm
c. A.D. 1175
Origin: Region of Burgos (San Pedro de Cardeña)

21. The Cardeña Beatus
22. The Lorvão Beatus
   Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
   219 folios; 345 x 245 mm
   A.D. 1189
   Origin: S. Mammas, Lorvão
   Scribe: Egeas
   Illuminator: Egeas (?)

23. The Beatus of Navarre
   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nov. acq. lat. 1366
   157 folios; 350 x 230 mm
   Late 12th century
   Origin: Navarre

24. Las Huelgas Beatus
   New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 429
   184 folios; 530 x 340 mm
   September, A.D. 1220
   Origin: Burgos, Sta María la Real de las Huelgas (?) Toledo (?)

25. Arroyo Beatus
   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nov. acq. lat. 2290
   167 folios; 440 x 305 mm
   New York, B.H. Breslauer Collection (formerly von Hirsch Coll.) 1 folio
   First half of the 13th century
   Origin: Region of Burgos (San Pedro de Cardeña)

26. The Rioseco Fragment
   Ciudad de México, Archivo General de la Nación, Ilustración 4852
   1 folio + a fragment; 490 x 310 mm
   First half of the 13th century
   Origin: Castile (?) Navarre (?) Kingdom of León (?)
Appendix 1B: Catalogue Entries and Descriptions of the Morgan Beatus

(Taken from John Williams’ *The Illustrated Beatus* and the Catalogue from the Pierpont Morgan Library)

2. The Morgan Beatus (M)
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 644
300 ff., 387 × 285mm
C. 940-945 A.D.
*Origin:* Tibar (tt) (for San Miguel de Escalada)
*Illuminator:* Matius

Morgan 644, the older of the two Commentaries in the Pierpont Morgan Library, has always claimed a central place in Beatus studies, not only because of its age but also because it includes virtually the complete repertory of pictorial content that came to be associated with the Commentary of Beatus. Moreover, the chromatic brilliance and energy of its style is outstanding. Even if it has to be placed a half century later than the date first assigned to it, it remains the oldest of the essentially intact copies. In contrast to Vitrina 14–1 (No. 3), its rival for temporal priority, it represents the largest family of Commentaries, Branch II, where a new format and the introduction of extra-Apocalyptic imagery — the Evangelist frontispieces, Genealogical Tables, the illustrations of Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel — bestowed unprecedented importance on the pictorial content of the Commentary.

Uniquely, Morgan 644 has on ff. 294–299 a series of exegetical passages (see Diaz y Diaz, *Códices en la monarquía bœna*, 433, 483–505) making up a synoptic version of the entire Commentary, but with additions from other sources. This seems to be an addition written within a few decades of the main body of the manuscript (see below, under MATERIAL CHARACTER, the discussion of Quire 42). Its presence recalls the description by Ambrosio de Morales of a Beatus in the possession of Ponc de León. This was said by him to have another short exposition on the Apocalypse after the Commentary on Daniel; it persisted in the Escorial fire of 1671, as Andrés has pointed out in *Los cuatro códices*, Acn. 1, 266–7.

The fame of Matius, the scribe of this Commentary and his clear identity as a painter, has inevitably raised the issue of his personal responsibility for this revision, with its extended text and new format. The colophon on f. 203 of Morgan 644 (ill. 117) is the most personal one accompanying a Beatus commentary:

*Resonet vox fidei, resonet et concræp*-
*Matus quippe plsillus,
Exortansque ilibeit et modulet resonet et clamitet.*
*Memintote enim mihi, ubrnuli xvi, quorum quidem hic degit*-
*Cenori summum de nunnitci mancfelus arcangelii.*
*Ad paboremque patroni arcumimi*-
*Sciremns ego imperansque abba victorius*-
*Equiem udus amoris ut inde librum utione*-
*Ohaanni dilecti discipulius.*
*Inter diebus de diebus mirifica*-
*Storianumque de nani per seriem.*
*Ut scientibus terraeant iudicis futuri*-
*Auuentui peracturi sedculi.*
*Ut suppletiut idelicit codic hius inducta*-
*Reducta quoque duo gemina*-
*Ter terna centtesae et ter diezna bina era*-
*Set quorom patri filioque spiritus simul*-
*Cum sanctio trinicate*-
*Per cuncta secula seculæs infinitis temporis.*

‘Let the voice of the faithful resound, and re-
echo! Let Matius, small indeed, but eager, rejoice, sing, re-echo and cry out! Remember me, servants of Christ, you who dwell in the monastery of the supreme messenger, the Archangel Michael.

I write this in awe of the exulted patron, at the command of Abbot Victor, out of love for the book of the vision of John the beloved disciple.

As part of its adornment I have painted a series of pictures for the wonderful words of its stories so that the wise may fear the coming of the future judgement of the world’s end.

Thus this book from beginning to end is com-
pleted in the era of twice two (and) three times
three hundred and three times twice ten.

Be glory to the Father and to his only Son, to the Holy Spirit and the Trinity from age to age to the end of time.’
This colophon is extraordinary for the amount of circumstantial evidence it provides, but it is above all exceptional within the world of Hispanic colophons for the extent to which it acknowledges Maius and his talent. Not only is his name recorded directly in the second line, but the initials beginning the third, fifth, seventh, ninth and eleventh lines, executed in red, and here emphasized in bold type, form an acrostic with MAIUS, although the acrostic formula would be used almost at the same time by Estanislao when in 946 he copied Isidore's *Etymologies* at San Millán de la Cogolla (Madrid, RAH Cod. 25, f. 295v; see Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y literaturas*, 117–22). The palaeographer T. Marín (in 'Escritura de los Beatos', 193 n. 9) interpreted the R which stands next to the initial R of the RESUCCESSUS of the first line of the colophon as an abbreviation for Recesvintus, the Abbess of Escalada in 948. García Lobo ('Beato de San Miguel', 267; and 'San Miguel de Escalada, encrucijada', 145) did so as well, but with the further argument that Recesvintus was Maius. Díaz y Díaz ('La tradición del texto', *Actas P.*, 170–1) interpreted the same R as a possible last letter of the word *SCEPTOR*. However, since the shaft of this R continues upward to form a Cross, it would actually seem to be part of a Chi Rho monogram. It seems possible, too, that the arabesque at the foot of f. 152 is a monogram. The words, MAIUS SMENTO, appear at the end of the Commentary on the Apocalypse on f. 233, but neither here nor in the colophon is there the customary confession of unworthiness. Indeed, the reference to small size in the second line, which could involve humility, seems to have been inspired, rather, by the opportunity to create a pun with his name. At the same time, this is the only colophon to allude directly to the purpose of the illustrations.

Although Maius is the only one to claim credit for the Commentary, he was briefly assisted by a second scribe, who executed, according to Shallow, ff. 11–26 and 27v–30 (Shallow, 'Codicology', 26–8). Since the first quire mark appears on f. 15v, Díaz y Díaz ('La tradición del texto', *Actas P.*, 171) proposed that the original manuscript began only on f. 9. This seems unlikely, however, for f. 9 falls within the homogeneous series of Genealogical Tables, and all the illuminated folios of Morgan 644 seem integral to the original campaign in spite of minor variations within the illumination, which could signal the participation of more than one painter. The faces on f. 23, for example, do not duplicate those of the Evangelist pages. Exceptionally, the faces on f. 23 include a second line over the eyes. However, both types appear on f. 52v, and the drapery of f. 23 seems identical to the way drapery is designed on other pages. Because of the rule of chance in the relationship between illustration and placings within quires, most double-page subjects unite halves painted on distinct bifolia. It is possible that each half had a separate author which makes for easy comparison. Superficial differences may be noted in comparing the two halves of the *Sealing of the Elect*, for example. In the middle register of f. 117v noses are described with two lines, as if seen from the front, whereas the faces on f. 118 include one only, as if the bridge of the nose were seen in profile or three-quarter view (cf. 51). In the bottom register, however, the latter system prevails on both sides. In this same register other superficial distinctions can be detected. The first row of figures on the left seem to occupy one level, fifty-seven figures make up the crowd on f. 117v, and sixty standing figures may be distinguished on f. 118. None of these differences is substantial enough, however, to outweigh the feeling that a single painter was at work, a sense conveyed by the uniformity of technique apparent in drapery and the bordering frame. A different hand does seem to enter at the end of the Commentary. The manner of rendering figures in the *Fountain of Life* (f. 223) is schematic and simplified in comparison to the Apostles of the *Heavenly Jerusalem* on the facing page; even though the latter are less than 3 mm tall. The technique of the *Fountain of Life* is detectable in the illustrations of the Daniel Commentary. The difference can be measured in the two sets of animals from Daniel's prophecy on ff. 40 and 261v. However, in face of the homogeneity of colour, figure style, and ornament prevailing throughout, Maius must be given principal credit for the illumination of the Morgan Commentary.

The colophon composed and written by Maius provides more than his own name. He also left the name of his patron, an Abbot Victor, who acted for the monastic community of Saint Michael. As to 'Victor', García Lobo ('Beato de San Miguel', 265) held that the word was used metaphorically rather than as a proper name. However, the name was identified by Gómez-Moreno (*Iglesias murcianas*, 131 n. 3) and Millares (*Escritura de los "Beatos"*, *Actas P.*, 203) with the 'Victor Abbas' who witnessed a charter for the Bishop of Astorga in 920 (*España Sagrada*, XVI, 430). The ownership by this Community of San Miguel is resisted in an exlibris on f. 1: SANSCTI MICHAELI LIBERI in 'San Miguel de Camatazana', however. A Quintana Prieto identified the
monastery with that at Camarzana, just north of Tábara, between León and Zamora, but there is no concrete reason to associate Matus with Camarzana. The actual site is almost certainly San Miguel de Escalada, on the banks of the river Esla some twenty-five kilometres east of León. Indeed, the note ‘Obit Petrus levita CSR’ in a fourteenth-century hand on f. 29v virtually as-
sures the ownership of Morgan 644 by San Mi-
guel de Escalada, for the ‘CSR’ stands for ‘Canonicus Sancti Ruffi’. Epitaphs at Escalada commemorating ‘Petrus Facundus pbs CSR’ (dated 1161) and ‘Maria Guteri conversa SR’ (of the thirteenth century). Two others of the fourteenth century employ ‘Canonicus Sciv Ruffi’, as noted by Gómez-Moreno, Provincia de León, 111–113. In 1135 Escalada became a dependency of Saint-Ruf in Avignon; its monks being displaced by French Canons Regular (García Lebo, ‘Beato de San Miguel de Escalada’, 263–4). The donation of Escalada to Saint-Ruf in is further attested by L. García Calles (Doña Sancha, León, 1927, 51) and Pita (BRAH, XXXi, 1897, 485, 491; ibid., XXXII, 1898, 41–5, 269, 373). Papal Bulls of 1253 and 1460 reconfirmed Saint-Ruf’s possession of Escalada. Apart from this ‘Victor’, two abbeys of Escalada are known to us, namely Alonso at the time of the consecration of the first church in 913 or 914, and Recesvintius, documented in 940 (García Lebo, DHEE III, 1652; idem, ‘Beato de San Mi-
guel’, 260).

If it is accepted that Morgan 644 was executed for the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada, the language of the colophon does not prove that Matus himself was a member of that community. Matus is customarily assumed to be the Magnus who began the Tábara Commentary in 968 but died before its completion. This question is more fully considered in the catalogue entry for the Tábara Commentary (No. 5). Since the Tábara colophon states that Magnus was buried in the cloister there, this identification would mean that he did not belong to the community at Escalada, but was commissioned by Escalada to produce a copy of a Commentary for its library. The home of the model is not securely known, but Tábara would be likely. Morgan 644 provides the only evidence we have that Escalada had a library or scriptorium.

Although the illumination of the Morgan Com-
menary is fully at home in the ‘Mozarabic’ school — indeed, has been taken to epitomize it — certain aspects of the version of the style em-
ployed by Matus exceed its usual boundaries. He had an unmatched range of hues, including an intense blue infrequently used in other tenth-
century codices (see Col. Pl. 8 in Volume I). The primary colours are present in saturated states, but also in combination with each other; the blue and red producing a favoured purple. White is much in evidence in combination with other hues, and by itself. Precious metals were also used in the early folios: the column bases and nibs of the Evangelist and Angel/Gospel pages have oxidized, indicating the presence of silver, and small initials (e.g. f. 10) have gilt pigment, a technique pioneered at Valeranica, although as Shailor noted (‘Codicology’, 29–30), the use of gold and silver created problems in the course of carrying out the manuscript and was abandoned. Mentré, (Miniature en León y Castilla, 137) credited Matus with new painting techniques, specifically the employment of honey, egg and gum as media, although elsewhere (‘Utilisation des Couleurs’, 418) he did not restrict these to Matus. Fontaine (L’art prémontré, II, 362) re-
pealed the claim. Since in neither case are the circumstances of the analysis of the pigments of Morgan 644 revealed, these claims lack force.

In his figure style Matus also stands apart. He retained the principle of making surface para-
mount — a characteristic of the peninsular style — but relied on colour to reinforce this effect, with garments particoloured to an extravagant degree to produce a brilliant mosaic of contrast-
ing hues. Matus’s design of drapery, too, was more complex than that of other illuminators. Seemingly the artist employed a vocabulary to establish rapport with the figure, but often within a syntax that invalidated such rapport. Thus, in an exceptionally rational passage on f. 4 (ill. 9) the linear folds of the sleeve of the symbol of John convincingly converge to spill over his arm, but, irrationally, the meeting point is placed at the centre of the forearm. On the angels of the same page subdivisions of the contour lines along the outside legs would appear to stem from a desire to mark a distinction between leg and thigh, but there is one subdivision too many. In the almost bewildering number of changes in direction in the linear description of the mantles of these and other figures, Matus seems to reveal some sense of the plasticity which the rest of the school ignored. In a comparable hint of different artistic principles, many of Matus’s figures stand with one foot in profile, the other frontal. This contrapposto formula would have allowed the Matus figures to inhabit an illusionistic space comfortably, had such a concept been recognized in the ‘Mozarabic’ style when he was working.

2. MORGAN BEATUS
The iconographic scope and rich pictorial character of the illustrations of the Morgan 644 manuscript make its date of exceptional importance in the history of Spanish illumination and in that of the Commentaries. Proposals have varied as much as three quarters of a century despite, or rather because of, the fact that Mayos attempted to include a date in the final lines of the colophon: 'in the era of twice two (and) three times three hundred and three times twice ten'. Converting to numerals, the most straightforward reading would be $2 \times 2 + 3 \times 300 + 3 \times 2 \times 10$, or era 964. Subtracting the 38 years necessary to reduce the Spanish era to the Christian one yields A.D. 926, as Gómez-Moreno concluded (Iglesias mozárabes, 131; ‘Arte mozárabe’, Ars Hispaniae, III, 399), a date patently at odds with the history of illumination in the Peninsula. On the other hand, Neuss (14–16) interpreted the ‘twice two’ (duo genitus) at the beginning as referring to the two parts of the Commentary, that on the Apocalypse and that on Daniel, and arrived at 922. Recent interpretations of the colophon have made it yield a date towards or after the middle of the tenth century, either through idiosyncratic readings or through restorations of an apparent erasure in line ten between duo genitus and terra. In ‘La miniatura española en el siglo X’ (32), Miniatura española’ (124), and ‘Arte de la miniatura española’ (292–3), Camón Aznar argues for A.D. 952; but in ‘Arte en los Beatos’ (89–90) he favours the later date of A.D. 958. In Yates Thompson, Catalogue, Second series, 374, it is claimed that a chemical agent revealed the words cientes et before terra. This would yield a date of 1026 or 1022, patently too late. Neuss (16 n. 1) suggested a restoration of terra et bis damn. Díaz y Díaz (‘La tradición del texto’, Actas I, 179–179; and Códices en la manuscrita leonesa, 336–336) saw decies et, yielding the date A.D. 962.

This crucial section of the manuscript appears to have been scraped. An ultraviolet light seems to expose an erasure of two words of four or five letters each, with the first letter of the first word having a descender. Most logically, Mayus himself, because of some dissatisfaction with the original text, would have been responsible for this erasure. In view of these uncertainties, the character of the illumination is the best guide to a date for the Morgan Commentary.

Because of the ambiguity of the colophon of the Morgan Beatus, concern for its decipherment has tended to replace the comparison of the script and decoration with that of other manuscripts required for establishing the proper place of the Morgan 644 Commentary in the history of tenth-century illumination. In the two exceptional instances where such analyses have been undertaken, a mid-tenth-century date has been favoured. Thus Neuss (14–16), who deciphered the colophon to yield the year 922, decided that the palaeography pointed to a date ‘some decades’ later because of similarities with the Valladolid and Túbara Commentaries (Nos. 4 and 5), both completed in 970. Although in ‘Problemas’, 255, Neuss preferred a mid-century date, in Illustrationen, 46, he leaned toward A.D. 922. Peter Klein (281–293) also found palaeographic reasons, among others, to associate Morgan 644 with manuscripts of the middle or second half of the tenth century. Millares remained an adherent of the date 956 (Tratado de paleografía española, 1983, 1, 120), while Martín (‘Escritura’, 453 n. 45) endorsed Camón Aznar’s date of 958.

The illuminated initials make it impossible to assign Morgan 644 to a period much earlier than the middle of the tenth century. There are two major initials, one at the opening of the Commentary text (f. 10) and the other at the beginning of the Commentary on Daniel (f. 239). From the system of interlace which they employ, it is demonstrable that they belong to the revolution in initial style in the Peninsula which was marked by the introduction of Carolingian initial types (see Guilmain, ‘Chronological Development’). The first dated manuscript to employ initials of a Carolingian sort, is the Moderil in lob of 945 (Madrid, Bibli. Nac. Cod. 86) executed by Florentius at Valera in Castile in the eastern part of the kingdom of León (see Volume I, p. 76). Its vocabulary featured yellow ribbon interlace and favoured very large initials, some rising to the height of the page. Examples are illustrated in Torro and Longás, Catálogo, 187–93, figs. 167–9 (small initials), and Williams, ‘Tours and the Early Medieval Art of Spain’, fig. 5 for a large initial l. As Guilmain (‘Some Early Interlace Initials’, ‘Interlace Decoration and Influence of the North’, ‘Northern Influences’, Actas II, 671–671) demonstrated, the Franco-Saxon School was the source for the kinds of initials found in the Moderil. Although the initials of the Morgan Beatus are equally indebted to a Carolingian source, they employ a vocabulary that was based on Tours School examples rather than the Franco-Saxon ones, as I have shown in ‘Tours and the Early Medieval Art of Spain’, 197–8. The Franco-Saxon models led to an emphasis on geometric regularity and a fondness for animal-headed terminals, as can be seen in the Moderil of 945 (Williams, Early Spanish Illumination, figs. X, XI). Without exception, the shafts of the initials of the
Moralia are characterized by strictly ruled lateral frames made up either by the ribbon of the interlace itself or by an initial border enclosing the ribbon. The careful use of the rule to ensure geometric regularity is very much in evidence. The integrity of these lateral frames is strictly maintained, with knot patterns normally being allowed to break out of this trajectory only at the upper and lower terminals. In neither example in Morgan 644 is this the case, for the curving ribbons of knots placed along the shaft are allowed to deflect the vertical direction. Although similar knots are encountered within the uprights in the Moralia, they are strictly bound within the borders. Rectangular decorative panels are inserted along the shafts of the Moralia initials, but almost without exception they consist of braid work. In contrast, the panels of the letter 'T' of f. 10 of Morgan 644 are square and filled with rosettes and a palmette, while f. 239 has no panels at all. In the introduction of rosettes and a variety of the split palmette, Maius's initial is consistent with decorative preferences revealed elsewhere in Morgan 644 — in rosette ornaments inserted as fillers at the ends of columns (ff. 22v, 47v, 76v, 82v, 115, 150v) and in the floral motifs of vine scrolls (f. 239). A comparison of the 'T' of f. 10 of Morgan 644 (ill. 21) with an 'T' in a Carolingian Bible of the 830s (Volume I, fig. 49, and re-drawn above) clearly indicates through their common structure that Maius has based his initial, not on a Franco-Saxon model,
but on a type originating in the Tours School such as that illustrated in W. Koehler, Die Karolingerischen Miniaturen, I: Die Schule von Tours, Berlin, 1930, Pl. I, 15c. With such pronounced differences, it is difficult to argue that a Leonese centre influenced the Castilian kind of initials or the opposite. Klein (294, 601 n. 33) however, accepted an influence of the Morgan Commentary, or its equivalent, on the scriptorium of Valeránica. M. E. Gómez- Moreno (‘Miniaturas de la Biblia’, 84–5), who placed Maius in Valeránica in time to influence the figure style and ornament of the Florentius Moralia of 945, proposed, on the basis of a folio in the Valeránica Bible of 960 (León, Real Col. de San Isidoro, Cod. 2) with a text on the cult of St. Michael, that it had been copied for Escalada. Guilmain (‘Chronological Development’, 387) believed the influences went in the opposite direction. With the contrast in the initials of Castile and León, the Moralia in lob does not necessarily establish a terminus post quem for the Morgan Beatus.

The first dated Leonese manuscripts with interlace initials and a secure provenance are the Beatus Commentary of 968–70 from Tábara (No. 5) and that of 970 in Valladolid (No. 4). A major use of interlace formulas is also joined to an undated Antiphonary now in the Cathedral of León (Cod. 8). Although the origin of this Antiphonary is not verifiable, it has been unanimously accepted as a Leonese product, and the similarity of its decoration to that of Valladolid (No. 4) suggests a comparable date, around 970. Klein (275) dated the Antiphonary to shortly before 950, and Yarza (‘Las miniaturas del Antifonario de León’, Seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología, Universidad de Valladolid, XLII, 1976, 181–205) to around 1000. Díaz y Díaz (Códices de la monarquía leonesa, 308) assigned it to the first half of the tenth century, i.e., some decades earlier than the date of 962 which he proposed for the Morgan Beatus. The artists of the Tábara and Valcavado Commentaries and the León Antiphonary share a tendency to adorn the contours of the interlace initials with hair-like sprouts and to show birds perching on floral shoots and terminal knots. Neither of these accessory decorations is found in the initials of the Morgan Beatus, which suggests that it belongs to an earlier stage of development. The subsequent development of these contour ornaments is also discernable at Valeránica. Whereas the hair-like sprouts and floral shoots are not featured in the Moralia of 945, they are present on initials of the Bible of 960 (Williams, ‘Tours and the Early Medieval Art of Spain’, fig 6). If so, then 968–70 would be a terminus ante quem for the initial style of the Morgan Commentary.

A reliable terminus post quem is quite difficult to establish. There are few securely dated and localized decorated manuscripts for the period between 920 and 970 in the region of the Leonese capital. The Leonese Bible of 920 (León, Cath. Lib., Cod. 6, illustrated in Klein, 269, fig. 124) employs uniformly small initials made up of floriate and animal forms of a type already registered in the Vitae Patrum of 902 (Madrid, Bibli. Nac. Cod. 10007); these are considered by Klein (263, ills. 210–14). Because of the totally dissimilar character of these initials of 920 and those in Morgan 644, the dates of 922 and 926 often assigned to the Morgan Commentary on the basis of the colophon are not admissible. The Conciliar manuscript (Madrid, Bibli. Nacional Cod. 1872), which seems to be Leonese and of the 920s, offers the same lesson (Klein, 269–72, ills. 227–31). The Commentary Vitrina 14–1 (No. 3) suggests that even by mid century the revolution which made interlace initials the standard had not yet taken place in Leonese territory. But this must be considered as ambiguous evidence, for the initials and the script of the text of the Vitrina manuscript are markedly conservative in character and its Leonese provenance is not established.

A dated manuscript now in León may provide a terminus a quo for the Morgan Commentary: the Moralia in lob in San Isidoro de León (Cod. 1). For this manuscript see Klein, 586 n. 292; J. Pérez Llamazares, Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, 1923, 3–4; Díaz y Díaz, Códices de la monarquía leonesa, 310. It has two initials, a large T and a smaller D, both based on Carolingian concepts of initial construction. Like that of f. 10 of the Morgan Beatus, the T (Gómez-Moreno, Provincia de León, 158, fig. 102) is composed primarily of interlace patterns, although without the rosette panels inserted in the former (see drawing previous page).

As in the T of Morgan 644, the knot at the centre is arranged in an X pattern bound by a circle, and projects beyond the lateral boundaries of the stem. This type of initial, as noted above, has a counterpart in a Touronian Bible; this is true also of the initial D on the same page, which combines an interlace structure with a leafed vine in a manner close to an initial in the Rodrigo Bible (Paris, BN MS lat. 3) of the 830s from Tours illustrated in Koehler, Karolingerischen Miniaturen, Pl. I, 32e. The San Isidoro Moralia has a colophon with the date 951, designating a scriptorium in the monastery of St. Vincent, under an Abbot Sabaricus (f. 343), with Baltarius as the Scribe.
Although we know of no monastery of St. Vincent in Leonese territory in the tenth century, the similarity of the initial ‘I’ in the Moralia to that of f. 10 of Morgan 644 makes it likely that the Moralia originated in the region where it now resides. Palaeographically, too, it resembles the Morgan 644 (Klein, 280–3). The initial style of the Moralia of 951 seems to establish for Morgan 644 a plausible mid-century date, one which the general history of Spanish initials would, in itself, suggest. Klein’s survey of the development of figure style in Spanish manuscripts (280–3) leads us to the same conclusion. The figures in the Bible of 920 (León, Cath. Lib., Cod. 6) and the Madrid Conciliar manuscript (Bibl. Nat. Cod. 1872) reveal a disregard for, or ignorance of, the more rational kind of structure and articulation that was introduced in the middle of the century. As in the case of the revolution in initials, the oldest securely-dated examples of the new figure style come from Valeranica, in the Castilian part of the kingdom of León, in such manuscripts as the Moralia of 945.

Thus all evidence — palaeographic, decorative, and illustrative — speaks for an origin no earlier than the 940s. The appropriateness of this date as a terminus post quern is reinforced by a comparison of f. 87 in Morgan 644 with the Majesté, on f. 2, of Florentius’ Moralia of 945 (Volume I, Col. Pls. 19, 20). Details of the two resemble each other to an extraordinary degree. Since I have argued that it is the Moralia of 945 which seems to be based upon the Beatus iconography (Volume I, p. 80), either Morgan 644 or some sister manuscript must have provided the model. A.D. 945 would be, therefore, the likely terminus ante quern for the Morgan Commentary.

Because Escalada was settled in 912 by emigrants from Córdoba, Maius has been identified as a Mozarabe by Millares, in ‘Escritura de los “Beatos”’, Actas I, 203; Menéndez Pidal, ‘Mozarabes y asturianos’, 288 and Fontaine (L’art pré-romain, II, 364). Hence aspects of the style, ornament and technique of Morgan 644 have become associated with Islamic artistic traditions and other Mozarabic traits have been noted. In addition to his architectural forms and ornament, Gómez-Moreno attributed Maius’s gouache technique to Andalusia (‘Arte mozárabe’, Ars Hispaniae, III, 405), although he had originally, more aptly, ascribed it to Carolingian influence (Iglesias mozárabes, 362). While not suggesting Maius was a true Mozarabe, Neuss perceived his art as being based primarily on Islamic artistic ideals and style (‘Probleme’, 256ff.).

If a date in the 920s for the manuscript made his emigrant status more plausible, the assignment of Maius to Tábara and the mid-century date reduces its likelihood. The significance of such a background would depend on the discovery of pictorial aspects of Morgan 644 for which Islamic and ‘Oriental’ counterparts provide the most plausible source. Some elements obviously traceable to such an origin, such as the horseshoe arch and iconographic formulas from the Islamic repertory, are shared with other Commentaries and do not contribute to the question of the particular debt of Morgan 644 to the art of Andalusia. The rich vocabulary of ornament displayed in this Commentary offers the best chance to measure the influence of Islamic art on the Morgan Beatus, for in contrast to the figurative arts, surviving Muslim ornament is relatively abundant. Since Islamic decoration was ultimately based on the same Antique legacy as the art of the Latin West inside and outside the Peninsula, deciding what is owed to the Antique legacy or to its non-Islamic inheritors, and what should be ascribed to the direct influence of the Islamic arts of the Peninsula is a complicated question. The accordion-fold border on f. 52v and f. 194v (ills. 34 and 83) is one of the few motifs which can be decisively excluded from the Islamic camp on the basis of inherent character: it is inconsistent with the thoroughly anti-plastic nature of Andalusian ornament. Many motifs are like the rows of pierced pearls, on folios 133v and 205v (ill. 89), which are associated with early Islamic art elsewhere (R. W. Hamilton, Khirbat Al Mafjar, Oxford, 1959, 212, pl. XXV, XXVI), but not found in Andalusia. The accordion-fold border is found, however, in Merovingian and Carolingian illumination (of which good examples are, respectively, Zimmerman, Vorkarolingische Miniaturen, II, Pl. 156a and Koehler, Karolingschen Miniaturen, I, 5f.), and the motif is also present in Spain’s own La Cava Bible (La Cava dei Tirreni, Badia della Santissima Trinità, MS 1; illustrated by T. Ayuso Marazuela, La biblia visigótica de La Cava dei Tirreni, Madrid, 1956, pl. opp. p. 100). Similarly, the split palmette or half palmette on the arch of f. 4 (ill. 9) is commonly identified with the Near East, but is also found in Merovingian manuscripts (Zimmermann, Vorkarolingische Miniaturen, II, 124a), and the corner palmette of f. 26 (ill. 25) resembles that on a Carolingian, Tours School, frame (Koehler, Karolingsche Miniaturen, Pl. I, 62, 63).

Maius’s choice of two and three ribbon braids for a number of picture borders recalls the prominence of braids in Hispanic Muslim art in
2. MORGAN BEATUS

various media as we see in a tenth-century marble column base and ceramic jars from Mединат Аззахра (Torres Balbís, 'Arte hispano-musulmán', figs. 236, 648, 649) and the ivory Pamplona casket of 1005 from Córdoba (ibid., figs. 575-80). Even earlier, a three-ribbon braid of the kind found on the arch of the Matthew page (f. 1v; ill. 4) had appeared as a border on the apsidal arch of the Mozarabic church of Santiago de Peñaflor, shown in J. Fernández Arenas, La arquitectura mezóabe, Barcelona, n.d., fig. 47. However, Peninsular mosaics of the Roman and Early Christian periods provide an alternative source (Ars Hispaniae, II, figs. 151, 154 and 158 show Roman mosaics, and figs. 220 and 224 illustrate Early Christian mosaics).

Assimilation of some elements of the immensely rich ornamental art of Andalusia cannot be excluded. Some rinceaux patterns do so resemble Islamic versions that they may be confidently traced to such a source. This is for example the case with the complex combination on f. 144 of half leaves with arcs that make up a deviant version of a zig-zag ribbon. The zig-zag with leaves is found on a moulding of an arch on Al-Hakam II’s amplification of the Mosque of Córdoba (Torres Balbís, ‘Arte hispano-musulmán’, fig. 301), but an even closer analogy, employing arcs, was used on an arch of the Muslim palace at Madinat (Ars Hispaniae, III, fig. 305), an example which dates from the first half of the eleventh century. A geometric motif of Antique origin, the meander, offers the same problems in determining whether it entered the repertory of Maurus directly from Islamic inspiration or was derived from a common source. The T-meander, a simplified version of which is on f. 218 ill. 94), was employed in Córdoba (Klein, figs. 164b, c); Klein (289) derived the same motif in the Madrid Vitrina 14–1 Commentary (No. 3; f. 98v) from an Islamic source. It is also true that a counterpart for the swastika meander of f. 223 ill. 98) is to be found in the decoration of Medinat Azzahra (Ars Hispaniae, III, fig. 210).

However, the example of the swastika meander underlines the need for caution in approaching the question of Islamic influence in the Morgan Commentary. It is one of the Antique motifs preserved in the ninth-century murals of the royal church of Santullano outside Oviedo (Schlunk and Berenguer, Pintura mural asturiana, lam. 16). Such a ‘native’ and accessible source is much more plausible than Andalusian influence for the currency of this motif in Christian manuscripts of the North. Even less likely as a source is the exotic, Coptic, artistic tradition proposed by Neuss (244) and more recent authors (E. Rosenthal, in ‘Coptic Influence’, 73; Gilmartin, ‘Some Early Interlace Initials’, 191 n. 31, fig. 2D). It is possible to see, for example, a general resemblance between the rosettes and medallions which Maurus alone among the illuminators of Beatus Commentaries used as fillers for areas otherwise left empty by the conclusion of a column of text (fig. 22v, 47v, 76v, 82v, 150v; e.g. ill. 32) and ornamental figures similarly placed in Coptic manuscripts (Henry Hyvernet, A Check List of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1919, pl. III). However, without any evidence that Coptic art was known in the Peninsula, it is preferable to attribute general resemblances to coincidence, and the unique employment by Maurus of such ornament to the challenge of unfilled space. If a specific model was needed, it seems much more probable that it was the less exotic one of quire marks embellished with floral and geometric patterns in Latin manuscripts. A similar concept is displayed in the medallion at the foot of a page of the Sacramentary of Gellone (Paris, BN MS lat. 12048; Zimmermann, Variorumische Miniaturen, II, 156). Indeed, in Spain itself in the ninth century Danila enclosed quire numerals in similar brightly coloured frames in the La Cava Bible (la Cava dei Terreni, Badia della Santissima Trinità, MS 1; ff. 56v, 80v, etc.). In contrast to the ornament of the Biblia Hispalense (Madrid, Bibl. Nac. MS Vit. 13–1), the one surviving decorated Christian manuscript created in Andalusia, Maurus’s ornament cannot be traced, motif by motif, to Islamic sources. His style of ornament offers feeble support for the claim that his artistic formation took place in Andalusia. Rather, Morgan 644 may be seen as part of the revolution that took place in Spanish illumination in León-CASTILE around the time that Maurus undertook this particular Commentary.

Our knowledge of Maurus’s role in that revolution is frustratingly limited. The evidence of the Siles Fragment (No. 1) and Vitrina 14–1 (No. 3) shows that the colophon of the Morgan manuscript is not enough literally to give Maurus credit for the invention of the illuminated Beatus Commentary, although Gómez-Moreno (Iglesias mozárabes, 362; Ars Hispaniae, III, 399) certainly interpreted it this way. However, Gómez-Moreno must have believed that Maurus inherited some kind of pictorial tradition for, according to Domínguez Bordona (Spanish Illumination, I, 35 n. 9), he considered the Beatus fragment at Silos, Santo Domingo, (No. 1) to be from the ninth century, an opinion also reported in Churrucha
(Inflaio oriental, 100). The fact that the Morgan Beatus has temporal priority within the Branch II family encourages us merely to adjust the claim and to honour Maius as the designer of the ‘modern’ Commentary, with its framed pictures in which figures are played off against brilliant banded grounds. After all, the history of Spanish illumination points precisely to the generation of Maius as the reformers of the tradition. Moreover, the narrative force and the complexity of the figure style and ornamental repertory of the Morgan Commentary endow Maius with the qualities appropriate to the creator of an archetype. Neuss saw such elements as the legacy of the original archetype, the first illustrated commentary. Our version of the descent of that archetype makes it unlikely that the legacy had such properties. The sophistication of the art of Maius may be measured by putting Morgan 644 beside the San Isidoro Bible of 960 (León, Real Col. de San isidoro, Cod. 2; Fontaine, L'art méromane, II, figs. 108–12, 114). Figures within the dense cycles of column pictures which descend from a source almost as ancient as that behind the Beatus illustrations, exhibit, in comparison, some of the characteristics of folk primitives. Carolingian art is more likely to have contributed to the pictorial complexity of his work, for we know that Maius based his initials on Carolingian prototypes associated with the school of Tours. It is probable that the elements which make his illustrative style distinctive, such as colour and contrapposto, came from the same source.

The temptation to recognize Maius as the first to assimilate these lessons in a new version of the Commentary is the greater because otherwise we shall have to be satisfied with anonymity. The fact that the true nature of the archetype of Branch II, more particularly the relationship of IIa to IIb, are among the least understood aspects of the evolution of the Commentary complicates the decision. Although a case for Maius as the author of the archetype may be made, it is unlikely that Morgan 644 itself would be that original manuscript, for neither texually nor pictorially is it the archetype even for its own Branch IIa (see Stemmatia on pp. 14 and 15). This has already been discussed in Volume I, Chapter 3, p. 77, in connection with the archetype of Branch II and the possible role of Maius in its creation. Certainly the name of the creator of the revised Commentary would have to stand beside that of Beatus in the history of the tradition. It is conceivable that scholars may some day construct a family tree in which Maius can legitimately take that place, and not, as now, occupy it as something of a surrogate.

Morgan 644 was bequeathed to the Orden Militar de Santiago de Uclés in 1567 by the Archbishop of Valencia, Martín Pérez de Ayala. Although the Uclés Order was dissolved in 1837, their manuscripts were brought to Madrid only in 1872. In the meantime Morgan 644 had been sold before 1847 for a silver watch to an Italian, Frasinelli, who sold it to G. Libri in 1847, who in turn sold it in that same year to the Earl of Ashburnham. In 1897 it was bought by Henry Yates Thompson. Pierpont Morgan acquired it in 1919. (See Yates Thompson Catalogue, Second Series, 312–13; A. Rodríguez-Moñino, Los manuscritos españoles, 44 no. 81 =BRAH, 136, 1956, 286; Andrés, ‘Nuevas aportaciones’, 543f.; idem, ‘Biblioteca de un teólogo’, 109–110.)

Material Character

At times, lines were impressed with a stylus on the hair side of bifoliate, but in other cases lines were impressed exclusively from the recto side of each leaf. Prickings are in the intercolumniation. 34–35 lines in the Apocalypse and Daniel Commentaries, 32–33 lines in the recapitulation of ff. 294–299.
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<th>Quire No. on MS</th>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>(ff. 24-29)</td>
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<td>(ff. 32-34)</td>
<td>V q</td>
<td>32-33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = text: Sanders I, 5, 86 to Prol. Bk II, 4, 1 (pp. 98-117)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 35-42)</td>
<td>VI Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 43-50)</td>
<td>VII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 51-58)</td>
<td>VIII q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 59-66)</td>
<td>VIII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(ff. 67-72)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 73-80)</td>
<td>XI q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 81-88)</td>
<td>XII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 89-96)</td>
<td>XII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 97-104)</td>
<td>XIII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>8 (-1)</td>
<td>(ff. 105-111)</td>
<td>XV Q</td>
<td>105-106-107-108-109-110-111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = Opening of the First Seal (VI, 1-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 112-119)</td>
<td>XVI q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 120-127)</td>
<td>XVII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 128-135)</td>
<td>XVIII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 136-143)</td>
<td>XVIII Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>8 (-2)</td>
<td>(ff. 144-149)</td>
<td>XX q</td>
<td>144-145-146-147-148-149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st ◯ = Death-Dealing Cavalry (IX, 17-21)</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>8 (-1)</td>
<td>(ff. 158-164)</td>
<td>XXII Q</td>
<td>158-159-160-161-162-163-164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = Reign of the Seven-headed Beast (XIII, 1-10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>8(-1)</td>
<td>(ff. 165-171)</td>
<td>XXII Q</td>
<td>165-166-167-168-169-170-171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = AntiChrist Table I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 172-179)</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 180-187)</td>
<td>XXV q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>8 (-1)</td>
<td>(ff. 188-194)</td>
<td>XXVI q</td>
<td>188-189-190-191-192-193-194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = Fowl-like Spirits (XVI, 13-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>8 (-1)</td>
<td>(ff. 195-201)</td>
<td>VII q (sic)</td>
<td>195-196-197-198-199-200-201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = Woman on the Beast (XVII, 3-13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>8(-1)</td>
<td>(ff. 202-208)</td>
<td></td>
<td>202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>◯ = Rider Called Faithful and True (XIX, 11-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 209-216)</td>
<td>XVIII q (sic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 217-224)</td>
<td>XXX q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The damage to the exterior of most leaves, now repaired, seems to have been caused by dampness. It was rebound by the Morgan Library sometime after its purchase in 1919. Since Libri described it (James, Yates Thompson Catalogue, Second Series, 313) as covered when he purchased it in 1847, this was the second modern binding. This Commentary has been rebound at least five times according to Deborah Evets, conservator at the Morgan Library, to whom I am grateful for enlightenment about the physical character of the manuscript. In the summer of 1992 it was rebound, ff. 1–149 in vol. I and ff. 150–293 in vol. II, the previous pagination in pencil in the upper right-hand corner being retained.

*Quire 1 (ff. 1–5): Unruled. Old but probably not original.

*Quire 3 (ff. 10–15): This gathering is problematic. All leaves are single except for 11–12, which are a bifolium. As a bifolium it is unique in this manuscript and virtually unprecedented in the entire series in not being a centrotold. Although this one follows two 6-page gatherings, the previous ones belonged to prefatory material and the tradition was for normal quires of 4 bifolia with the beginning of the text proper, which starts here on f. 10. Perhaps, then, this is now a reduced gathering which included at one time two folios between the actual 10 and 11, possibly with illumination of some sort, such as a Bird and Serpent Combat or an Alpha. However, the single leaves which would have been conjoint with the two hypothetical ones do not have stubs and do not appear to have been cut.

*Quire 23 (ff. 150–153): In the previous binding the binion ff. 152–153 was mistakenly placed after the gathering. As a result, the reconstruction of the proper order results in a sequence 150–151–154–155 | 156–157–152–153 if the previous numeration is employed. With the binding of 1992 the correct sequence has been restored, but the previous pagination has not been erased.

*Quire 34 (ff. 233–238): Folio 233 is a single leaf whose inner edge was curved around the previous gathering in the former binding, if not originally. The Apocalypse Commentary terminates on its verso, which carries the words MAIUS MEMENTO. Folio 238, with a picture of Babylon on the verso, is a single leaf curved around the next gathering, the opening of the Commentary on Daniel. At the time of the description in Yates Thompson Catalogue, Second Series (327), however, Babylon was opposite actual f. 234 with the De Adfinitatibus of Isiciore, and matching stains on the surface indicate that Babylon had been in this location for some time. Traditionally, however, Babylon served as the frontispiece for the Commentary on Daniel, which opens with a reference to the city, and it is unlikely that this picture appeared in front of the De Adfinitatibus when the manuscript was originally bound. The gathering reconstituted here as no. 34 is based on an ideal symmetry of even numbers of folios for gatherings 34 and 35, but since the Babylon page is a single leaf it is conceivable that it was originally the first leaf of gathering 35.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quire no.</th>
<th>Gathering</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Quire No. on MS</th>
<th>Sequence of folios and identification of missing subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 225–232)</td>
<td>XXXI q</td>
<td>233-234-235</td>
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<tr>
<td>*34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(ff. 233-238)</td>
<td></td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 239-246)</td>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 247-254)</td>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 255-262)</td>
<td>XXXV</td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 263-270)</td>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 271-278)</td>
<td>XXXVII</td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(ff. 279-286)</td>
<td>XXXVIII</td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(ff. 287-293)</td>
<td></td>
<td>287-288-289-290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. MORGAN BEATUS

"Quire 41 (ff. 287–293): The bottom half of f. 293 of this gathering is restored suggesting that this folio was in a vulnerable position. The colophon appears on f. 293 and f. 293v was left blank. These facts together with the presence on f. 293v of a note of the twelfth century and one of the fourteenth or fifteenth century encourage the conclusion that this gathering was at one time the final one.

"Quire 42 (ff. 294–299): The text in this gathering is a recapitulation of a Commentary of the Morgan 644 type (see Díaz y Díaz, Códices en la monarquía leonesa, 486–503) which begins on f. 294 and breaks off (?) on f. 299v. The preparation of the vellum differs from that which prevails in the rest of the manuscript in having double rather than single rulings for the margins of the columns, in the measurements of rulings, and in the number of lines. It is also from 4 to 7mm shorter than the main body. The script is also different in character, although Visigothic minuscule. Díaz y Díaz (Códices en la monarquía leonesa, 433) dated it to the first half of the tenth century, and it is true that the initial 'T' of the Incipit is in its design and its orange and green colour of the type associated originally with the first half of the tenth century. However, James (Yates Thompson Catalogue, Second Series, 310) and Neuss (10) judged it to be by a hand later than Maius, a conclusion endorsed by Shailor ('Codicology', 23, 220 n. 2), who, while acknowledging its archaicizing details, compares its script with that of the Girona Beatus of 975 (No. 6). It was obviously conceived separately, and presumably this addition would have been written after it was housed at Escalada. The thirteen lines of extracts from the Commentary on Daniel which are below the colophon on f. 293 also seem to be an addition to the original project.

Folio 300 of this gathering is unruled and probably not original, although stained and damaged in the manner of many other leaves in the manuscript.

Bibliography

Miller, Mappae Mundi, I, 12; Yates Thompson Catalogue, Second Series, 304–30, 373–6; Ramsay, 'Manuscripts of the Commentary', 8–10, 77–9; Lowe, Studia Paleographica, 65, 79; Herbert, Illuminated Manuscripts, 210; Yates Thompson, Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts, 3–5; Gómez-Moreno, Iglesias mozárabes, 131, 362; Neuss, Catalánica Biblic Illustration, 63; Cook, 'Earliest Painted Panels II', 46; De Ricci, 'Les manuscrits de la collection Yates Thompson', 63; Sánchez-Altornoz, Estampas de la Vida en León, 93, 96; Domínguez Bordona, Códices miniados españoles, 206, 291; Idem, Spanish Illumination, I, 15; Kamal, Monumenta Cartographica, fasc. I, f. 563; King, 'Divagations', 22, 54–5; Sanders, XII, XVII; James, Apocalypse in Art, 38–9; Lozoya, Historia del arte, I, 323; Millares, Códices visigóticos, 108–113; Neuss, 9–16; Millares, Tratado, 2nd ed., 150–1; Illuminated Manuscripts. New York Public Library Catalogue, 8; Domínguez Bordona, Ex Librís, 159; The Dark Ages, Worcester (Mass.), no. 28; De Ricci, Census, II, 1477; Gaillard, 'Premiers essais', 52–3; Meer, Maiestas Domini, passim; Churrera, Influjo oriental, 80, 97–100; Schlunk, 'Miniatura visigoda', 253; Illuminated Books — Baltimore, 7; Gómez-Moreno, 'Arte mozárabe', Ars Hispaniae, III, 399; M. E. Gómez-Moreno, 'Miniaturas del Antifonario', 312–13; Menéndez Pidal, 'Mozárabes y asturianos', 199–203, 276–7, 2871; Neuss, 'Probleme', 255–6; Rodríguez Moñoño, 'Manuscritos españoles', 44; Nordenfalk and Grabar, Early Medieval Painting, 168; Treasures from the Morgan Library, 13; Menéndez Pidal, Sobre miniatura, 19–23; Camón Aznar, 'La miniatura española en el siglo X', 16f., 33; Guilmain, 'Interlace Decoration', 217; M. E. Gómez-Moreno, 'Miniaturas de la biblia', 80, 84–5; Guilmain, 'Some Early Interlace Initials', 24f.; Millares, 'Manuscritos visigóticos', 392–3; Domínguez Bordona, 'Miniatura', Ars Hispaniae, XVIII, 271; Neuss, 'Illustrationen', 46; Camón Aznar, 'Miniatura española', 124; Idem, 'Arte de la miniatura española', 282–3; Brenk, Tradition und Neuerung, 126–8; Palol and Hirmer, Early Medieval Art, 56; Rosenthal, 'Coptic Influence', 73; Quintana Prieto, 'San Miguel de Camarzana'; Díaz y Díaz, 'Circulation des manuscrits', 385; Dodwell, Painting in Europe, 104, 108, 112; Tassé, 'Iconographic Source', 73f.; Eco and Vázquez de Parga, Beato de Fernando, 150; Muthérich, 'Le-

Notes

1. This monastery was settled by Mozarabic monks led there from Córdoba by an Abbot Alfonso around 912; their church still stands (Gómez-Moreno, _Iglesias mozárabes_, 141ff.; García Lobo, DH EE III, 1551–2).

2. For other views of a pervasive influence of Islamic artistic ideas and style in Mozaric art see Gaillard, _Premiers essais_, 52–3 and Putig i Cadafach, ‘L’ornamentació’. The approaches are very general, but Gaillard did specify (with faulty foliation) types of fleurons he believed echoed Islamic originals. The resemblance is disappointingly vague.

3. I am grateful to Sabine Noack-Haley for calling this similarity to my attention.
Manuscript on parchment, written and illuminated in Leon, Spain
in 922 or 926 (Gomez-Moreno and Neuss, as does Albarede, interpret the date
to be 926, Rand makes it 894), according to the colophon in which the scribe
and miniaturist Maius states that it was executed at the request of Abbot
Victor of the monastery dedicated to Saint Michael.

62 full-page miniatures and diagrams, 48 smaller miniatures,
numerous colored initials and ornaments. 300 leaves (15 x 11 1/16 inches)
2 cols. 34-35 lines.

Large f°. A purple velvet over boards. English, XIXth century.
Re-bounded by M. Lacey in 3/4 russia.
From the libraries of the Earl of Ashburnham and H. Y. Thompson.

Contents:

f. 1 Within a labyrinth a jeu-de-lettres on the words "Sancti Micaeli Liber," repeated in all directions.

1v-9v Portraits of the Evangelists; tables illustrating Christ's Genealogy, closing with the rulers of Persia, Rome and Judea.

10 Text begins: In Nomine Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Incipit Liber Revelationis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi.

233 End of Commentary on Apocalypse, and signature of Scribe: Explicit. Maius Memento.

234-237 De adfinitatibus et gradibus.
237v-238 Blank

238v Picture of Babylon

239-291 Colophon of twelve lines in small uncial, naming Maius as scribe and painter, his name also is formed by the initials of the third and alternating lines. He states that it was written in fear of Michael the Archangel, patron of the Abbey, at the behest of Abbot Victor in the
era 960, which equals 922 A.D. A free translation made by Prof. E.A. Lowe (Oct. 1940) follows:

Resound, ye voices of the faithful, let Maius also, puny though he is,
Let him also rejoice, resound and shout.
Remember me, servants of Christ, you who dwell in the
Abbey of the Messenger of God the highest, the Archangel Michael
In fear of the exalted patron I write this at the behest of Abbot Victor
In love for the book which treats of the vision of John the Beloved
disciple
The glorious words and comments I have illustrated in sequence
So that those who know may be smitten with fear of the judgement
which will come with the world's end
And the time taken to finish this book from beginning to end
Represents the era of two pairs of three times three hundred
And three times ten twos
\[= 960 \times 38 = 922 \text{ A.D.}\]

Glory to the Father, to his only Son, also to the Holy Ghost and the
Trinity. From the generation to generations, to the end of time. Below, in a
hand which does not make the ti distinction are 13 lines of Jerome's Commentary
on Daniel.

Translation of Prof. E.K. Rand, Nov. 1940: Let the faithful voice
resound and shout aloud, aye, let Matus, small but eager sing in jubilation,
melodiously sing, rouse the echoes and loudly call. So be mindful of me, ye
servants of Christ, aye you who dwell here in the monastery of the Supreme Mes-
senger, the Archangel Michael, inasmuch as I write in awe of our Arch highest
Patron, at the behest of Abbot Victor, out of sheer love, this book on the vision
of John the beloved disciple. Amidst (as part of) its adornment, I have also (que)
painted pictures for the wonderful words of its stories in order, that to those who
know it the coming of the future judgment of the transitory world may bring terror.
Since now the two halves of this finished book have been brought on and
brought again in the era an hundred times thrice three and thrice ten and two, be
glory to the Father and His only Son, together with the Spirit, Trinity.

Below this are thirteen lines in a later hand, consisting of excerpts
from Jerome's Commentary on Daniel.

f. 293v A note in a XIVth century Spanish hand. "Know all who may see this
letter that I John Lopez am in great trouble with Jews because of
moneys which I owe them - I beg God the Father that he may wish to
save me from them for his mercy's sake Amen. And I beg these Mozarabic
writings that they may help me."

Below this is the inscription "Obit Petrus levita C S R . (Convento
Sancti Romani?) Cf. Gomez Moreno, p.185 for San Roman de Hornija in Leon near
Toro, which is somewhat south of Tavara.

f.294-299 Discussion of Apocalypse and comments on Beatus' work (f.298 the un-
known author says: Quod dum dicit Beatus"... & "Idem Beatus qui inter
fecto anti Christo"... ) Begins: In nomine Domini Nostri Iesu Christi
Incipit Liber Apocalipsin." It is written by the scribe of the thir-
teen lines on f.293 - who does not always make the ti distinction.
The hand is later than that of M644 proper and is comparable to that
of the Tavara MS dated 968-70. A detailed analysis of the contents of
this MS, before rearrangement of the leaves in 1940, is to be found in
H.I. Thompson: Descriptive Catalogue of the second series of fifty MSS
(Nos.51 to 100) 1902, p.302-311.

In his letter of Dec.3, 1940, Prof. Henry A. Sanders says: "In my notes of
long ago I find the statement that the extra quire was made up in the 11th
century from the Daniel and Apocalypsis commentaries. Brief examination con-
irms this view, though there are many extracts which I did not locate in
either work...I can refer them to no known ms, certainly not to No.644. Per-
haps some relationship to the Silos type. This quire is not an Apologetic
a part thereof. I know no other Beatus Ms that has similar added material.
Text: a great many leaves of text are missing, corresponding to the portions printed by H. Sanders on pp. 54-61, 73-91, 98-127, 432, 436, 472-474, 500, 544, 59-593.

M644 is of the third edition of the text, as revised by Beatus in 786. H. Sanders assigns it to his Class I, i.e., it contains the chapter De Antiichristo as chapter 6 of Book VI (ff. 171-174). W. Neuss' conclusions regarding the category to which M644 belongs are the same as Sanders, and Neuss included a study of the world maps as additional evidence.

According to Neuss, (p. 101) M644 is textually in group II in line of descent from Beatus' original version; this includes the following other MSS: Urgel, Archivo de la Catedral and Valladolid, Biblioteca Santa Cruz, which are of the tenth century. Later MSS in the same group are Madrid Bib.Nac.B 31 which is eleventh century and London B.M. Add.11695 which is of the twelfth.

Script: (Tentative conclusions). The text is written in a medium Visigothic minuscule by at least five scribes. The i-longa is used and the differentiation of the ti sounds are made throughout. The method of dating Visigothic MSS by the form of quee and bus suspensions advanced in 1910 by Dr. E.A. Lowe is disproved by this MS where none of the scribes makes a distinct separation between the dot and comma stroke, though this form is to be found in the Tavara MS (now in the Madrid Archivo Historico Nacional) which is dated 968-70.

Various shades of brown black ink are used.

Scribe 1 (probably Maius, from comparison of per form with colophon), ff. 10, 15v where he recurs on one paragraph of the first column, 27, 34 etc. He is characterized by short stems below the line, little shading and evidence of even pressure. He abbreviates per as \[\text{emph} \text{in distillation, viz. for gratiam and for Ticonio. Scribe 2 begins on f. 11, column 2. His hand is more cramped, with long tapering shafts to the letters, both above and below the line. His per is not always contracted, when so he writes \[\text{emph} \text{in distinction, viz. for vitiata and for cotidie. Scribe 3 on f. 16 is related to Scribe 2 but turns up the ends of letters below the line, viz. \[\text{emph} \text{in. He writes out per or uses the symbol. Makes ti distinction, viz. for antiqua and for resurrectionis. Scribe 4 (f. 95) is similar to Scribe 1 in having a firm, clear hand, though it is larger and less inclined to separate the words. His per is \[\text{emph} \text{Bus and quee are} \[\text{emph} \text{On f. 117 he writes: Finit Storia Allelula Amen. Makes ti distinction viz. \[\text{emph} \text{in cogitations, and h for humiliatis. Scribe 5 (f. 269-292v) writes with dash and liveliness. His per is \[\text{emph} \text{He introduces blue ink captions on f. 270, their only occurrence in the MS. Makes ti distinction, viz. for sanatio, and for vertitur. The Beatus MS fragments H H 58 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid are of an earlier 10th century date than M644, (the quee-bus suspension mark is a veritable semicolon in that MS) otherwise the character of its writing appears most comparable to that of M644. It is also written on 34 lines. }

Certain mechanical aids to the reader such as running titles in red, give the Book numbers of M644 various marginal rubrics, viz. the numerals I-vii written opposite the text, correspond to the number of the angel mentioned.
Folios 11-13 have a numerals c-ccc in rubrics for the corresponding verses of the Apocalypse text which are in rubrics throughout. They were not continued in the MS and do not conform to present Vulgate textual divisions. Omissions are indicated at the place by (desunt hic) and supplied in the lower margin followed by the abbreviation SR for super.

Decoration: The text is profusely illustrated by miniatures in the Mozarabic style. Many of them are rubbed and scratched. This may be partly due to the waxy base used under the colors. These are rich, subdued, harmonious and of the greatest possible variety.

The outstanding characteristics of the artist's work are neatness, symmetry and care. The illustrations to Daniel are by another, somewhat mediocre artist who does not frame them. One of the charms of Maius' work are his frames, consisting of decorated bands whose ornament is composed of remarkably varied interlace and linear ornament and corner fleurons. The illustrative character of the miniatures is emphasized by the careful labelling of action and elements of interest in the compositions in neat uncial letters. The figures have an archaic, unearthly quality. This is due to the intensity of their gaze, achieved by reserving white spots for the almond shaped eyes, whose large black pupils and heavy black outlines contrast with the reddish brown flesh tones. The drapery of the figures is voluminous and by swirling folds and patterns the miniaturist compensates for poor anatomical understanding. A mixture of eastern influences are evident. Some of the bearded, mustached figures are reminiscent of the Gudohinus Gospels from Fleury now at Autun. The headress and attitudes of the warriors, as on f.142v and the type of Abraham f.6, can be duplicated on Greek vase paintings. The short deep shiffs with six ears, that are drawn upon the sea of the world map appear also upon Roman mosaics (Cf. Fr. Moll: Das Schiff in der bilden den Kunst, 1929, Bxa). F.177v has an ancient Roman wine press of the type still in use in Spain, one of which may be seen at Argentona in Catalonia. On f.183v there appears a gate, fastened in a way used by the Arabs also still common in Spain. Some of the same stylized patterned animals and high Phrygian caps are found in 8th century Irish art. In certain MSS of St. Gall the swathing, patterned garments may be duplicated. These, with their multicolored linear decoration compensate for the artist's disregard of natural body movement and proportions, entire emphasis being placed on the surface ornamentation.

It is probable that the illustrators of the Beatus text were given a choice of two types. Magius in M644 used ornamental frames of a great variety of design around practically all of the pictures; this type was followed by Ovenco in the Valcavado Beatus and by Maius, Emeterius and the others who worked on the Tavara MS now in the Archivo Historico at Madrid. But Madrid HH 58 (an earlier Xth century MS) demonstrates that a second type had infrarmed illustrations interpolated in the text, in the manner followed by the artist in M644, ff.40, 40v, and the other miniatures illustrating Jeromes Commentary on Daniel.

The large initial letters consist of interlaced bands and stylized floral motives on stems divided into small fields of various colors. The smaller initials have acanthus volute decoration. Between the columns of text of ff.149v and 234 and in the margin on f.7 can be seen sketches made by the artist with the stylus.
Square labyrinth, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with the lettering: SCI MICAEI B. (The last contractions possibly signify Liber. Beati.).

Christ seated, holding open book. Matthew holding roll. Above, within the arch and against a banded background of blue, orange and green, the nimbed symbol of Matthew holding staff, $10\frac{3}{8} \times 9$ inches. In upper margin red inscription from Sedulius, Carmen Paschale, 1, 355—(these accompany the first six pictures).

Two angels, standing with legs crossed hold book between them. Above, the half figure of Luke's symbol, though intended for the Lion of St. Mark, with human body.

Christ seated, holding open book; Luke to right, holding roll. In the arch above is Luke's symbol.


Two angels holding staves, and between them a book. Above in lunette the half length symbol of John with human body, holding a book.

Adam and Eve at beginning of genealogical table. $2 7/8 \times 2 3/4$ in.

Noah standing before an altar with two doves. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Abraham sacrificing Isaac. $2 3/8 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Genealogical tables, composed of circles.

Initial I for beginning of text.

Mosaic ornament. $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Christ beardless, holding open book, seated on throne flanked by nimbed angels. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7 \frac{5}{8}$ inches. In zone 2, the calling of John. An angel at left holds open book, in center, John nimbed. Behind him another male figure.

Christ beardless, standing in cloud mandorla, holding book. Below two groups of nimbed men looking up. Some of these men have thin beards.

In three zones (1) Seven hanging lamps; (2) John prostrate before seated, beardless Christ, key in left hand. A nimbed angel to the right; (3) John, holding open book, right hand extended to arcades inscribed with names of the seven churches.

World map. Fishes and ships in rectangular stream of water surrounding the continents. In rectangle, Adam and Eve, Fall of Man.

Four beasts of Daniel's vision. Unframed.

Image of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream. At its feet a stone, to the right a mountain.

Scarlet woman seated on beast. She holds a goblet.

John holding book, addressed by angel. The church of Ephesus on right.

John receives an open book from an angel. Cross-surmounted church of Smyrna on the right.

John receives an open book from angel. Church of Pergamos, surmounted by a cross on the right.

An angel, leaning against the church of Thyatira on the left, reaches out a book to John on the right.

John and an angel hold an open book between them. On the left the church of Sardis.
John and an angel hold between them an open book and key. The church of Philadelphia on the right.

Cross-surmounted church of Laodicia; angel holding spear, addresses John who holds a book in draped hands.

Noah in the Ark receiving the olive branch from the dove. Within the ark on five tiers are the family of Noah, birds, serpents and three sections of larger animals. In margin at left the Deluge is indicated by a corpse pecked by a raven. At the right, a dove sits in an olive tree.

In the center, Christ seated on cushioned throne in circular, starred mandorla. Above, two groups of elders. Flanking the mandorla are seven lamps and darts representing lightning and voices. Below, a row of seated elders. In the lower right corner John lies on the ground with a ray of light from the Holy Ghost descending to him. A remarkably strong effect of tempest at sea.

The Adoration of the Lamb of God which is holding a Cross and book in a medallion surrounded by half figures of the Four winged Beasts on wheels, holding open books; and by twelve of the twenty-four elders, four prostrate, four holding vials, four seated one on bench and one on a fold-stool, playing violas, all within larger medallion having starred border. Supported by two cherubim and two seraphim.

The Fifth Seal — the souls of martyrs. In the upper zone an altar over which hang four votive offerings; beneath the altar and flanked by flocks of doves representing the souls of the martyrs is the cowled half length figure of a man. In the third zone are three hanging votive crowns between two groups of martyrs.

The Sixth Seal — the earthquake. In upper zone, Christ in circular starred mandorla, is enthroned, holding a book. Two angels, flanked by two elders support the throne. In a yellow band, below are the discs of the darkened sun and moon. In the lowest zone, three groups of men hiding in mountains gaze in fear at falling stars among trees.

The winds are restrained. An oval surrounded by the sea in which fish swim. Four winds represented as nimbed angels, below from the ends toward the center. Within the oval, a nimbed angel holding a cross descends from the sun toward four groups of saints representing the tribes. Trees and bushes fill in spaces.

Adoration of the Lamb by the multitude. The miniature is painted on three horizontal zones, of which the upper has a small oblong separated at the extreme right. Zone 1 — Lamb of God holding cross in a medallion supported by the wings of the Four Beasts with human bodies on wheels. These are flanked by two groups of angels. In rectangle at right, an angel addresses John, holding an open book. Zone 2 — twenty-one martyrs holding palm branches — painted against a yellow background. Zone 3 — four rows of saints, labeled: 144 sons of Israel.

A palm tree with birds pecking at the fruit. Beneath are six martyrs holding palm leaves.

Silence in heaven (Seal VII). Twelve stars in a yellow rectangle. The yellow color is intended for gold i.e. Silence is golden. Seal VII, trumpets given.
Christ enthroned within a circular pearled mandorla. To the right are seven angels holding up trumpets. In center of next zone, an angel holding a censer over a laming altar. At the left the same angel flies toward the earth and empties the censer upon it. The earth is represented by trees and mountains, with shafts of lightning in the form of arrows.

First Trumpet - Fire and Hail. Above an angel sounds a trumpet, causing hail to descend on trees and mountains below.

Trumpet II, Burning Mountain. Above an angel sounds a trumpet; below a burning mountain falls into the sea in which fish, ships and corpses are to be seen.

Trumpet III, Burning Star. Above an angel blowing trumpet. A large flaming star falls to the left. Below are three rivers and two fountains on which corpses and fish can be seen.

Trumpet IV, Partial Darkness. On the left an angel blows a trumpet toward the partially darkened sun, and moon. In the center an eagle flies among the scattered stars.

Trumpet V, Falling Star. Two groups of stars flank the sun, darkened by smoke rising from the pit. Below, an angel sounds trumpet and five locusts, represented as Scorpios, sting five men on their heads. In globe below, marked "Abissus" is contained a kneeling wingless angel holding a key, and the fallen star.

Trumpet V, Locust Plague. Above, Apollyon with spear, charges upon large fantastic animal, whose tall sting is affixed to a man. Below are three other similar animals similarly employed.

Trumpet VI, Angels at Euphrates. Christ enthroned seated in arc of heaven with starred border. On the right an altar flanked by two angels blowing trumpets. Flowing from the arc across the miniature is the Euphrates river, in which fish are swimming. Four nimbed angels to the left stand within the river's bend.

John taking the Book. Angel in cloud on left with hand raised to arc of heaven with starred border, right foot in sea of fish, left on land, giving book to John. On right, John receives measuring rod from angel. Below, John bearded, measuring temple, within whose confines two groups of saints prostrate themselves.

Witnesses. Two hanging lamps between which stand Elijah and Enoch, in monks habits. Flames issue from their mouths. Two trees in lower right.

The Witnesses slain.
Seven men stand within the gate of Jerusalem which is being demolished by seven men armed with swords, staves and rods. Below, Enoch and Elijah being decapitated by a group of armed men.

The Woman clothed with the sun. Twelve stars at left above the nimbed woman, rayed sun before the body, standing over the crescent moon; below Woman seated beside stream issuing from the mouth of one of the heads of the dragon which coils horizontally across the miniature. It has seven horned heads wearing discs intended for crowns. Above, Michael and six armed angels are attacking the dragon. On the right in segment of heaven, with starred border, an angel presents the child to the enthroned Christ, who is attended by an angel on the right. Below in the right, three angels cast the damned into hell, where Satan lies vanquished in stocks, with chain held by one of the angels.
f.154v The Resurrection of the witnesses. Christ enthroned above, flanked by two angels and groups of stars, toward whom Enoch and Elijah ascend in a cloud. They are watched by five men representing their enemies. Below, two groups of prostrate men, representing remnant of men; below these are corpses and falling architecture.

156v Trumpet VII. An angel, foot poised on a stool is sounding trumpet.

156v Temple in Heaven. Ark of the covenant within an architectural setting representing the temple. Darts surround the Temple, toward which a fantastic beast rises from the abyss.

164v False Prophet and Beast. Beast only represented.

166v Fox carrying a cock.

171v Antichrist's table under arcades; in column 2 the name of Satan is spelled Teitan.

174v Adoration of the Lamb – a new song. Twelve of the twenty-four elders flanking half-figures of the Four winged Beasts, with human bodies, on wheels, holding books. Below is the Lamb of God standing upon Mount Zion; it is surrounded by four groups of saints playing guitars (citharæs).

176v The Three Angels – 1st zone, in a segment of heaven are the three angels surrounded by stars. The first angel – of the Everlasting Gospel – is flying down, holding the book. The lower zone shows men and buildings of Babylon falling.

178v The earth and its harvest. In first zone a nimbed and crowned angel standing on a cloud, holding sickle is addressed by another angel. To the right, an angel holding a pruning hook comes out of an architectural frame representing a temple. Below, in center of picture an angel from whose hands flames come out, stands upon an altar. He is flanked by men reaping rain and gathering grapes. In last zone on left, a city gate, to the right of which are two horses beside a wine press operated by a man.

181v Angels of Plagues. Above, seven angels holding vials. A broad band of orange interlace. Below, in center, the Lamb of God, holding cross, flanked by eight saints standing on a sea of glass and playing musical instruments.

183v The giving of the vials. Above, the open portal of the temple within a circular aperture. The surrounding buff frame appears unfinished. In lower half of the composition the Eagle with human body on wheel gives a vial to the last of seven angels.

185v Seven angels in a row, holding seven vials which they are about to pour out.

186v The First Vial – Sores. An angel pours out his vial upon the earth, represented by trees and shrubs.

187v At left: Second Vial – an angel pours vial out upon a sea of blood; at right; Third Vial – angel pours out vial upon rivers and fountains.

189v Fourth Vial – Scorching heat. An angel pours out vial upon the sun.

190v Fifth Vial – the seat of the Beast. An angel pours vial out upon a large seven-headed beast.

190v Sixth Vial – the Euphrates dried up. An angel pours vial upon the river, containing fish.

193v Seventh Vial – Earthquake. An angel pours vial out into the air which is filled with lightning, represented as darts, and hail, which fall toward the three gates of Babylon.
f.194v The scarlet woman on the waters. The scarlet woman enthroned, wearing a "mural" crown giving a large goblet to one of two bearded kings.

200 Victory of the Lamb over the Kings. The Lamb of God holding a cross in the starred arc of heaven. Below, two nimbed warriors (in David-Goliath attitudes) make war on beast and coiling dragon. Three decapitated corpses to the left.

202v An angel flies over the burning city of Babylon.

203 The destruction of Babylon lamented by a row of six kings and a row of six merchants.

205v The angel casting a millstone into a sea containing fish.

207 The judgment of Christ is praised. Christ enthroned holding a book is adored by the four symbols of the Evangelists upon wheels. Below are the twenty-four elders, prostrate. In the lowest zone, an angel raises the prostrate John.

209v An angel standing in the sun, addresses birds grouped around him.

211 The taking of the Beast and False Prophet. In center above, the Beast being belaborred by two men armed with a spade and a crook. Below, the prostrate prophet being punished by two men with clubs. At the extreme right, two ravens attack a corpse.

212 An angel holds the chain of the captured dragon in his right hand, and a key in the left. He advances toward a pit in which Satan is fastened in the stocks.


215v Satan freed. Above - the seven-headed beast flanked by two groups of men representing nations. Below - The Holy City besieged by Anti-Christ and his cohorts. In lowest level, three mountains in which men have sought safety.

218 Satan cast into fiery lake - two naked men and a Beast near him.

219 The Cross of Oviedo, on stepped base with A and pendant.

219v- Last Resurrection and Judgment. Christ enthroned within circular mandorla supported by two angels. Below, in three zones, two central groups of three saints being judged by two groups of seated apostles(2) accompanied by a saint. To balance the composition, the artist has reversed the grouping in the lowest zone. Opposite in f.220, the first zone shows a row of fifteen judged men, arms entwined and hands clasped; below, the condemned in attitudes of sorrow; in lowest zone, the damned in hell.

222v The measuring of the New Jerusalem. The flattened square city wall of Jerusalem, within whose twelve gates stand the twelve Apostles. In the chequered square center an angel with measuring rod, the Lamb of God holding cross and St. John with book.

223 The Tree of Life. Christ enthroned within oval mandorla flanked by eighteen saints seated under arcades. The River of Life flows down from the mandorla between the Trees of Life having twelve branches. John and an angel stand on a mount in right corner. Neuss, p.219; Churrucu, p.66.

231v Christ promising His reward. Christ enthroned in circular pearled mandorla held by two angels. Below, the prostrate John is being raised by an angel. In the lowest zone, John holding a book stands before two arcades inscribed with the names of the seven churches.
Table of Consanguinity.

Tree of Consanguinity.

Within the city of Babylon under three arches are the sarcophagi of the Three Hebrews. Two serpents frame the portal of the city, and two large serpents surround it.

The siege of Jerusalem, defended by seven men in the towers. Below at the left Jeremiah seated on a stone, mourning. Facing this, on f.241, the blinding of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar enthroned, holding spear and roll, and to his left, an executioner killing the two sons of Zedekiah. A troop of mounted and foot soldiers advance upon the city.

The first dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Unframed. Above, the king lies in bed. Below at left the gigantic image, with a stone at its feet. At the right the image in fragments, topped by a mountain with bushes. Facing this, in f.244, are a mountain, below which Nebuchadnezzar enthroned receives the five wise men.

Worship of Nebuchadnezzar's image. Unframed miniatures. Upper half occupied by large image, flanked by groups of worshippers. Below, Nebuchadnezzar crowned, seated, points to furnace containing three Hebrews and an angel.

Daniel interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar.

Second dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Large tree with birds in the branches. Below, at left, an ox - at right Nebuchadnezzar naked, eating leaves.

Belshazzar's Feast. Under a large horseshoe arch, Daniel watches hand issuing from candle-stick, inscribing arch with stylus. Below, Belshazzar crowned, reclining on sigma couch with other men. The table is spread, a servant approaches with flasks.

Daniel in the lion's den. A nimbed angel holding a scepter carries Habakkuk, holding a bowl. Daniel, orant, is flanked by two lions licking his feet. Darius the Mede, lying in bed flanked by armed body guard.

Daniel's vision of the ancient of Days. The Ancient of Days enthroned holding book, under an arch framed by two rows of nimbed heads of angels and flanked by two fiery wheels. A fiery stream flows from the throne, flanked by the Four Symbols. Personifications of three winds in the corners.

Daniel's vision of the ram and goat. A ram fighting with goat has its horns broken. Below half-length figure of Daniel appears over the gate of Shushan, beside which, at the right is a large ram with unbroken horns.

Gabriel besought to interpret the vision to Daniel.

Gabriel interprets the vision to Daniel. Gabriel holding a spear flies down to Daniel who stands before a blazing altar. Below, Daniel reclines on a mattress.

Daniel's vision of a man in linen. The man in linen, represented as angel standing on a river approaches Daniel, whose arms are outstretched. Within the curves of the Tigris are two angels.
History: Written and illuminated in 922 or 926 by Maius for a monastery dedicated to St. Michael, at the request of Abbot Victor. On f.10 is an almost obliterated ex libris note "De la real Biblioteca del Escorial". This is by Gugielmo Libri who owned the MS in 1847. The same inscription is to be found in M191. These were both sold by Libri, c.1852, to Bertram, Earl of Ashburnham, from whose library they were purchased by Henry Yates Thompson in 1897. Obtained from Quaritch in 1919.

*Scribblings in Spanish throughout the MS show that in the 17th century it was still in Spain.

Gomez Moreno (see Bibliography) was the first to suggest that M644 had been executed at the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada. This was erected near the city of Leon in northern Spain in 913 A.D. That date would throw out 894 as a possible date for M644.


In the foregoing document, written in the name of Bishop Gennadius, he disposes of the properties of his office as bishop, renouncing the world to spend his last days in a desert hermitage.

Because of his being bishop of Leon and the fact that the document bears the signatures of Leonese princes and clergy, Gomez Moreno suggested that the abbot Victor, who also signed as witness, was the Victor referred to in the colophon of M644, and that he might be abbot of St. Miguel de Escalada. This inference of Gomez-Moreno has led succeeding writers on M644 to say with reservation or sometimes unequivocally, that the MS was executed by Maius for Abbot Victor of the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada.

It is known that in 913 the abbot of Escalada was Alfonso, and that in 940 (according to Fidel Fita in the Boletin de la acad. hist. XXXII (1898) p.471) the abbot was Recesvindo. As Recesvindo signs the above document as abbot in 920, it is most unlikely that Victor was abbot of Escalada at that time. But there were a large number of monasteries in Leon dedicated to St. Michael, viz: San Miguel de Sorba near Leon; San Miguel in valle Ardon; San Miguel de Burgos, San Miguel de Camarzana, San Miguel de Obona, and many others. San Miguel de Obona founded in 818 near Oviedo was one of the earliest and wealthiest in Spain. San Miguel in Valle Ardon was located near Valcavado.

It seems to me that San Miguel de Camarzana is as likely, if not more probable than the others as the recipient of M644. This monastery, mentioned in Espana Sagrada vol.16, p.63, is situated on the river Tera, in the diocese of Astorga. The existence of this monastery is documented (Florez uses the term consta) from 980 to 1063. It is quite near the monastery of San Salvador de Tavara, where Maius worked and was buried in 968.
The Tavara artists had their workshop in a tall bell tower adjoining the monastery. A picture of it survives in the Xth century Beatus MS, now in the Archivo Historico Nacional at Madrid. It shows two monks at work before their desks, their names are Senior and Emeterius. It is Emeterius who, in the colophon, states that the MS. was unfinished on Maius' death in 908, and as he was a pupil of that foremost artist, the scriptorium sent for him to come to Tavara and finish the book, which was done in 970. A scribe Moniu was also allowed to sign his name in this MS. The similarity of the Tavara Beatus to M.644 is obvious in compositions and style, it may therefore by assumed that M.644 was commanded by Abbot Victor possibly of Tavara of Maius, for some monastery of St. Michael. Maius, working in Tavara continued producing other MSS.

A rough, direct copy of M.644 was made in the Xth century by Obeco for an abbot Sempronius. It is dated 970 and though now preserved at Valladolid, it is known as the Valçavado Beatus, because of having come from that monastery. There may be a reference to San Salvador in Obeco's invocation of "Dominum Redemptorem." The names of Senior scribe, and of the artist Emeterius, and Ende, a woman assistant, appear again in the colophon of the Gerona Beatus of 975, executed at the request of Abbot Dominic. According to Miller the Tavara MS. was the source of the Gerona map. As Tavara was a double monastery, i.e. it was for both men and women, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the women were also engaged in the arts of the scriptorium.

It is likely furthermore, that Victor (922) Sempronius (970) and Dominic (975) were all abbots of Tavara.

Bofarull y Sans in his catalogue of the 1888 Barcelona exhibition, p.49 says that an abbot Dominic (not necessarily the same), according to ancient documents, lived 51 years before the execution of the Beatus codex, signing as witness to a document of donation made by the King of Leon to the monastery of San Martin de Castaneda, which like Tavara is situated on the River Tera, but does not say where Dominic ruled. It would require a thorough examination of Spanish archives to substantiate or disprove the above assignment to Tavara of the three abbots.


Add cards:

Hieronymus, Saint [Commentarii in Danielem] ff. 239-92v
MSS.-Illum.-Spanish - X cent.
Provenance - Michael, Monastery of the Archangel.
" - Romanus, Monastery of Saint
" - Victor, Abbot
" - Lopez, Juan
" - Ashburnham, Bertram earl of
" - Thompson, Henry Yates
MSS.-Illum.-Scribes: Maius, d. 968.
" " - Colophons.
" " - Dated: 922 or 926
Palaeography-Visigothic - X cent.
Art News Annual 1951

Introductions

’21, p. 116

Catholic (1950) 6: 20

Biblicum medi: curit

St. Agnellin’s Repentory

Ceraso County Museum

Manuscripts con pinturas

†1933. 0. 194 # 334

Dominguez Bordon

Mural Painting

Catedrall 1930

P.I.S.
The Closers, Spanish
1954-Jan 30, 1955

The Closing, Spanish
1954-Jan 30, 1955

Early Spanish Treasures at the Cloisters, Commissaire, cit., xxxvii (September, 1955), 19.


Günter von Daim, */Mittelelterliche Kunst*


R. Crozet, "Las representaciones antropozoomórficas de los Evangelistas..." Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, I (1958) 186, pg.2.


For printed text or notices of this MS. see: p.18


Morgan MS. No. M. 644

For printed text or notices of this MS. see:


Fol. 153v

Dates 912, made in monastery of St Michael for abbot Uta by Magius (or Majus)

RS. eff. 9 Anglo-Saxon Art


p. 212, no. 48.

For printed text or notices of this MS. see:


Beat Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen kunst des ersten Jahrtausends* (Vienna, 1966), fig. 43, 44.


Jeanne M. Tassé, *An Iconographical 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, PhD diss. Boston University, 1972 (University Microfilms)


For printed text or notices of this MS. see:


Adoration of the Lamb
Tomb in Mt. Sinai

OK checked M
For printed text or notices of this MS. see:

3v  pl. 12
4   pl. 13
79  pl. 14
152v-153 pl. 15-16
87   pl. 17
142v  pl. 18
194v  pl. 19a and b.
255v
222v  pl. 20

Anna C. Esmeijer, *DIVINA QUARTINAS,* (The Netherlands, 1978) fig. 48, p. 198;

*Gilles Quispel, The Secret Book of Revelation, N.Y., 1979* [sic.]

Antonio Thiery, "A che punto è la questione mozarabica," *Arte medievale,* 2nd series, II/2, 1988, 55, fig. 14 [fol. 223].

Mezoughi, Noureddine, "Le fragment de Beatus illustré conservé à Silos," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa,* XIII, 1982, fig. 6.


Rebecca S. Beal, "Beatrice in the Sun: A Vision from Apocalypse," *Dante Studies,* 103 (1985), 58, 61, fig. 1.
For printed text or notices of this MS. see:


For printed text or notices of this MS. see:


Alice Skinner and Robin Larsen, "In Search of the Soul," Chrysalis, winter 1985, 10, fig. 13.

Morgan MS. No. M 644

For printed text or notices of this MS. see:

Wilma Fitzgerald, "Ocelli Nominum: Names and Shelf Marks of Famous/Familiar Manuscripts (I)," Mediaeval Studies, XLV, 1983,

Ashburnham-Morgan Beatus, p. 222b

Wilma Fitzgerald, "Ocelli Nominum: Names and Shelf Marks of Famous/Familiar Manuscripts (I)," Mediaeval Studies, XLV, 1983,

Borjanus (Greek and Coptic), p. 232b
DATE OF THE MORGAN BEATUS 644: The colophon which is now generally agreed to read 926 A.D., reveals that the manuscript was the product of one Magius who has left there his signature. The frontispiece as well as the colophon imply that Magius worked in a monastery dedicated to St. Michael (San Miguel de Escalada?).

DESCRIPTION OF THE EARLY MORGAN BEATUS: It contains 302 folios of vellum. The text is written in a visigothic minuscule with headings in colored capitals. The text is arranged in 2 columns of 34 lines each on a page. The folios measure 15 x 11 inches.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOLIOS OF THE EARLY MORGAN BEATUS: The following descriptions refer to the present arrangement (1953) of the folios following rebinding by the Morgan Library.

FOLIO 1v: Within the cross-hatched diamond field, the inscription may be read in several directions as LIB SIC MICAELI. From this inscription and from the colophon (fol. 293) it is deduced that the manuscript was written at and for a monastery dedicated to St. Michael.

Next follows a set of 6 (originally 8) pictures of the Evangelists. 2 are lost with a leaf which is gone after folio 1. Each Evangelist should have 2 compositions devoted to him, on the first of which he is himself portrayed below his symbol contained within a Mozarabic arch, while the second shows 2 angels holding between them the Evangelist's book, again below his symbol and inclosed within a Mozarabic arch. Small birds (including cock, pigeon, crane, etc.) are depicted perched on short vines extending from the abaci on each of these pages.

1v: Matthew, bearded and nimbed, sits on a large cushioned chair and holds open his Gospel book (in the shape of a pedimented object). To his right a beardless figure holds a scroll and gestures as though speaking. In the Mozarabic arch above appears Matthew's symbol, the man with a halo but without wings. Basket interlace decoration similar to Coptic examples, appears in the arch. Behind the 2 major figures appears a divided and patterned curtain. The throne on which Matthew sits is flat and two-dimensional, similar to Celtic manuscript illuminations. The decoration on the columns, which have debased Corinthian capitals, has a geometric enamel-like character.

2r: 2 standing winged angels with legs crossed, each leaning an elbow on a short pillar, hold between them St. Mark's Gospel over a third short pillar. Above, St. Mark's symbol appears in an anthropomorphic synthesis.

2v: Bearded and nimbed, St. Luke sits on the left holding his Gospel (a pedimented tablet). To his right a beardless male figure, holding a scroll, without nimbus faces St. Luke and extends his right hand towards the Evangelist. A debased Ionic column supports the curtains in the middle.

3r: 2 winged angels facing each other hold a Gospel book between them. Above, the anthropomorphic representation of St. Luke's symbol.

3v: Bearded and nimbed, St. John sits on the right and holds a scroll
3v: (cont.) in his right hand. A beardless male figure without nimbus stands to the left of the Evangelist, holding a large tablet (?) which has been painted over with white paint. Above, the Eagle of St. John.

4r: 2 winged and nimbed angels each with a long staff hold St. John’s Gospel book. Above, St. John’s anthropomorphic eagle.

Next follows the genealogical tables which contain many ornamented circles within which are inscribed the names of the descendants of Adam and Eve. A decorative band runs along the top of each page.


5r: Continuation of the Table with 4 horseshoe arches enclosed within 2 larger ones with 4 circles giving the names of the sons of LAMECH.

5v: Noe, wearing boots, beardless and nimbed, stands in the upper left corner beside a T-shaped altar on which perch 2 doves.

6r: The Sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham, bearded and nimbed, holds a large knife with his right hand. He appears to wear a round orange hat (halo?). His left hand rests under Isaac’s head. Isaac with hands tied, lies on his back upon a T-shaped altar. The Hand of God appears above emerging from an amorphous blue cloud.

6v - 9v: Continuation of Genealogical Tables. 9v has wide interlaced bands used as frames in a manner which is adapted unaltered by later Beatus scribes (e.g., Madrid, Nat. Lib. No. B31, fol. 16v, finished 1047).

10r: The first page of the preface of Beatus to Etherius. IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI INCIPIT LIBER REVELATIONIS...

10v: The beginning of the prologue of Beatus to Etherius.

22r: A large horseshoe arch covering half the page incloses the following: INCIPI TRACIATUS DE APOCALIPSIN JOHANNIS...

22v: A large decorative quatrepartite rosette appears on the lower right section of the page.

23r: Apoc. 1:1-6. The first of the Apocalypse pictures. Two scenes. Upper register: A seated and nimbed Christ in center between two angels. Ins: ubi dominus angelo librum tradet. Lower register: On the left the angel, without nimbus, holds the book with both hands. In the center St. John looks towards the angel and gestures with his right hand as if designating the angel’s arrival. A third figure to the far right also gestures towards the angel. A gulloche pattern appears in the cross bar separating the two registers.

26r: Apoc. 1:7-9: Christ appears in an amoeboid cloud. Below: 9 spectators, wearing short tunics and cloaks, gesturing excitedly and looking up at the figure of Christ.
27v: Apoc. 1:10-20. Upper register: the 7 Candles (SEPTIM CANDELABRA) set in semicircular lamps seen in section. Middle register: On the left, the 7 Stars are represented. To the right of them St. John prostrates himself before Christ seated in the center of the scene on his cushioned throne, holding a hinged key. An angel appears behind the throne to the right. Lower register: St. John holds a pedimented tablet. He stands before the 7 Churches represented by 2 tiers of Moorish horseshoe arches. The border has a crude interlace decoration.

33v - 34r: MAPPA MUNDI enframed by a rectangular border representing the seas. Fish, eels, and outlines representations of boats are depicted (see right) within the border. Land areas are designated: EUROPA, ASIA, LIBIA, & ETHIOPIA.

40r: Daniel's 4 Beasts, inserted between lines of the text. (Daniel 7:3-8)

40v: The Image seen by Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 2:31-35). Image's head of fine gold (yellow), breast and arms of silver (grey), stomach and thighs of brass (greenish), legs of iron (red), and feet part iron and part clay (black). Stone is yellow and mountain is blue.

42r: Da Vuliere super beestan. A woman is shown mounted on a dark-brown prancing beast facing right. She holds in her hand a red goblet, and her face has been erased (a common fate for evil personages in these Spanish manuscripts, possibly associated with the fear of the "Evil Eye"). A guilloche pattern appears in the frame.

47v: 2 decorative rosettes.

48r: Apoc. 2:1-7. 1st Church. St. John on the left holds tablet with both hands. In center an angel with wings raised into the air gestures towards the tablet. At right, a pedimented edifice representing the Church of Ephesus.


57v: Apoc. 2:12-17. St. John gives open diptych to angel. Within the portal was inscribed: Portacum (now effaced). Small cross appears on top of the Church. Guilloche border.

62r: Apoc. 2:18-29. The church is on the left. Within its portal is inscribed: Tiathture. The Angel crosses his legs and leans on a support. Guilloche border with knots at corners.


70v: Apoc. 3:7-13. At the left, St. John gives an open diptych and a long hinged key to the Angel. Church has double-arched portal with inscription: Filadelfia. Both figures wear a green chiton and a purple himation.
76v: A single stylized cross-shaped rosette at the bottom right of text.

77v: Apoc. 3:14–22. Church at Laodicea at the left with 3 arches and a small cross at the top. St. John is shown with covered hands holding diptych.

79r: Noah's Ark (Arca Noe). The Ark is shown in cross section and contains the following:
a. 1st Level - 2 birds in end compartments; in the center is Noah flanked by 4 daughters (L.) and 3 sons holding hands (R.). Noah has a green halo and is reaching up to dove outside which grasps a 4 branched olive limb.
b. 2nd Level - rooster and hen, 2 quail (?), rabbit and 2 interlaced snakes.
c. 3rd Level - goat, hoofed animal, goat, monkey standing & leopard.
d. 4th Level - lion, bear, 2 wolves (or dogs?).
e. 5th Level - Elephant; camel, giraffe, horse, deer, and a purple cow coughing up blood (?) into bowl.

Outside of the ark are shown a dead bird in an uprooted tree and a raven devouring a dead man.

82v: 2 stylized rosettes, one below each column of the text. One rosette contains a basket-weave pattern.

83r: Apoc. 4:1–6. Christ enthroned. At the top, 10 seated Elders appear with a white disc on the top of each nimbus outlined in blue - these are their crowns. Below, Christ is enthroned in a circular mandorla decorated with 21 stars. He holds a pedimented tablet in His left hand. Lightning (represented like spears) radiates from the mandorla. Below are the 14 remaining Elders seated as in the upper register. St. John, bearded, reclines on a cushion at the bottom right. A small dove approaching mandorla is connected to the mouth of John by a small irregular line. 7 Lamps appear to either side of Mandorla.

87r: Apoc. 5:1–14. Vision of the Lamb. A full-page circle decorated with 24 stars in the border. In its center is a small circular medallion containing the Lamb holding a staff with a Maltese Cross at the top. Around this central area are the 4 anthropomorphic symbols of the Evangelists, winged and each holding a tablet. They rest upon prostrate figures, and the lower parts of their bodies are formed by quadruplicate circles of red and green. Between the symbols are a total of 4 viol-playing figures with halos and 4 haloed figures with vials. On the outside are 4 angels who cling to the outside border of the large circle. A pedimented tablet appears next to the Lamb.

109r: Apoc. 6:9–11. Upper register: a large T-shaped altar covered with patterns. Above it suspended from chains are 4 crowns (?) and 2 square rosettes. Around the altar base are 39 birds representing souls. In the lower center of the register is an unidentified 3-length figure in green. Lowest register: 43 figures in rows facing 3 hanging rosette medallions.
112r: Apoc. 6:12-17. Upper register: Enthroned Christ in circular mandorla with 22 stars held by a cherub and seraph. 2 Elders appear to either side. Middle register: the sun, black as sackcloth of hair and the moon, red as blood (both are painted dark red with lighter red border and inscription). Lower register: The earthquake. Stars of heaven (half darkened) fall to the earth. 2 trees and 3 blue mountains with caves wherein nimbed figures hide from the face of God.

115r: A single stylized rosette, with interlace.

115v: Apoc. 7:1-8. At each of the 4 corners of the scene stands an angel, each of which holds in his hand one of the 4 winds represented by wavy lines and the inscription: ventus. An angel at top center descends from the sun (sol). This angel descends from the East and holds the seal of God (Maltese Cross) at the end of a staff. 4 groups of men (the servants of God who are to be sealed in their foreheads) stand below. 6 stylized trees and 2 stylized bushes also appear. Waters containing fishes identified as MARZ surround the composition.

117v & 118r: Apoc. 7:9-12. Upper register: 11 winged angels and the 4 winged anthropomorphic symbols of the Evangelists with Ezekiel’s wheels replacing the lower part of their bodies, fall prostrate before the Lamb of God with staff and Cross in a circular mandorla. To the right an Angel talks to St. John. 2nd register: martyrs each carrying a palm branch. 3rd & 4th registers: Left - figures before book-carrying judges; Right - representation of Hell with many nude figures.

131r: A palm tree with dates in which are represented 8 birds. At its foot six nimbed men in tunics hold palm branches.

133r: Apoc. 8:1. Graphic representation of the silence in heaven about the space of half an hour when the 7th seal is opened. 12 rosettes are represented in 4 rows of 3, each with an adjacent letter spelling, SILENTIUM EST.

133v: Apoc. 8:2-6. Upper register: Enthroned Christ in circular mandorla. To the right the 7 Angels holding high their trumpets stand before God. Middle register: incense proceeds (wavy lines) from the T-shaped altar to the throne above. Lower register: the angel in horizontal position empties the censor now filled with the fire of the altar upon the earth. 3 mounds of rocks represent mountains. 2 stylized trees appear. Spears flying through the air represent lightning.
134v: Apoc. 8:7. 1st angel sounds his trumpet. Hail, blood and fire (white spots and red lines) fall on trees and grass below. At the bottom is yellow band, the third of which is hatched with red lines representing the scorched earth.

137v: Apoc. 8:8-9. 2nd angel sounds his trumpet in mid-air. Below, a mountain on fire (red lines) falls point first into the sea. In the sea 3 ships are outlined in white (exactly like those in the sea on the MAPPA MUNDI, fol. 33v & 34r). Fish and dead men are shown. A dark red horizontal stripe in the sea represents the third part of the sea which became blood.

137v: Apoc. 8:10-11. 3rd angel sounds his trumpet. The star called Wormwood falls into the rivers killing men by turning the water bitter. 4 dead male figures surrounded by fish are shown in the rivers.

138v: Apoc. 8:12-13. 4th angel sounds his trumpet. The sky is studded with stars, half of each star is darkened (supposedly a third). The moon (luna) and the sun (Sol) are shown darkened by a third (as at right). An eagle appears in the center flying toward the left.

140v: Apoc. 9:1-6. 5th angel sounds his trumpet. At bottom center the angel with a hinged key is in the bottomless pit with the fallen star. Smoke rises from the pit and blackens the sun directly above it. Top center: 5 of the locusts sting 5 men who have not the sign of God on their foreheads. The locusts are not to kill the men but to torment them for 5 months with the sting of the scorpion. Stars flank the darkened sun.

142v: Apoc. 9:7-12. 4 locusts sting 4 men. Top locust is being controlled by a helmeted angel (Abaddon, the angel of the bottomless pit). Each locust has the body of a horse and lion's paws, a crown on its head, the face of a man, the hair of a woman, and the teeth of a lion. The heads are shown in a combination of front and side views. They wear breastplates like scales, their bodies with horns, and their tails have the power to sting like scorpions. The scorpion tails are formed by beak & reed motives.

144r: Apoc. 9:13-15. 6th angel sounds his trumpet to the left of an altar. God is depicted in upper left corner on a cushioned throne; part of a star-studded mandorla isolates Him. To the right of the altar another angel sounds a trumpet. The 4 angels who are bound in the river Euphrates stand in a row at bottom left. They are being loosed to kill the 3rd part of all men.

146r. Apoc. 10:1-11 through Apoc. 11:1-2. 2 Sections. Upper register: An angel dressed in a cloud stands with his right foot on the sea and his left foot on the earth (terra). He hands an open diptych to St. John which St. John is to eat. At the right, St. John is being given the measuring rod by the angel. Lower register: St. John bearded measures the Temple, the altar and the worshippers who kneel in prayer.
149r: Apoc. 10:3-6. At upper left 2 witnesses (who were to prophesy for 1260 days) stand holding tablets. Their heads and shoulders are draped by a hood (the sackcloth). Fire proceeds from their mouths. Flanking the witnesses and suspended from chains are two lamps. To the right of the figures are 2 olive trees. Guilloche pattern in frame.

150v: 2 stylized rosettes, divided into 4 parts (one square, the other circular) one above the other.

151r: Apoc. 11:7-10. Upper register: A horseshoe arch (the Temple) in which 7 people stand without nimb. On either side of the Temple stand a crowd attacking it with crowbars, spears, swords and clubs. All but 3 figures wear boots. Lower register: Antichrist (face erased) in a tall cocked hat and followed by 3 men decapitates one witness. The head and nude body of the second witness lies to right.

154v: Apoc. 11:11-14. Top section: Christ enthroned holds an open diptych and is flanked by 2 nimbed angels. 12 stars surround the scene. To the right of the throne and below it the 2 witnesses made whole rise in a cloud to the feet of Christ. Second section: 5 nimbed men, the former enemies of the 2 witnesses, watch the event and point to the cloud. Third section: 2 groups of nimbed figures kneel in worship. Fourth section: the earthquake. 5 horseshoe arches (representing 1/10 of the city), square stones and eight dead men fall in all directions. Rosette design in the border. The 8 men symbolize the 7,000 who were slain.

156r: Apoc. 11:15. 7th angel sounds his trumpet. His left foot rests on a square blue block.

156v: Apoc. 11:19. Upper register: The Temple of God, trefoil in shape and with towering walls behind it, opened in heaven. The ark of the Testament is revealed in it. The ark rests on four short legs and has a coped lid. Lower register: Hail and lightning (arrows) fall to the earth while the beast (yellow with green head) ascends from out of the black zone.

152v & 153r: Apoc. 12:1-17. The woman clothed with the sun and with 12 stars above her stands with the crescent moon below her feet. The Douay version of the Bible, N.Y., 1826, p. 264, comments, "The Church of God (the woman) is clothed with the sun, that is, with Christ: she hath the moon, that is, the changeable things of the world, under her feet: and the 12 stars with which she is crowned, are the 12 Apostles." To the right of the woman is the 7 headed dragon with discus (crown) on its heads and a total of 10 horns, its tail extended across the composition. The dragon's tail pulls down 9 stars from Christ's domain, leaving 18 stars in heaven (1/3 of the stars of heaven cast to earth). 7 angels attack the heads of the dragon from the upper zone. In the right corner of folio 153r Christ enthroned points to the scene. He is flanked by 2 angels and St. John. At bottom left the woman is shown with the wings of an eagle which will permit her to escape the
152v & 153r (cont.): dragon. One of his 7 heads vomits water by which he hopes to carry off the woman. The earth below absorbs (swallows up) the water so that the dragon's viles are to no avail. On the right at bottom 3 angels cast down 9 nude figures. The devil (partially erased) lies below and at the very bottom is a row of 5 heads.

164v: Apoc. 13:2. The horned beast with leopard's body, bear's feet and a lion's mouth. This is the beast to which the dragon gave his own strength and power. The right forefoot is raised and his 2 horns are twisted in a loop.

166v: A yellow fox catches hold of the neck of a cock. The commentary on Apoc. 13:11 ("If anyone is to be taken captive, to captivity he goes") makes reference to Matthew 8:20 ("And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.").

171v: A table showing the different interpretations of the number of the Beast. It is arranged in 8 columns each topped by a horseshoe arch.

174v: Apoc. 14:1-5. Upper register: center, the 4 anthropomorphic Evangelistic beasts on Ezekiel's wheels. On each side of them is a group of 6 Elders holding tablets. Lower register: Mt. Sion represented by intertwined arches with foliate patterns in them. The lamb holding the Maltese Cross stands at the apex. 4 groups each of 4 nimbed figures nearly all holding large stringed musical instruments stand 2 groups on either side of Mt. Sion. All but 3 of the musicians use their fingers to strum the instruments.

176v: Apoc. 14:6-13. Upper register: The 3 angels in a starry sky; the angel on the left with tablet in his hand is in horizontal position and preaches to those below while the other 2 angels look on. Lower register: 7 men, including one dismembered nude (those who have worshipped the beast and his image) and horseshoe arches are depicted falling through space. A curious dot pattern appears in the arches (nails?).

178v: Apoc. 14:14-20. Upper left corner a nimbed figure holding a sickle sits on a cloud. To the right stands the angel who tells him to "thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the harvest of the earth is ripe." Apoc. 14:15. A 2nd angel emerges from the temple on the right and holds another hook. On left two nimbed men reap corn with their sickles. In center is the angel who comes out from the altar. He holds fire in each hand. On the right 2 nimbed men cut grapes with hooks. Below: The city is represented by 2 horseshoe arches studded with nails(?). On the right 2 horses wade up to their bridles in blood from the great press of the wrath of God on extreme right. A man, with uplifted arms treads the grapes in the press while holding onto an overhead branch.

181v: Apoc. 15:1-4. Upper register: The 7 angels each hold a bowl filled with round blue and white dots. These bowls are the 7 vials containing the 7 last plagues which constitute the wrath of God. Middle register: broad band of orange lattice work. Lower register: The Lamb with the Cross stands flanked by 2 groups of 4 figures holding stringed musical instruments (the harps of God). Below them is a green sea in which are red lines (the sea of glass mingled with fire).
183v: Apoc. 15:5-7. Upper register: The temple of the tabernacle of the testimony opened in heaven. The temple is depicted as a great green arch with open purple double doors each door having a pair of double rings. A star and a tree (bush) flank the temple on either side. Lower register: the eagle with the wheel of Ezekiel has just finished giving the 7 angels standing in a row the 7 vials filled with the wrath of God. The center angel holds his vial towards the eagle.

185r: Apoc. 16:1. The seven angels hold the vials and stand in a row on a yellow base with s-curved blue lines. Guilloche pattern in border.

186v: Apoc. 16:2. The 1st angel in horizontal position pours the contents of his vial on the earth. 2 trees and 4 bushes stem from a base of s-curved lines.

187r: Apoc. 16:3-7. Left composition: The 2nd angel stands on the sea and pours out the contents of his vial. Right composition: the 3rd angel hovering in mid-air pours out the contents of his vial on the rivers.

189r: Apoc. 16:8-9. 4th Angel flying diagonally in mid-air pours the contents of his vial on the sun (Sol) which is red.

190r: Apoc. 16:10-11. 5th angel in mid-air pours the blue contents of his vial on the 7-headed beast who is walking towards the right. The beast’s tongues are extended to indicate his is gnawing them.

190v: Apoc. 16:12. 6th angel stands on the waters of the Euphrates and pours the contents of his vial into them. 4 fish are represented in the waters.

193r: Apoc. 16:17-21. 7th angel in mid-air empties his vial upwards. The air is filled with lightning (spear-shapes) and hail (dots). Below are 3 buildings (the great city was divided into 3 parts). The central building has one horseshoe arch; the 2 flanking buildings each possess a pair of horseshoe arches.

194v: Apoc. 17:1-2. To the left the great Harlot with elaborate head-dress, face erased. She sits barefoot on 2 cushions which rest on a low, four-legged frame. Two turbaned men stand to her right. One man hands her a large cup with stemmed base.

200r: Apoc. 17:14. Above, an irregular segment of sky with 11 stars in which stands the Lamb with the Cross on a staff. Below 2 nimbed men with shields battle the Beast. 3 nude headless bodies and 3 detached heads are shown falling. The serpent extends itself across the bottom of the composition.

202v: Apoc. 18:1-8. Babylon in flames. A horseshoe arch studded with nails (?) represents the gateway to the city. Cups, flagons and dishes are in the windows of the facade flanking the gateway. The city is fringed with red lines (flames). An angel horizontally hovers over the city and points to its destruction.
204v: Apoc. 18:9-20. 2 rows of men with 6 figures in each row watch the burning of Babylon. The figures in the upper row wear long robes and turbans. The figures of the lower row are bareheaded and wear short tunics. They bewail the destruction of Babylon. One leans on a staff 2 with their hands and 3 lean their chins in their hand.

205v: Apoc. 18:21. An angel stands on the sea and drops a round mill stone into it (Lapis). 5 fish are in the water. The stone symbolizes Babylon.

207v: Apoc. 19:1-10. Upper register: Christ enthroned holds a diptych with His left hand. The four anthropomorphic symbols of the Evangelists prostrate themselves. Middle register: The twenty-four Elders in four rows prostrate themselves. Lower register: An angel stoops over St. John who is prostrate on the right, grasping the foot of the angel.

209v: Apoc. 19:17-18. An angel with open arms stands in the sun (Sol) and tells the birds (18) to gather for "the great supper of God" where they will eat the flesh of kings; of the birds, the swallow, partridge, stork and dove are recognizable.


212v: Apoc. 20:1-3. An angel holds a chain which at its other extremity is attached to the neck of the serpent who writhes above the angel. In his right hand the angel holds a key to the bottomless pit. At the bottom left the devil is tied by his hands and feet to a square wooden frame from which his head (erased) extends, as well as hands and feet. Purple wavy lines indicate the abyss.

214v: Apoc. 20:4-6. Upper register: At left Christ enthroned holds an open diptych. He faces fourteen nimbed figures seated at the right. Lower register: Three rows of birds (38 total), the souls of martyrs, in pairs. Two single birds stand at upper right corner.

215v: Apoc. 20:7-10. Upper register: The seven headed beast faces left. Four nimbed men to its left, nine (5 nimbed) to its right. Middle register: Antichrist (partially defaced) in large hat and holding diptych leads three nimbed men, one with sword, 2 with spears, to the city of Jerusalem represented as a horseshoe arched gateway studded with nails. Seven nimbed men stand within the gateway; to the right of it stand 6 nimbed men, 4 with spears, 2 with swords. The air is full of fire. Lower register: Figures crouch in the three caves to escape the fire.

218v: Apoc. 20:9-10. On a dark red ground covered with lighter red lines (flames) are two nude men, one upside down, the other prone. Below them is the Beast on its back. In the lower left corner the upside down devil is erased. They are all being tormented day and night forever and ever (Apoc. 20:10).

219v: Unframed and without a background a Cross is depicted. Two lamps
rest on the arms of the Cross and the letters Alpha and Omega hang from the arms.

219v. and 220r: Apoc. 20:11-15. Upper register: Christ enthroned (Tronum) within a circular mandorla held by two standing angels (Serab: and Seraph:). On the right (20r) fifteen people in tunics and breeches hold each other's heads. Second register: On the left (19v) 2 groups of three nimbed figures being judged bow to 2 groups of three nimbed judges seated and holding diptychs. On the right (220r) a row of twelve figures weep and clasp their hands. They are waiting to be cast into the pool of fire. Third register: On the left (215v) 2 more groups of judges and judged, three in each group. Lowest register: On the left (219v) five nimbed figures being judged by three seated judges. To their right the two groups are repeated, four rather than five figures are being judged. On 220r in place of the bottom two sections of 219v is a frame of red and blue squares (the pool of fire). A number (20) of nude figures are unhappily entombed within the enclosure.

222v: Apoc. 21:1-27. Plan of the New Jerusalem. In the central checkerboard square (pink and yellow squares) an angel with transparent wings and a measuring rod indicates to St. John the New Jerusalem. The Lamb with the Cross on a staff stands with them and faces right. Around the square are the 12 gates, 3 on each side, of horseshoe form. In each arch stands an Apostle and over his head is a colored disc (a precious stone). The gates are separated by two-storied towers, each with three battlements. The names of the precious stones and of the Apostles are written beside their representations, and outside the gates and in the margin is further information concerning the gems.

223r: Apoc. 22:1-2. Center top Christ enthroned in oval orange mandorla. 9 horseshoe arches represented on either side of the mandorla. In each arch a nimbed figure sits. Downward from the throne flows a dark blue river (the water of life). On each side of the river stands a tree (the tree of life). On bottom right St. John and the angel look upward and stand on Mt. Sion (intertwined arches with grass)

231v: Apoc. 22:6-21. Upper register: Christ enthroned within a circular mandorla held by two angels in air. Christ holds a tablet with both hands. Below to the right an angel leans over the prostrate St. John who holds the angel's foot. Lower register: At left St. John holds a pedimented tablet before the Seven Churches on the right. The Churches are indicated by arches in two tiers, three above four arches. The names of the Churches are one in each arch. With this folio the illustrations to the Apocalypse end.

238v: Babylon. Two crested and scaly serpents enframe the city; one with his head at the bottom of the composition; the other with his head at the top. Two smaller crested serpents parallel and flank the horseshoe arch of the main gate. The heads of the smaller serpents point down; their tails point up. A row of three horseshoe arches are represented about two thirds the way up the facade. In each arch is a pedimented shrine on four short legs. The shrine contains each: a white body, apparently shrouded. These are the three shrines of the Three Hebrew Children. The city is to-ped by towers and multicoloured bastions. A long Latin inscription in minuscules explains the compo-
sition. In the central arch can be noticed on close examination the impressed outline of a beast which for some unknown reason was never painted in.

236v: Table of Affinities written in uncials. (ITIN CFLICTS AD FINITAM EX.)

237r: Table of Affinities in the form of a handsome, vigorously defined tree with legend in minuscules.

239r: First page of the Book of Daniel. An ornamented capital letter "I" adorns the upper left column of the text.

240v: The taking of Jerusalem. The horseshoe shaped portal is closed and studded with nails (7). Two battlemented towers flank the portal which has two battlemented sloping roofs (? open at its apex. On the left two men defend the city by hurling down stones. On the right four men with lances and shields and one archer (right tower) also defend the city. On the left of the composition Jeremiah sits upon a rock, bound to face, lamenting. His position indicates no active participation in the event.

241r: Upper register: Zedekiah at left stands with bound hands and legs. A man on his right plucks out Zedekiah's eye with a long hook. At center Nebuchadnezzar sits on a throne. On his head is a large cocked hat -- the royal headdress which reappears throughout the following compositions. His left hand holds a rolled scroll, his right hand a tall spear. To his left a man with upraised sword is about to decapitate one of Zedekiah's sons who kneels and is nude. A naked corpse lies on the ground. Lower register: Three horsemen facing left, one with bow, one with sword, one with reddish-orange banded lance. They precede five infantry men with spears. All have round shields which resemble the wheels of Ezekiel.

243v: Dan. 3:1-24. The golden yellow image on orange platform which Nebuchadnezzar has had erected and set in the plain of Dura. Six nimbed figures kneel to the right and six to the left of the image, according to the command of Nebuchadnezzar. Below Nebuchadnezzar sits and watches the fiery furnace into which Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego have been thrown because they refused to worship the image. An angel stands above the three children and protects them from the flames which are rising from the hole at the top of the furnace.

252r: Daniel stands to the right of Nebuchadnezzar who is seated facing right and who holds in his right hand a sword.

252v: Dan. 4:22. A great tree filled with birds. Three nests are seen in section with young birds in them being fed by a parent. Below the tree on the left a yellow ox, exactly like the one in Noah's ark, (folio 79r), eats a plant. Below the tree on the right Nebuchadnezzar, nude, with white hair, crouches. He holds a plant in each hand and eats
one of them. Nebuchadnezzar is dwelling with cattle and eating grass in payment for his pride.

255v: Dan. 5:1-28. A great red and white horseshoe arch resting on green columns with blue capitals. Below in the center are two royal houses with mattressers at the foot. Belshazzar reclines at the left. The heads of other royal houses are shown (9) behind a bowl seen in section containing small round objects. Below a servant with 2 red, narrow-necked bottles, approaches the group. Above the group nimbed Daniel with folded arms watches the hand writing on the wall over against the candlestick and upon the plaster of the wall. The hand writes with a quill pen on the white stones of the arch: MANK. NISHEL. SARAS.

260r: Dan. 6:18-22. Upper register: With upraised hands Daniel stands flanked by a yellow lion on either side (a composition common in cuneiform paintings). The lions lick his feet. The lions' den is represented as a shallow pit seen in section. Above the group a winged angel with a staff ending in a fleur-de-lys holds the forelock of Nebuzaradan who carries a bowl seen in section. Lower register: Durup nimbed reclines on a bed with four short legs. He rests his head on his hand. At each end of the bed stands a guard (orange hair) with a spear and circular red and blue shield.

261v: Dan. 7:1-12. At the angles busts of the four winds appeared, each lettered venus. At center top God (Ancient of Days) sits under a horseshoe arch which is surrounded by two rows of nimbed angels' heads and wings (23). A flaming red v'col is at each side of the arch. From the arch flows the orange stream. The four beasts of the stream flank it. On left above, a yellow winged and spotted lioness faces right. On right above, a dark green winged beast with four yellow heads faces left. On left below, a dark blue wingless beast faces left. It possesses 5 horns on left side of head and five on the right. In the center of the group is a horn which has a small human head at the end of it. On right below, a black beast like a bear faces right. Latin inscriptions describe the beasts.

262r: Dan. 8:1-7. Upper register: The five-horned blue goat (four red horns on the back of his head) sits with his single horn a crouching ram. The ram's two horns of unequal length are broken from his head and lie on the ground (yellow). Lower register: a city with horseshoe arched gate with two battlemented towers flanking it and a battlemented wall between them. Daniel stands over the gateway and looks at a yellow ram facing right.

263r: Dan. 8:18. Nimbed (?) Daniel stands at the left while a yellow nimbed one-armed angel on the right touches his head.

264v: Dan. 10. A winged angel in horizontal position hovers over Daniel who extends his arms towards the angel. With his right hand the angel points towards Daniel; with his left hand he holds a long pointed staff directed towards a square green and red altar with flames on it. Below, Daniel lies on a pallet looking up. This folio and the next
appear to have been executed by a different hand.

276v: Dan. 12:5. A blue river winds downward from a round black source on the right. In the river stands an angel with left arm raised and right arm lowered towards Daniel who stands at the left with his arms extended towards the angel. Two other angels stand each on an opposite side of the curving river. This is the last miniature which the manuscript contains.
For printed text or notices of this MS. see:

folios 152/152v - 153/153v

should be inserted
between 152v & 153

Sueke P. Wolfe
4/18/79
Appendix 1C: Valladolid Beatus Descriptions and Catalogue Entries

(Taken from John Williams’ *The Illustrated Beatus* and the Catalogue from the University of Valladolid Library)

4. The Valladolid Beatus (V)
Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433
230 ff., 350 × 240mm
8 June - 8 September, 970
Origin: Kingdom of León (Valcavado?)
Scribe and Illuminator: Obeco
Ills. 151 – 236

The illustrations of the Valladolid Beatus are marked by an effective exuberance, even if they are somewhat coarse. Within the conservative framework of the reproduction of sacred texts, they represent a relatively innovative approach to Beatus iconography. To judge by the state of the first gathering, the Evangelist/Gospel pages and Genealogical Tables, which were standard in its Branch II family, were never included. Although it has been proposed (Mundo-Sánchez Mariana 1, 35-6; ibid. II, 114) that the tenth-century Genealogical Tables now bound into Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS Vit. 14-2 (No. 7) originally belonged to this Commentary, this would seem not to be the case.

The Valladolid manuscript has customarily been attributed to the monastery of Valcavado, which occupied a site now included in Valcavado, 65 kms east of León, near Sadaña. In 1572 Ambrosio de Morales noted the possession by Valcavado of a Beatus Commentary finished on 8 September 970. He had had the opportunity to compare it with the Facundus Beatus (No.11) during his visit to San Isidoro de León (Morales, Viage, 52; idem, Corónica, VII, 132-3). The colophon on f. 3v records this precise date. It reads IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI IESV XP JHANNI VI IDYS IVNVS ET FINIBIT EKARATVS VI IDYS SEPTEMBRIBVS SVE ERA VIII. DEUS GRATIAE AMERIT OF which the translation is: IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, THIS BOOK OF THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN WAS BEGUN THE 8TH OF JUNE AND WRITING WAS FINISHED THE 8TH OF SEPTEMBER IN THE [SPANISH] ERA 1088 [A.D. 970], THANKS BE TO GOD. AMEN.

On f. 321v of an unpublished work (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. 5911), quoted by Rico (España Sagrada, XXXIV, 388-9), the Bishop of León, Francisco Trujillo (1797-92), stated that Teófilo Guerra, the Archdeacon of Valdoros, brought the Valladolid Beatus to León from Valcavado. This probably took place at the behest of Morales. The Commentary apparently never returned to Valcavado, and it was next recorded, in the early 17th century, at the Colegio de San Ambrosio in Valladolid (see Andrés, ‘NUEVAS APARTACIONES’, 537-9). There is, however, no evidence that it was executed in Valcavado, or, indeed, that Valcavado existed as early as 970. An acrostic on f. 2 (ill. 152) states that the manuscript belonged to an Abbot Sempronius (SEMPRONIIUS ABBA LIBRARI), a fact repeated in the colophon of f. 2v, where we are also informed that the Commentary was painted by Obeco: HOC OPUS ET HIERET PREDICTVS ABBA SEMPRONIO INSTANTI AEGI CVI EGO OBEKO INDICIUM MENTE OBEDENS DEVOTA DEPINXI MIMENTO ROGO, translated as THIS WORK THAT ABBOT SEMPRONIUS COMMISSIONED, I THE UNWORTHY OBECO, HUMBLE BUT OBEDIENT, DEVOTELY UNDERTOOK AND PAINTED. PRAY FOR ME. Obeco’s name appears again at the end (f. 293v) in a traditional scribal plea for remembrance: Quisquis animadvertit hic lecturo accesseris pro me indigantem obeco ore ore dignus forsitan denitis cœreom et ad redemptorem sine confessione perveniam (en dico gratias). This exact formula, without the word indigantem, was used by Sanctius, the scribe of the Bible done at Valeranica in Castile in 960 (León, Real Col. de San Isidoro, Cod. 2, f. 12). Gutiérrez del Cano introduced, in error, the name of an additional scribe, Johannes, who still appeared in Dominguez Bordonau’s description (Códices miniados españoles, 1929, 3, 172).

According to these colophons both the copying and the illustration and decoration of the Commentary were the responsibility of Obeco, and its production occupied the relatively short time of exactly three months. It is the only Commentary which tells us the time taken for completion. Although at least two scribal hands have been detected, Obeco’s is the only name recorded. Díaz y Díaz at one time (‘La tradición del texto’, Actas, I, 171) detected various hands up to f. 35 but more recently has attributed the first 50 folios to one scribe and the remainder to Obeco (Códices de la monarquía leonesa, 352).

Obeco must also have been responsible for the homogeneous set of illustrations. In a curious development, esteem for his accomplishment eventually led to the formation of a devotional cult of his person, for in the sixteenth century
Moraes (Corónica, VII, Madrid, 1791, Lib. XIII, cap. 27, 132–3) and Francisco de Trugillo (España Sagrada, XXXIV, 389) reported that the body of a Saint Vieco was interred with great dignity in the church of Valcavad, his arm being encased separately in a reliquary. We have no confirmation that Obeco or Sempronius belonged to Valcavad, nor indeed can any personage be associated with the site before 1036, when a certain Gonzalo was abbot (DH, III, 1961). The Valladolid Commentary may have been presented as a gift to Valcavad, in the same way that Elvira, daughter of Fernando I of León, gave it a silver Cross. It is known that another daughter of Fernando I, Urraca, gave a Beatus Commentary (now lost) to San Pedro de Eslonza (see Justo Pérez de Urbel, Los monjes españoles en la edad media, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1945, II, 402). If the Valladolid Commentary were such a gift, it must have been made before 1118, for on f. 3 there is a note from that year. It reports that in 1117 and the following year Urraca, Queen of León, received from Valcavad jewels and the silver stripped from the Cross given by her aunt, Elvira.

The similarity of the Valladolid Beatus to Morgan 644 (No. 2) allows us to attribute this Beatus at least to the region of Valcavad. It shares with the Morgan manuscript membership in Branch Ila and a format of framed miniatures, frequently full-page and sometimes double-page, with backgrounds subdivided into registers by colour. The system of rulings resembles those of the Morgan and Tábara Commentaries carried out at San Salvador de Tábara. More particularly, there is a strong coincidence between the decorative patterns employed in the frames of the illustrations in the Valladolid and the Morgan Commentaries. In particular folios 4, 6v, 9v, 48, 52, 56, 71v, 113, 116v, 125v, 174v, 176, 183, of the Valladolid manuscript, may be compared with folios 23, 26, 27, 48, 52v, 57v, 77, 133v, 137v, 149, 212, 213, 223 of Morgan 644 (e.g. illus. 39 and 166; 56 and 179). The duplication of frame patterns in the Valladolid and Urgell manuscripts is discussed in the entry on the Urgell Beatus (No. 8). The rather sprawling type of ribbon interlace initial ‘T’ of f. 3v, with birds and bristles, also points to the Leonese zone, for it is similar to the initials (f. 4, Gómez-Moreno, Provincia de León, II fig. 94) found in the Antiphonary of León (León, Cath. Lib., Cod. 8), where on the frontispiece (f. 1v) honouring the patron, a pair of roosters comparable to those flanking the Cross of the Valladolid Commentary (ill. 151) is also found (ibid. fig. 96) and although the Antiphonary of León Cathedral (Cod. 8) has no documented origin in León, it is unanimously held to have been written in the region (see Klein, 275f). It is noteworthy that pairs of roosters are also found in Carolingian manuscripts of the Tours school of which good examples are illustrated in W. Koehler, Die karolingischen Miniaturen, I: Die Schule von Tours, Berlin, 1930, Pl. I 43b, 91b, 105h-i.

As in Morgan 644 (No. 2), figures in the Valladolid Beatus are generously covered with draperies, but with even less suggestion of corporeality and less adroit drawing in the academic sense. To at least as marked a degree as in the Morgan Commentary, chromatic variety is used to establish a dense decorative surface, an effect reinforced by crowding and by an even greater avoidance of suggesting any planar recession. This emphasis on surface is enhanced by a liberal use of white and other pigments to cover drapery with networks of thick parallel lines, and by numerous short strokes in white pigment.

Obeco’s expressive surface is matched by narrative intensity. He achieves it through the use of active postures and by the introduction of dramatic details. Both are clearly seen in the depiction of The Three Hebrews in the Furnace (f. 199v; ill. 230), where two ministers of the king strenuously pump bellows to increase the heat of the furnace at Nebuchadnezzar’s command. The Valladolid manuscript is also unique in having a servant holding a fan in the scene of the Feast of Belshazzar (f. 204; ill. 232). Obeco’s choice of a semi-recumbent posture on a throne-divan for the figure of Belshazzar in this scene and for that of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel Interpreting the Dream of the Tree (f. 201v; ill. 231) is another instance of originality, for in the other Commentaries they sit erect on typical upright thrones. These changes, like those Maius gave to the Great Whore and the Kings of the Earth in the Morgan Commentary (f. 194v; ill. 83), are kind of pictorial editing that reinforced the Oriental nature of the Babylonians. Grabar (‘Eléments sassanides’, 313–14; ‘Rayonnement de l’art sassanide’, 701) proposed that the use of the divan-throne was explicable only through the influence of Sassanian iconography, since the Muslim rulers had abandoned the reclining posture. As this detail appears in no other Branch Ila Commentary, it would have to be assumed that Obeco’s Beatus had a special relationship to some lost model touched in this detail by Sassanian traditions, or that Obeco knew of Sassanian traditions. Either assumption seems unlikely.
Moreover, the throne has been identified as Islamic in type rather than Sassanian (P. Harper and P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sassanian Period, I: Royal Imagery*, New York, 1981, 121). In fact, Werckmeister ('*Islamische Formen,*' 940) noted that Abdorahmen II is recorded as reclining on such a throne in the account of John of Gorze’s visit to Córdoba. See E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, III. Paris, 1953, 15. It is possible, then, that Obeço sought through this detail to encourage an identification of the Babylonians with the inhabitants of Andalusia, rather than merely to underscore their oriental character.

**Material Character**

Ruled from the hair side with a dry point. Prickings in intercolumniation. 38 lines. All folios ruled for writing.

An unusual feature is the presence of majuscule letters after the quire numerals of 10, 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25.

*Quire 1 (ff. 1–2):* This is the first quire of the present arrangement which, however, is not original. Counting back from the first numbered quire, that marked VII, this bifolium and the next leaf would have constituted, or been part of, the original first quire.

*Quire 2 (f. 3):* This is now united with a new leaf to form a bifolium.

*Quire 22 (ff. 155–162):* The bottom of the last leaf is restored.

*Quire 29 (ff. 206–212):* The incipit Visio Quinta appears at the top of f. 208, but most of the page has been removed. It must also have had the Beasts from the Sea and Ancient of Days.

*Quire 32 (ff. 228–230):* There is the stub of a leaf between ff. 227 and 228. Folios 229–230 form a bifolium. The text ends on f. 230. A modern leaf follows f. 230, followed by a leaf from another manuscript.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Quire no.</th>
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<th>Quire No. on Ms</th>
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Bibliography


Camón Aznar, ‘Arte de la miniatura española’, 283; Catálogo de códices miniados - Barcelona, 51; Domínguez Bordona, ‘Miniatura’, Ars Hispaniae, XVIII, 28; Miniatures espagnolles et flamandes, 5; Werkmeister, ‘Islamische Formen’, 935, 940; Alonso-Cortés, Catálogo de manuscritos, 339–352; Idem, Universidad de Valladolid: El Beato de su biblioteca; Dodwell, Painting in Europe, 104, 108; Grabar, ‘Rayonnement de l’art sassanide’, 701; Eco and Vázquez de Parga, Beato de Fernando, 150; Mútherich, L’Espagne du nord’, 211, 217; Seebas, Musikdokumenten, 444f., 54ff.; Arte mozárabe - Toledo, No. 22; Camón Aznar, ‘Arte en los Beatos’, 91; Memoria Beato de Gerona, no. 8; Mentre, Miniatura en León y Castilla, 138–9; Klein, 84, 440 n. 15; Mundo-Sánchez Mariana I, 50–1; Andrés, ‘Nuevas aportaciones’, 537–9; Díaz and Díaz, Actas I, 117; Mundo, ‘Sobre los códices de Beato’, Actas I, 113; Yarza, Arte y arquitectura, 118; Idem, Histeria del arte hispánico, 70; Díaz and Díaz, Códices en la monarquía leonesa, 351–2; Mundo-Sánchez Mariana II, 125; Edades del hombre, no. 13, 57–60.

Notes

1. The identification of Vico with Beatus of Liébana led Morales to identify Yélamos as the final resting place of Beatus, an assumption incorporated into Tamayo’s Vita. While Vico or Bisco seems clearly to be a transformation of the name Orcus, Morales’ assumptions that Vico was a form of Beato was a rationalization already rejected by Flórez (Sancti Beati Presbyteri, VIII). Morales’ confusion was probably inspired by Bishop Francisco Triguillo de León (1578–92) whose own work ‘Antigüe- ñades de la Iglesia de León y sus mártires’ (Madrid, Bibl. Nac. Cod. 3560) includes the unlikely identification. See also España Sagrada, XXXIV, 388.

2. See Menéndez Pidal, ‘Mozárabes y asturianos’, 208–9; Alonso-Cortés, Universidad de Valladolid: El Beato de su biblioteca, 12. It is verified further by the fact that this same folio, 3, has a Cantiga to the Virgin composed by Fernando III of Castile (1217–52), an autograph work to judge by the entry ‘de mi do fernando rei de Castella’ at the bottom of f. 2v. See S. Rivera Manescau, Fernando III, poeta gallego-português, uma cêntiga marial desconhecida do rei Sancho’, Revista histórico de Valladolid, 1918, 3ff., 33ff., 65ff.

3. Gómez-Moreno (Arte románico, 15) believed that the Escundus Beatus (No. 11), created for Fernando I in 1047, was a free copy of Valladolid, but this is untenable.
Comentarios al Apocalipsis, con varios prólogos e interpolaciones y seguido de la explicación del libro del profeta Daniel por san Jerónimo. Con miniaturas de Oveco

Autor: Beato de Liébana, Santo
Tit. Uniforme: [In Apocalipsin] [Manuscrito]

1. [Preliminares]: In N[o]mine D[oMmini N[o]stri Ihesu [Christi] incipit liber revelationis ipsius domini nostri Ihesu Christi. a) [Operis nuncupatio ad Etherium]: <Quaedam qui diuersis temporibus ... (fol. 4 v., a) ... coheredem faciam et mei laboris (fol. 4 v., b)> -- b) Prologus Beati Hieronimi in libro Apocalipsin Ioannis Apostoli: <Johannes apostolos (sic) et euangelista ... (fol. 4 v., b) ... inquirendi desiderium conlocetur (fol. 5, a)> -- c) Item domini Iheronimi in explanatione Apocalipsin: <Diuersos marina discrimina ... (fol. 5, a) ... ingenio (sic) anatholi Karisime (fol. 5, b)> -- d) Interpretatio Libri huius: <Johannes quodam uaticinio ... (fol. 5, b) ... quae prima fuerunt abierunt (fol. 14 v., b)>

2. [Liber primus]: Incipit tractatus de Apocalipsin Iohannis in explanatione sua a multis doctoribus et probatissimis viris inlustribus diverso quidem stilo sed non diversam (sic) fide interpretatus ubi de Christo ecclesia et de antichristo et eius signis plenissime recognoscas. Prefatio (fol. 14 v.e) -- a) Prefatio: <Biformen divini legis ... (fol. 15, a) ... de quo agitur ita discibitur (fol. 15, b)> -- b) [Incipit 1ª Historia]: <Apocalipsis Jhesu Christi quam dedit ... (fol. 15, b) ... in saecula saeculorum (fol. 15, a)> -- c) Explanatio supra scripta (sic) historiae: <Apocalipsis Jhesu Christi ... (fol. 15 v., a) ... omnium defert deo. Explicit explanatio (fol. 17, b)> -- d) Incipit historia: <Ecce ueniet in nubibus ... (fol. 17, b) ... Filadelfiae et Laodiceae (fol. 17 v., b)> -- e) Explanatio supra scripta (sic) historiae: <Ecce ueniet in nubibus ... (fol. 18 a) ... suos scribenda dictabit. Explicit (fol. 20, a)> -- f) Incipit sequinis picture historiae: <Et audiui post me uocem ... (fol. 20, a) ... septem aeccliesie sunt. Finit. Explicit storiæ (sic) ... (fol. 20, b) ... (fol. 21, a) ... sedere in solio iudicii sui. Finit. Explicit de filio Hominis et ecclesias (sic) Liber Primus in explanatione Apocalipsin Iohannis apostoli (fol. 32 v., a)>

3. [Liber secundus] a) Incipit prologus libri secundi de ecclesia et sinagoga quid proprie dicanturet quis in quai habitator esse dino situr plenissime lector agnoscas. aa) [De Ecclesia] <Ecclesias graecum est ... (fol. 32 v., a) ... intra aeccliesie tenenda. Explicit prologus eclesie (fol. 39 v., a)>. bb) Incipit prologus sinagogae: <Sinagoga greece latine congregatio ... (fol. 39 v., a) ... comburentur igni inextinguibili (fol. 44, b)>. cc) Qualiter in unum collecta est aeccliesia et sinagoga: <Ecclesia et sinagoga unum nomen est ... (fol. 44, b) ... certa esse sententia. Finit. (fol. 47 v., b) -- b) Incipit liber secundus septem ecclesiariam. Hic liber continet quattuor animalia et quattuorquos, animas interfectorum, quattuor ventos et duodena millia (sic). aa) [Incipit historia]: <Angelo Ephesii Aecclesae ... (fol. 48, a) ... in paradiso dei mei. Explicit storiæ (fol. 48, b)>. bb) Incipit explanatio supra scripta aeccliesiae in libro II: <Angelo Ephesii Aecclesae ... (fol. 48 v., a) ... lignum vitae abscondit. Explicit aeccliesia prima (fol 51 v., b)>. cc) Incipit aeccliesia secunda: <Angelo Smirnae Aecclesae ... (fol. 51 v., b) ... a morte secunda.
Explicit (fol. 51 v., b)>. dd) Incipit explanatio supra ecclesiae in libro secundo: <Angelo Smirne Aecclesiae ... (fol. 52, a) ... ubi sedis et satanee. Explicit aecclesia secunda (fol. 56 a)>. ee) Incipit aecclesia tertia in libro secundo. <Angelo Pergami Aecclesiae ... (fol. 56, b) ... nisi qui accipit. Explicit storieae (fol. 56, b)>. ff) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae aecclesiae: <Angelo Pergami Aecclesiae ... (fol. 56 v., a) ... in familia eius occidissent. Finit. Explicit ecclesia tertia in libro secundo (fol. 59, b)>. gg) Incipit aecclesia quarta (sic) in libro secundo: <AngeloThiatirae Aecclesiae ... (fol. 59, b) ... quid spiritus dicat Aecclesiis. Finit storiea. Explicit storiea Aecclesiae quartae in libro swecundo (fol. 59v., a y b)>. hh) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae aecclesiae in libro secundo: <Angelo Pergami Aecclesiae ... (fol. 59 v., b) ... in scripturis sanctis nuncupatur. Explicit ecclesia quarta (fol. 62 v., b)>. ii) Incipit ecclesia quarta in libro secundo: <Angelo Sardis Aecclesiae ... (fol. 62 v., b) ... quid spiritus dicat Aecclesiis. Explicit storiea Aecclesiae quintae (fol. 62 v., b)>. jj) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Angelo Sardis Aecclesiae ... (fol. 63 a) ... quid spiritus dicat ecclesii. Explicit storiea Aecclesiae sextae (fol. 66 v., b)>. ii) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae ecclesiae in libro secundo: <Angelo filadelfie Aecclesiae ... (fol. 67, a) ... quid spiritus dicat ecclesii. Explicit ecclesia sexta in libro secundo (fol. 71, b)>. mm) Incipit ecclesia septima eiusdem libri: <Angelo Laudocie Aecclesiae ... (fol. 71, b) ... quid spiritus dicat aecclesiis. Explicit storiea aecclesiae septime in libro secundo (fol. 71 v., b)>. nn) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Angelo Laudocie aecclesiae ... (fol. 71 v., a) ... quid spiritus dicat aecclesii. Explicit ecclesia septima in libro secundo septem aecclesiarum (fol. 73, b)>. oo) Interpretatio qualiter una ecclesia sit cum septem dicantur apertissime per arca Noe declaratur: <Et dixit dominus ad Noe ... (fol. 73, b) ... dei patris omnipotentis esse posimus (fol. 75 v., b)>.

4. [Liber tertius] Incipit liber tertius recapilutatio Christi nativitatem aliter dicturus. a) [Explanatio ostii]: <Post completum septimanarium Aecclesiae ... (fol. 75 v., b) ... et terra et Aecclesia. Explicit explanatio ostei ... (fol. 76, b) > -- b) Incipit storiea eiusdem in libro tertio. <Et uox prima ... (fol. 76, b) ... uitreum similem christallo. Explicit storiea in libro tertio (fol. 76, b) > -- c) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae libro III : <Et uox prima ... (fol. 77, a) ... post modum de profundis (incompleto) (fol. 78 v., b)> -- d) Incipit explanatio quattuor animalium in Ln (sic) libro tertio : <Et uidi in medio ... (fol. 79, a) ... Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus. Finit (fol. 92, b)>.

5. [Liber Quartus] Incipit liber quartus. a) De septem sigillis: <Et uidi quum aperuisset... (fol. 92 v., a) ... et bestis terrae. Explicit srorie quattuor equorum (fol. 92 v)> -- b) Incipit explanatio quattuor equorum : <Aperto primo sigillo (fol. 93 v., a) ... certamen in sexto. Explicit explanatio quattuor aequorum (fol. 95 v., a)> -- c) Incipit storiea de animas occisorum: <Et cum aperuisset ... (fol. 95 v. b) ... occidentur et ipsi. Finit storia (fol. 95 v., b)> -- d) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae in libro III0 : <Et quum aperuisset ... (fol. 96 v., a) ... disputationis ordinem revertam. Explicit explanationem sigillorum quinti (fol. 98, b)> -- e) Incipit storiea sigilli sexti in libro quarto : <Et uidi cum aperuisset ... (fol. 98, b) ... et quis poterit stare?. Finit (fol. 98, b)> -- f) Incipit explanatio a supra scriptae storie in Lirbro quarto: Et uidi quum aperuisset ... (fol. 99, a) ... adque aliter dicturus. Finit.
Explicit explanatio sexti sigilli in libro quarto (fol. 100 v., b). g) Incipit storia quattuor angelis ventorum : < Et post haec uidi... (fol. 100 v., b) ... in frontibus eorum. Explicit historia... (fol. 100 v., b) -- h) Incipit explanatio Supra scripta historiae in libro quarto : <Et post haec... (fol. 101 v., a) ... clamantem in quattuor an... (incompleto) (fol. 101 v., b) > (Falta la 'Historia centum quadraginta quatuor milia in libro IVº') -- i) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie in Libro IIIº : <et audiui numerum... (fol. 102 v., a) ... inquato septimum sigillum. Explicit sexti sigilli explanatio (fol. 112 v., a) -- j) Incipit explanatio sigilli septimi : < Et quam aperuisset ... (fol. 112 v., a) ... eadem aliter dicturus. Explicit liber IIIº... (fol. 112 v., b)>

6. [Liber Quintus] a) Incipit liber quintus : <Et vidi septem angelos (fol. 112 v.,b) ... et fulgura et terremotus. Explicit storieae (fol. 112 v., b) -- b) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae in libro V, III angelorum : <In hoc libro ... (fol. 113 v., a) ...culmine potestatis excrescunt. Explicit prima tuba (fol. 115 v., a)> -- c) Incipit historia de secundo angelo : <Et secundus angelus ... (fol. 115 v., b) ... tertia parte (sic) nabium corruperunt. Explicit de sde secunde tube storieae (sic) (fol. 115 v., b) > -- d) Incipit explanatio eiusdem tube : <Et secundus angelus ... (fol. 116, a) ... hoc sunt nabes, Finit (fol. 116, b) -- e) Incipit tertius angelus storieae : <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 116, b) ... et tertia pars aquarum absinthium. Explicit (fol. 116, b) -- f) Explanatio eiusdem storieae : <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 116 v., a) ... a mortiferos doctrinis percussi. Explicit tertia tube (fol. 117, b)>

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x) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storie : <Et post tres dies ... (fol. 128 v., a)... peccatorum in resurrectione. Finit... (fol. 129, b)> -- y) Incipit septima tuba quod est resurrectio omnis carnis : <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 129, b)... in saecula saeculorum. Finit storia (fol. 129, b)> -- z) Incipit explanatio supra scriptastoriae : <Et viginti quattuor... (fol. 129)... eadem alterum clarius dicturus. Finit... (fol. 129)> 

7. [Liber sextus] Incipit liber sextus X capitularum a) [Incipit Historia] : Scire autem opus est ... (fol. 129)... ascendentem de abisso. Explicit (fol. 129 v., a)... peccatorum in resurrectione. Finit... (fol. 129, b)

b) Explanatio supra scripta storie : <Et apertum es t... (fol. 129 v.)... equalis domino inueniatur. Explicit templum et bestia (fol. 130, a)... rex esse dinoquitur. Explicit explanatio mulieris et draconis (fol. 134, b)

c) Incipit mulieri et draconi storia : <Et signum magnum ... (fol. 130)... super arena maris. Finit (fol. 130, b)...

d) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie : <Et signum magnum ... (fol. 131 v., a)... rex esse dinoicitur. Explicit explanatio mulieris et draconis (fol. 134, b)...

e) Incipit historia bestiae et eiusdem draconis : <Et uidi ascendentem ... (fol. 134 v., a) et virtus sanctorum. Explicit storia (fol. 134 v., b)...

f) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storia : <Et uidi aliam bestiam ... (fol. 137 v., b) ... in africca gestatum. Explicit (fol. 137 v., b)

g) Incipit historia tertie bestie : <Et uidi aliam bestiam ... (fol. 137 v., b) ... numerum nominis eius. Explicit storia (fol. 137 v., b)...

h) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storie : <Et uidi aliam bestiam ... (fol. 138, a) ... expleuit interpretatumque sic: DCLXVI. Finit (fol. 138 v., b)... antichristum nullus ambit... (fol. 144, b)... antichristum nullus ambigit. Explicit (fol. 144, b)...

i) Incipit historia trium angelorum : <Et uidi et ecce ... (fol. 144, b)...

j) Incipit historia custode in libro VII : <Et uidi et ecce... (fol. 145 b)... per stadia mille sexcenta. Explicit historiae (fol. 145, b)... in africca gestarum. Explicit (fol. 145, b)

k) De antichristo qualiter imperatorem tollat romanum : <Beatus enim Augustinus ... (fol. 145, b)... antichristum nullus ambigit. Explicit (fol. 145, b)...

l) Explanatio supra scriptae storie : <Et uidi et ecce ... (fol. 146, a) ... in africca gestarum. Explicit (fol. 146, b)

8. [Liber septimus] a) Incipit Liber VIIIMª Hic storia : <Et uidi alium angelum ... (fol. 146 v., b)... qui in Christo moriuntur. Explicit (fol. 146 v., b)...

b) Explanatio supra scriptae storie : <Et uidi inquiet... (fol. 147 v., a)... tempore pacis futurae. Explicit (fol. 148, b)...

c) Incipit historia de nube alba et filio filinis in libro VII : <Et uidi et ecce... (fol. 148, b)... per stadia mille sexcenta. Explicit historiae (fol. 148, b)...

d) Incipit explantatio supra scriptae storie : <Et uidi et ecce... (fol. 149, a) ... iudicii facta creduntur... (incompleto) (fol. 149 v., b)...

9. [Liber octavus] a) Incipit liber octavus storie : <Et audiui uocem ... (fol. 152 b)... adorantes simulacrum eius. Explicit storia (fol. 152, b) ...

b) Explanatio supra scriptae storie : <Et audiui uocem ... (fol. 152 v., a)... peregrinationis molestia sustinebit (fol. 153 v., b)... sunt judicationes eius. Finit (fol. 153 v., b)...

c) Incipit tertius angelus : <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 153 v., b)... pleasure septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 154, b)...

d) Incipit explantatio supra scriptae storie : <Et uidi alium signum ... (fol. 150, a)... quod proponuerat dicens. Explicit (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

e) Incipit historia alium angelum : <Et uidi alium signum ... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

f) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum ... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

g) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum ... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

h) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

i) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

j) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

k) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

l) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

m) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

n) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

o) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

p) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

q) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

r) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

s) Incipit historia alium signum : <Et uidi alium signum... (fol. 150 v., b)... plagae septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)...

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storie: <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 154, a) ... agere non cessat. Finit (fol. 155, b)>
-- e) Incipit quartus angelus: <Et quartus angelus ... (fol. 155, b) ... ut darent ei claritatem. Finit storie (fol. 155, b)>
-- f) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et quartus angelus ... (fol. 155 v., a) ... omnem quem recipit. Explicit explanatio (fol. 155 v., b) -- g) Incipit quintus angelus: <Et quintus angelus ... (fol. 155 v., b) ... penitentiam non egerunt. Explicit storiae (fol. 155 v., b)>

-- h) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et quintus angelus ... (fol. 155 v., a) ... nos benedicti sumus. Finit (fol. 156, b)>
-- i) Incipit sextus angelus: <Et sextus angelus ... (fol. 156 v., a) ... ab ortu solis (fol. 156 v., a) -- j) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et sextus angelus ... (fol. 156 v., a) ... ab origene brevius. Explicit (fol. 156 v., b)>
-- k) Incipit septimus angelus: <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 156 v., a) ... ab ortu solis (fol. 156 v., b)>
-- l) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 156 v., a) ... ab origine brevius. Explicit (fol. 156 v., b)>

10. [Liber nonus] a) Incipit liber nonus de muliere meretrice et bestia: <Et uenit unus ... (fol. 160, b) ... in eremum in spiritu. Explicit storie (fol. 160, b) -- b) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uenit unus ... (fol. 160 v., a) ... se memorat transtulisse. Explicit (fol. 161, a) -- c) Incipit de eadem mulier et bestia: <Et uidi mulierem ... (fol. 161, a) ... potestatem suam bestiae dant. Explicit storiae (fol. 161, b) -- d) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uidi mulierem ... (fol. 161 v., a) ... eius patientia confunditur (fol. 161, b) -- e) Incipit de agno et bestia superata: <Hii X reges ... (fol. 165, b) ... super reges terre. Explicit (fol. 165 v.) -- f) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uidi ... (fol. 165 v., b) -- g) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uidi ... (fol. 165 v., a) ... super terram. Explicit storie (fol. 165 v., b)>

11. [Liber decimus] a) Incipit liber decimus de diaboli civitate: <Postea uidi alium ... (fol. 166 v., b) ... iudicium de illa. Explicit storiae (fol. 167, b) -- b) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Postea uidi alium ... (fol. 168, v.) ... et diaboli dicitur. Explicit (fol. 169, v.) -- c) Incipit de eadem civitatem (sic) diaboli: <Et uidi alium ... (fol. 170, a) ... occisorum super terram. Explicit storie (fol. 170, b) -- d) Explicit (sic). [Incipit] xplanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uidi alium ... (fol. 170, a) ... sunt super terram. Explicit storie (fol. 170 v., b) -- e) Incipit storie de civitate dei: <Post haec audiui ... (fol. 171 v., b) ... Jhesum deum adora. Explicit storie (fol. 171 V., b) -- f) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Post haec audiui ... (fol. 171 v., a) ... testare uobis in ... (incompleto) (fol. 171 v., b) (falta la terminación que corresponde al fin del libro X y falta la 1ª historia del libro XI)

12. [Liber undecimus de equo albo et recapitulat a passione Christus brevius] a) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uidi coelum apertum ... (fol. 172, a) ... supra quos diximus (fol. 172 v., a) -- b) Incipit storie angeli stantis in sole: <Et uidi angelum ... (fol. 172 v., b) ... pusillorum et magnorum. Explicit storie (fol. 172 v., b) -- c) Explanatio supra scripta storie: <Et uidi angelum ... (fol. 172 v.) ... hostium sanguinem bibere. Explicit (fol. 173 v., b) -- d) Incipit de bestia et reges terre: <Et uidi bestiam ... (fol. 173 v., b) ... de carnibus eorum. Explicit storie (fol. 173 v., b) -- e) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et uidi inquid ... (fol. 174, a) ... omnes integri
iudicentur. Explicit (fol. 174 v., a)
-- f) Incipit de alio angelo et clavem abissi : <Et uidi alium angelum ... (fol. 174 v., b) ... solui modico tempore. Explicit (fol. 174 v., b)
-- g) Incipient troni et animas occisorum : <Et uidi tronus ... (fol. 175 v., b) ... et mille annos. Explicit storie (fol. 175 v., b)
-- h) Explanatio supra scripta historia : <Et uidi angelum ... (fol. 175, a) ... habuit ab initio. Explicit (fol. 175, a)
-- i) Incipiunt troni et animas occisorum :
-- j) Explicit (fol. 175 v., b)
-- k) Explanatio supra scripta storie : <Et cum finiti fuerint ... (fol. 178, a) ... nominavit ut ferrum. Explicit (fol. 179 v., a)
-- l) Incipit de diaboli bestia et pseudo prophete : <Et descendit ignis ... (fol. 179 v., b) ... in saecula saeculorum amen. Explicit (fol. 179 v., b)

13. [Liber duodecimus] a) Incipit liber duodecim iudicii et civitatem Iherusalem id est ecclesiam : <Et uidi in tronum ... (fol. 180, b) ... in stagnum ignis. Explicit historia (fol. 180, b)

14. [Declaración de los términos codex, liber, folium] : <Codex multorum librorum ... (fol. 191, b) ... sibi inuicem compinguntur. Explicit (fol. 191, b)

15. [De finitatibus et gradibus] : <Heredis nomen imposuit ... (fol. 192, a) ... longe aediti pro... incompleto (fol. 192, b)

16. In nomine nostri Ihesu Christi incipit explanatio Danielis prophete ab auctore Beati Iheronimi a) Incipit prologus in libro Danielis prophete : <Contra prophetam daniel... (fol. 193, a) ...gentium litera contiere (sic). Explicit prologus (fol. 194, b)
-- b) Incipit visio prima in Danielis prophete : <... et filii Zebedei ... (fol. 195, a) ... dari fuisse memoratur. Explicit visio prima (fol.195, b)
-- c) Incipit visio secunda in anno secundo regni Nabucodonosor : <Si post tres anni ... (fol. 196, a) ... latere non recedit. Explicit visio secunda (fol. 199, b)
-- d) Incipit visio tertia : <Nabucodonosor rex fecit ... Velos oblibio veritatis ... (fol. 199 y 200, a) ... danielis esse credatur. Explicit visio tertia (fol. 201 v., b)
-- e) Incipit visio quarta : <Si post tres anni ... (fol. 201 v., b) ... noctis que significat. Explicit visio quarta (fol. 208, b)
-- f) Incipit visio quinta : <... et filii Zebedei ... (fol. 202, a) ... danielis esse credatur. Explicit visio quinta (fol. 211, b)
visio sexta (fol. 213, b) -- h) Incipit visio septima qui est tertia tempore cui supra: <Factum est autem ... Non ergo omnis ... (fols. 213, b y 214, a) ... itaque scripta sunt. Explicit visio septima (fol. 222, a)>

-- i) Incipit visio octava qui est a tempore Darii ...: <Ego ab anno primo ... Ego inquit danihel ... (fol. 222, a y b) ... in ipsorum libros invenire poterit. Finit (fol. 229, b)>

-- j) Expositis ut potui que in Danielis libro justa ebraycum continetur: <Ponam breviter quod ... (fol. 229, b) ... quod ei respondere debemus. Explicit explanatio Danielis prophete. Quisquis anelanter hic lecturus accesseris pro mem indignum Obeco presbitero orare dignes forsam de vitis caream et ad dominum redentore sine confusione perveniam. Amen. Deo gratias (fol. 230 v.)>

**Indexado**

En el fol. 2 v., escrita en azul y rojo y con inicial en azul, rojo y amarillo, se lee la frase siguiente: 'HOC OPVS UT FIERET PREDICTUS ABBA SEMPRONIO INSTANTIA EGIT CVI EGO OBECO INDIGNUS MENTE OBEDIENS DEUOTA DEPINXI. MEMENTO. ROGO. En la parte inferior del mismo folio aparece la frase 'de mi do Fernando rei de Castiella', por lo cual hubo quien creyó que este código pudo pertenecer a Fernando I, pero D. Manuel Gómez Moreno afirmó, en su obra 'El arte románico español', pag. 15, que estas palabras y una Cantiga a María que figura en parte del folio siguiente fueron escritas por Fernando III con motivo de una visita que dicho rey hizo al Monasterio de Valcadavo, que es de donde procede el *manuscrito*. Esto fue confirmado por Rivera Manescau en su trabajo 'Fernando III, poeta gallego-portugués. Una cantiga marial desconocida del Rey Santo', publicado en la 'Revista Histórica de Valladolid', 1916.

En el fol. 3 figuran también unos asientos relativos al Monasterio de Valcadavo sobre que la reina Doña Urraca dispone le sean entregadas unas joyas y la plata de una cruz que había sido entregada por la Infanta Doña Elvira; están escritos en letras de privilegios.

En el fol. 3 v. consta la fecha del código; en grandes caracteres que comienzan con una enorme y bella I, dice lo siguiente:'IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI IHESV CHRISTI INITIATVS EST LIBER ISTE APOCALIPSIS IHOANNI (sic) VI IDVS IUNIUS ET FINIBIT EXARATUS VI IDUS SEPTIEMBRIS SUB ERA V III DEO GRATIAS AMEN' Más abajo hay una nota, muy poteror, que dice: 'Anno domini 970, falta o presupone el millar de las Eras y es año de nuestro Señor 970 a 8 de Septiembre Regnante Ramiro 3º Anno 3 Regni eius etatis 8º sub tutela de... Regina. El Maestro Fr. Hieronymo de Santa María.

En el fol. 4, a, aparece un pasaje del evangelio de San Mateo sobre el linaje de Jesucristo y en la columna b del mismo folio hay una nota del Maestro Santa María, que dice: 'Esta obra es de Beato sobre el Apocalipsi y Sant Hieronymo sobre Daniel fue de un Illustre Monasterio de Valcadavo que es agora Arcediano de Saldaña. Escriviola un santo Presbitero Obeco que sabía más de amar a Dios que de grammatica y ortographia latina y de dibujo. Como no auia modelo era chosa straordinaria la arte de escrebir libros santos y tardauase mucho y todos eran fragmentos también ay aqui un fragmento de las Ethimologias de S. Isidoro. Era Abbad de Valcadavo que lo mando escreuir Sempronio como parece en la cyphra cubica de la 2 hoja que no contiene mas de esta palabra Sempronius Abba librum, que se lee por mas de 400 maneras. El
Maestro Santamaría y después pone más abajo ‘970’. Al terminar el manuscrito hay una hoja de guarda sin escribir y a continuación otra con un texto en rojo y negro, sobre Santa Leocadia de Toledo, que lleva en la parte izquierda un dibujo con la efigie de la Santa. Foliación moderna en lápiz, Faltan algunos folios y otros están dañados: Entre el 3 y el 4 hay señales de uno cortado; el 13 está rasgado y queda menos de la mitad; falta uno entre los folios 78 y 79 y asimismo entre el 101 y el 102, entre el 121 y el 122, entre el 139 y el 140, entre el 149 y el 150, entre el 171 y el 172, entre el 192 y el 193, entre el 194 y el 195, entre el 201 y el 202, entre el 207 y el 208; el 208 esta cortado casi totalmente; falta otro entre el 226 y el 227 y dos entre el 228 y el 229. Algunos otros están cortados en el margen. Aparte de estas incomprensibles mutilaciones y de las faltas normales de todo pergamino, la conservación es bastante buena, teniendo en cuenta la antigüedad del Códice; caja de escritura 29’5 x 20 cm; 33 a 38 lin. por p.

Ilustraciones

En este Códice figuran ochenta y siete miniaturas de muy diversos tamaños, recuadradas en su mayoría por una bella orla de diferente trazado en cada caso. Son las siguientes:

1. (Fol. 1 v.) Cruz de la Cámara Santa de la Catedral de Oviedo, de cuyos brazos penden el Alfa y la Omega (Apocalipsis I, 8). En la parte de arriba dice: ‘Hoc signo tuetur pius’ en la de abajo: ‘In hoc signo vincitur inimicus’. A los lados del pie de la cruz hay dos aves en forma de gallos. El conjunto está rodeado por una gran orla.

2. (Fol. 2 r.) Laberinto en el que figuran las palabras ‘SEMPRONIUS ABBA LIBRUM’ en mas de 400 variantes.

3. (Fol. 4 r.) La primera revelación (Apoc. I, 1). El ángel recibe del Señor el libro en la parte superior de la composición; en la parte inferior, San Juan habla con el ángel.

4. (Fol. 6 v.) Aparición de la nube (Apoc. I, 7). El Señor aparece en el medio de una nube-flor que representa una parte del Paraíso y está rodeado de cuatro ángeles de grandes ojos y grandes alas que completan la parte de arriba de la composición; en la parte de abajo varios personajes representan los pueblos de la tierra; miran atentamente al Señor y hacia él levantan sus manos.

5. (Fol. 9 v.) Esta miniatura consta de dos partes (Apoc. I, 11-17). En la de arriba, ‘El Hijo del hombre’ San Juan cae a los pies del Señor, que aparece con la espada afilada por las dos partes; su mano toca la cabeza de San Juan; por encima están los siete candelabros. El ángel presencia la escena. La parte inferior presenta las siete iglesias a quienes se dirige el Apocalipsis, representadas por siete arcos; San Juan está de pie con el libro.

6. (Fol. 36 v. y 37 r.) Mapa-Mundi.

7. (Fol. 42 r.) Las cuatro bestias.

8. (Fol. 42 v.) La estatua de Nabucodonosor. Del monte representado arriba se desprende un trozo de piedra que va a parar al pie de la figura.

9. (Fol. 43 v.) La mujer sobre la bestia (Apoc. XVII) que va cabalgando y ofreciendo la copa de los placeres.


11. (Fol. 52 r.) Iglesia de Esmirma. (Apoc. II, 8-11).

12. (Fol. 56 r.) Iglesia de Pérgamo (Apoc. II).

13. (Fol. 59 v.) Iglesia de Tiatira (Apoc. II, 18-21). Miniatura muy
bien conservada y muy bella. Observamos dos zonas en sentido vertical; en la primera aparece San Juan hablando con el ángel; en la segunda, de mayor altura, está representada la ciudad de Tiatira; a su vez tiene dos partes; abajo tres arcos de herradura dan acceso a la ciudad; arriba vemos una torre con un arco muy peraltado en la parte del centro

14. (fol. 63 v.) Iglesia de Sardes (Apoc. III, 1-4)
15. (fol. 66 v.) Iglesia de Filadelfia (Apoc. III, 7-11)
16. (fol. 71 v.) Iglesia de Laodicea (Apoc. III, 14-16)
17. (fol. 73 v.) El Arca de Noé (San Mateo, CXXIV, v.º, 38, San Lucas CXVII, v.º 27). La presencia del Arca de Noé se debe a que ésta se considera como representación simbólica de la Iglesia. Está figurada como una casa con tejado a dos aguas; aparece dividida en varias zonas horizontales; es más ancha en la parte inferior que en la superior, porque los que dentro de la Iglesia siguen el camino ancho y cómodo no se deben llamar hombres, sino bestias; por eso está Noé arriba en la parte más estrecha, a su derecha su mujer e hijas y a su izquierda los varones
18. (fol. 74 r.) Es complemento de la anterior que recuerda la escena del Diluvio; representa un ahogado y un cuervo que le pica la cabeza
19. (fol. 76 v.) El trono y los ancianos (Apoc. IV, 2-6). Vemos a los 24 ancianos alrededor del trono y las siete lámparas de fuego que son siete espíritus de Dios.
20. (fol. 93 r.) Los cuatro jinetes (Apoc. IV, 6-8 a VI, 2)
21. (fol. 96 r.) Las almas de los mártires (Apoc. VI, 9). Esta composición presenta dos partes: arriba las almas de los muertos por la palabra de Dios y el testimonio de Jesús, aparecen en forma de aves bajo el ara de Dios; en la parte inferior están los bienaventurados que se han ganado el descanso
22. (fol. 98 v.) La caída de las estrellas (Apoc. VI, 12-15). En el centro el trono en un medallón sostenido por dos ángeles; a los lados, varios personajes atónitos viendo como el sol se obscurece, la luna no da luz y se pone roja de sangre, las estrellas caen a la tierra ... Abajo los reyes de la tierra. Los magistrados y todos, el siervo y el libre se refugian en los montes
23. (fol. 101 r.) Los vientos, el ángel y los justos (Apoc. VII, 1-2). Cuatro ángeles en los cuatro ángulos de la tierra sujetan los cuatro vientos. Otro ángel subiendo del sol naciente, llevando el signo de Dios, clama con gran voz a los cuatro ángeles, ante las filas de personajes justos que centran la escena.
24. (fol. 102 r.) Los israelitas marcados (Apoc. VII, 4, 9, 11). Una enorme teoría de personajes representa los 144.000 señalados de las tribus de Israel.
25. (fol. 111 r.) La palmera (Apoc. VII, 9). Seis personajes, tres a cada lado representan a los justos, con palmas, a los lados de una palmera. Esta es el árbol simbólico, representa a Cristo. La palmera aparece siempre con sus raíces al descubierto, y con siete ramas, por ser el siete el número simbólico, el que representa la omnipotencia de la Divinidad.
26. (fol. 113 r.) Las trompetas (Apoc. VIII, 2-5). En la parte superior de la composición vemos al Señor en su trono y junto a El siete ángeles con sendas trompetas
27. (fol. 114 r.) El primer ángel (Apoc. VIII, 7). Granizo y fuego
28. (fol. 115 v.) El segundo ángel (Apoc. VIII, 8 y 9). Sangre y
29. (fol. 116 v.) El tercer ángel (Apoc. VIII, 10-11). El ajenjo
30. (fol. 117 r.) El cuarto ángel (Apoc. VIII, 12-13). Las tinieblas
31. (fol. 118 v.) El quinto ángel (Apoc. IX. 1 y 2). El Abismo
32. (fol. 120 r.) Langostas como caballos (Apoc. IX, 7-10). Aparece un ángel con una lanza y cinco langostas gigantes con caras como de hombres, cabellos de mujer y dientes de león y una especie de corazas o cotas de malla; cada una tiene un hombre como víctima
33. (fol. 121 r.) Los cuatro ángeles del Eufrates (Apoc. IX, 13-15). Un ángel ante la presencia de Dios junto al ara de oro dice al sexto ángel que suelte a los cuatro ángeles que están detenidos por el río Eufrates; éste está representado por una larga y estrecha lengua azul.
34. (fol. 123 t.) Juan oyendo una voz del Cielo
35. (fol. 123 v.) La medición del templo. (Apoc. X y XI, 1-3). Un ángel bajado del Cielo, saliendo de una nube, pone el pie derecho en el agua y el otro en la tierra, con un libro abierto en la mano. Juan acepta el libro y la caña que le ofrece otro ángel
36. (fol. 125 v.) Los testigos (Apoc. XI, 3 y 4). Aparecen Elías y Enoc, dos olivos y dos candelabros
37. (fol. 127 r.) La destrucción de Jerusalén (Apoc. XI, 7 y 8). Composición dividida en dos partes; en la de arriba dice 'Antichristus civitatem Jherusalem subvertit'; en la inferior son sacrificados Elías y Enoc. 'Antichristus Eliam et Enoc occidet'
38. (fol. 128 r.) Raptó de Elías y Enoc (Apoc. XI, 11 y 12). Elías y Enoc recobran la vida y ascienden envueltos en una nube guiados por un ángel ante el trono de Dios; los personajes que lo ven son presa de un gran terror
39. (fol. 129 r.) El séptimo ángel (Apoc. XI, 15-16)
40. (fol. 129 v.) El templo abierto (Apoc. XI, 19). En la parte de arriba vemos el templo abierto, delimitando un espacio trilobulado; en la parte baja la bestia asciende del abismo
41. (Fols. 130 v.-131 r.) El dragón, la mujer y el niño (Apoc. XII, 1-17). Es una bella composición a plana entera en la que vemos a la mujer vestida del sol, calzada de la luna y coronada de 12 estrellas; junto a ella el dragón de siete cabezas con siete diademas y diez cuernos lucha con San Miguel y sus ángeles. El dragón es vencido y expulsado a la tierra y con él los ángeles malos. A la derecha vemos al niño engendrado por la mujer, que es elevado el trono de Dios. El dragón persigue a la mujer, a la que son concedidas alas para que vuele al desierto; el dragón echa por su boca inferior agua como un río contra la mujer; la tierra absorbe el río. El dragón decide hacer la guerra contra los descendientes de la mujer
42. (fol. 134 v. y 135 r.) La adoración de la bestia (Apoc. VIII, 1-4)
43. (fol. 138 r.) La bestia subiendo de la tierra (Apoc. XIII, 11)
44. (fol. 139 v.) La zorra y el gallo
45. (fol. 142 r.) El número de la bestia (Apoc. XIII, 18)
46. (fol. 143 r.) Laberinto del Anticristo (Apoc. XIII, 18)
47. (fol. 145 v.) El Cordero sobre el monte Sión (Apoc. XIV, 1 y 2). En el centro está el Cordero encima del monte, arriba los ancianos y los cuatro animales; abajo, a los lados del Cordero, parte de los 144.000 con sus cítaras
48. (fol. 147r.) El ángel del Evangelio eterno y la caída de Babilonia
(Apoc. XIV, 6-8). Arriba vuela el ángel en medio del cielo; abajo, la caída de Babilonia

49. (fol. 148 v.) Cristo Juez. La siega y la vendimia (Apoc. XIV, 14-15 y 18). El ángel, no sentado, como dice el texto, sino de pie sobre una nube blanca, entrega a otro ángel la hoz con la que ha de segar la mies; más abajo, unos campesinos cortan las espigas, las uvas y los sarmientos; abajo, el lagar. En la parte izquierda, la puerta de la ciudad; dos caballos, blanco y negro, corren hacia la prensa. La mancha oscura representa la sangre que corre del lagar y que llega hasta los frenos de los caballos.

50. (fol. 151 r.) Las siete plagas (Apoc. XV, 5 y 7). Arriba, el templo abierto; abajo uno de los cuatro animales entrega a los siete ángeles siete copas de oro llenas de la ira de Dios

51. (fol. 152 r.) La ira de Dios (Apoc. XVI, 1)

52 y 53. (fol. 153 v.) El primer y el segundo ángeles (Apoc. XVI, 2, 4)

54. (fol. 154 r.) El tercer ángel (Apoc. XVI, 4)

55. (fol. 155 r.) El cuarto ángel (Apoc. XVI, 8-9)

56. (fol. 156 r.) El quinto ángel (Apoc. XVI, 10)

57. (fol. 156 v.) El sexto ángel. El Eufrates (Apoc. XVI, 12)

58. (fol. 157 r.) las ranas (Apoc. XVI, 13)

59. (fol. 159 r.) El séptimo ángel La consumación. (Apoc. XVI, 17-18)

60. (fol. 160 v.) La gran ramera (Apoc. XVI, 1 y 2). La mujer con la copa de los placeres y los reyes de la tierra

61. (fol. 161 v.) La ramera y la bestia (Apoc. XVII, 3 y 4). La mujer aparece adornada de oro y piedras preciosas; la bestia con las siete cabezas y los diez cuernos

62. (fol. 165 v.) La victoria del Cordero (Apoc. XVII, 14). El Cordero lucha con los diez reyes y los vence

63. (fol. 167 v.) Caída e incendio de Babilonia (Apoc. XVIII, 1, 2, 8)

64. (fol. 168 r.) Lamentaciones sobre Babilonia (Apoc. XVIII, 9, 10)

65. (fol. 170 r.) La rueda del molino (Apoc. XVIII, 21)

66. (fol. 171 r.) Aleluya celeste (Apoc. XIX, 1). Arriba, los cuatro animales y los ancianos adoran al trono; abajo, San Juan cae a los pies del ángel

67. (fol. 172 v.) El ángel en el sol (Apoc. XIX, 17-18)

68. (fol. 173 v.) Derrota de la bestia (Apoc. XIX, 19-21)

69. (fol. 174 v.) El ángel vence al dragón y le ata; abajo está el diablo vencido (Apoc. XX, 1-3)

70. (fol. 176 r.) Los jueces (Apoc. XX, 4). El trono de Dios; delante de él los que han de ser juzgados; abajo, las almas de los muertos

71. (fol. 177 v.) El Anticristo manda en el mundo. Entonces cae fuego del cielo (en la parte del medio); todos se esconden en los montes (abajo)

72. (fol. 179 v.) El lago de azufre (Apoc. XX, 9-10). En el lago caen la bestia, los seudoprofetas y el diablo

73. (fol. 180 r.) La cruz con el alfa y la omega

74. (fol. 180 v. y 181 r.) El juicio. Preciosa composición a plana entera en la que figura el trono de Dios sostenido por los ángeles; en varias filas vemos a los no juzgados, a los juzgados y a los condenados

75. (fol. 182 v.) La Jerusalén celeste (Apoc. XX, 1)
76. (fol. 183 r.) El ángel muestra a San Juan desde el monte la ciudad de Jerusalén
77. (fol. 189 v.) San Juan intenta adorar al ángel (Apoc. XXII, 8-9). En la parte baja aparece San Juan y las siete iglesias
78. (fol. 194 v.) La toma de Jerusalén
79. (fol. 195 v.) Nabucodonosor está soñando; en sus sueños ve la estatua
80. (fol. 196 r.) Nabucodonosor interroga a los sabios de Babilonia
81. (fol. 199 v.) La estatua, músicos y adorantes. Nabucodonosor manda que los niños sean metidos en el horno
82. (fol. 201 v.) Nabucodonosor interroga a Daniel sobre el sueño
83. (fol. 204 r.) El festín de Baltasar. Bajo dos arcos de herradura, el de la izquierda con caprichosas dovelas, se desarrolla la escena del convite; en el arco de la derecha aparecen las palabras: MANE, TECEL, FARES
84. (fol. 211 v.) Susa, el camero y el cabrito
85. (fol. 213 r.) Daniel habla con el ángel
86. (fol. 213 v.) San Grabiel volando habla a Daniel en la hora del sacrificio vespertino. Daniel languidece por días
87. (fol. 220 r.) Las setenta semanas. Daniel junto al Tigris

Materia
Biblia. N.T. Apocalipsis -- Comentarios
Biblia A.T. Profetas -- Comentarios

Otro Autor
Jerónimo, Santo
Oveco, cop.
Valladolid Beatus Catalogue Translation

Author: Saint Beatus of Liebana
Search Terms: [In Apocalupsin] [manuscript]
Title: Commentary on the Apocalypse with various prologues or interpolations and followed by the explanation of the Book of Daniel. With miniatures painted by Obeco.
Publication Date: 10th century; 970

Physical Description: 230 folios: 87 miniatures; 33 x 23.5 cm

Collection: Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Histórica Santa Cruz

Contains:
1. [Preliminaries]: In N[o]mine D[o]mini N[o]stri Ihesu [Christ]I incipit liber revelationios ipsius domini nostri Ihesu Christi. a) [Operis nuncupatio ad Etherium] : < Quaedam qui diuersis temporibus ... (fol. 4 v., a) ... coheredem faciam et mei laboris (fol. 4 v., b)> -- b) Prologus Beati Hieronimi in libro Apocalipsin Ioannis Apostoli : <Johannes apostolos (sic) et euangelista ... (fol. 4 v., b) ... inquirendi desiderium conlocetur (fol. 5, a)> -- c) Item domini Iheronimi in explanatione Apocalipsin : <Diversos marina discrimina ... (fol. 5, a) ... ingenio (sic) anatholi Karisime (fol. 5, b)> -- d) Interpretatio Libri huius : <Johannes quodam uaticinio ... (fol. 5, b) ... quae prima fuerunt abierunt (fol. 14 v., b)>
2. [Liber primus] Incipit tractatus de Apocalipsin Iohannis in explanatione sua a multis docto rubris et probatissimis viris inlustribus diverso quidem stilo sed non diversam (sic) fide interpretatus ubi de Christo ecclesia et de antichristo et eius signis plenissime recognoscas. Prefatio (fol. 14 v.e) - - a) Prefatio : <Biformen divini legis ... (fol. 15, a) ... de quo agitur ita discibitur (fol. 15,b)> -- b) [Incipit 1ª Historia] : <Apocalipsis Jhesu Christi quam dedit ... (fol. 15 ,b) ... in saecula saeculorum (fol. 15,a)> -- c) Explanatio supra scripta (sic) storiae : <Apocalipsis Jhesu Christi ... (fol. 15 v.,a) ... omnium defert deo. Explicit explanatio (fol. 17, b)> -- d) Incipit storia : <Ecce ueniet in nubibus ... (fol. 17, b) ... Filadelfiae et Laodiceae (fol. 17 v., b)> -- e) Explanatio supra scripta (sic) storiae : < Ecce ueniet in nubibus ... (fol.18 a) ... suos scribenda dictabit. Explicit (fol. 20, a)> -- f) Incipit sequintis picture storiae : <Et audiui post me uocem ... (fol. 20, a) ... septem ecclesie sunt. Finit. Explicit storye (sic) ... (fol. 20, b)> -- g) Incipit explanatio eiusdem : < Et audiui post me ... (fol. 21, a) ... sedere in solio iudicii sui. Finit. Explicit de filio Hominis et ecclesias (sic) Liber Primus in explanatione Apocalipsin Iohannis apostoli (fol. 32 v., a)> 3. [Liber secundus] a) Incipit prologus libri secundi de ecclesia et sinagoga quid proprie dicanturet quis in qua habitaror esse dinoscitur plenissime lector agnoscas. aa) [De Ecclesia] <Ecclessia graecum est ... (fol. 32 v., a) ... intra aecclesia tenenda. Explicit prologus eclesie (fol. 39 v.,a)>.
prologus sinagogae : <Sinagoga græce latine congregatio ... (fol. 39 v., a) ... comburentur igni inextinguibili (fol. 44, b)>. cc Qualiter in unum collecta est aecclesia et sinagoga : <Ecclesia et sinagoga unum nomen est ... (fol. 44, b) ... certa esse sententia. Finit (fol. 47 v., b) -- b) Incipit liber secundus septicm ecclesiarum. Hic liber continent quattuor animalia et quattuor requos, animas interfectorum, quattuor ventos et duodena millia (sic). aa) [Incipit historia] : <Angelo Ephesi Aecclesiae ... (fol. 48, a) ... in paradiso dei mei. Explicit storiae ... (fol. 48, b)>. bb) Incipit explanatio supra scripta aecclesiae in libro I : <Angelo Aephesi Aecclesiae ... (fol. 48 v., a) ... lignum vitae abscondit. Explicit aecclesiae prima (fol. 51 v., b)>. cc) Incipit aecclesiae secunda : <Angelo Smirnae Aecclesiae ... (fol. 51 v., b) ... a morte secunda. Explicit (fol. 51 v., b)>. dd) Incipit explanatio supra aecclesiae in libro secundo : <Angelo Smirne Aecclesiae ... (fol. 52, a) ... ubi sedis et satanae. Explicit aecclesiae secunda (fol. 56 a)>. ee) Incipit aecclesiae tertia in libro secundo : <Angelo Pergami Aecclesiae ... (fol. 56, b) ... nisi qui accipit. Explicit storiae (fol. 56, b)>. ff) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae aecclesiae : <Angelo Pergami Aecclesiae ... (fol. 56 v., a) ... in familia eius occidissent. Finit. Explicit ecclesiae tertia in libro secundo (fol. 59, b)>. gg) Incipit aecclesiae quarta (sic) in libro secundo : <Angelo Thiathirae Aecclesiae ... (fol. 59, b) ... quid spiritus dicat Aecclesiis. Finit storia. Explicit storia Aecclesiae quarte in libro secundo (fol. 59 v., a y b)>. hh) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae aecclesiae in libro secundo : <Angelo Thiathirae aecclesiae ... (fol. 59 v., a y b) ... in scripturis sanctis nuncupatur. Explicit ecclesiae quarta (fol. 62 v., b)>. ii) Incipit ecclesiae quarta in libro secundo : <Angelo Sardis Aecclesiae ... (fol. 62 v., b) ... quid spiritus dicat Aecclesiis. Explicit storiae aecclesiae quinte (fol. 62 v., b)>. jj) Incipit explanatio supta scriptae storie : <Angelo Sardis Aecclesiae ... (fol. 63 a) ... quid spiritus dicat ecclesiis. Explicit Aecclesiae quintae in libro secundo (fol. 66, b)>. kk) Incipit ecclesiae sexta in libro secundo : <Angelo filadelfiae aecclesiae ... (fol. 66 v., a) ... quid spiritus dicat aecclesiis. Explicit storia ecclesiae sexte (fol. 66 v., b)>. ll) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae aecclesiae in libro secundo : <Angelo filadelfiae aecclesiae ... (fol. 67, a) ... quid spiritus dicat aecclesiis. Explicit ecclesiae sexta in libro secundo (fol. 71, b)>. mm) Incipit ecclesiae septima eiusdem libri : <Angelo Laudocie Aecclesiae ... (fol. 71, b) ... quid spiritus dicat aecclesiis. Explicit storie aecclesiae septime in libro secundo (fol. 71 v., b)>. nn) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie : <Angelo Laudocie aecclesiae ... (fol. 71 v., a) ... quid spiritus dicat aecclesiis. Explicit aecclesiae septima in libro secundo septem aecclesiarum (fol. 73, b)>. oo) Interpretatio qualiter una ecclesia sit cum septem dicantur apertissime per arca Noe declaratur : <Et dixit dominus ad Noe ... (fol. 73, b) ... dei patris omnipotentis esse posimus (fol. 75 v., b)>.

4. [Liber tertius] Incipit liber tertius recapitulatio Christi nativitatem aliter dicturus. a) [Explanatio ostii] : <Post completum septimanarium Aecclesiae ... (fol. 75 v., b) ... et terra et Aecclesia. Explicit explanatio ostii ... (fol. 76, b)> -- b) Incipit storia eiusdem in libro tertio. <Et uox prima ...
... uitreum similem christallo. Explicit historia in libro tertio (fol. 76, b) -- c) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie libro IIIª: <Et uox prima (fol. 77, a) ... post modum de profundis (incompleto) (fol. 78 v., b)> -- d) Incipit explanatio quattuor animalium in Lin (sic) libro tertio: <Et uidi in medio ... (fol. 79, a) ... Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus. Finit (fol. 92, b)>

5. [Liber Quartus] Incipit liber quartus. a) De septem sigillis: <Et uidi quum aperuisset... (fol. 92 v., a) ... et bestiis terrae. Explicit storie quattuor equorum (fol. 92 v)> -- b) Incipit explanatio quattuor equorum: <Aperto primo sigillo (fol. 93 v., a) ... certamen in sexto. Explicit explanatio quattuor aequorum (fol. 95 v., a)> -- c) Incipit storie de animas occisorum: <Et cum aperuisset ... (fol. 95 v. b) ... occidentur et ipsi. Finit storie (fol. 95 v., b) -- d) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie in libro IIIª: <Et quum aperuisset ... (fol. 96 v., a) ... disputationis ordinem revertam. Explicit explanationem sigilli quinti (fol. 98, b)> -- e) Incipit storie sigilli sexti in libro quarto: <Et uidi cum aperuisset ... (fol. 98, b) ... et quis poterit stare?. Finit (fol. 98, b) -- f) Incipit explanatio a supra scripta storie in Libro quarto: Et uidi quum aperuisset ... (fol. 99, a) ... adequt aliter dicturus. Finit. Explicit explanatio sexti sigilli in libro quarto (fol. 100 v., b). g) Incipit storie quattuor angelis ventorum: <Et post haec uidi... (fol. 100 v., b) ... et fulgura et terremotus. Explicit historiae (fol. 112 v., b)> -- b) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie in libro V, IIII angelorum: <In hoc libro ... (fol. 113 v., a) ... culmine potestatis excrecunt. Explicit prima tuba (fol. 115 v., a)> -- c) Incipit storie de secundo angelo: <Et secundus angelus ... (fol. 115 v., b) ... tertia parte (sic) nabium corruperunt. Explicit de sde secunde tube storie (sic) (fol. 115 v., b)> -- d) Incipit explanatio eiusdem tube: <Et secundus angelus ... (fol. 115 v., b) ... hoc sunt nabes, Finit (fol. 116, b) -- e) Incipit tertius angelus storie: <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 116, b) ... et tertia pars aquarum absinthium. Explicit tertii angelus tubae: <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 116, a) ... hoc sunt nubes, Finit (fol. 116, b)> -- f) Explicit eiusdem storie: <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 116 v., a) ... a mortiferis doctrinis percussi. Explicit tertii tube (fol. 117, b)> -- g) Incipit quarte tube srotia: <Et quartus angelus ... (fol. 117, b) ... qui tuba canituri sunt. Explicit storie (fol. 117, b) -- h) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storieae: <Et quartus angelus ... (fol. 117 v., a)... magna uoce predicantem. Explicit quarte tube (fol. 118, b)> -- i) Incipit quarte (sic) [quinta] storie tubeae: <Et quintus angelus ... (fol. 118, b) ... mors fugiet ab eis. Explicit storieae (fol. 118, b)> -- j) Incipit explanatio supra scripta
storie: <Et quintus angelus ... (fol. 118 v., a) et minime inueniendo.
Explicit puteus abyssi (fol. 119 v., b) -- k) Incipit aduc de easdem locustas: <Et similitudinem locustarum ... (fol. 119 v., b) ... duo vae post ea. Explicit ... (fol. 119 v., b) -- l) Explanatio supra scriptae storie: <Et similitudinem locustarum ... (fol. 120 v., a) ... duo vae postea. Expliciunt locustas (sic) (fol. 121, a) -- m) Incipit sexta tuba storieae: <Et sextus angelus ... (fol. 121, b) ... audiui numerum eorum. Explicit Storiae (fol. 121, b) -- n) Explanatio supra supra (sic) scriptae storieae: <Et sextus angelus ... (fol. 121 v., a) ... Sed tres partes ... (incompleto) (fol. 121 v., b) -- o) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et sic vidi aequos ... (fol. 122, a) id est, clara. Explicit explanatio (fol. 122 v., b) -- p) Incipit storiea angelis fortis: <Et uidi alium angelum ... (fol. 122 v., b) ... mensibus quadraginta duobus. Explicit storieae (fol. 123, b) -- q) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et uidi inquiet ... (fol. 124 a) ... homines huius mundi mali. Finit (fol. 125 v., b) -- r) Incipit storie Eliae sivi (sic) legis evangelii: <Et dabo duobus ... (fol. 125 v., b) ... civitatis magne proicientur. Explicit storiea (fol. 125 v., b) -- s) Explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et dabo duobus ... (fol. 126, a) ... ut cepimus spiritualiter disseramus. Explicit explanatio supra scripta ... (fol. 126 v., b) -- t) Incipit storiea de eodem testamento: <Et vincet cos ... (fol. 127, a) ... cruciaverunt habitantes terram. Finit (fol. 127, b) -- u) Explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et vincet eos ... (fol. 127 v., a) ... eorum haereditate possessa. Finit (fol. 127 v., b) -- v) Incipit de eodem testes storiea: <Et post tres dies ... (fol. 128) ... tertium venit cito. Finit (fol. 128) -- x) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et post tres dies ... (fol. 128 v., a) ... peccatorum in resurrectione. Finit ... (fol. 129, b) -- y) Incipit septima tuba quod est resurrectio omnis carnis: <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 129, b) ... in saecula saeculorum. Explicit storiea (fol. 129, b) -- z) Incipit explanatio supra scriptastorieae: <Et viginti quattuor ... (fol. 129) ... eadem alterum clarius dicturus. Finit ... (fol. 129) -- 7. [Liber sextus] Incipit liber sextus X capitularum a) [Incipit Historia]: Scire autem opus est ... (fol. 129) ... ascendentem de abisso. Explicit (fol. 129 v.) -- b) Explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et apertum es t ... (fol. 129 v.) ... egualis domino inueniatur. Explicit templum et bestia (fol. 130, a) -- c) Incipit mulieri et draco storiea: <Et signum magnum ... (fol. 130 b) ... super arena maris. Finit (fol. 130, b) -- d) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et signum magnum ... (fol. 131 v., a) ... rex esse dinoscitum. Explicit explanatio mulieri et draconis (fol. 134, b) -- e) Incipit storiea bestie et eiusdem draconis: <Et uidi ascendentem ... (fol. 134 v., a) et uritus sanctorum. Explicit storiea (fol. 134 v., b) -- f) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et uidi descendem (sic) ... (fol. 135 v., a) ... aperto ore reuelato. Explicit explanatio draconis et bestiae (fol. 137 v., b) -- g) Incipit storiea tertie bestie: <Et uidi aliam bestiam ... (fol. 137 v., b) ... numerum nominis eius. Explicit storiea (fol. 137 v., b) -- h) Incipit explanatio supra scriptae storieae: <Et uidi aliam bestiam ... (fol. 138, a) ... expleuit interpretatumque sic: DCLXVI. Finit (fol. 141 v., b) -- i) Incipit magister Lateeculi (sic, laterculi) huius et ratio litararum: <Si scire uis ...
Qualiter cognoscatur antichristus in toto mundo dum receperit: <Et datum est ... (fol. 142 v., a) ... sue dicionis rapit. Explicit (fol. 144, b)>

De antichristo qualiter imperatorem tollat romanum: <Beatus enim augustinos ... (fol. 144, b) ... antichristum nullus ambigit. Finit (fol. 145, b)>

Incipit historia decimi signi: <Et uidi et ecce ... (fol. 145, b) ... mendacium inmaculati sunt. Explicit storiae (fol. 145, b)>

Explanatio supra scripte storie: <Et uidi et ecce ... (fol. 146, a) ... in afrrica gestarum. Explicit (fol. 146, b)>

8. [Liber septimus] a) Incipit Liber VIIº Hic storie: <Et uidi alium angelum ... (fol. 146 v., b) ... qui in Christo moriuntur. Explicit (fol. 146 v., b)>

Explanatio supra scripte storie: <Et uidi inquid ... (fol. 147 v., a) ... tempore pacis futurae. Explicit (fol. 148, b)>

c) Incipit storia de nube alba et filioph hominis in libro VII: <Et uidi et ecce ... (fol. 148, b) ... per stadia mille sexcenta. Explicit storiae (fol. 148, b)>

d) Incipit explanatio supra scriptestorie: <Et uide et ecce ... (fol. 149, a) ... iudicii facta creduntur ... (incompletis) (fol. 149 v., b)> (Falta la ‘Historia septem angelorum’) e) Incipit explanatio supra scripta storie: <Et uidi alium signum ... (fol. 150, a) ... quod proposuerat dicens. Explicit (fol. 150 v., b)>

f) Incipit storia templi aperti et de easdem fialas angelorum: <Post haec uidi ... (fol. 150 v., b) ... plage septem angelorum. Explicit storiae (fol. 150 v., b)>

Explanatio supra scripte storie: <Post haec uidi ... (fol. 151 v., a) ... plagas plenius dicturus. Explicit liber septimus (fol. 152, a)>

9. [Liber octavus] a) Incipit liber octavus storie: <Et audiui uocem ... (fol. 152 b) adorantes simulachrum eius. Explicit storia (fol. 152, b)>

Explanatio supra scripte storie: <Et audiui uocem ... (fol. 152 v., a) ... peregrinationis molestia sustinebit (fol. 153 v., b)> c) [Incipit tertius angelus]: <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 153 v., b) ... sunt judgmentes eius. Finit (fol. 153 v., b)>

d) Incipit storia: <Et tertius angelus ... (fol. 154, a) ... agere non cessat. Finit storie (fol. 155, b)>

e) Incipit quartus angelus: <Et quartuus angelus ... (fol. 155, b) ... ut darent ei claritatem. Finit storie (fol. 155, b)>

f) Incipit quintus angelus: <Et quintus angelus ... (fol. 155 v., a) ... omnem quem recipit. Explicit explanatio (fol. 155 v., b)>

g) Incipit sextus angelus: <Et sextus angelus ... (fol. 155 v., b) ... penitentiam non egerunt. Explicit storiae (fol. 155 v., b)>

h) Incipit septimus angelus: <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 156, a) ... nos benedicti sumus. Finit (fol. 156, b)>

i) Incipit sextus angelus: <Et sextus angelus ... (fol. 156 v., a) ... ab ortu solis (fol. 156 v., a)>

j) Incipit septimus angelus: <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 156 v., a) ... ab origene brevius. Explicit (fol. 156 v., b)>

k) Incipit storiea de supra dictas ranas: <Et uidi ex ore ... (fol. 156 v., b) ... dicitur hebraye armagetron. Explicit (fol. 156 v., b)>

l) Incipit de easdem ranas: <Et uidi ex ore ... (fol. 157, a) ... in mundo fuerat factura. Finit (fol. 158 v., b)>

m) Incipiot septimus angelus: <Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 159) ... plaga
eius nimis. Explicit storia (fol. 159) -- n) Explanatio supra scripte storie : 
*Et septimus angelus ... (fol. 159 v., a) ... a Christi passione. Explicit liber octavus (fol. 160, b)*

10. [Liber nonus] a) Incipit liber nonus de muliere meretrice et bestia : 
*Et uenit unus ... (fol. 160, b) ... in eremum in spiritu. Explicit storie (fol. 160, b) -- b) Explanatio supra scripte storie : 
*Et uenit unus ... (fol. 160 v., a) ... se memorat transtulisse. Explicit (fol. 161, a) -- c) Incipit de eadem mulier et bestia : 
*Et uidi mulierem ... (fol. 161, b) ... potestatem suam bestiae dant. Explicit storieae (fol. 161, b) -- d) Explanatio supra scripte storiae : 
*Et uidi mulierem ... (fol. 161 v., a) ... eius patientia confunditur (fol. 165, b) -- e) Incipit de agno et bestia superata : 
*Hii X reges ... (fol. 165, b) ... super reges terre. Explicit (fol. 165 v.) -- f) Explanatio supra scripte storie : 
*Hii decem reges ... (fol. 165 v.) ... quae postea uident.

Explicit liber nonus (fol. 166 v., b)

11. [Liber decimus] a) Incipit liber decimus de diaboli civitate : 
*Postea uidi alium ... (fol. 166 v., b) ... iudicium de illa. Explicit storieae (fol. 167, b) -- b) Explanatio supra scripta storie : 
*Postea uidi alium ... (fol. 168) ... et diaboli dicitur. Explicit (fol. 169 v., b) -- c) Incipit de eadem civitatem (sic) diaboli : 
*Et tuit unus angelus ... (fol. 170, a) ... occisorum super terram. Explicit storieae (fol. 170, b) -- d) Explicit (sic). [Incipit] xplanatio supra scripte storie : 
*Et tuit unus angelus ... (fol. 170, a) ... sunt super terram. Explicit storieae (fol. 170 v., b) -- e) Incipit storieae de civitate dei : 
*Post haec audiui ... (fol. 170 v., b) ... Jesu deum adora. Explicit storieae (fol. 170 v., b) -- f) Explanatio supra scripta storieae : 
*Post haec audiui ... (fol. 171 v., a) ... testare uobis in ... (incompleto) (fol. 171 v., b) ... (falta la terminación que corresponde al fin del libro X y falta la 1ª historia del libro XI)

12. [Liber undecimus de equo albo et recapitulat a passione Christus brevius] a) Explanatio supra scripte storieae : 
*Et uidi coelum apertum ... (fol. 172, a) ... supra quos diximus (fol. 172 v., a) -- b) Incipit storieae angeli stantis in sole : 
*Et uidi angelum ... (fol. 172 v., b) ... pusillorum et magnorum. Explicit storieae (fol. 172 v., b) -- c) Explanatio supra scripta storieae : 
*Et uidi angelum ... (fol. 172 v.) ... hostium sanguinem bibere. Explicit (fol. 173 v., b) -- d) Incipit de bestia et reges terre : 
*Et uidi bestiam ... (fol. 173 v., b) ... de carnibus eorum. Explicit storieae (fol. 173 v., b) -- e) Explanatio supra scriptae storieae : 
*Et uidi inquid ... (fol. 174, a) ... omnes integri iudicentur. Explicit (fol. 174 v., a) -- f) Incipit de alio angelo et clavem abissi : 
*Et uidi alium angelum ... (fol. 174 v., b) ... solui modico tempore. Explicit (fol. 174 v., b) -- g) Explanatio supra scripta storieae : 
*Et uidi angelum ... (fol. 175, a) ... habuit ab initio. Explicit (fol. 175 v., b) -- h) Incipiunt troni et animas occisorum : 
*Et uidi tronos ... (fol. 175 v., b) ... et mille annos. Explicit storieae (fol. 175 v., b) -- i) Explanatio supra scriptae storieae : 
*Et uidi tronos ... (fol. 176, a) ... ad finem istius mundi. Explicit (fol. 177, a) -- j) Incipit de solutione diaboli de custodia sua : 
*Et cum finiti fuerint ... (fol. 177, b) ... commedit inimicos suos. Explicit storieae (fol. 177, b) -- k) Explanatio supra scriptae storieae : 
*Et cum finiti fuerin ... (fol. 177 v., b) ...
178, a) ... nominavit ut ferrum. Explicit (fol. 179 v., a) -- l) Incipit de diaboli bestia et pseudo prophete: <Et descendit ignis ... (fol. 179 v., b) ... in saecula saeculorum amen. Explicit (fol. 179 v., b)> -- m) Explñanatio supra scripte storie: <Et descendit ignis ... (fol. 179 v.) ... cum seductis intereat. Explicit liber XI (fol. 180, b)>

13. [Liber duodecimus] a) Incipit liber duodecim iudicii et civitatem Iherusalem id est aecclesia: <Et uidi in tronum ... (fol. 180, b) ... in stagnum ignis. Explicit storiae (fol. 180, b)> -- b) Explanatio supra scripte storie: <Et recapitulat in diem ... (fol. 181 v., a) ... in stagnum ignis. Explicit (fol. 181 v., b)> -- c) Incipit de Iherusalem civitate in quo finis (sic) Liber duodecimus: <Et uidi coelum ... (fol. 182, a) ... in saecula saeculorum amen. Explicit storia de Iherusalem civitate (fol. 182, b) -- d) Explanatio supra scripte storie: <Hac Iherusalem aecclesiam ... (fol. 183 v., a) ... contineri beatissime demonstratur (fol. 188, b)> -- e) [De plateis, flumine, portis, etc.] : <Nunc uero quae prolixe ... (fol. 188, b)> -- f) Interpretatio: <Ciuitatem quadratam sanctorum ... (fol. 188, b) ... in saecula saeculorum. Explñicit (fol. 188 v., b) -- g) Incipit historia finis huius libri: <In hoc fine ... (fol. 189, b) ... disperationis lapsum incurrant. (fol. 189, b)> -- h) Incipit brevis explanatio supra scripte storie: <Angelum quem dicit ... (fol. 190, a) ... Jhesu Christi cum omnibus. Explicit codix Apocalipsin duodenario ordine librorum incissione disincto (fol. 191, b)>

14. [Declaration of codex terms, liber folium]: <Codix multorum librorum...fol. 191, b) ... sibi inuicem compinguntur. Explicit (fol. 191, b)>

15. [From finitatibus et gradibus]: <Heredis nomen imposuit ... (Fol. 192 a) ... aediti pro longe ... (incomplete) (fol. 192 v., b)>

16. In Christi nomine nostri Ihesu incipit ab explanatio Danielis prophete auctore Beati Iheronimi a) Incipit prologus in book Danielis prophete: <Contra prophetam danielem ... (Fol. 193 a) ... bunk contiere gentium (sic). Explicit prologus (fol. 194, b)> -- b) Incipit visio premium in Danielis prophete: <... Zebedei et filii ... (Fol. 195 a) ... dari fuisse memoratur. Explicit visio premium (fol. 195, b) -- c) visio Incipit secunda in anno regni seconded Nebuchadnezzar: <If you post three anni ... (Fol. 196 a) ... latere non recedit. Explicit visio secondary (fol. 199, b)> -- d) Incipit Visio tertia: <Nebuchadnezzar rex fecit ... Velos oblibio veritatis ... (Fol. 199 and 200, a) ... Danielis credatur esse. Explicit tertia visio (F. 201 v, b)> -- e) Incipit visio quarta: (incomplete) <... nescio rationale qua ... (Fol. 202 a) ... daniel potens fuerit in boiler ... (Incomplete). Explicit quarta visio (fol. 208, b) -- f) fifth visio Incipit: <baltasar cousin Anno ...Haec visio ... (Fols. 208, by 208 v., A) ... voluminis aebraice legimus. Explicit visio V th (fol. 211, b) - g) visio Incipit secunda est tempore sixth that cui supra <duos annos Post ... (Fol. 212 a) ... noctis that significat. Explicit visio sixth (fol. 213, b) -- h) Incipit visio qui est tertia seventh cui supra tempor: <Factum est autem ... Non ergo omnis ... (Ff. 213, by 214, a) ... Itaque scripta sunt. Explicit visio seventh (fol. 222 a)> -- i) Incipit visio eighth qui est tempore Darii to ... <Ego ab anno primo ... Ego
Inquit Danihel ... (Fol. 222, b) ... ipsorum books in invenire poterit. Finit (fol.229, b)> - j) ut Expositis potui that book fair in Danielis continetur ebraycum: <Ponam breviter quod ... (Fol. 229, b) ... quod ei respondere debemus. Explicit explanatio Danielis prophete. Quisquis anelanter hic pro lecturus accesseris mem indignum Obeco presbyter orare Forsam deign caream vitis et ad dominum redentore sine confusione perveniam. Amen. Deo Gratias (fol. 230 v.)>
the end of the manuscript is a flyleaf and then another without writing a text in red and black on Santa Leocadia of Toledo, which leads to the left of a drawing with the image of Santa.

There is modern foliation in pencil, and some pages are missing and others damaged. Between folios 3 and 4, there are signs of one cut, folio 13 is torn and less than half of the page remains. One page is missing between folios 78 and 79 and also between 101 and 102, between 121 and 122, between 139 and 140, between 149 and 150, between 171 and 172, between 192 and 193, between 194 and 195, between 201 and 202, between 207 and 208 (208 has been almost entirely cut away), between 226 and 227 and two missing between 228 and 229. Some others are cut into the margin. Apart from these damages and normal faults, conservation is quite good considering the age of the codex; the writing box is 29.5 x 20cm, 22 to 28 lines per page.

This codex contains 87 miniatures of very different sizes, mostly boxed in a beautiful border drawn differently in each case. Illustrations include:

1. (Folio 1v): The Holy Cross of Oviedo in the Camará Sancta in the Oviedo Cathedral, from whose arms hang the symbols of Alpha and Omega (Revelation 1:8). At the top of the page the following words are written: 'Hoc sign tuetur pius.' The following words are then written: 'In hoc signo vincitur inimicus'. On the sides of the foot of the cross there are two birds in the form of roosters. The whole image is surrounded by a wide border.
2. (Folio 2r): Maze which contains the words 'ABBA Librum Sempronius' in over 400 variants.
3. (Folio 4r): The first revelation (Revelation 1:1). The angel of the Lord receives the book at the top of the composition, at the bottom the Angel of John is shown speaking.
4. (Folio 6v): Appearance of the cloud (Revelation 1:7). The Lord appeared in the a cloud-flower that represents a part of paradise and is surrounded by four angels with big eyes and large wings that complete the top of the composition. At the bottom, various characters represents the peoples of the land, who look towards the Lord and raise their hands.
5. (Folio 9v): This image in composed of two parts (Revelation 1:11-17). In the upper portion, the image of the ‘The Son of Man,’ shows John who falls at the feet of Christ, who appears with sharp swords in both sides and who touches John’s head; the seven candlesticks are shown above the figures. The lower part shows the Seven Churches, represented as seven arches, to whom the Revelation will be presented. John stands with the Book in his hands.
6. (Folio 36v, 37r): World Map
7. (Folio 42r): The Four Beasts
8. (Folio 42v): The Statue of Nebuchadnezzar. A piece of mountain that is shown as the foot of the figure.
9. (Folio 43v): The woman on the Beast (Revelation 17) who rides up, offering her cup of pleasure and temptation.
10. (Folio 48r): John and the Angel (Revelation 2:1-7). This begins the story of the Church of Ephesus.

11. (Folio 52r): Church of Smyrna (Revelation 2: 8-11)

12. (Folio 56r): Church of Pergamum (Revelation 2)

13. (Folio 59v): Church of Thyatira. The thumbnail is well preserved and beautiful. There are two vertical sections of the image—the first shows John talking to the angel and the second, which is taller, represents the city of Thyatira, which has two parts below three horseshoe arches that allow access to the city. Above, there is a tower with a very stilted arch in its centre.

14. (Folio 63v): Church of Sardis (Revelation 3:1-4)

15. (Folio 66v): Church of Philadelphia (Revelation 3:7-11)

16. (Folio 71v): Church of Laodicea (Revelation 3: 14-16)

17. (Folio 73v) Noah's Ark was included because it is considered as a symbolic representation of the Church. It is configured as a house with a gabled roof and is divided into several horizontal zones. The structure is wider at the bottom than at the top, for those within the Church are the wide and easy path should not be called men, but beasts, so is Noah up in the narrowest part, on the right his wife and daughters and his men left.

18. (Folio 74r) is a complement to the previous scene and represents a drowning corpse begin consumed by a crow.

19. (Folio 76v.) Throne and 24 Elders (Rev. 4:2-6). We see the 24 elders around the throne, seven lamps of fire are seven spirits of God.

20. (Folio 93r) The Four Horsemen (Rev. 4:6-8 to 6:2)

21. (Folio 96r): The souls of the martyrs (Revelation 6:9). This scene has two parts: the upper portion shows the souls of those slain for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus; they appear as birds under the altar of God. The blessed are shown at the bottom.

22. (Folio 98v): Falling Star (Revelation 6:12-15): In the center medallion, a throne is supported by two angels on each side. Several amazed characters watch as the sun is darkened; the moon does not give light but instead becomes deep red as stars fall to earth...Down with the kings of the earth. The judges, servants and all those who are free taken refuge in the mountains.

23. (Folio 101r): The Four winds, the angel and the righteous (Revelation 7:1-2). Four angels are shown at the four corners of the earth, holding up the four winds. Another angel ascends from the rising sun, bearing the sign of God, crying out with a loud voice to the four angels, to the ranks of righteous characters who focus the scene.

24. (Folio 102r): Marked Israelites (Revelation 7:4, 9, 11): A mass of characters represents the 144,000 included in the tribes of Israel.

25. (Folio 111r): The palm (Revelation 7:9): Six characters, three on each side represent the Just, are shown with palms. This is the symbolic tree of Christ. The palm appears with its roots exposed, and with seven branches, being the symbolic number seven, which represents the omnipotence of the divine.
26. (Folio 113r): Trumpets (Revelation 8:2-5): At the top of the composition, we see the Lord on his throne and next to the seven angels with trumpet paths.
27. (Folio 114 r) The first angel (Revelation 8:7). Hail and fire
28. (Folio 115 v.) The second angel (Revelation 8:8-9). Blood and shipwrecks
29. (Folio 116 v.) The third angel (Revelation 8:10-11). Absinthe
30. (Folio 117 r.) The Fourth Angel (Revelation 8:12-13). Darkness
31. (Folio 118 v.) The fifth angel (Revelation 9:1-2). The Abyss
32. (Folio 120r): Locusts like horses (Revelation 9:7-10) Each has a man as victim an angel with a spear and with five giant faces locust and men, hair of women and dandelions and a kind of armor or chain mail appears
33. (Folio 121 r.) The four angels of the Euphrates (Revelation 9:13-15). An angel is shown in the presence of God at the altar of gold. This angel is told to release the four angels who are detained by the river Euphrates, which is represented by a long, narrow blue tongue.
34. (Folio 123 r) John heard a voice from heaven
35. (Folio 123v): The measuring of the temple. (Revelation 10 and 11:1-3). A fallen angel from heaven is shown leaving a cloud with its right foot in the water and the left on land. There is an open book in his hand, which John along with a cane that is offered by another angel.
36. (Folio 125v) Witnesses (Revelation 11:3-4). Enoch and Elijah appear, two olive trees and two candlesticks are also shown.
37. (Folio 127.) The destruction of Jerusalem (Revelation 11:7-8). The composition is divided into two parts. An inscription in the upper portion reads: 'Antichristus civitatem Jherusalem subvertit,' while Elijah and Enoch are killed at the bottom. ('Enoch et Antichristus Eliam occidet')
38. (Folio 128.) Rapture of Elijah and Enoch (Revelation 11:11-12). Elijah and Enoch regain life and are guided by an angel before the throne of God cloud, the characters who see it are seized with a great fear
39. (Folio 129r): The Seventh Angel (Revelation 11:15-16)
40. (Folio 129v: Open Temple (Revelation 11:19). At the top we see the open temple, delimiting a lobed space. The beast rises from the abyss.
41. (Folios 130r-131v) The dragon, woman and child (Revelation 12:1-17). This is a beautiful full-page composition in which we see the woman who is clothed with the sun and the moon and crowned 12 stars, with the dragon, who has seven heads with seven crowns and ten horns to fight Michael and his angels. The dragon is defeated and expelled to earth, along with his evil angels. On the right is the Nile engendered by the woman, who is elevated to the throne of God. The dragon persecutes the woman, who is granted wings so they fly into the wilderness, the dragon casts its lower mouth water as a flood with the woman, the earth absorbs the river. The dragon decides to wage war against the descendants of women.
42. (Folio 134v-135r): The Adoration of the Beast (Apocalypse 13:1-4)
43. (Folio 138r): The Beast Rising from the Earth (Revelation 13:11)
44. (Folio 139v): The Fox and the Rooster
45. (Folio 142r): The number of the Beast (Revelation 13:18)
46. (Folio 143r): Labyrinth of Antichrist (Revelation 13:18)
47. (Folio 145v): The Lamb on Mount Zion (Revelation 14:1-2). In the centre is the Lamb over the mountain, above the elders and the four beasts.
Below, to the sides of the lamb, some of the 144,000 are shown with their harps.

48. (Folio 147r): The angel of the everlasting Gospel and the fall of Babylon (Revelation 14:6-8). In the upper portion, the angel flies in the midst of heaven while the lower portion shows the fall of Babylon.

49. (Folio 148v): Christ the Judge. The Harvest and Vintage (Revelation 14:14-15 and 18). The angel is shown, not sitting as the text says, but standing on a white cloud, delivering another sickle with which the angel is harvesting. Below peasants cut the wheat, grapes and the branches below the winery. On the left side, by the gates of the city, two horses, black and white, run to the wine press. The dark spot represents the blood that runs through the winery and that goes up to the horses’ bridles.

50. (Folio 151r) The seven plagues (Revelation 15:5-7). The upper part shows the open temple, while down below, one of the four animals is delivered to the seven angels with seven golden bowls full of the wrath of God.

51. (Folio 152r): The wrath of God (Revelation 16:1)
52. and 53: (Folio 153v) The First and Second Angels (Revelation 16:2,4)
54. (Folio 154r): The Third Angel (Revelation 16:4)
55. (Folio 155r): The Fourth Angel (Revelation 16:8-9)
56. (Folio 156r): The Fifth Angel (Revelation 16:10)
57. (Folio 156v): The Sixth Angel. The Euphrates (Revelation 16:12)
58. (Folio 157r): Frogs (Revelation 16:13)
59. (Folio 159r): The Seventh Angel. Consummation. (Revelation 16:17-18)
60. (Folio 160v): The Great Whose of Babylon (Revelation 16:1-2). The woman with the cup of pleasure and the kings of the earth.

61. (Folio 161v): The Harlot and the Beast (Revelation 17:3-4): She is adorned with hold and precious stones. The beast has seven heads and 10 horns.

62. (Folio 165v): Victory of the Lamb (Revelation 17:14). The Lamb fights with the ten kings and overcomes.

63. (Folio 167v): Fire and the Fall of Babylon (Revelation 18:1, 2, 8)
64. (Folio 168r): Lamentations of Babylon (Revelation 18:9-10)
65. (Folio 170r): Mill Wheel (Revelation 18:21)
66. (Folio 171r): Celestial Hallelujah (Revelation 19:1). The four beasts and the elders are shown at the top, worshipping the throne of God. John falls at the feet of the angel.

67. (Folio 172v): Angel and the Sun (Revelation 19:17-18)
68. (Folio 173v): Loss of the Beast (Revelation 19:19-21)
69. (Folio 174v): Angel Slays the Dragon and Holds him Down, the Devil is Defeated (Revelation 20:1-3)
70. (Folio 176r) Judges (Revelation 20:4). The Thone of God before those who are to be judged. Below, souls of the dead.
71. (Folio 177v) Antichrist rules the world. Then fire feel from the sky (shown in the middle), all are hidden in the mountain (shown below)
72. (Folio 179v) Lake of Sulphur (Revelation 20:9-10). Cattle fall into the lake and the devil speaks.
73. (Folio 180r): The Cross with Alpha and Omega
74. (Folios 180v and 181r): Trial. Beautiful, full-page composition containing God’s throne supported by two angels in several rows.
75. (Folio 182v): The Heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 20:1)
76. (Folio 183r): The Angel shows John down from Mount Jerusalem
77. (Folio 189v): John attempts to worship the angel (Revelation 22:8-9). John appears in the lower portion by the Seven Churches.
78. (Folio 194v): The Taking of Jerusalem
79. (Folio 195v): The Dream of Nebuchadnezzar. He sees the Statue.
80. (Folio 196r): Nebuchadnezzar questioned the wise men of Babylon.
81. (Folio 199v): The statue, musicians and adoring. Nebuchadnezzar orders that children are put into the furnace.
82. (Folio 201v): Nebuchadnezzar asks Daniel about Sleep
83. (Folio 204r): Balthassar’s Feast. Shown under two horseshoe arches, the left one with whimsical segments. In the arch on the right, the following words appear: MANE, TECEL, FARES.
84. (Folio 211v): Susa, the ram and the goat
85. (Folio 213r): Daniel speaks with the angel.
86. (Folio 213v): Gabriel speaks to Daniel in the time of Sacrifice. Daniel languishes for days.
87. (Folio 220r): The seventy weeks. Daniel on the Tigris.
Appendix 1D: Catalogue and Descriptions for the Girona Beatus

(Taken Taken from John Williams’ The Illustrated Beatus and the Catalogue at the Girona Cathedral Museum)

6. The Girona Beatus (G)
Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. inv. 7 (11)
284 ff., 400 x 260mm
6 July 975
Origin: Kingdom of León. Probably Tâbara
Scribe: Senior
Illuminators: Ende, Emeterius
Ilbs. 259 – 297

The Girona Commentary rivals the Morgan Beatus (No. 2) in pictorial wealth, and is its superior in iconographic variety. It represents the culmination of scriptorial development at the same site, San Salvador de Tâbara, which had probably produced Morgan 644 some thirty years earlier. While this provenance is not guaranteed for the Girona Beatus, it is the one logically deduced from the colophons of f. 284. On the recto, at the conclusion of the text of the Commentary, is the inscription SENIOR PRESETAT SCRITURAM (presbyter Senior wrote it). Above the emblematic Omega of the verso are the words DOMINICUS AB ABBAS PRIECEPT (Abbot Dominicus had the book made). Martin considers the alleged identity of this Dominicus and one recorded in an inscription at Escaldas, in Escrivâa (193 n. 48). Those who carried out the illumination, and possibly some of the writing as well, are named below the Omega: ENDE PINTRIX ET DESI AURITRA PRAETRA EMETERIUS ET PRUDENTES (Ende painter and servant of God. Emeterius monk and pupil). The gender employed for the word painter indicates that Ende was female, presumably a nun. J. Marquès (‘Cóccido gerundense’, 69) argued for the reading EN DEFENTRIX. Finally, the colophon informs us: INTERI POSTUM VOLUMINE VIA F. IAs INICITAS ILIAS, IN HIBEREB ETAT FREDERANDO FLAGNIUS AVELLA VISITA DE VITAM AD DEVELANDO MAESTRA TANIE. DISCERNIENTA ERA MILLESIMA XII, stating that the book was successfully completed on Friday, 6 July. In those days Frederando Flaginz was at Villas, the ‘cistern town’, fighting the Moors. The year was 975. But it should be noted that in 975 July 6 fell on Tuesday rather than on Friday as stated here.

Presumably because it is now in Catalonia, the Girona Beatus was assigned a Catalanian provenance by Mentré (‘Peinture catalane’, ‘Représentations mozarabes’, 748 and Fontaine ‘Les miniatures’, 367). The fact that it is written in Visigothic minuscule rules out such a possibility, for by this date the script of Catalonia had been converted to Carolingian, the script of the Carolingian reform, a change that would take place in León only as the twelfth century progressed. Another indication that it was written in León is the commendation of Frederando Flaginz in the colophon (about whom further information is given by G. Méndez Pidal, ‘Mozárabes y astu- rianos’, 206–7). A Leonese origin cannot be doubted. King ‘Divagaciones’, 31–4) favoured San Martín de Castañeda, northwest of Tâbara, in the diocese of Astorga. Although no scriptorian is designated, Senior and Emeterius were named in the colophon of the Tâbara Beatus (No. 5) and it is reasonable to assign Girona to the same scriptorium. The vellum was prepared in a manner similar to that in the Tâbara Beatus, and a comparison of the Omega of Tâbara (f. 167, ill. 254) with that of Girona (f. 284; ill. 337) reveals a common ornamental vocabulary. Although the participation of Ende suggests that Tâbara was a monastery housing both monks and nuns, there is no corroborating evidence (for the Spanish tradition of monastic houses housing both men and women see Antonio Limag Conde, Los origenes del monasterio benedictino en la peninsula ibérica, León, 1, 1973, 435ff.). In the colophon of the Tâbara Beatus, Emeterius, by implication, was a painter schooled by Magius. He is not specifically termed painter here, but his name appears with Ende’s beneath the Omega, whereas the signature of Senior, who wrote it, is on the other face of this folio. The Commentary seems to have been in Girona before 6 October, 1078, if it is assumed to be the ‘Expositio Apostolica’, given to the Cathedral of Girona at that time by loan. The donation is recorded in Madrid, RAH, Dec., Sala 9, 2309, pp. 27–30, and this document is printed in J. Rius, ‘Cartas antiguas de Sant Martí Sarroca’, Anales de la Real de la Escuela de Altos Estudios, IV, 1928, 343–94, esp. app. XV, 368.

The Girona Beatus has suffered few losses in comparison to Tâbara and is thus our best witness by far to the early phase of the Beatus tradition, although it includes subjects probably never present in Tâbara. The illumination of the two does not display the kind of identity of man-
ner one would expect from the citation of Emeterius as an illuminator in both Tábara and Girona. Moreover, the Girona style displays extraordinary homogeneity; within a generic similarity, it is marked by greater plasticity and complexity than that of Tábara. Even so, efforts have been made to distinguish the ‘delicate’ and ‘exquisite’ feminine hand of Ende (Churrucu, *Influo Oriental* 55; Camón Aznar, ‘La miniatura española en el siglo X’, 34–5). In the same way King (‘Divagations’, 55) tried to distinguish the miniatures done by Emeterius.

Girona has a Janus-like complexity. On the one hand, in comparison to the other Commentaries of whatever family or date, it is most remarkable for the introduction of Christian subjects not otherwise found in the Peninsula. On the other hand, it is the best Commentary on which to base discussion of Islamic, or ‘Oriental’, influence. The new Christian subjects were not additions to the standard Apocalyptic and Daniel cycles, but were essentially Christological, and collected together before the Commentary proper, as an extension of the usual prefatory images. They reveal a far richer knowledge of New Testament traditions than might have been presumed for Leon in the tenth century. Already in the first frontispieces it is clear that extra-Peninsular sources are involved. The first is a Cross page (f. 1v; ill. 259), a type of frontispiece with an important history in Spanish illumination. However, the version in this Beatus Commentary is unique in combining the Cross and Lamb with the Spear, Sponge and Chalice. This precise ensemble of sacrificial symbols is found in manuscripts of the Tours school of Carolingian illumination, which created the ‘figure-8’ mandorla that appears in the Majesty of f. 2 (ill. 260). Touronian sources also account for the small ‘munda’ held in Christ’s right hand in the Majesty. Even the nude Atlantes figures supporting the group have their counterpart in Carolingian illustration (E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton-London-Leipzig, 1932, pls. LXXXVI, LXXXIX). It is interesting to note that although another illuminator, Florentius of Valeranica, composed in 945 the first Christ in Majesty surviving in Spanish illumination (*Volume I, Col. Pl. 19*), his debt to Carolingian prototypes remains to some degree conjectural. In the case of Girona such a debt is indisputable.

It is less easy to assign sources to the remaining New Testament scenes added to Girona. The Heaven spread across ff. 3v–4 (ill. 261) has Christ at the centre between the sun and the moon receiving the homage of various creatures, while six radial paths with biblical quotations lead to personifications of virtue.

These inscriptions of Heaven are seen in the diagram opposite, and in the following order:

The inscriptions accompanying the angelic figures in the five concentric rings, with A as the outermost and E as the innermost; the inscriptions accompanying the figures standing in the intervals of the second ring followed by the inscriptions in the paths that lead to them, starting with no. 1, at 2 o’clock, and continuing to no. 6, at 10 o’clock.

A: *ANGELI LITORES ET DOMINO PORTATORES MISSI SUNT*

B: *SPIRITUS VOLANT ET ALTISIMO IN TRONO MAGNIFICANT/ SPIRITUS VOLANT ET ALTISIMO ADORANT/ SPIRITUS VOLANT ET SEDENTI IN TRONO MAGNIFICANT*

C: *VOLUMINA PORTANTES ET AROMATA HODORANTES*

D: *LEGIONES ANGELORUM*

E: *STELLE ET LUMEN*

1: non in solo pane ubit omo; in omni uero quo procedit ex ore dei

2: esca et potus tribuit; uia gaudium et pax semper inuenit

3: propugnator ad saluandum; pax et leticia(?) in leticia in spiritu sancto

4: mercedem iusti accipiet; uia qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti

5: danti et accipienti; uia de elemosina qui extinguit peccata

6: homo pietatis; uia sicut aqua qui extinguit igne.

Although there is no parallel in Christian art known to me, the basic scheme descends from an antique formula. (Norström, ‘Text and Myth’, II, 120–7; Tassé, ‘Iconographic source’, 33f.) The claim by Churrucu (*Influo oriental*, 95) that it was based on Islamic prototypes, endorsed by Mentré (*Miniatura en Leon y Castilla*, 154) is unconvincing.

The subjects illustrating Christ’s life, from the Annunciation to the Celebration of the Resurrection, have counterparts in most instances; these cycles are considered by Neuss (125–133) and by Crowden in ‘Narrative Sequence’.

Inscriptions accompany the scenes. In the record which follows, the texts within brackets are in a script of c. 1100.

f. 15: *SCE MARIE GABRIEL JOSEB/ angelus egregie domune fert iussa marie/ ad presepe deus te nout in bos et aseus/ presepe domini*
Diagram showing position of inscriptions on ff. 3v-4: Heaven

f. 15v: Gabriel xps / nomina magi melchior ta-gasra altisara / aurum tus mirra marie virginis ioseb xps / ubi erodes xpm inueni et mater eius et iosep et angelus dni quando pergebant ad egyptum / ubi erodes recalcitrabit eum aqua suo et percussit eum in femore suo ministris erodis cum poma malo mellis / ubi erodes egrotatus est de percussione equite suo

f. 16v: [pro mundi uita me suspendit plebe in-qua] / IVVM NAZARENVM REX VIDEORVM / FEX- VAS CLAVORVM / SOL OBS CVRATVS / LUNA NON DEEDIT LYMEN SYVMS / LIMAS / GESTAS / MEMENTO MET DNE / LOMINVS STEFATON / CAYVARIE LOCUS VBI DNS CRVCIFIXVS EST / ADAM

f. 16r: SI IESVS LOCUTVS EST MV/LIBYS DICENS [TE NVNTIATE FRAVIS MVS VT EANT IN GALEA IN IBI ME VIDEVRVT / ISEB / CVSTODES CORPV DNI / MARIA MAGDALENA ET ALTERA MARIA IVDAIS LAQVIO SE SVSPENDIT / ZAVBLE IN- IMICVS [Hic se suspendit xpm qui munere uendit]
f. 17v: ubi dnas post resurrectione sua expoli\'ans inferna [abjectis portis sum terre preco choorit\'is] O INFERNE ERO MORS TVA - ERO MORSVS TVVS INFERNE

f. 18: POST RESURRECTIONEM DNI ISTITI SVNT FINVI\'GENTES IN GLORIA/ GAVI\'DENTES DE RESV\'RRECTIONE DNI/ SE LETANT DE VISIONES DOMINI ET VIBIT EX VIRT\'VTE SVA.

As it fills seven pages (ff. 15–18), this particular cycle is unexpectedly long given the sparseness of New Testament imagery in earlier Spanish art. Four Ministry episodes were carved on a seventh-century pier in San Salvador de Toledo (H. Schlunk and T. Hauschild, Hispania Antiqua: Die Denkm\'aler der fr\'uhchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit, Mainz am Rhein, 1978, 195, Pl. 95). Four Infancy scenes appear in the Bible of 920 in Le\'on Cathedral (Cod. 6; G\'omez-Moreno, Provincia de Le\'on, II, lam. 85), and, from the third quarter of the tenth century, eight New Testament marginal illuminations accompany the corresponding passages in the Antiphonary of Leon Cathedral (Cod. 8; J. Yarza Luaces, Las miniaturas del Antifonario de Le\'on, Seminario de estudios de arte y arqueolog\'ia, Universidad de Valladolid, XLIII, 1976, 181–205). None of these is related to the cycle in Mary and the Nativity on the last page of the Genealogical Tables (ill. 285), where one normally encounters the Angel Gabriel saluting Mary and Christ (as in the Facundus Beatus, No. 11, and the Bible of 960), or an Adoration of the Magi (Cardenal-Metropolitan Collection, No. 21; Las Huelgas, No. 24; Rylands, No. 20; Saint-Sever, No. 13; Turin, No. 15; Bible of Burgos, Bibl. Prov., ‘Biblia romanica’), the typical subject for the Tables of Branch Ib. The painter of Girona must have emended his model. That it was done under the influence of Christian traditions outside the Peninsula is revealed by the way Joseph puts his hand to his face, a gesture native to East Christian art, but which had found its way to the West by the Carolingian period (G. Schiller, IBkonographie der christlichen Kunst, I, Gutersloh, 1966, figs. 153, 163).

On f. 15v, the Infancy narrative continues in three registers, with the Adoration of the Magi and two extraordinary scenes centring on Herod (ill. 286). In the Adoration the position and gesture of Gabriel are more appropriate for Joseph; indeed the type is related to the formula adopted in the Byzantine world, the fountain of New Testament imagery (Neuss, Kata\'larische Bible-Illustration, 113, n. 36). The inscriptions make the exceptional episodes involving Herod decipherable. The prefatory folio with the Holy Family and a rider (resembling the one on f. 134v) has a descriptive text: ‘where Herod discovered Christ and his mother and Joseph and the angel of the Lord when they fled to Egypt’. The recumbent figure of Herod is accompanied by the words, ‘where Herod’s horse kicked him and struck him in the thigh’. Neuss reasoned that Apocryphal literature of Eastern origin lay behind this narrative, but the source has not been discovered.

However, the inspiration for the bottom register has been found. In this scene Herod ‘is ill from the blow of his horse’ [ubi erodes egratus est de percussione equite suo] and reclines on a bed. Four figures approach from the left, the foremost of which has an apple on the point of a knife, as we learn from the inscription: ‘ministers to Herod with a homed apple’. The source for this illustration is a description of Herod’s attempted suicide as recounted by Josephus in his Antiquities of the Jews, XVII:vi, and in his Wars of the Jews, Ixxxiii (Growden, ‘Narrative Sequence’, 371; Nordstr\'om, ‘Herod the Great’, 245f.; idem, Text and Myth’, I, 24). Desperately ill, although not, according to Josephus, from a wound inflicted by his horse, Herod attempted to kill himself with the knife which was brought with an apple, but was stopped by his cousin, Achiab. Josephus’ texts were illustrated (K. Weitzmann, The Miniatures of the Sacra Parall\'ela, Parisinus Graecus 923, Princeton, 1979, 246–8) and it is tempting to see a reflection of such a tradition in f. 15v (Nordstr\'om, ‘Herod the Great’). However, the failure of Josephus to account for the episode in which Herod is attacked by his horse suggests that the illuminator of Girona was using a model which already combined various sources, biblical and apocryphal. In ‘Text and Myth’, I, Nordstr\'om proposed, less plausibly, that an illustrated copy of Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History was used, on the grounds that it contained Josephus’ account of Herod’s illness and attempted suicide together with a mention of the Adoration of the Magi. However, we do not know whether the works of Eusebius were ever illustrated. Even with so rare a subject as Herod’s attempted suicide, Girona is not unique. A fresco of the late eleventh century in Lambach has a scene of Herod reclining and holding a knife as a male figure restrains his arm (O. Demus, Romanesque Mural Painting, London, 1970, pl. 280); compositionally this version differs from that in the Girona manuscript, and it is not obvious that a common source lies behind the two. Another version of the subject is seen in an English Psalter from before the middle of the
twelfth century (BL MS Add. 37472). Herod is in bed and kills himself by plunging a large knife into his chest (M. R. James, 'Four Leaves of an English Psalter', Walpole Society, XXV, 1936–7, 1–23, esp. 6–7, pl. III and listed in Kaufmann, Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles III, London, 1973). This subject is also found in an initial of the Bible of Stephen Harding, (Dijon, Bibl. Mun. MSS 12, 13, 14; see C. Oursel, La miniature du Xe siècle à l'abbaye de Cluny d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Dijon, Dijon, 1926, pl. XVIII). These versions in which Herod commits suicide seem to be based on the ninth-century account given by Remigius of Auxerre in the in Origini Super Mattaeum (James, 'Four Leaves of an English Psalter', loc. cit.) and to represent a distinct, northern, tradition. Otherwise one must imagine that Tābara had a library rich enough to allow such a mixture to be composed there; indeed Neuss's translation ('Probleme', 283 n. 17) of the Arabic note next to the word Josephus in the Tābara Beatus as 'the distinguished scholar' would indicate, were we certain the glosses were added at Tābara, that there was some knowledge of Josephus at the monastery there.

Still other subjects may have followed on a folio now lost, for they are included on f. 16 of the Turin Beatus (no. 15), a faithful copy of the Girona Beatus, though it is ciconiologically difficult to account for a lost folio. It would have fallen between quires 2 and 3, but these seem to be intact, and exhibit the right hair/flesh correspondences. Perhaps a change in plan had made an inserted leaf with these subjects necessary, and it was subsequently lost (see under MATERIAL CHARACTER).

The story has moved from the Infancy to the Passion. In the uppermost of four registers is the Washing of the Feet. Unlike the usual Byzantine versions of this subject, where Christ washes the feet of a bearded St. Peter who puts his hand to his head, the illustration in the Girona manuscript has a beardless Apostle, who reaches both arms toward the basin. This interpretation is found in Latin manuscripts as early as the Gospels of St. Augustine of the end of the sixth century (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 286), and survives in the Carolingian period (Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, II, 1968, figs. 119, 121). According to Neuss (245 n. 2), the inscription 'antequum gellis cantet' of the Denial of Peter on this page (ill. 287) reflects the Old Latin text. The same or similar western artistic sources have a counterpart for the Last Supper, where Christ sits at the centre of a curved table rather than at one side in the Eastern manner. The Betrayal of the next register is described according to the Gospel of Matthew, and from this text also comes (XXVI:53) the 'Legiones angelorum' of the bottom register, which was interpreted by the illuminator as a large winged lion!

On f. 16 (ill. 287) of Girona the pictorial narrative of the Passion continues. In the uppermost of two registers several figures of an identity not always very easy to determine are ranged before an enthroned figure with a staff. Although in having a staff this seated figure resembles Pilate (Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, II, 1968, figs. 119, 121), the inscription, based on the Gospel of Matthew (XXVI:57–68), identifies the scene as Christ before Caiphas: 'They led Jesus before Caiaphas and made false testimony against him.—They spat in his face and buffeted him saying “prophesy to us, Christ!”'. Below, Peter’s three denials are depicted with inscriptions based on Matthew XXVI:69–74. The standard emblematic Denial, with a cock perched on a column, appeared on the previous folio.

The Crucifixion which occupies the whole of f. 16v (ill. 288) is unusually detailed (see Growden, 'Narrative Sequence', 91ff.; Yarza, 'La Crucifixión', 18–26; idem, 'Ángel caído', 309; Bousquet, 'La Crucifixión', 28f). Fontaine (L’art préroman, II, 367–8) suggested it was composed only after the manuscript arrived in Catalonia. The name Limas given to the thief to Christ’s left is clearly a corruption of Dimas, or Dysmas Gestas, the thief to Christ’s right, and Dysmas is named first in the ‘Acts of Pilate’, a work of eastern origin from before the fourth century (Edgar Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, ed. W. Schneemelcher, tr. R. Wilson, Philadelphia, 1963, I, 449f., esp. 459). Although Dysmas is the good thief in this literary tradition and should, therefore, appear on Christ’s right hand, there is evidence that in the primitive literary version the situation was reversed (M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924, 103–4, n. 1, app. 161–5). In art this was indeed the case. The earliest use of the names appears in an icon of the eighth century at Mount Sinai, where Gestas, as in Girona, appears on Christ’s left hand (K. Weitzmann, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; the Icons, Princeton, 1976, 61f., pl. VI; Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, II, fig. 330). The names of the thieves do not in themselves indicate an immediate eastern source for this page. However, they are found earlier than 975 in Carolingian illumination, and so is
Stephanton, as the sponge bearer: a good example is Angers, Bibl. Mun MS 25, c. 900, which provides parallels for most of the details in this Beatus Crucifixion (Schiller, fig. 390). Neuss (245 n. 2) also acknowledged a connection with Angers, Bibl. Mun. MS 25, but thought it Pre-Carolingian. Yet the angel and the demon who accompany, respectively, the good and bad thief, are rare in the art of both east and west. The only counterpart known to me is also in the Peninsula in the Crucifixion of the Arca Santa of the Cathedral of Oviedo, a work at least a century later than Girona (Gómez-Moreno, *Arte románico*, pl. 36). Yarza (‘Ángel caído’, 309 n. 49) stated that the story of Joseph of Arimathea appended to the ‘Acts of Pilate’ describes the Good Thief as seeing a demon over the head of the Bad Thief. However, this detail is not in James’s translation (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 161–5), although the narrator does state that the Bad Thief (Gesta) was ‘caught in the snare of the devil’. If the manuscript arrived in Girona from León only in 1078, as mentioned earlier, it is possible that it was seen by the designer of the Arca Santa, if that huge reliquary was, indeed, fashioned in 1075.

The inscriptions of the next page (f. 17; ill. 289), with depictions from below to top of Mary Magdalene and ‘the other Mary watching the tomb’ (Matt. XXVII:57), of Judas hanging himself (Matt. XXVII:5, Yarza, ‘Ángel caído’, 309f.) and of Christ’s meeting with the two Marys at the empty tomb (Matt. XXVIII:1f.) are based on the account in Matthew’s Gospel. Exceptionally, the figure of Joseph of Arimathea (Joseph), rather than an angel, is seated on the tomb. Perhaps this detail reflects the influence of the Acts of Pilate, where Joseph figures prominently.

The Descent into Hell of f. 17v (ill. 290 and Col. Pl. 23 in *Volume D*) fills the page with a single scene. Here there is no question of a narrative picture based on Matthew or one of the other Gospels. The Descent, as part of the Anastasis cycle, was developed in the East out of the theological considerations of the death of Christ and appeared not long afterward in the West (Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis, the Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986). While the conception of hell in Girona — hell itself below and a limbo-like second register above — is unusual and Churrusca (**Infierno oriental**, 42–3) proposed an Islamic derivation, basic elements of the scene relate it to the western tradition. Thus the figures liberated by Christ are naked, rather than clothed. Neuss (131) interpreted the second clothed figure of the upper zone as another depiction of Christ. However, if the scene owes something to the popular account of the Descent appended to the ‘Acts of Pilate’, then it is probably John the Baptist, for he figures prominently there as an expositor (Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, 471f.).

The inscription on the enclosing arch, O INFERNE ERO MOR TUA ERO MOR SURI TUIS INFERNE (Oh, hell I will be your death, I will be your bite, hell) underlines the Paschal significance of the subject. It comes ultimately from Hosea XIII, 14 (Ero mor tua, o mons; morsum tuus ero inferne), but the inscription in the Girona Beatus is closer to the wording in two antiphons for the matutinal service of Holy Saturday in the Mozarabic liturgy as we find it in the Antiphonary of León (*Antifonario visigótico-románico de la catedral de León*, ed. L. Brou and J. Vives, Barcelona-Madrid, 1959, 278). The complementary facing page, (f. 18), with three registers of figures identified by inscriptions as those who rejoice in God’s glory and resurrection, has no precise parallel (ill. 291 and Col. Pl. 24 in *Volume D*). It seems to have been conceived in partnership with the Descent into Hell, a fact which is most clearly expressed by the glances of the figures of the middle zone. The arcades suggest the Heavenly Jerusalem, while the crowds of those in the topmost register, and the musical instruments and chalice of those in the middle register, recall the twenty-four Elders who celebrate the Majesty of Chapter IV of the Apocalypse. This page may be original for it resembles the scene in the right-hand pages of the Last Judgement in the Beatus Commentary, which is also unique in the standard tradition of this subject. Closest in content, perhaps, is the text of Apoc. XX:1–6, where Satan is bound, and cast into the Abyss, even as he seems to be on the facing page here (f. 17v), and where the restored martyrs partake of the ‘first resurrection’.

An additional scene of the Life of Christ, his baptism by John the Baptist, appears on f. 189 (ill. 351) in the Girona Manuscript (Neuss, 189–90; idem, ‘Problems’, 270). The interesting iconographic variant, the Two Sources of the Jordan (Jor and Dan), is discussed by J. Strzygowski (*Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, Munich, 1885, cited by A. K. Porter, *Culture and Crosses of Ireland*, New Haven, 1931, 107–8). It is also considered by Cid, in his ‘Beato de Turín’ (274–5). It has no apparent link with the Commentary text on either side and is found in no other copy save Turin.

The nature of these Christological scenes points to an origin in artistic traditions developed outside the Peninsula. In the case of the illustrations of the Infancy and Passion Neuss
(132–3) proposed that the painter of Girona compressed cycles found in a Latin Rollenbuch, which was fashioned only in the seventh century, a conclusion contradicted by the presence of the Descent into Hell. He proposed the same type of model for the New Testament scenes of the Ripoll Bible (Bibl. Apost. Vaticana MS Lat. 5729) of the eleventh century, but there the prototype seems clearly to have been a more homogeneous version of the maturer Byzantine cycles. Implied in this suggestion is a belief that the models survived from the very first stages of Christian art. While it seems unlikely that an actual illustrated scroll was at hand, the scenes based on Josephus’ account of Herod do suggest an iconography of some antiquity. That these were not introduced by the painter of this Beatus into the cycle from an available illustrated Josephus seems evident from the fact that the episode of the wounding of Herod by his horse is not related by Josephus, and must come from some other as yet undiscovered source. Rather than propose a library in León with illustrated Josephus manuscripts and other apocryphal texts, it is preferable to imagine that the assimilation of those diverse elements had taken place in the model for the cycle in the Girona manuscript outside the traditional Beatus Commentary. Neuss held that the full-page subjects, Crucifixion, Descent and the Rejoicing at the Resurrection, were based on distinct sources. This is not a foregone conclusion, for they were combined in such early Roman monumental settings as the Oratory of John VII and St. Peter’s, (Kartsonis, Anastatsits, the Making of an Image, Princeton, 1986, figs. 15, 16). A more immediate European source, Italian most likely, or Carolingian, is preferable to the Coptic one which Neuss proposed, even though Eastern traditions, such as the names of the thieves, would lie in the background. The same reasoning would apply also to the Descent into Hell. Ultimately the New Testament scenes in the Girona manuscript are an extension of the genealogy already introduced with the Tables, to demonstrate that history had a purpose bound up with the Incarnation. It reinforces the impression that the Beatus Commentary in some way took the place of the Gospels as the fundamental text for medieval Spain, for as with the portraits of the Evangelists which precede them, an original Gospel Book context is indicated for most of these New Testament illustrations.

The Christological cycle of the Girona Beatus is extraordinary, not least because of its revelation that illuminators in the kingdom of León had access to traditions of Christian art that have left few traces even in the more cosmopolitan cultural centres. That artistic rather than literary traditions were at work here seems evident from the correspondences in the cycle with iconographic conventions employed elsewhere especially in such scenes as the Nativity, Adoration, Crucifixion, and Descent into Hell. Certainly the Majesty is based on an imported Touronian artistic conception. Although the influence of such early literature as the histories of Josephus suggests that pre-conquest examples were being exploited, it is unlikely that the conventional details of the Descent or of the Crucifixion could have circulated before the eighth century. In any event, the surviving early medieval art of the Peninsula does not prepare us for the presence of such a rich mixture of the orthodox and the unorthodox. It may be that it is wrong to think of such models resting in the libraries of the ordinary monasteries of the Reconquest. Perhaps they were treasured in the royal collections of Oviedo or in such royally favoured monasteries as Sahagún.

At the end of the narrative cycle Girona has an allegorical version of the Incarnation which takes the guise of a Bird Combatting a Serpent, f. 18v (ill. 296; Neuss, 133–4). The text with the allegorical meaning of the image appears on f. 19v (ill. 297):

'It is maintained that there is a bird in a country of the Orient which, armed with a large and very hard beak, provokes with audacious hissing, the snake which he wants to fight. He covers himself purposely with dust and also covers the peaks of different colours with which nature has lavishly adorned him. Having thus given himself an insignificant appearance he surprises the enemy by this unfamiliar impression and deceives him, so to speak, by the security which the latter feels in front of his shabby appearance. Holding his tail as a shield in the manner of a warrior before his face, he boldly attacks the head of his furious adversary, pierces the brain of the surprised beast with the unexpected weapon of his beak and thus kills his monstrous enemy by his marvellous intelligence.’ (trans. by R. Wittkower, ‘Miraculous Birds’)

The combat of bird and serpent was an ancient topic in the pictorial arts (Wittkower, ‘Eagle and Serpent’), but the specific meaning given to it here is unique. Although the precise source is unknown, the basic characteristics of the bird are closely paralleled in the Physiologus description.
of the Ichneumon, another instance quoted by Wittkower in ‘Miraculous Birds’ as follows:

‘There is an animal called the Echinemon which is hostile to the dragon. If he encounters a dragon, he goes against him and besmears himself with mud and covers his nostrils with his tail, hiding himself and inflating himself, and thus stands against the dragon until he kills it. Thus also did our Saviour, taking on from the earth the substance of a body, that is, the body which he received from Mary, stand until he slew the intelligible dragon, Pharaoh (that is, the devil), who sits by the rivers of Egypt’ (trans. in M. J. Curley, Physiologus, Austin and London, 1979, 54).

Of the Commentaries with a Branch I text only Saint-Sever (No. 13) has a depiction of the Bird-Serpent Combat, part of the evidence that this Beatus manuscript was based to some extent on the imagery of Branch II. Of the Ila Commentaries only Urgell (No. 8, f. Vv) has a version of the Bird-Serpent Combat, untinted and without a text in the surviving folios. Since the subject was introduced into texts other than the Beatus Commentaries, its appearance in Urgell may stem from its popularity, rather than from its being an integral part of Branch Ila. The texts include two Bibles: León, Real Col. de San Isidoro, Cod. 3, f. 6 (A.D. 1162; Pijoan, Summa-Artis, IX, fig. 242); Madrid, RAH Cod. 2, t. 6v, thirteenth century (Churructa, Influsio oriental, pl. XV, 3); and a Moralía in lob: Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 117, f. 172v (twelfth century, ibid., pl. XVI, 2). The greatest concentration of Branch Iib examples is to be found in the present Girona manuscript, in the Tarín Beatus (No. 15, text only, f. 23), in the Rylands Beatus (No. 20, f. 14) and in Las Huelgas (No. 24, text only, f. 12): it is likely that the image joined the Commentary in the tenth century as a new component of the Branch Iib family.

As with the Bird and Serpent, the source which might have supplied the enigmatic figures at the foot of f. 157v (ill. 334) is not obvious. Their inspiration may have been linked to the preceding Storia and Explanatio of IX, 7–12, where tormenting locusts are ruled by the angel of the abyss whose ‘name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in the Greek Apollyon’. One of these figures, in a Phrygian cap, is riding a horse which appears to be headless. The other is a bearded male, astride a sea serpent, with wings attached to his head; in one hand he holds a fish, in the other a long instrument that could be a trident. Perhaps the citation of the ‘ruler of the abyss’ evoked the image of Poseidon, but his traditional guise was that of a Zeus figure. Apart from its masculinity, the figure in Girona resembles a Nereid or one of the sea goddesses. A comparable figure appears with the illustration for coral in the Vienna Dioscurides of A.D. 512 (Nat. Bibl., Cod. Vind. Med. gr. 1, f. 391v). Although labelled ‘Poseidon’, the Girona figure is a semi-nude male riding a sea serpent: he wears a diadem of crabs’ legs and holds a long car in her left hand, so her real identity would seem to be Thalassa or Amphitrite, Poseidon’s wife (see P. Buberl, Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, 51, 1936, 133; and K. Weitzmann, Late Antiquity and Early Christian Book Illumination, New York, 1977, pl. 19). Perhaps the diadem and oar were transformed in the descent of this figure to Girona. At any rate, the similarity suggests that the image is not the product of ‘free fancy’, as Neuss concluded (172), but is tied to some pictorial tradition. Like the classical Atlantes of f. 2, the figure may be based on a Carolingian illustration. A comparable sea monster decorates one of the canon tables in the Vivian Bible (Paris, BN Ms lat. 1, f. 327) from the same Carolingian school which inspired the Majesty and Lamb pages here (see Koehler, Karolingische Miniaturen, PI. I, 83).

The presence of Christian painting from centres outside the Peninsula affected not only the iconography of Girona, but also its figure style. Although in comparison to the Morgan manuscript the articulation of drapery has lost some of its logic and proportions have become more attenuated, sophistication of a new sort has appeared. The agitation of the hemlines and the swallow-tail pattern they frequently assume is a departure which must owe something to European models. The same drapery pattern is seen in the Conciliar Codex of 976 from the Castilian scriptorium of Albelda (Escorial, Bibl. del Monast., Cod. d.12; see Domínguez Bordona, Spanish Illumination, pls. 24–6). There is no reason to derive this style, as Neuss did, from Islamic sources. Because he attributed the figure style of Tábara and Girona to Islamic and Oriental influence, Neuss (‘Probleme’, 256f.) held that the illuminators of these Commentaries also were trained in Andalusia. In fact, in the Tábara and Girona Commentaries the figure style comes closer than was true in earlier Commentaries, and even some later ones, to the European conventions displayed in manuscripts, ivories and metalwork. Klein saw the influence of Carolingian miniatures in the faces of the Tábara and Girona manuscripts.
6. GIRONA BEATUS

(‘Tradición pictórica’, Acta I, 98). This source is consistent with the iconographic influences present in these very commentaries. The assumption of Oriental inspiration also underlay Stern’s belief that the character of the Churches of Asia in Girona were inspired by prototypes of the portraits of churches in an East Christian tradition, of a sort represented in London, BL MS Syriac Add. 14429, of A.D. 719 (‘Images des conciles’, 104–5). More often, however, the depictions of the Churches in Girona are taken to be reflections of actual arrangements and building types in the Peninsula (as may be seen in, for example, Íñiguez Almech, ‘Liturgia en las miniaturas’ and Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, ‘Reflejos’, 307), but this can be true only in a very limited sense as Galteir Martí (‘O Torre Tabarense’, 262ff.) pointed out.

Yet the culture of Islam did leave its imprint on Girona, to a degree unrecognised by any other Commentary, and in unexpected ways. Some instances are conjectural. The roses of ‘pearls’ at the neck and in the wings of the bird of the Bird and Serpent Combat seem Oriental because of the association of the patterns with an Oriental source, of which a good example is a cock with a pearl neckband from the Sassanian textile illustrated in A. U. Pope, Survey of Persian Art, London, 1938, IV, pl. 201. In the case of the Sennur which fills the lower half of f. 165v (ill. 336) the Near Eastern origin is indisputable (Pope, pls. 199B, 200, 219A, 223A, 226, 227, 228). It is paired here with another theme common to Islamic art, the eagle with a captive gazelle. An ivory box made in Córdoba in 970 has a similar eagle with an animal in its claws (Kühnel, Elfenbeinskulpturen, pl. XIX). The association of griffons (ff. 175v–176; ill. 337) with a Christian setting is matched by the example of contemporary ivory crosses carved for Christian use by Muslims in Córdoba or Cordoba or by someone in a Mozarabic monastery (Kühnel, Elfenbeinskulpturen, pls. XI, XLI).

Other subjects seem to display a more complex exploitation of Islamic culture, although ambiguity about the presence or the extent of an Islamic origin cannot always be dispelled. The Palm Tree of f. 147v (ill. 321) is such a case. The version of the Palm in Girona, and before it in the Tábara manuscript, as we know from copies, represents a radical revision of the manner of illustrating Gregory’s metaphorical treatment of the tree. Gregory exposed the Palm as a fitting metaphor for the Life of the Just by contrasting its dry, rough exterior with the richness of the fruit which it offered in its lofty reaches, a fruit capable of sustaining life in the harsh world around it. In the Branch I and II versions a conservative iconography employing martyrs with palm fronds standing beside a tree did scant justice to this literary figure. In Girona the fruit is being harvested by two labourers as the inscription, unique to this Beatus, makes clear: ‘this man desires to eat of the palm and this other one aids him by means of the rope’ (‘his omo copiens crapulare palme et his alter jubamini porrigit per fune’).

Although the scene appears at first glance to have been secularized, the change has introduced the idea of nourishment which is at the heart of Gregory’s metaphor. While this change cannot be unequivocally traced to Islamic inspiration, it seems unlikely that the activity of gathering dates was one which could be witnessed in the Christian zone of León. A link to Muslim culture through artistic prototypes for the tree is suggested by formal and iconographic details which have counterparts in Islamic works. The Prince al-Mughira casket of 968 in the Louvre has a palm tree growing from a similar leaf base, with branches interlaced in a comparable pattern (Kühnel, Elfenbeinskulpturen, pl. XVIII). Branches of similar shape, and interlaced, are found in relief on a marble plaque in the mosque of Kairouan (see H. Schlunk, ‘Entwicklungsauf der Skulptur’, 129, pl. 57). Both Kühnel (Elfenbeinskulpturen, 39) and Beckwith (Caskets from Córdoba, 21, 29) attributed the form of the palm in the Girona manuscript to an Islamic prototype. The Palm is discussed by Yarza (‘La techumbre’, 47) and Fontaine (L’art préromain, I, p. fig. 65) has also claimed that this system of date gathering could not be seen in Spain itself, but only in Lower Mesopotamia. Christian analogical interpretations of the palm are to be found in Churructa (Influo oriental, 63 and Pla Dalmau, ‘Las palmeras’), but it may even be that the Islamic world inspired the change not only by offering a visual model for the representation of the palm and date gathering, but by allowing the meaning of the image to be broadened beyond the Gregorian metaphor. The harvesting of dates appeared on Córdobese ivories with other celebratory subjects—musicians, cupbearers, peacocks—which found their way into Christian settings. Shepherd in ‘A Treasure from a thirteenth-century Spanish Tomb’, 122f., argues that the Palm of Girona belongs to an Islamic tradition of celestial iconography involving the ‘Labour’ and the ‘Tree of Life’.

Nowhere is the symbiotic relationship between the Christian and the Islamic tradition
more evident than in the Rider Spearing a Serpent on f. 134v (ill. 318; see Werckmeister, ‘Islamische Formen’, 937f.; Grabar, ‘Eléments sassanides’, 314; Grabar, ‘Rayonnement de l’art sassanide’, 701). It is an image meaning in meaning to the Bird-Serpent Combat of f. 18v, and like it employs a basic formula of some antiquity, in this case the Roman imperial symbol of triumph. The essential meaning of the image as triumph is unequivocal. However, certain aspects of the appearance of the warrior confuse the question of whose triumph is celebrated.

The Rider and Serpent have no obvious link with either the Storia or the Explanatio of VII, 1–3, between which they are placed, so that the location seems to have been determined by chance. The details which render the meaning of the figure ambiguous are those which give the rider an Oriental guise. The flowing scarves of the headdress recall Sassanian depictions of equestrian rulers (Pope, Survey of Persian Art, IV, (London, 1938) pls. 208b–214). However, the simple, uncreased, scarves of Girona are closer to those on a rider on a Coptic textile of the sixth century, a similarity heightened by the fact that the Coptic rider holds a spears rather than a bow, the normal Sassanian weapon (E. Kitzinger, The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks’, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, III, 1946, 1–59, esp. 35f., fig. 30). The use of stirrups by the rider in the Girona manuscript also places its prototype after the Sassanian period. If the Oriental appearance of the figure seems assured, however, is the meaning to be interpreted as symbolic of the Oriental, that is to say, Muslim victory? Such subservience seems inadmissible. Yet this possibility is reinforced by the remarkable similarity this rider bears to the evil figure of Herod on f. 15v (ill. 286). The two seem in fact, to be replicas, and it is difficult not to accept the rider of f. 134v as inspired, formally, by the figure of Herod. Thus it would be a second rendering, on a larger scale, of a composition the illuminator recalled as being particularly pleasing. This time, however, it was employed in a positive way, in a formula for victory which would still continue to have life three centuries later in Spain and elsewhere. In the thirteenth century a comparable but non-Oriental Rider and Serpent was added to Madrid, RAH Cod. 39, f. 159 (F. Sánchez Cantón, Dibujos españoles, Madrid, 1930, I, pl. XIX) and another was included in an Italian Exultet roll (M. Avery, The Exultet Rolls of South Italy, Princeton, 1936, 37–8, pl. CLXX, 7). The triumphal meaning is confirmed by the appearance in the heavenly scheme depicted on ff. 3v–4 of a symbolic standing figure of the ‘defender to save’, based, as the accompanying inscription confirms, on Isaiah LXIII:1. This figure (f. 4v), who has been interpreted analogically as Christ, holds a spear in his right hand and a vanquished serpent in the other. The rider of f. 134v must also symbolize this meaning of Christian victory (Nordström, ‘Text and Myth’, II, 125–7). As for his ‘Oriental’ appearance, it may reflect the dependence of the illuminator on some pictorial model of Oriental, presumably Islamic, origin (Werckmeister, ‘Islamische Formen’, 944).

Even so, the Oriental accoutrements of the Rider of Girona may not have come from an Oriental artistic model. Just as in a later period the Mozarabes of Andalusia affected Christian fashions (see F. J. Simonet, Historia de los mozárabes de España, Madrid, 1903, 128, for the adoption of Muslim dress by Christians in Andalusia) Christian warriors of northern Spain in the tenth century may have preferred to imitate their Muslim neighbours in the matter of military equipment. At a later period in the thirteenth century, when Christianity was in the ascendency, a Muslim writer lamented that Muslims based their arms, coats, penmons and saddles on those employed by Christians (E. Lévi-Provençal, L’Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle, Paris, 1932, 146, quoting Ibn Said).

Although mounted warriors spearing serpents do not seem to be included in the repertory of surviving Islamic art in the Peninsula, warriors spearing lions are (Kühnel, Elfenbeinskulpturen, pl. XXII, XXXIII). Dorothy Shepherd has classified such themes within the iconography of the ‘celestial hunt’, symbolizing Paradise (Shepherd, ‘A Treasure’, 119–21). In a later non-Spanish, collection of Islamic themes placed within a Christian setting, the ceiling of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo, the mounted warrior spearing a serpent is included more than once (see U. Monneret de Villard, Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Capella Palatina di Palermo, Rome, 1950, 45, figs. 34, 58, 83, 236). It is probable, therefore, that the illuminator of Girona was inspired to include his triumphant Warrior through the workings of a shared, Mediterranean iconographic tradition, perhaps the same one that provided him with the Senmurv, animal hunts, and musicians, for all these types are also found on the ceiling in Palermo. Thus the contribution of Islamic culture to the imagery of the Girona Beatus reached beyond incidental ‘decorative’ borrowings to inform its iconographic content.

If the Rider was included because it was a metaphor of victory recommended by its place
within the Islamic triumphal iconography, historical circumstances may have, paradoxically, glossed it with an anti-Islamic meaning. As the colophon takes care to tell us, the Girona Com-

mentary was completed at the time when Fréd-

nando Flaginaz was at Villas, the Toledan town, fighting the Moors. The Rider here may thus be an ideal portrait of a warrior of the Reconquista.

Material Character

Ruled with a dry point from the hair side. Prick-
ing in intercolumniation. 38/37 lines. Folio 20, the beginning of the text, is the first one lined for writing. The prefatory folios have been ruled geometrically in schemes providing the basic composition for the illumination.

(Table of quiring overleaf)

Ff. 239–241 have been inserted in the wrong location. The correct sequence is reconstructed below in quires 31 and 32.

The Second Plague Angel (XVI, 3) was never included (f. 239). The page (f. 221) opposite the Storia of the Rider Faithful and True (XIX, 11–16) was left blank but never received its illustration.

The text for Silence in Heaven fell within the lost bifolium in quire 20, but it is not illustrated in Turin and probably was not here either.

*Quire 1 (ff. 1–7): The loss in this gathering is confirmed by the confrontation of a hair side (f. 4v) and a flesh side (f. 5) and a stub. F. Petit (Review of Cid and Vigil, Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 1967, 280) claimed there were codicological reasons why it is ‘impossible’ that there is a loss at this location, but did not expose them. The contrary is true.

*Quire 3 (ff. 16–18): The corresponding gathering in Turin has the Washing of the Feet and the Arrest of Christ. It is reasonable to assume that they originally appeared in Girona between f. 15 and f. 16, but there is no disruption of the hair/flesh sequence between these two (f. 15v hair/f. 16 hair).

*Quire 30 (ff. 223–228): Second missing section corresponds to Satan’s Last Attack (XX, 7–8). This is problematic. The Storia for this subject ends on f. 226, the Explanatio begins on f. 226v. There is then a gap in the text equivalent to no more than one page, so the illustration may have occupied the recto of the missing folio. Since this section of Turin is missing, there is no verification.

*Quire 31 (ff. 229–240): The first missing section should show the Last Judgment (XX, 11–15); the second blank section should show the right half of the Heavenly Jerusalem (XXI, 1–27); River of Life (XXII, 1–5). F. 231 is followed by a very evenly cut stub.

*Quire 32 (ff. 241–238): The lacking section should show the left half of the Siege of Jerusalem. Folio 238v is followed by 3 stubs, the first and third of which have traces of paint.

*Quire 34 (ff. 257–264): The missing section should contain the Dream of the Tree.
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<td>XI QTRO</td>
<td>Catchword</td>
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<td>(ff. 183-190)</td>
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### Bibliography

en las miniaturas'; Marqués, 'Importantes hal-
lazgos'; Schapiro, 'Relief in Rodez', 59f.; Sancti: Beati a Liubava Codex Gerundensis (facsimile); Cid
and Vigil, 'Miniaturas que faltan'; Catálogo de la
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tura española', 284–6; Bohigas, 'A propósito de la edició facsimile'; Cid and Vigil, 'Beato de Turín'; Werkmeister, 'Islamische Formen', 937–
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Early Spanish Illumination, 92–9; Zarza, 'Des-
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233; Pia Dalmau, 'Las palmeras'; Rudloff, Romani-
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and José I Pilarch, El incipit, 58; Zarza, 'Beatus de
Girona'; Millenium, 124, no. 63.

Notes

1. For the ninth-century Tours School version of the instru-
ments of the Passion see H. Kessler, The Illustrated Bibles from
Tours, Princeton, 1977, figs. 47, 64. Another Spanish
version is seen in the Codex Aemilianensis of 994 (Doming-
guez-Bordoná, Spanish Illumination, I, 48, pl. 28). For the
figure-8 mandorla see Schapiro, Two Romanesque
Drawings', 344. Despite the label 'mundus' the disk has
been interpreted as an eucharistic wafer. See H. Kessler,
op. cit., 42. For other Spanish versions of the disk-held-
ing Majesty see the Codex Albeldensis of 976 (Doming-
guez-Bordoná, Spanish Illumination, I, 25), and from the
eleventh-century, Paris, BN Ms Smith-Lesouëf 2, pt. 2
(Avril, Manuscrits de la peninsule, no. 34, pl. A).

2. Hosea XIII:14 is quoted by Gregory the Great in the
Moralia in Job (Migne, P. L., 75, col. 993–4). His inter-
pretation stresses the separation of those released and those
left behind, and, given the familiarity of the Spanish monas-
tic culture with the Novella, this passage may have is-
fluenced the design of Hell. I am grateful to Joyce
Galpern for pointing out to me the use of Hosea XIII:14
in the Mozarabic liturgy and in the Moralia.

3. Van der Meer's view (Maurus Domini, 409–10) that this
is the first horseman of Apoc. VI:1–8 is untenable.
For the antecedents of the iconography see K. Weit-
mann, 'Der Aufbau und die unteren Felder des Einhard-
Reliquiars', in Vorträge und Studien der Münsteraner
Dissertation zur Avers Einhardi, ed. K. Hauck, Göttingen,
Beatus. Codex de l’Apocalipsis

NÚMERO: 0002  
Classificació genèrica: objecte de documentació

Nom de l'objecte: beatus
Cronologia: 975
Siglat: no
Data de registre: 07/01/2008
Fragment d'objecte:

Nº d'exemplars:  
Nº de parts:

Ubicació: Tresor
Precisions ubicació: 3a sala-vitrina
Número IEC: Altres num: 12
Fitxes associades:

Matèria: vitela
Tècnica: miniat, cosit, relligat

Precisions mat/tèc:

Mides:
Diàmetre:

Títol: Beatus. Codex de l’Apocalipsis
Justificació títol: Títol de referència bibliogràfica, d’ús i descriptiu

Descripció: Llibre manuscrit i il·luminat, consta de 284 folis escrits en escriptura visigòtica a dues columnes i 114 miniatures. El nucli principal són els dotze capítols (o llibres) que constitueixen el comentari de Beat de Liébana a l’Apocalipsis de Sant Joan de finals del segle VIII. Conté escrits d’altres autors esmentats al començament de l’obra com Ticoni (c. 385), Isidor (especialment en les seves conegudes Etimologies), Agustí, Gregori Magne o Gregori d’Elvira, dels quals en ocasions inclou breus textos sencers. Conté cent vint imatges, la majoria de foli sencer i d’altres de doble pàgina, totes elles miniatures d’estil mossàrab i colors vius, que ofereixen tota una constel·lació de figures sagrades i mítiques en escenaris plens de fantasia. Comença amb una imatge que no apareix a cap altre manuscrit d’aquest tipus: una Creu, una representació de Crist en majestat envoltat dels evangelistes i una

Tema:
Inscripc. i marques:
Hèràldica:
### HISTÒRIA DE L’OBJECTE

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1971. Exposició a Madrid  
1966. Exposició a Perpinyà  
1962. Exposició a Barcelona  
1952. “Exposición historia del libro Espanol e Hispano” Madrid |
| Reproduccions: | Centre de Recerca i Difusió de la Imatge (CRDI). Ajuntament de Girona. Fons Josep Buil Mayral. |
| Forma d'ingrés: | Donació a la biblioteca |
| Font d'ingrés: | Cabiscol Joan |
| Data d'ingrés: | 1078 |

### ESTAT DE CONSERVACIÓ

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</table>

### OBSERVACIONS

Conté 120 imatges, la majoria de foli sencer o de doble pàgina. Existeix una còpia del s.XII realitzada en escriptoris del nord-est català i conservada a la Biblioteca Nazionale de Torí (ms. I.II.1). La lletra visigòtica de l’exemplar del 975 es converteix en carolina a la versió romànica.  
1938. És traslladat a un dipòsit rural amb d’altres obres  
1950. Permís de publicació  
1951. Publicació de peces del tresor  
1953. Petició del Departament d’Arxius per al seu retorn i retornat  
1975. TVE filma un reportatge sobre el Beatus a Madrid
Number: 0002

General Classification

Object of Documentation

Name of Object: Beatus

Date: 975

Signed: No

Registered Date: 07/01/2008

Fragment of Object

# of examples: # of Parts

Location: Treasures

Precise location: 3a sala-Vitrina

IEC Number: Other numbers 12

Associated pieces

Material: vellum

Technique: Miniatures, sewn bound

Precise Materials/Technique

Sizes

Diameter

Title: Beatus: Codex of the Apocalypse

Justification of Title: Title of the bibliographic reference; used as a description

Description: This illuminated manuscript consists of 284 folios written in two columns of Visigothic script, with 114 miniatures. It is made up of twelve chapters or books that constitute Beatus' Commentary on the revelation of St John, which was written in the late eighth century. Brief of entire texts written by other authors are included throughout the manuscript. These authors are referenced in the beginning of the work as Ticonius (c. 385), Isidore (especially known for his Etymologies), Augustine, Gregory the Great and Gregory of Elvira. There are 128 images, most of which are full-page illustrations and some are double-page illustrations. All of the miniatures are done in Mozarabic style and colors. They show a range of sacred and mythical figures in scenes full of fantasy.

Theme

Inscriptions and Marks

Heraldic Imagery

History of the Object
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<td><strong>School/Workshop</strong></td>
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**State of Conservation**

| **Conservation State** | Good condition |
| **Parts Missing** | |
| **Restorations** | 1927 restoration and binding by Pibemat |

**Observations**

120 images, the majority of which are full page or double page. There is a 12th century copy, which is preserved in the National Library of Turin (MS
I.II.1. The Visigothic script is from 975 and later becomes Carolingian miniscule.
1938: Moved to a rural area with other manuscripts.
1950: Permission to publish
1951: Published as one of the treasures.
1953: Request to be returned to the Department of Archives (moved there)
1975: TVE filmed a report on the Beatus in Madrid.
8. The Urgell Beatus (U)
Museu Diocesà de La Seu d’Urgell, Num. Inv. 501
232 ff., 402 x 265 mm.
Last quarter of the 10th century
Origin: Kingdom of León
IIls. 1–100 [Volume I, col. pl. 10]

The Beatus Commentary of the Cathedral of Seu d’Urgell was carried out, it seems, by a single illuminator who was a draughtsman of limited competence, although the wide range of colours employed, with orange, pale yellow, purple and terracotta dominant, suggests a scriptorium with some experience in illumination. It begins abruptly in the Genealogical Tables. None of the other frontispieces, including the Evangelists, that routinely appear at the beginning of the Commentaries of the Branch Ila family, to which it belongs, are now present. The Evangelists are also missing from the Branch Ila Valladolid Beatus (No. 4) and the Silos Commentary (No. 16), but in those cases there are no signs that any of the introductory imagery was ever present, whereas Urgell includes the Genealogical Tables (II. 1–V, III. 2–9; unfortunately no photograph of I. I recto was available for reproduction.). These Tables are, however, of a special type otherwise associated with a biblical tradition rather than Beatus manuscripts, and Zahsua (‘Feuillets lim- niènes’, 262-3) has suggested that they may not have been copied from the Commentary which was the model for the rest of this Beatus manuscript. The irregularity of the opening pages of Urgell continues with the presence of the Bird and Serpent Combat (I. Vv; III. 23), which in the Beatus tradition is otherwise associated not with the Branch Ila Commentaries, of which Urgell is one, but with the IIB Branch. Like the Genealogical Tables, the Bird and Serpent Combat is a subject which also is common in biblical codices and need not have been taken from a Beatus model. The bird and serpent is untinted, and without its allegorical text. Another unusual feature is the inclusion of the Map (II. Vv–VII; III. 10–11) in the prefatory section rather than in its proper place in the Prologue to Book II. Despite these anomalies in the first quire of the Urgell Beatus, the style employed is consistent with that of the rest of the manuscript.

The Urgell Commentary contains no statement about origin, patron, or scribe. It must have been in the possession of the Cathedral at least since 1147, the year it appeared in a catalogue of books in its library as ‘librorum apocrrophъем deni-
location of the churches and in the design of the doorways, Valladolid and Urgell, uniquely, always agree. Valladolid (f. 71v; Volume II, ill. 166) and Urgell (f. 80v; ill. 27) also agree in having the book held by John in the Church of Laodicea raised and posed at an angle. This gesture they share with Morgan 644, but in the Morgan manuscript the church and the figures are on different sides and the doorway is single rather than triple (f. 77; Volume II, ill. 39). In the depiction of the Ark, Valladolid (f. 73v; Volume II, ill. 167) and Urgell (f. 82v; ill. 28) alone share the number, type and posture of animals. These same two Commentaries exhibit a like degree of similarity in the order and types of instruments played by the musical worshippers of the Adoration of the Statue illustrating Dan III: see f. 199v of Valladolid (Volume II, ill. 230) and f. 201v of Urgell (ill. 91). Moreover, the parallels between Urgell and Valladolid extend to the patterns used in the decoration of the frames of miniatures; this is most evident iff. 16, 22, 53, 57v, 62v, 86, 106, 112v–113, 130 in Urgell (ills. 15, 17, 21-23, 29, 31, 33-34, 42) are compared with ff. 15, 20v, 48, 52, 76v, 96, 102, 121 of Valladolid (Volume II, ills. 153, 156, 160, 161, 169, 171, 174, 185).

The relationship between the Urgell Beatus and the Valladolid manuscript of 970 would not be as close as that of mother and daughter. Valladolid has unique renderings of such scenes as the Feast of Belshazzar that are not found in Urgell. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the Urgell Beatus dates as early as 970, the year in which Valladolid was created. The Mozarabic style seems carefully, if somewhat clumsily, carried over from its model by an illuminator of limited experience, although the model itself could not have been much older than the year 970. Though Klein (84) concurred with Neuss in proposing a date near that of Valladolid, and Díaz y Díaz in ‘La tradición del hexa’ (Actas I, 172) even placed it as late as the beginning of the eleventh century, a date towards the end of the tenth century seems apt. There is no evidence to suggest a particular scriptorium.

Material Character

Ruled on the hair side with a dry point. 38 lines in the Apocalyptic part of the text, 42 in the Daniel Commentary. The modern pagination employs Roman numerals for the first 7 folios.

A space was left in the appropriate place (f. 149) for the Fox and Cock, but the illustration was never inserted. There are signs of an erasure, sketch, of uncertain date. There is no material evidence that Babylon was ever included.

*Quire 15: Folios 107 and 108 are separate leaves, but the quire is intact. The Storie for the Opening of the Sixth Seal: the Earthquake (Apoc. VI:12-17) was never copied.
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8. THE URQUILL BEATUS

Bibliography

I. MANUSCRITOS NO JURÍDICOS

Descripciones sumarias
con la colaboración de Uta-Renate Blumenthal

A la hora de concebir este catálogo se pensó, en un primer momento, en dedicarlo exclusivamente a los manuscritos jurídicos, los cuales – como ya explicamos en la introducción – constituyen la parte más consistente de todo el fondo. Sin embargo, en un segundo momento, se consideró oportuno incluir – al menos como apéndice – los 25 manuscritos no jurídicos con la intención de ofrecer un cuadro completo e integral del patrimonio manuscrito de la Biblioteca Capitular. Por esta razón, nos hemos visto obligados a proporcionar unas descripciones breves, renunciando a profundizar, entre otros, en los aspectos codicológicos y paleográficos. En el caso de algunos códices, ya ampliamente estudiados por ser de una cierta importancia, nos hemos limitado a indicar las respectivas publicaciones. En otros casos se trata de textos muy conocidos, de los que indicamos el incipit, el explícit y otros aspectos del texto sólo si son diferentes de la tradición común. Los manuscritos no jurídicos de época moderna (después del 1500) están excluidos de esta sección. Las indicaciones bibliográficas no pretenden ser exhaustivas. Al contrario que en la parte principal del presente catálogo los títulos, en esta sección, se dan por entero sin hacer referencia a la bibliografía general. Los tres primeros manuscritos de este elenco no recibieron la signatura de la Biblioteca de Catalunya, por lo cual les hemos asignado una signatura en números romanos.

I

7+243 fol.; perg.; 400x270
s. Xex.; Reino de León?

BEATUS DE LIEBANA, COMMENTARIUS IN APOCALYPSIM

Ap. I - MSS no jurídicos


II

237 fol.; perg.; 285x220 (225x158) s. X (938); Al-Andalus


2 (fol. 49r-152rb) LIBER GERONTOICON (Apophthegmata patrum, en la traducción latina de Paschasius Rupemensis). Inc. mut. (praefatio) //exoro Quiam sicut in dato mihi codice reperti (ed. p. 166, lín. 14) ... des. ... operarius est universae iustitiae sub gratia et virtute Domini nostri Ihesu Christi amen. (Colophon) Explicit liber Ieronicon. Deo gratias. Ego Isidorus presbiter humilimus qui hunc liber scripsi, usque ad finem pereant per petitionem Gundiae abbatissae sub era dcccclxxvia, die ii feria, ora iiia, iiiii klds. n.(ovem)br(i)s, regnantem Habdirrahmen filio Muhammed nepos Habdallà, anni regni eius xxviiimo, luna quod arabi bice nuncoveratur Almuharram. (en la parte inferior de la columna) Scribens vía possidens vel legens videlicet leticia. – Ed. Geraldus Freire I, p. 159-333.

3 (fol. 152va-237v) MISCELLANEA PATRISTICA, compilación compleja de 13 textos diferentes; pendiente de un análisis exhaustivo, cf. la lista provisional de Pujol.

(Nr. 158): Aranel fol. 101r-102v y fol. 108r-111r, falta en Costa. – Escritura visigótica en dos columnas; probablemente la misma mano hasta el fol. 152r, a partir de ese momento, manos diferentes. En los márgenes de los Diálogos y del Geronticon hay numerosas figuras en varios colores: peces, pájaros, bustos femeninos, serpientes etc.; cf. los ejemplares reproducidos en Pujol, Bohigas, Enciclopedía Catalana. Encuadernación moderna, título descolorido en letra de imprenta en el lomo.
Cf. Pujol, Obra p. 636 y nt. 33; A. Millares Carlo, Corpus de códices visigóticos, Las Palmas 1999, 1, p. 65 nr. 73; J. Geraldes Freire, Liber Geronticon de octo principalibus
Appendix 1F: Structure of the Beatus Commentary Text with Explanatory Descriptions when Available

- Dedication to the Work of Etherius
- First prologue by St Jerome
- Additional prologue by St Jerome
- Explanation of the Composition of the Apocalypse by John
- Short Prologue to Book I

- Book I: Begins with Apocalypse 1:1-6
  Here begins a treatise on the Apocalypse of John in its explanation as interpreted by many doctors and most excellent and illustrious men, writing with a diversity of styles, but no diversity of faith: In which you may know completely (what is said about) Christ, and the Church; about the Antichrist and his signs. (386)

- Prologue to Book II:
  Here begins the prologue concerning the Church and the Synagogue so that you, O Reader, may know in the fullest way what their respective characteristics are and who may be regarded as dwelling in each.’ (403)

- Book II: Begins with Apocalypse 2:1-7
  ‘Here begins the second Book about the Seven Churches. This Book deals with the Four Beings and the Four Horses, and the Souls of the Slain, and the Four Winds, and the Twelve Thousand.’

- Book III: Begins with Apocalypse 4:1-6
  ‘The Nativity of Christ Being Recapitulated, the same things will be said in another way.’
  ‘After having concluded the seven Churches, which in the same way as a week of this world is divided into separate units each designated by a different name, he again relates what he saw: “After this,” he says “I looked and behold, a door was opened in heaven” (Ap. 4:1). After the clarity of such a revelation, that he had witnessed with a faithful mind, the very secrets of heaven opened to him, and the hidden aspects of the divine mystery are shown him. He gazes upon them in his mind, and considers the secrets of God with the reflection of faith. He recognizes an open door before him, by which he may come with an avid soul to the knowledge of such great majesty. In this way he recapitulates the whole condition of the Church in different figures, saying: “I saw a door that opened in heaven.” The open door signifies Christ, who was born and suffered, He who is the gateway. He calls the Church
resulting from Scripture, heaven, in which we see ourselves. The Church is deservedly given the name heaven, she being the abode of God, where heavenly deeds are performed. That is why we pray that the will of God be done in heaven. (452-453).

- **Book IV:** Begins with Apocalypse 6: 1-8
  'Here Begins the Fourth Book about the Seven Seals.'

- **Book V:** Begins with Apocalypse 8: 2-5
  'Here begins the fifth book.'

- **Book VI:** Begins with Apocalypse 11:19
  'Here begins the sixth book with ten chapters.'
  'It is necessary to know that all this section is divided into ten chapters. These chapters are not organised according to the acts of the Church that follow each other in chronological order; rather each chapter represents the whole of time.'

- **Book VII:** Begins with Apocalypse 14: 6-13
  'Here begins the seventh Book and its Narrative.'

- **Book VIII:** Begins with Apocalypse 16: 1-3
  'Here begins the eighth book, and the story of the vials.'

- **Book IX:** Begins with Apocalypse 17: 1-3
  'Here begins book nine about the Harlot and the Beast.'

- **Book X:** Begins with Apocalypse 18:1-20
  'Here begins the tenth book about the City of the Devil.'

- **Book XI:** Begins with Apocalypse 19: 11-16
  'Here begins the eleventh book about the white horse. And it recapitulates more briefly from the Passion of Christ.'

- **Book XII:** Begins with Apocalypse 20: 11-15
  'Here begins the twelfth book concerning the Day of Judgment and the City of Jerusalem.'
Appendix 1G: Illuminated Exegetical Manuscripts from Medieval Iberia

1. Cordoba, Bibliotexa Capitular, I: Smaragdus, Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia, etc., 10th century, Valeránica
2. El Escorial, R.B. de San Lorenzo, I II 25: S. Isidorus, Sententiarum libri III, 9th-10th century (between 866 and 910), Oviedo
3. Florence, Bibl. Laurent., Ashburnham 17: S. Hildefonsus Toletanus, De virginitate perpetua beatæ Mariae, 11th century (1067), Toledo
4. León, R.C. de San Isidoro, I: Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Job, 10th century (951?) León
5. Madrid, R.A.H., 8: Cassiodorus, Expositio is Psalmos, 10th century, San Millán
8. Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 80.: S Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Job, 10th century (945), Valeránica
9. Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 10018: Eterius and Beatus, De adoption Christi filii Dei, etc. 9th-10th century, Toledo
10. Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 10067: S Isidorus Hispalensis, Sententiarum Libri III, 10th century (915), Toledo
16. Paris, B.N.F., N.A.L. 2177: Homiliarium, etc. 10th-11th century, Silos
18. Sheffield, Ruskin Museum, 7: Homiliarium, 11th century, Silos (?)
## Appendix 1H: Illustrative Programme with Folios of Beatus Manuscripts

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Appendix 1: Inventories from Iberian Libraries

Inventory of the Monastery at Oviedo. 882.

In nomine Domini. Hoc est inventarium librorum adnotatum Deo annuente sub era DCCCXX.
1. Bibliotheca veteris ac novi testament.
2. Expositum Danielis et apocalipsin et canticum canticorum. in uno corpore.
3. Expositum Ezeclelis
4. lb. Orosii
5. lb. psalterium
6. lbs. storię ełsiasticę
7. lbs. beati Agustini de civitate Dei
8. lbs. Apringi episcopi et Iunilli. in uno corpore.
9. lb. omeliarum beati Gregorii
10. lb. conlationem.
11. lbs. vivorum illustrium
12. lb. prognosticon. apud Vigilanem diaconum.
13. lb. crono coronavirus beati Isidori
14. lb. domni Agustini ad Probum
15. lb. antiphonarium [in rasura] maiore
16. lb. pastoralinn
17. lb. ordinum.
18. lb. antiphonarium ex cotidianis
19. lb. sanctę ełsiasticę. [in rasura] apud An...
20. lb. martirologium Romense. Apud...
21. lb. cenam nubiarum beati Cipriani.
22. lb. Elipandi
23. lb. de predestinatione et libertate arbitrii domni Iheronimi
24. lb. glossomatum.
25. Lb. geometricę artis.
26. lb. canonum
27. lb. nature rerum qui et in manus est.
28. lb. ex diversis opusculis beati Eugenii. apud Iohannem ass. heri
29. libros beati Prosperi ad Iulianum
   Item ex opusculis poetarum
30. Iuvenci presbiteri lbs. IIII corpore uno.
31. Alchimi episcopi lbs VI corpore uno.
32. Adelhelmi episcopi lb. I.
33. Sedulii presbiteri lb. V.
34. Canotis lb. IIII
35. In laude Iustini minoris lb.
36. In laude Anastasii lb.
37. Dracontii......lb.
38. Vita Vergilii, Ovidii Nasonis, in libris Eneidarum et quędam sententie filošorum. corpore uno.
39. Virgilii poete lbs. XII Enedas. corpore uno.
40. Iuvenalis lbs. V corpore uno.
41. Prudentii lbs. II corpore uno.
42. lb. canlationum artis grammaticè.

Inventory of the Monastery at Ripoll before 1046

Hic est brevis liborum sancte Marie.


Inventory of the Monastery at Silos, 1067¹

1. pn(eu)mato antifonario [Antiphonary with neumes. This could refer to two sets of fragmentary antiphonaries: 1) London, BL, Add. 11695, fol. 1-2, fol. 4, early Xth c.] Paris, BN, n.a.l. 2199, fol. 14-16, early Xth c]
3. et manuele [Missal]
4. et comicu(m) [Liber Comicum. Taken by Pérez de Urbel and González y Ruiz-Zorilla to refer to the very manuscript in which this charter is copied, i.e. Paris, B.N., n.a.l. 2171. This manuscript, therefore, would date to before 1067, which is possible stylistically.]
5. et ordinum [Liber Ordinum. Either Silos, ms 4, a pontifical Ordo, which is dated to either 1002 or 1052 due to the illegibility of the date, and was executed in the Aldeldan dependency of San Prudencio de Laturce in the Rioja or Silos, ms 3 dated 1039, a sacerdotal Ordo.]
6. et immnor(um) [Hymnal. London, BL, Add. 30851, fol. 111-163v, Xth c.]
7. et oraliu(m) [Horarium. Possibly refers to the canonical hours which form Silos, ms 7, Xth c.]

¹ This list and the information about each manuscript comes from Ann Boylan, 1992, The Library at Santo Domingo de Silos and its Catalogues (Xth-XVIIIth Centuries),’ Revue Mabillon: Revue international d’histoire et de litterature religieuses 3, 64: p. 78.
Appendix 1J: List of Extant *Mappaemundi*

1. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 644, folios 33v-34r
2. Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433, folios 36v-37r
3. Girona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11), folios 54v-55r
4. La Seu d’Urgell, Museu Diocesá de La Seu d’Urgell, Num. Inv. 501, folios VIv-VIIr
5. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, folios 63v-64r
6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8878, folios 45v-45r
7. Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 1, folios 34v-45r
8. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Sgn. I.II.1, folios 45v-46r
10. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS lat. 8, folios 43v-44r
11. Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, folio 34v
14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2290, folios 13v-14r
Appendix 2A: Map of the Iberian Peninsula with 10th century Christian and Muslim Regions Marked
Appendix 2C: Map with Important Monasteries
Appendix 2D: Map of the Pilgrimage Route through Spain
Appendix 3A: Stemma Proposed by Neuss

Stemma A. (proposed by Neuss).
Family Tree of the Commentaries based on text and pictures.
Beatus manuscripts referred to here by their siglas are noted in full on pages 110–113.
Appendix 3B: Stemma Proposed by Klein

Stemma B (proposed by Klein).
Family Tree of the Commentaries based on the pictures.
(Beatiss manuscripts referred to here by their siglas are listed in full on pages 10–11)
Appendix 3C: Stemma Proposed by Williams
Appendix 4A: Family Tree for the Leónese Monarchy

Chart 2. Kings of Asturias-León to 1037
Appendix 4B: Muslim Rulers in Spain

Córdoban Emirs

756-788: Abd al-Rahman I
788-796: Hisham I
796-822: al-Hakam I
822-852: Abd al-Rahman I
852-886: Muhammad I
886-888: al-Mundhir
888-912: Abdallah ibn Muhammad
912-929: Abd al-Rahman III

Córdoban Caliphs

929-961: Abd al-Rahman III
961-976: Al-Hakam II
976-1008: Hisham II
1008-1009: Muhammad II
1009-1010: Sulayman II
1010-1012: Hisham II
1012-1016: Sulayman II
1017: Abd al-Rahman
These are the 12 hours of the day, which are illuminated by the sun which is Christ. They are the 12 gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, by whose means we may enter into the beatific life. They are the first apostolic church, which we firmly believe to be founded on Christ, the Rock. They are the 12 thrones that judge the 12 tribes of Israel. This is the church extending through out the whole earthly globe. This is the holy and elect seed, the regal priesthood, that was sown over the whole world. They were few, but select. The picture appended to the text more clearly illustrates the grains sown in the field of this world, that the prophets prepared and sowed there. And from these few grains, many harvests have grown. We believe in and hold fast to this Church, and whoever shall preach anything beyond it, may not be a Christian, but will be anathema forever maranatha, that is, damnation at the coming of the Lord.1

Hi sunt duodecim horae diei, quae per Christum solem inluminantur. Hi sunt duodecim portae caelestis Iherusalem, per quas ad uitam beatam ingredimur. Hi sunt prima apostolica ecclesia, quam credimus fortissime supra Christum petram fundatam. Hi sunt duodecim throni iudicantes duodecim tribus Israhel. Haec est ecclesia per uniuersum orbem terrarum dilatata. Hoc est semen sanctum et electum, regale sacerdotium per uniuersum mundum seminatum. Rari fuerunt, sed, electi. Et de his paruis granis multa seges surrexit. Hanc ecclesiam credimus et tenemus, et qui supra euangelizauerit quam isti, non christianus sed anathema in perpetuum erit maranata, id est, perditio in aduentum Domini.2

Appendix 5B: Commentary Text Concerning the *Four Beasts*

The beast gets its name from ‘devastating,’ laying waste, or devouring. Now Daniel saw four beasts in a vision. The first was like a lion, and has the wings of an eagle. The second beast was like a bear. The third beast resembled a leopard. The fourth beast was terrible, and wonderful, and strong beyond measure: it had huge teeth or iron, eating and grinding, and trampling the leftovers beneath its feet. It was unlike the other beasts, and had seven heads and ten horns. These four beasts are this world, which is divided into four parts, East, West, North and South; albeit four kingdoms may also be understood, that is: in the lion, the kingdom of Babylon; in the bear, that of the Medes and Persians; in the leopard, the kingdom of Macedon; and in that dissimilar and powerful one the Kingdom of the Romans, having great iron teeth, devouring and trampling, since it is by that same kingdom that all martyrdoms were effected. Still, these four are the world...Consequently, the four beasts which we recognise are revealed in this book are just one beast, having seven heads and ten horns. The ten horns and seven heads are one and the same. The heads symbolize all the kings, the horns all the kingdoms: and among the ten horns one small horn is mentioned. Therefore we may say, as all the ecclesiastical writers have handed down to us, that at the end of this world, when the kingdom of the Romans comes to be destroyed, there will be ten future rulers who will divide the Roman empire between them. And the eleventh who will arise is to be the lesser king, who will defeat three of those ten rulers: That is to say, the kings of Egypt and Africa, and Ethiopia, as we shall explain more clearly in what follows. Once these three kings have been killed, the other seven will also bend their necks to that eleventh of the kings, who was the small horn. He is the man of sin, the son of perdition, the Antichrist who will take his seat in the temple of God, pretending to be God. He has not yet appeared in bodily form; nonetheless, in this beast and in the evil horses that we have mentioned, he has his kingdom, of which by the prophet it was said: “Thou makest darkness, and it is night: wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth. The young lions roar after their pretty and seek their meat from God” (Psalm 104, 20).\(^1\)

\(^1\) Beatus, 2000, ’English Translation,’ *Apocalipsis*, Leslie G. Freeman, trans.
Bestia propie a deuastando nomen accepit, id est, deuorando. Danihel enim quattuor in uisione bestias uidit. Prima quasi leaena et habebat alas aquilae. Secunda bestia similis urso. Tertia bestia quasi pardus. Quarta bestia terribilis atque mirabilia et fortis nimis: dentes ferreos habebat magnos, comedens atque conminuens, et reliqua pedibus suis conculcans: dissimilis erat ceteris bestiis, et habebat cornua decem. Hae quattuor bestiae iste mundus est, qui in quattuor partibus diuiditur, oriente, occidente, septentrione et meridie: quamuis et quattuor regna intellegantur, is est, in leaena Babilonium regnum, in urso Madorum et Persarum, in pardo regnum Macedonum, et in illa dissimili et forti regnum / Romanorum, dentes ferreos habens magnos, comedens et conculcans, eo quod per ipsum regnum facta sunt omnia martiria. Tamen haec quattuor unus mundus est....Ergo hae quattuor bestiae una bestia est, quae in hoc libro manifestata esse dinosctitur, habens capita septem et cornua decem. Decem cornua et capita septem unum est. Capita reges dicit omnes: cornua omnia regna dicit: et inter decem cornua unum cornu paruulum nominavit. Ergo dicamus, quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt, in finem mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem reges futuros esse qui regnum Romanorum inter se diuidant, et undecimum surrecturum esse paruulum regem, qui tres/reges de decem regibus superaturas sit, id est, Aegiptiorum/regnum, et Africæ, et Ethipiae, sicut in consequentibus manifestius dicemus. Quibus tribus interfectis, etiam septem alii reges ipsi undecimo regi, qui est cornu paruulum, colla submittent. Ipse est homo peccati, filius perditionis, Antichristus, ita us in templo Dei sedeat, faciens se quasi Deum. Per speciem quidem corporis sui adhuc non uenit, sed tamen in hac bestia, et in equis malis quos diximus, regnum tenet. De quo per profetam dicitur, Posuisti tenebras, et facta est nox. In ipsa pertransibunt omnes bestiae siluarum, catuli leonum rugientes ut rapiant et quaerant a Deo escam sibi.2

Appendix 5C: Commentary Text on the Statue

Just as Nebuchadnezzar also in his vision saw a statue as of one in the likeness of a man, while he beheld it as made up of four parts with members of different colours, that is, a head of gold, which is the first part of the world, chest and arms of silver, which is the second, the third of brass, which is the third part, to wit the belly and thighs, while the fourth part in fact, is the feet or iron and partly of clay.

You should clearly recognize that these feet signify the end of this world, since the feet are the extreme part of the body. So the stone falling from the mountain, that is, the Son of God born of the Virgin, that strikes this statue on the feet, is the same as to say that the end of the world is about to come, accompanied by the angels and worldwide peace, and He Himself is to be King of His Church in all the world; this is the meaning of the stone that fills up the world.¹

Sicut et Nebuchodonosor in sua statua uisionis quasi unum uidit in figura hominis, sed in quattuor partibus discoloribus membris conspexit, id est, caput aureum, quod est prima pars mundi, pectus et brachia de argento, quod est secunda, tertia ex aere, quod est tertia pars, id est, uenter et femora, quarta uero pedes ferreos et ex parts fictiles. In his pedibus aperta cognosce finem istius saeculi esse, quia pedes extrema pars corporis est. Vnde et lapis de monte ueniens, id est, Filius Dei deuirgine, hand statuam in pedibus percutere dicitur, id est, in finem mundi uenire, et mundi pacem cum angelis sociare, et ipse rex in uniuersum mundum suae ecclesiae esse. Hoc est lapidem mundum inplere.²

Appendix 5D: Text Describing Noah’s Ark from Book 2, Section 8

And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. Make thee an ark of timber planks: though shalt make many nests in the ark, and shall pitch it.” (Gen 6:13-14). If we should wish to examine with diligent care and conscientious attention the construction of this ark, by means of which the righteous man Noah was worthy of salvation from the shipwreck of the world, we shall without any doubt find a great sacrament of spiritual grace to be disposed in it very measurements and joining. For He says this: “and thus thou shalt make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it” (Gen 6:15-16), And this construction of the ark evidently should indicate the figure of our Church: there is no doubt that Noah really figuratively represents Christ, since Noah translated from the Hebrew into Latin means ‘rest,’ just as his father, Lamech, prophesied when he bestowed this name on him. Here is what he says: “this same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed” (Gen 5:29). Just as Noah was the only just man to be found in all the world, and when all perished in the watery cataclysm only he alone with his family was spared, because only he had made himself pleasing to God by living virtuously, when the world had provoked His anger by its contrary conduct; so when the Lord shall come to condemn this world to flames of fire, then there will be an end to all the wicked, and the fugitive angels, and all the pollution of the world: He will only give rest to the saintly in the kingdom of the age to come. This ark, that is built of incorruptible wood, means, as we have said, the structure of the venerable Church, which shall always endure with Christ. The seven souls who are given to holy and righteous Noah, are recognized to represent figuratively the 7 churches, that shall be spared from annihilation by the fires of judgment, and are to reign together with Christ in the new land. But perchance it may bother someone that there are said to be 7 churches, when the church is one, extended throughout the whole world. Although she be one, she is denoted severally as seven churches, because of her seven-fold spirit. Just as a human body is a single entity, but it has 7 mothers, or rather there are 7 functions of its members, to wit: head, hand, feet, sight, hearing, taste and smell, in the same way, the body of the church is one, but it is septiform from the face of its spiritual gifts. And the eyes of the Lord also number seven, and there are seven stars in the right hand of Him who sits on the throne, and seven golden candlesticks, and seven lamps in the temple of the Lord, and seven angels, and seven trumpets, and seven vials and seven women seizing hold of a single man, (that is, the virtues of the church that holds fast to Christ), and seven pillars in Solomon’s house, by which the edifice of the church is supported and raised up; and the blessed Apostle John also writes to seven churches, just as the venerable apostle Paul in like fashion wrote epistles to seven churches, and wrote the rest to individuals by name, so as not to exceed the number of seven churches; for also the seven loaves of bread in the Gospel, and the seven baskets full of bits left over, refer to the figure of that seven-fold
Church. And that is why the Holy Scripture says that Noah entered, and seven souls with him (Gen 7:13). As I have said, these seven souls refer to the seven churches: I shall prove briefly that by each one of these churches is meant all seven Churches. For seven are the gifts of charisma, as the Lord deigned to show us, by means if the renowned seer Isaiah: “And there shall rest upon him,” he says, “the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety and the fear of the Lord” (Is 11:2). All of us are not able to possess all of these, but each of us possesses one of them. Truly, only Christ our Lord, who is a complete body, has them all. In us, who consider ourselves to be among His members, there are only particular ones. All those therefore of the brethren who making up the one and identical Church shall have the spirit of wisdom, those all sharing the same spiritual gift make up one Church. For Church means a congregation of the saintly. Later, the blessed apostle Paul, writing (451) to the Church, added which Church he addressed, saying “To the saints...and to the faithful” (Eph 1:1): and from that, all of the saintly and faithful brethren who may possess the spirit of understanding, make up another Church, or as it were a second group. For the same reason too, all those who share the spirit of counsel make up a third group, or as it were a third Church. And those who have shall have been filled with the spirit of might, are counted as a fourth Church. In equal manner, those who have been flooded with the spirit of knowledge are considered to be a fifth Church. So also those whom the spirit of piety had united show the number of the sixth church. And those who have been joined together by the spirit of the fear of God are carried over to the seventh Church. When each one of us is considered separately, we each have a single gift of the spirit: when however we come together as one, all together we make up the one, integrated, and perfect septiform Church, which is the body of Christ. These are the seven souls who were given to Noah, who symbolically prefigured Christ, during the annihilation by water. It is by water that the righteous are saved, and by the same means are the sinners and irreligious punished. Just so, these seven Churches will be freed by Christ, as we have said already, from the cataclysm of fire at the end of the world, when all nations shall perish, and they shall receive the glory of the heavenly kingdom. Just as no one could escape the cataclysm of the flood, unless he was saved in the ark, neither may anyone escape condemnation on the day of divine judgment, unless he has been protected by the Ark of the Catholic Church. Moreover, the fact that the ark is described as having a second and third story obviously means the placement of the abodes, and the kinds of dwellings, that are prepared by for the saints in the kingdom of God. The first deck is the figure of paradise: the second that of the new world, into which the heavenly Jerusalem is to descend, so that in it may be made the habitation of God with men, as it is written. About this land blessed John states: “And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, and I saw the city, the heavenly Jerusalem, coming down from out of heaven onto the new earth” (Ap. 21:1). And Isaiah: “For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the almighty Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain” (Is 66:22). By the third deck is meant the kingdom of heaven. That is why our Lord and saviour said in the Gospel: “In my Father’s house,
which is in heaven, there are many mansions” (Jn 14:2). So too it is written
about the kingdom of heaven: “blessed are they which are persecuted for
righteousness’ sake: theirs in the kingdom of heaven” (Mat 5:10). Moreover, the
Lord Himself thus confirms the mansion of paradise, when He says: “to him that
overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of paradise
of my God” (Ap. 2:7). In like manner, He makes known the mansion of the new
earth, when He says: “Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.”
(Mat 5:5). And Solomon himself says: “the upright shall swell in the land, and the
perfect shall remain in it” (Prov 2:21). And equally blessed Isaiah reminds us
anew of these same three floors, saying: “they that wait upon the Lord shall
renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run,
and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint” (Is 40:31). And so they
shall fly to heaven on wings like eagles; they shall run about in paradise without
tiring; and they shall walk round on the new earth, yet not hunger, because there
they shall partake of food prepared by God. The Lord also deigned to show this
three-fold division of the abode of the saints to His apostles by means of a
parable in the Gospel, saying: “the seed that fell into good found, and brought
forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold” (Mat 13:8).
They yield fruit a hundredfold, who receive their dwellings in heaven; sixtyfold,
those who are deserving to live in paradise; and thirtyfold, those who are to be
in the new earth. From this it should already be plain to us, as I have often said,
that the three-chambered ark clearly reveals the image of the Catholic Church.
Its tripartite chambers, that is, heaven, paradise, and the new earth, were
revealed by the Lord in former times. Truly, when He says the construction of
the ark to be so disposed that it should be wider in the first level, where it has it
beginning, narrower in the middle, and in the third floor be encompassed by four
corners, to the point where it is completed with the constricted measurement of
a single cubit, and having a window on one side, it means that in the first part of
the structure, that is, on the first floor, broader liberty had been granted to the
strolling about of the saints, and a laxer discipline conceded to all the Fathers
and Patriarchs according to the offspring of the children whom they were going
to engender, and that they were given license to do more things, and to do as
they pleased more freely. That is why the first level of the ark was made broader
and more spacious. The middle level was given a more restricted size, since in
the middle of times the people should have been reduced by means of the Law of
Moses and the Prophets to a narrower and smaller space, being restrained by
their precepts. The third chamber, bounded by corners and completed in a
single cubit, means that the structure of the whole Church is constrained by its
four corners, that is the four Gospels. “Because” He says, “strait is the gate, and
narrow is the way which leadeth unto life” (Mat 7:14). And all of the framework
of the Church should be reduced to the height of one cubit, that is, to the
measure of the assumed man, with whom the Lord clothed Himself. In short, no
one else is able to attain to the height of perfect virtue and glory, unless it is by
the constrictions of tribulation, and oppressions of persecution, that the Lord
suffered in His passion, as it is written: “you must through much tribulation
enter into the kingdom of God” (Acts 14:22). But it says, you shall finish it in a
this single cubit is as I have said, a figure of the body of Christ, and this cubit is seen to refer to the unity of the perfect man, whose members we are, rather than to the size of human stature. All of us are one in Jesus Christ, and for this reason the construction of the ark was finished in a single cubit, because all of the fullness of the Church was to be fathered into the one body of Christ, and in the grace of His passion. And as for the raven that it says was sent forth from the ark, to return no more, that meant that the impure desires of men should be cast out from the Church, so that they may not return again. For a raven means the desires of deceitful and unclean souls, and the infamy of its black color signifies the illicit vices of sinners. On the other hand, the dove who was sent forth, when she could not find any resting place in the world, returned again to the ark. She figuratively represented the Holy Spirit, who, spreading throughout the whole world, being unable to find any resting place among all mankind because of the wickedness of the world, returned back to the ark of the Church, just as the Lord intrusted his apostles in the Gospel, saying: “into whatsoever city or house you shall enter, salute it, saying: Peace be to this house. And should there be there,” He says, “any son of peace, your peace shall come upon it; but if there be not there any son of peace, your peace shall return to you” (Mat 10:11-13). For that reason the Holy Spirit, when He still found no rest among the people, since they had not yet believed in Christ, returned to the ark of the Church of the apostles, until, once the iniquities of sinners had been eliminated, the disciple of faith should among all nations to the point that they might be worthy to receive the Holy Spirit. For that reason the Scripture adds: “and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark. And the dove came to him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth was an olive branch” (Gen 8:10-11). That she brought an olive branch clearly meant a testimony of peace and resurrection, and offering in her mouth and foretelling the wood of the passion that He should have to distribute the rich grace of spiritual gifts. Moreover, by evening is meant that He would have to come at the end of the world. The size of the ark, three hundred cubits in length, evidently represents the figure of the cross of the Lord: for three hundred is designated among the Greeks by the latter Tau, which letter is made up of one stroke like an upright tree, and another that extends the form of the cross, by whose mystery length of life is given to the believers, the breadth of the new earth is bestowed on them, and the height of the heavenly kingdom is prepared for them. The fact that the breadth of the ark was fifty cubits, meant that on Pentecost, that is, the fiftieth day after the suffering of our Lord on the cross, the Holy Spirit would descend, through whom we are able to gain and obtain hope of salvation and the glory of the kingdom of heaven. The thirty cubits height of the ark show the 30 years of age of the Lord as the man He took on. When He was baptized in the Jordan by the ministry of John: for as the Evangelist attests, the man who was assumed as I have said the 30 years of age when glorified with heavenly gifts by the water of baptism. So the height is a measure of the age of the body of Christ, as the blessed apostle Paul says: “till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children” (Eph 4:13-14). The length then it in the Lord’s
passion on the cross, with which the faithful are sealed in the faith. The breadth is in the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit came down on the faithful. See therefore, beloved brethren, that all the structure of this ark had to have been a pre-establishment of the mystery of the worshipful Church, and that men cannot escape the annihilation of the world, but those who were enclosed within the ark. And from that follows that it must be our task to exert ourselves to beg God and our Lord with all our heart, that faithful in the Lord, we may be worthy to remain inside God’s Catholic Church. For thus our rewards will follow, if with every covenant of peace and harmony we shall have observed the laws of evangelical institution, so that we may truly be able to be happy in the presence of God the Father Almighty.

Et dixit Dominus ad Noe, Tempus omnium hominum iam uenit ante me, quia replete est terra militia eorum. Et ecce disperdo eos et terram omnen. Fac itaque tibi arcam de lignis quadratis, nidos et nidos facies, et bituminabis eam. Si arcae istius fabricam, per quam iustus homo Noe naufragium mundi meruit euadere, diligenti cura et sollicita animaduersione uelimus inspicere, procul dubio magnum sacramentum spiritalis gratiae in ipsis mensuris et coniunctionibus inuenimus esse dispositum. Sic enim ait:

Facies arcam trecentorum cubitorum longitudinem et quinquaginta cubitorum latitudinem et triginta cubitorum altitudinem. Collectam facies arcam et in cubito consummabis eam desuper. Et ostium facies de latus, et bicameratam et tricameratam facie seam, et reliqua. Haec itaque arcae fabrica ecclesiae nostra tipum perspicue indicabat. Noe uero Christi figuram habuisse nulla est dubitation, quipped qui ex hebraeo in latino sermone Noe requies / appellatur, sicut et pater ipsius Lamec, cum nomen ei inponeret, profetauit. Hic ait, Faciet nos requiescere ab operibus nostris et maeroribus manuum nostrarum, a terra quam execratus est Dominus. Ut ergo Noe in Omnia terra solus iustus unventus est et, cunctis in cataclismo aquae perseuntibus, ipse solus cum domo sua saluatus est (quia solus Deum sibi bene vivendo feceret pium, quem contrario actu mundus iratum), sic et cumvenerit Dominus iudicare saeculum in flamma ignis, tunc malis omnibus ac refugarum angelorum cunctisque mundi sceleribus daturus est finem, sanctis uero solis requiem in regno future aeui praebiturus. Nam arca haec, quae de lignis, inputribilibus constructa est, venerandae, ut dixi, ecclesiae fabricam indicabat, quae semper est cum Christo mansura.

Septem animae, quae Noe sancto et iusto / donantur, septicem ecclesiarum tipum habuisse noscuntur, quae per Christum excidium iudicialis incendii sunt euasurae et in noua terra cum Christo sunt regnaturae. Sed fortassis aliquem moueat, cur septem dicantur ecclesiae, cum una sit in uniueso orbe diffusa. Septem itaque ecclesiae propter septenarium Spiritum, cum sit una, pluraliter nominantur. Sicut enim corpus unum est septem sunt membra uel septem membrorum official, id est, caput, manus, pedes, uisus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, ita et unum est corpus.
ecclesiae, sed septiformis carismatum gratia. Sed septem oculi Domini et septem stellae in dextera sedentis in throno et septem candelabra aurea et septem lucernae in tabernaculo Domini et / septem angeli et septem tubae et septem fialae et septem mulieres adprehendentes hominem unum, id est virtutes ecclesiae Christum tenentes, et septem columnae aput Salomonem, quibus domus ecclesiae fulcitur atque erigitur: sed et Iohannes beatus apostolus ad septem acclesias scribit et Paulus aequo venerabilis apostolus ad septem similiter acclesias epistolam dedit, ad reliquas autem nominatam scrispsit, ne numerum septem acclesiuarum excederet: nam et septem panes in evangelio et septem sportae plenae fragmentorum superantes septiformis ecclesiae imaginem indicabant. Et ideo scriptura divina, Introit, ait, Noe in arca et septem animae cum eo. Septem istae animae septem, ut dixi, acclesiias indicabant. In unaquaque acclesia septem acclesiias esse breuiter adprobabo. Septem enim sunt carismatum dona, ut per Esaiam uatem inclitum Dominus manifestare dignatus est: Et requiescat, ait, super eum spiritus sapientiae, spiritus intelligentiae, consilii, virtutis, agnitionis, pietatis, / Spiritus timoris Dei. Quae Omnia omnes habere non possumus sed singular habemus. Omnia vero solus Christus Dominus habet, qui corpus est integrum: in nobis vero singular, qui deputamur in membris. Quicumque ergo ex numero fratrum in una et in eadam acclesia consistentium habuerint spiritum sapientiae, hi omnes habent unum carisma unam acclesiam faciunt: acclesia enim congregation sanctorum interpretatur. Denique beatus apostolus Paulus, cum ad acclesia scriberet, quid / esset acclesia addidit, dicens, Sanctis et fidelibus: ac per hoc quicumque sancti fratres et fideles habuerint spiritum intelligentiae alteram acclesiam, quasi alteram classem, faciunt. Simili quoque ratione quicumque habuerint spiritum consilii tertiam classem, quasi tertiam acclesiaiam, faciunt. Et quod spiritus virtutis suppleuerit, hi in quarta acclesia numerantur. Pari modo et quos spiritus agnitionis inundaerit, in quinta acclesia deputantur. Sic et quos spiritus pietatis adunauerit, sextae acclesiiae numerum ostendunt. Et quos spiritus timoris Dei coniunxerit, hi ad septimam acclesiaiam referuntur. Cum enim separate sumus singuli, singular carisma habemus: cum autem in unum convenimus, omnes unam et integram et perfectam septiformem acclesiaiam, quae Christi corpus est, facimus. Hae sunt septae animae, quae Noe, qui Christi imaginem praetendebat, in excidio aquae donatae sunt. Per aquam enum ut iusti saluantur, ita peccatores et impii puniunturL sicut septem istae acclesiiae in fine saeculi, pereuntibus cunctis nationibus, per Christum sun tab ignis, ut iam dixi, cataclismo liberandae et caelestis regni gloriam percepturae. Quia, sicut nullus cataclismum aquae potuit eaudere, nisi qui in arca est / reseruatus, sic et nemo in die divini iudici poterit effugere, nisi quem acclesiaiae catholicae arca tutauerit.

Quod autem bicamerata et tricamerata arca fuisse refertur, mansionum loca et habitatorium qualitatem, quae sanctis in regno Dei sunt praeparatae, euidenter ostendit. In una etenim camera / paradise figura est, in altera terra nouae, ubi Iherusalem caelestis est descensura, ut fiat in ea, sicut scriptum est, habitation Dei cum hominibus. De qua terra beatus Iohannes ait, Et vidi, ait, caelum nouum et terram nouam et civitatem Iherusalem caelestem descendente de caelo in terram nouam: et Esaias, Sicut caelum nouum et terram nouam quam ego facio perseverare.
in conspectus meo, sic perseverabit semen vestrum et nomen vestrum, dicit Dominus omnipotens. In tertia camera caelorum regnum. Inde est quod et Saluator noster ac Dominus in evangelio dicebat, Multae sunt habitations aput patrem meum, qui est in caelo. Sic autem de caelorum regno scriptum est, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quia ipsorum est regnum caelorum. De paradise autem mansion ipse utique Dominus probat, cum dicit, Vincenti, ait, dabo de lingo vitae, quod est in paradise Dei mei. Terrae autem nouae mansionem similiter manifestat, cum dicit, Beati mansueti, quia ipsi possidebunt terram: sed Salomon, Sancti, ait, relinquentur super terram, impii autem expellentur aba e. Harum itaque trium mansionum qualitates rursus idem beatus Esaias memini, dicens, Sistinentes Dominum mutabunt virtutem, pinnigerabunt tamquam aquilae, current et non fatigabuntur, ambulabunt et non esurient. Volabunt itaque in caelem, sicut aquilae pinnigerantes current in paradise et non fatigabuntur ambulabunt in terram nouam et non esurient, quia escam illic a Deo praeparatam accipient. Terrae autem nouae mansionem similiter manifestat, cum dicit, Beati mansueti, quia ipsi possidebunt terram: sed Salomon, Sancti, ait, reliquentur super terram, impii autem expellentur ab ea. Harum itaque trium mansionum qualitates rursus idem beatus Esaias memini, dicens, Sistinentes Dominum mutabunt virtutem, pinnigerabunt tamquam aquilae, current et non fatigabuntur, ambulabunt et non esurient. Volabunt itaque in caelem, sicut aquilae pinnigerantes current in paradise et non fatigabuntur ambulabunt in terram nouam et non esurient, quia escam illic a Deo praeparatam accipient. Hanc itaque tripartitam rationem mansionum / sanctorum etiam et apostolic suis in euangelio Dominus per parabola manifestare dignatus est, dicens, Semen quod cecidit in terram bonam factet, ait, fructum centesimum. Centesimum itaque fructum facient, qui in caelum habitations accipiunt: sexagesimum, qui in paradise habitare meruntur: tricesimum, qui in terram nouam future sunt. Unde iam nobis planum esse debet arcam istam tricameratam ecclesiae, ut saepe dixi, catholicae imaginem perspicue indicasse, cuius tripartita habitacula, id est, caeli, paradise et terrae nouae, retro iam a Domino monstrabantur.

Verum quod dicit sic arcae ipsius fabricam fuisse dispositam, ut latior fuerit in primo, unde sumpsit exordium, in medio angustior et terto per quattuor angulos collecta usque ad unum cubitum coartatae mensurae sit consummate, unam habens fenestram de latus, hoc utique significabat, quod in prima parte facturate, id est prima vacatione sanctorum, latior licentia et remissor disciplina omnium partum et patriarcharum propter generandum sobolem filiorum esset indulta, et quod permettendum esset eis plura licite facere et liberius gerere quae uellent, ideo maior et spatiosior pars arcae fabricator in primis. Media vero in angustiori mensura redditur, quid mediis temporibus per legem Moysi et profetas in angustior et breuiori spatio praecipitibus constringentibus populos redigendus erat. Tertia vero camera, per angulos collecta et in unum / cubitum consummata, hoc significabat, quod per quattuor angulos, is est quattuor evangelia, omnis essay ecclesiae fabrica coartanda, quia arta, ait, et engusta via est quae ducit ad / vitam, et usque ad unum cubitum, id est, usque ad mensuram suscepti hominis, quem induit Dominus, omnis esset conpago ecclesiae redigenda. Denique nemo ad fastigium perfectae virtutis et gloriae pervenire potest, nisi per angustias tribulationum et persecutionum pressuras, quas et in passione sua pertulit Dominus, sicut scriptum est, Oportet nos per multas tribulations introire in regnum Dei.

Sed quod dicit, In cubito consummabis eam, cubitum hoc unum imago est, ut dixi, corporis Christi: qui cubitus ad unitatem perfecti viri, cuius nos membra sumus, non ad mensurum status hominis pertinere videtur. Omnes enim unum sumus in
Christo Ihesu. Ideo in unum cubitum arcae fabrica consummator, quia in uno Christi corpore et in gratia passionum eius omnis plenitude erat ecclesiae colligenda.

Nam quod coruum dicit de arca emissum non fuisset ultra reuersum, hoc ostendebat impuras volupitatem hominum de ecclesia expellendas et non esse ulterius reversuras. Coruus enim subdolae et impurae animae significat voluptates et nigri coloris infamia peccatorum inusta vitia demonstrabat. Columba vero, quae emissa est <et>, cum requiemi non invenisset in saeculo, rursus in arcam reversa est, Sancti Spiritus imaginem indicabat: qui, cum fuisset in toto orbe diffuses et praet iniquitate saeculi requiemi apud omnes homines non potuisset repperire, / rursus esset in arcam ecclesiae revocandus, sicut ipse Dominus in evangelio apostolos suos instruit, dicens, Ad quamcunque domum vel civitatem veneritis, dicite, Pax huic domui. Si fuerit, ait, illic filius pacis, veniet pax vestra super eum: si autem non fuerit illic filius pacis, pax vestra revertetur ad vos. Proinde Spiritus Sanctus, cum adhuc / super gentes requiemi non invenisset, quia necdum in Christo crediderant, reversus est in arcam ecclesiae apostolorum, donec sublatis iniquitatibus peccatorum cresceret in cunctis nationibus fidei disciplina quemadmodum Sanctum Spiritum accipere mererentur.

Denique subiunxit scriptura, Et iterum dimisit columbam de arca, et reversa et Columba ad eum sub vespere, habens ramum olivae in ore suo. Quod ergo ramum oleae adtulit, testimonium pacis et resurrectionis perspicue indicabat et quod lignum passionis ore suo praedicans ac praefert pinguem gratiam carismatis tribuere haberet. Sub vespere autem, quod in fine saeculi advenire haberet.

Mensura vero arcae trecentorum cubitorum longitude figuram dominicae cruces ecidenter ostendit. Treceni etenim ait Graecos Tae littera signantur, quae littera <cum> unam apicem quasi arborem erectam facit, alteram vero ut antemnam in capite extensam, cruces utique habitum demonstrabat: quo misterio et longitude vitae credentibus datur et latitude terrae nouae tribuitur et altitude caelestis regni praeparatur.

Quod quinquaginta errant / cubita latitudinis euisdem arcae, hoc significabat, quod Pentecosten, id est, quinquadesima die post passionem dominicae cruces, Spiritus Sanctus descensurus esset, per quem et spem salutis et caelestis regni gloriam consequi et obtinere possumus.

Triginta vero cubitus arcae altitude tricenariam aetatem Domini manifestat, quia hominem quen induit per officium Iohannes in Iordane baptizauit: triginta etenim annorum erat, ut evangelista testator, cum per aquam baptismatis susceptum, ut dixi, hominem donis caelestibus inlustraret. Est ergo altitude in mensure aetatis corporis Christi, sicuti beatus apostolus Paulus ait, Donec occurramus / omnes in unitatem fidei et agnitionem Filii Dei in virum perfectum, in mensura aetatis plenitudinis Christi, ut iam non simus paruuli: longitude autem in passionem dominicae crucis, qua trecenti significantur: latitudo in diem Pentecosten, quod Sanctus Spiritus super credentes aduenit. Videtis ergo, dilectissimi fratres, omnem
arcae istius fabricam in sacramento venerandae ecclesiae fuisse praemissam et non posse aliter hominem nisi per ecclesiam de excidio totius orbis evandere, sicut et in cataclismo mundi nemo remanisset, nisi quos arca incluserat. Et proinde laborandum nobis est, et Deum et Dominum nostrum toto corde rogemus, ut in ecclesia Dea catholica fideles in Domino permanere mereamur. Tunc enim subsequentur praemia, si cum omni pacis et concordiae foedere evangelicae fuerint a nobis institutionis iura servata, ut vere felices anta conspectum Dei Patris omnipotentis esse possimus.¹

Noah’s Ark was a symbol of the Church, as the Apostle Peter says: “In Noah’s Ark a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us” (1 Pet 3: 20-21). And just as in it there were all kinds of animals, so also in this Church there are men from all kinds of peoples and customs. So that, just as in that place there dwell leopards, and kids, and lions, and wolves, and lambs, so in this there dwell righteous men, and sinners, that is, there are golden and silver vessels together with ones of wood and clay. And the Ark had their nests, just as the Church has many dwellings...And the crow was sent from the Ark but did not return, but afterward, the dove announces peace to the earth. So also, by baptism, the terrible bird, that is, the devil, having been expelled, the dove of the Holy Spirit proclaims peace to our earth. The Ark was built starting with thirty cubits, and decreasing gradually to just one cubit. Similarly, the Church also, consisting of many ranks, finishes at the last with deacons, priests, and bishops. The Ark was in danger in the flood: the Church is in danger in this world. Noah went out, planted a vineyard, and drinking of it became drunken. Born also in the flesh, Christ planted the Church, and He suffered. Noah’s elder son laughed at his naked father, while the younger covered him. And the Jews mocked the crucified God, while the Gentiles venerated Him. I have not the time to relate fully all the symbolic comparisons of the Ark with the Church. I shall explain briefly who are the eagles among us, who are the doves, who are the deer, who are the worms, who are the serpents, that are relevant to the present subject...\(^1\)

Arca Noe tipus ecclesiae fuit, dicente apostolo Petro, In arca Noe pauci, id est, octo animae saluae factae sunt per aquam, quod et uos / nunc similiter baptisma saluos faciet. Et ut in illa omnium generum animalia: ita in hac ecclesia uniuersarum et gentium et morum hominess sunt. Vt ibi pardus et haedi, lupus et agni: ita et hic iusti et peccatores, id est, uasa aurea et argentea, cum ligneis et


He is not describing anything else, other than the Church. And he says: “palms in their hands.” He not undeservedly compares the life of the Just to a palm tree: since the palm tree is rough to the touch in its lower part, and as though bound up in dry bark, while in its upper part it is beautiful to the sight and in its fruits; its lower part is narrowed by the binding of its bark, but it widens above by the breadth of its handsome verdure. So also is the life of the chosen, its lower part scorned, its higher part beautiful. The lower part is close to the earth, that it, wrapped in inferior things as it by much bark, while it is oppressed by countless tribulations; on the contrary, in the highest eternity it broadens out by the amplitude of its reward, as if with leaves of beautiful greenness. The palm tree has another characteristic, in which is differs from all other kinds of trees. For every other tree remains broad in its strength close to the earth, but narrows as it grows higher, so that to the degree that it is somewhat teller, it becomes so much thinner above. But the palm tree starts off with less breadth next to the earth, and rises up in broader vigor near its branches and fruit. And what starts out narrow at the beginning grows much vaster at the top. Who do we find that is similar to the other trees, if not those whose souls are earthly, and desirous of earthly rewards? For without doubt, all lovers of this world are robust in earthly matters, but weak in heavenly affairs. It pleases them to sweat until death for temporal glory, while they don’t pause in their labours even briefly out of the hope of eternity. They tolerate any injury whatever for earthly gain, but they refuse to suffer even the slightest word of affront for the sake of a heavenly reward. They are strong enough to attend an earthly trial for even a whole day: but they tire from prayer before God in the brief time of a single hour.¹


Appendix 5G: Commentary Text on the Fox and the Cock

Outside he [the heretic] is a sheep, but inside he is a wolf, whose ravages know no bounds...Does he not seem to you to be a wolf, who with insatiable bloodthirstiness for human death has sought to satisfy his fury with the death of faithful people? Such a one howls the Scriptures, he does not comment on them, for he denies the author of the word. Such is the one who wished to be among the Disciples, saying to the Lord not guilelessly but fraudulently: “Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest” (Matthew 8:19). To him the Lord replied: *‘the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath no where to lay his head’* (Matthew 8:20). He saw his spirit, in the shape of devious foxes, and birds, that is, the demons dwelling within him. The Lord does not seek an outward appearance of worship, but rather purity of intention...For that reason, man should as far as he is able show a sincere faith, and keep the observance of the commandments with a religious soul, let he be told: “the foxes have holes.” For the little fox is a false animal, always eagerly driven to rapine with its treacherous wiles. It suffers nothing to be safe, nothing tranquil, nothing secure, for it seeks out its prey among the lodgings of men. He compares heretics to foxes. Then, when He calls the nations, He excludes the heretics. There came two of the Disciples, and one said to Him: “I will follow Thee”; the other said: “suffer me first to go and bury my father” (Matthew 8:21). And the Lord told him: “let the dead bury their dead, and follow me (Matthew 8:22), and go and proclaim the kingdom of God. To the other He said: “the foxes have holes,” yet iniquity abounded and for that reason the Son of man has no place whereon to rest his head. And so, you should understand that God does not drive away elegant attire, but fraud. He who had repudiated the deceitful one, chose the innocent one, saying: “follow me.” But He says that to him who knew his father, that is the devil, to be dead; about whom it was said: “forget thy father’s house” (Psalm 44:11). He did not say that to the one in whom He saw that a fox had taken up its abode: for the fox is most commonly a deceitful animal, who prepares a pitfall for souls, and always wants to stay hidden in
that pit. Just so are the heretics, who do not know how to prepare
themselves a dwelling, but seek to mislead others with their deceitfulness.¹

Foris ouis, intus lupus est qui modum non habet rapinarum...Non uobis uidetur
lupus, qui humanae mortis insaturabilis crudelitate, fidelium morte populorum,
rabiem suam desiderauit explore? Vlat iste, non tractat, qui negat uocis
auctorem. Iste est qui cum discipulis cupiebat esse et non simpliciter sed
fraudulenter / Domino ait, Magister, sequar te quocumque ieris. Ad quem
Dominus dixit, Vulpes foueas habent et uolucres caeli nidos ubi requiescant: nam
Filius hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet. Videbat mentem eius more
uulipium tortuosam: et uolucres, id est, daemones, in eo demorantur. Sed
Dominus non obsequiorum speciem sed puritatem affectus...Proinde
quantum potest homo sinceram exhibeat fidem et obseruantiam mandatorum
religiosa mente custodiat, ne dicatur ei, Vulpes foueas habent. Vulpicula enim
fallax est animal, et insidiis semper intenta rapinam fraudis exercet. Nihil tutum,
nihil otiosum, nihil patitur esse securum, quod inter ipsa hominum hospitia
praedium requirat. Haereticis autem uulpes conparat. Denique cum gentes
uocat, haereticos excludit. Duo discipuli/uenerunt: unus dixit, Sequar te: alter
dixit, Dimitte me primum ire et sepelire patrem meum. Et Dominus ait, Mortui
sepeliant mortuos suos, tu me sequere, et uade adnuntia regnum Dei: alteri dixit,
Vulpes foueas habent, et ideo Filius hominis, quia abundauit iniquitas, non habet
ubi caput suum reclinet. Itaque ut intellegas Deum non cultus uestium expellere,
sed fraudem, quia repudiatuerat fraudulentum, elegit innocentem, dicens,
Sequere me. Sed hoc dicit ei cuius patrem iam sciebat mortuum, id est diabolum,
de quo dictum est, Obliuiscre domum patris tui. Hoc illi non dixit, in quo uulpes
habitate conspexit. Vulpes enim plerumque fraudis est animal, animarum
foueam parans et in/ fouea semper latere desiderans. Ita sunt haeretici, qui
domum sibi parare non sciunt, sed circumscriptionibus suis alios.²

² Beatus, 1985, Sancti Beati a Liebana Commentarius in Apocalypsin, E. Romero-
Chapter 6

1And after that men began to be multiplied upon the earth, and daughters were born to them,

2The sons of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all which they chose.

3And God said: My spirit shall not remain in man for ever, because he is flesh, and his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.

4Now giants were upon the earth in those days. For after the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they brought forth children, these are the mighty men of old, men of renown.

5And God seeing that the wickedness of men was great on the earth, and that all the thought of their heart was bent upon evil at all times.

6It repeated him that he had made man on earth. And being touched inwardly with sorrow of heart,

7 He said: I will destroy man, whom I have created, form the face of the earth, from man even to beasts, from the creeping thing even to the fowls of the air, for it repenteth me that I have made them.

8 But Noe found grace before the Lord

9These are the generations of Noe: Noe was a just and perfect man in his generations, he walked with God.

10And he begot three sons, Sem, Cham and Japheth.

11And th earth was corrupted before God, and was filled with iniquity.

12And when God had seen that the earth was corrupted (for all flesh had corrupted its was upon the earth.)

13He said to Noe: The end of all flesh is come before me, the earth is filled with iniquity through them, and I will destroy them with the earth.

14Make thee an ark of timber planks: thou shalt make little rooms in the ark, and thou shalt pitch it within and without.
And thus shalt thou make it: The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits: the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits.

Thou shalt make a window in the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish the top of it: and the door of the ark thou shalt set in the side: with lower, middle chambers, and third stories shalt thou make it.

Behold I will bring the waters of a great flood upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, under heaven. All things that are in the earth shall be consumed.

And I will establish my covenant with thee, and thou shalt enter into the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and the wives of thy sons with thee.

And of every living creature of all flesh, thou shalt bring two of a sort into the ark, that they may live with thee: of the male sex, and the female.

Of fowls according to their kind, and of beasts in their kind, and of everything that creepeth on earth accordeth to its kind; two of every sort shall go in with thee, that they may live.

Thou shalt take unto thee of all food that may be eaten, and thou shalt lay it up with thee: and it shall be food for thee and them.

And Noe did all things which God commanded him.

Chapter 7

And the Lord said to him: Go in thou and all the house into the ark: for thee I have seen just before me in this generation.

Of all clean beasts take seven and seven, the male and the female.

But of the beasts that are unclean two and two, the male and the female. Of the fowls also of the air seven and seven, the male and the female: that seed may be saved upon the face of the whole earth.

For yet a while, and after seven days, I will rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and I will destroy every substance that I have made, from the face of the earth.

And Noe did all things which the Lord had commanded him.
6 And he was six hundred years old, when the waters of the flood overflowed from the earth.

7 And Noe went in and his sons, his wife and the wives of his sons with him into the ark, because of the waters of the flood.

8 And of beasts clean and unclean, and of fowls, and of every thing that movest upon the earth,

9 Two and two went in to Noe into the ark, male and female, as the Lord had commanded Noe.

10 And after the seven days were passed, the waters of the flood overflowed the earth.

11 In the six hundredth year of the life of Noe, in the second month, in the seventeenth day of the month, all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the flood gates of heaven were opened:

12 And the rain fell upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

13 In the selfsame day Noe, and Sem, and Cham, and Japheth his sons: his wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, went into the ark:

14 They and every beast according to its kind, and all the cattle in their kind, and every thing that moveth upon the earth according to its kind, all birds, and all that fly.

15 Went in to Noe into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein was the breath of life.

16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him: and the Lord shut him in on the outside.

17 And the flood was forty days upon the earth, and the waters increased, and lifted up the ark on high from the earth.

18 For they overflowed exceedingly: and filled all on the face of the earth: and the ark was carried upon the waters.

19 And the waters prevailed beyond measure upon the earth: and all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered.

20 The water was fifteen cubits higher than the mountains which is covered.
21 And all flesh was destroyed that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beasts, and of all creeping things that creep upon the earth: and all men.

22 And all things wherein there is the breath of life on the earth, died.

23 And he destroyed all the substance that was upon the earth, from man even to beast, and the creeping things and fowls of the air: and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noe only remained, and they that were with him in the ark.

24 And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.
Chapter 13

17 And when the Pharoa had sent out the people, the Lord led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines which is near: thinking lest perhaps they would repent, if they should see wars arise against them, and would return into Egypt.

18 But he led them about by the way of the desert, which is by the Red Sea: and the children of Israel went up armed out of the land of Egypt.

19 And Moses took Joseph's bones with him: because he had adjured the children of Israel, saying: God shall visit you, carry out my bones from hence with you.

20 And marching from Socoth they encamped in Etham in the utmost coasts of the wilderness.

21 And the Lord went before them to shew the way by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire: that he might be the guide of their journey at both times.

22 There never failed the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, before the people.

Chapter 14

1 And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying:

2 Speak to the children of Israel: Let them turn and encamp over against Phihahiroth which is between Magdal and the sea over against Beelsephon: you shall encamp before it upon the sea.

3 And Pharoa will say of the children of Israel: They are straitened in the land, the desert hath shut them in.

4 And I shall harden this heart, and he will pursue you and I shall be glorified in Pharoa, and in all his army: and the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord. And they did so.

5 And it was told the kind of the Egyptians that the people was fled: and the heart of the Pharoa and of his servants was changed with regard to the people, and they said: What meant we to do, that we let Israel go from serving us?

6 So he made ready his chariot, and took all his people with him.

7 And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots that were in Egypt: and the captains of the whole army.
And the Lord hardened the heart of the Pharoa king of Egypt, and he pursued the children of Israel: but they were gone forth in the mighty hand.

And when the Egyptians followed the steps of them who were gone before, they found them encamped at the sea side: all Pharoa’s horse and chariots, and the whole army were in Phihahiroth before Beelsephon.

And when Pharoa drew near, the children of Israel, lifting up their eyes, saw the Egyptians behind them: and they feared exceedingly, and cried to the Lord.

And they said to Moses: Perhaps there were no graves in Egypt, therefore thou hast brought us to die in the wilderness: why wouldst thou do this, to lead us out of Egypt?

Is not this the word that we spoke to thee in Egypt, saying: Depart from us that we may serve the Egyptians? For it was much better to serve them than to die in the wilderness.

And Moses said to the people: Fear not: stand and see the great wonders of the Lord, which he will do this day: for the Egyptians, whom you see now, you shall see no more for ever.

The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace.

And the Lord said to Moses: Why criest thou to me? Speak to the children of Israel to go forward.

But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch forth thy hand over the sea, and divide it: that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on the dry ground.

And I will harden the heart of the Egyptians to pursue you: and I will be glorified in Pharoa, and in all his host, and in his chariots and in his horsemen.

And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall be glorified in Pharao, and in his chariots and in his horsemen.

And the angel of God, who went before the camp of Israel, removing, went behind them: and together with him the pillar of the cloud, leaving the forepart,

Stood behind, between the Egyptians’ camp and the camp of Israel: and it was a dark cloud, and enlightening the night, so that they could not come at one another all the night.

And when Moses has stretched forth his hand over the sea, the Lord took it away by a strong and burning wind blowing all the night, and turned it into dry ground: and the water was divided.
22 And the children of Israel went in through the midst of the sea dried up: for the water was as a wall on their right hand and their left.

23 And the Egyptians pursuing went in after them, and all Pharao’s horses, his chariots and horsemen through the midst of the sea,

24 And now the morning watch was come, and behold the Lord looking upon the Egyptian army through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, slew their host.

25 And overthrew the wheels of the chariots, and they were carried into the deep. And the Egyptians said: Let us flee from Israel: for the Lord fighteth for them against us.

26 And the Lord said to Moses: Stretch forth thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots and horsemen.

27 And when Moses had stretched forth his hand towards the sea, it returned at the first break of day to the former place: and as the Egyptians were fleeing away, the waters came upon them, and the Lord shut them up in the middle of the waves.

28 And the waters returned, and covered the chariots and the horsemen of all the army of Pharao, who had come into the sea after them, neither did there so much as one of them remain.

29 But the children of Israel marched through the midst of the sea upon dry land, and the waters were to them as a wall on the right hand and on the left:

30 And the Lord delivered Israel on that day out of the hands of the Egyptians.

31 And they saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore, and the mighty hand that the Lord had used against them: and the people feared the Lord, and they believed the Lord, and Moses his servant.
Appendix 6C: Daniel 2: 31-49

31 Thou, O king, sawest and behold there was as it were a great statue: this statue, which was great and high, tall of stature, stood before thee, and the look thereof was terrible.

32 The head of this statue was of fine gold, but the breast and the arms of silver, and the belly and thighs of brass:

33 And the legs of iron, the feet part of iron and part of clay.

34 Thus thou sawest, till a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands: and it struck the statue upon the feet thereof that were of iron and clay, and broke them in pieces.

35 Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of a summer's thrashingboard, and they were carried away by the wind: and there was no place found for them: but the stone that struck the statue, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

36 This is the dream: we will also tell the interpretation thereof before thee, O king.

37 Thou art a king of kings: and the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and strength, and power, and glory:

38 And al places wherein the children of men, and the beasts of the field do dwell: he hath also given the birds of the air into thy hand, and hath put all things under thy power: thou therefore are the head of gold.

39 And after thee shall rise up another kingdom, inferior to thee, of silver: and another third kingdom of brass, which shall rule over all the world.

40 And the fourth kingdom shall be as iron. As iron breaketh into pieces, and subdueth all things, so shall that break and destroy all these.

41 And whereas thou sawest the feet, and the toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron: the kingdom shall be divided, but yet it shall take its origin from the iron, according as thou sawest the iron mixed with the miry clay.

42 And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken.

43 And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay, they shall be mingled indeed together with the seed of man, but they shall not stick fast one to another, as iron cannot be mixed with clay.
44 But in the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and his kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people, and it shall break in pieces and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever.

45 According as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and broke in pieces, the clay, and the iron, and the brass, and the silver, and the gold, the great God hath shewn the kind what shall come to pass hereafter, and the dream is true, and the interpretation thereof is faithful.

46 Then king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer in sacrifice to him victims and incense.

47 And the kind spoke to Daniel, and said: Verily you God is the God of gods, and Lord of kings, and a revealer of hidden things: seeing thou couldst discover this secret.

48 Then the king advanced Daniel to a high station, and gave him many and great gifts: and he made him governor over all the provinces of Babylon, and chief of the magistrates over all the wise men of Babylon.

49 And Daniel requested of the king, and he appointed Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago over the works of the province of Babylon: but Daniel himself was in the king’s palace.
Appendix 6D: Daniel 7

1 In the first year of Baltasar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream: and the vision of his head was upon his bed: and writing the dream, he comprehended it in few words: and relating the sum of it in short, he said:

2 I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of the heavens strove upon the great sea.

3 And four great beasts, different one from another, came up out of the sea.

4 The first was like a lioness, and had the wings of an eagle: I beheld till her wings were plucked off, and she was lifted up from the earth, and stood upon her feet as a man, and the heart of a man was given to her.

5 And behold another beast like a bear stood up on one side: and there were three rows in the mouth thereof, and in the teeth thereof, and thus they said to it: Arise, devour much flesh.

6 After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, and it had upon it four wings as of a fowl, and the beast had four heads, and power was given to it.

7 After this I beheld in the vision of the night, and lo, a fourth beast, terrible and wondering, and exceedingly strong, it had great iron teeth, eating and breaking in pieces, and treading down the rest with its feet: and it was unlike to the other beasts which I had seen before it, and had ten horns.

8 I considered the horns, and behold another little horn sprung out of the midst of them: and three of the first horns were plucked up at the presence thereof: and behold eyes like the eyes of a man were in this horn, and a mouth speaking great things.

9 I beheld till thrones were placed, and the Ancient of days say: his garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like clean wool: his throne like flames of fire: the wheels of it like a burning fire.

10 A swift stream of fire issued forth from before him: thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him: the judgment sat, and the books were opened.

11 I beheld because of the voice of the great words which that horn spoke: and I saw that the beast was slain, and the body thereof was destroyed, and given to the fire to be burnt:

12 And that the power of the other beasts was taken away: and that times of life were appointed them for a time, and a time.
I beheld therefore in the vision of the night, and lo, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and he came even to the Ancient of days: and they presented him before him.

And he gave him power, and glory, and a kingdom: and all peoples, tribes and tongues shall serve him: his power is an everlasting power that shall not be taken away: and his kingdom that shall not be destroyed.

My spirit trembled, I Daniel was affrighted at these things, and the visions of my head troubled me.

I went near to one of them that stood by, and asked the truth of him concerning all these things, and he told me the interpretation of the words, and instructed me:

These four great beasts are four kingdoms, which shall arise out of the earth.

But the saints of the most high God shall take the kingdom: and they shall possess the kingdom for ever and ever.

After this I would diligently learn concerning the fourth beast, which was very different from all, and exceeding terrible: his teeth and claws were of iron: he devoured and broke in pieces, and the rest he stamped upon with his feet:

And concerning the ten horns that he had on his head: and concerning the other that came up, before which three horns fell: and of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth speaking great things, and was greater than the rest.

I beheld, and lo, that horn made war against the saints, and prevailed over them,

Till the Ancient of days came and gave judgment to the saints of the most High, and the time came, and the saints obtained a kingdom.

And thus he said: The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be greater than all the kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and shall break it in pieces.

And the ten horns of the same kingdom, shall be ten kings: and another shall rise up after them, and he shall be mightier than the former, and he shall bring down three kings.

And he shall speak words against the High One, and shall crush the saints of the most High: and he shall think himself able to change times and laws, and they shall be delivered into his hand until a time, and times, and half a time.
26 And a judgment shall sit, that his power may be taken away, and be broken in pieces, and perish even to the end.
27 And that the kingdom, and power, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, may be given to the people of the saints of the most High: whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all kings shall serve him, and shall obey him.

28 Hitherto is the end of the word. I Daniel was much troubled with my thoughts, and my countenance was changed in me: but I kept the word in my heart.
Appendix 6E: Text of Psalm 73

1 O God, why hast thou cast us off unto the end: why is thy wrath enkindled against the sheep of thy pasture?

2 Remember thy congregation, which thou hast possessed from the beginning. The sceptre of thy inheritance which thou hast redeemed: mount Sion in which thou hast dwelt.

3 Lift up thy hands against their pride unto the end: see what things the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.

4 And they that hate thee have made their boasts, in the midst of their solemnity. They have set up their ensigns for signs.

5 and they knew not both in the going out and on the highest top. As with axes in a wood of trees,

6 they have cut down at once the gates thereof, with axe and hatchet they have brought it down.

7 They have set fire to thy sanctuary: they have defiled the dwelling place of thy name on the earth.

8 They said in their heart, the whole kingdom of them together: Let us abolish all the festival days of God from the land.

9 Our signs we have not seen, there is now no prophet: and he will know us no more.

10 How long, O God, shall the enemy reproach: is the adversary to provoke thy name forever?

11 Why dost thou turn away thy hand: and thy right hand out of the midst of thy bosom for ever?

12 But God is our king before ages: he hath wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.

13 Thou by thy strength didst make the sea firm: thou didst crush the heads of the dragons in the waters.

14 Thou hast broken the head of the dragon: thou had given him to be emat for the people of the Ethiopians.

15 Thou hast broken up the fountains and the torrents: thou hast dried up the Ethan rivers.
Thine is the day, and thine is the night: thou hast made the morning light and the
sun.

Thou hast made all the borders of the earth: the summer and the spring were formed by thee.

Remember this, the enemy hath reproached the Lord: and a foolish people hath provoked thy name.

Deliver not up to beasts the souls that confess to thee: and forget not to the end the souls of thy poor.

Have regard to thy covenant: for they that are the obscure of the earth have been filled with dwellings of iniquity.

Let not the humble be turned away with confusion: the poor and needy shall praise thy name.

Arise, O God, judge thy own cause: remember thy reproaches with which the foolish man hath reproached thee all the day.

Forget not the voices of thy enemies: the pride of them that hate thee ascendeth continually.
Appendix 6F: Psalm 137

1 Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept: when we remembered Sion:

2 On the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our instruments. 3 For there they that led us into captivity required of us the words of songs.

And they that carried us away, said: Sing ye to us a humn of the songs of Sion.

4 How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?

5 If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten.

6 Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee:

7 Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom, in the day of Jerusalem:
   Who say: Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.

8 O daughter of Babylon, miserable: blessed shall he be who shall repay thee thy payment which thou hast paid us.

9 Blessed be he that shall take and dash thy little ones against the rock.
Chapter 6

1 And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seven seals, and I heard one of the four Living Ones saying, like the noise of thunder, Come and see.

2 And behold a white horse: and he that was on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and the conqueror went for to conquer.

3 And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second Living One say, Come and see.

4 And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

5 And when he had opened the third seal, I heard a third Living One say, Come and see. And lo, a black ox; and he that was on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice from the midst of the four Living Ones, which said, A measure of wheat for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the fourth Living One say, Come and see.

8 And behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hades followed him. And power was given unto him over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

9 And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar of God the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony unto him which they held:

10 And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O holy Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was decreed that they should rest yet for a little season, until the number of their fellow servants, that should be killed as they were, should be completed.

12 And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth, and the whole moon became as blood;
13 And the stars fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree loseth its untimely figs, when it is shaken by a mighty wind.

14 And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.

15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man, his themselves in caves and in the rocks of the mountains;

16 And they said to the rocks and mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17 For the great day of their wrath is come; and who can endure it?

Chapter 7

1 And after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that they should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.

2 And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom power was given to hurt the earth and the sea,

3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we seal the servants of our God in their foreheads.

4 And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed a hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

5 Of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand.

6 Of the tribe of Aser were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses were sealed twelve thousand.

7 Of the tribe of Simon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi were sealed twelve thousand.

8 Of the tribe of Zabulon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand.

9 After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, from all nations, and kindredes, and peoples, and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;
And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation belongeth to our God which sitteth upon the throne.

And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four Living Ones, and fell before the Lamb on their faces, and worshipped the Lord,

Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, Who are these which are arrayed in white robes? And whence came they?

And I said unto him, Thou knowest, Sir. These are they which come out of much tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore are they before the throne of God and serve him day and night on his throne. For he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them.

And his church shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither doth the sun light on them by day, nor the moon by night.

For the Lamb which sitteth in the midst of the throne shall be their Shepherd, and shall lead them unto fountains of living water, and wipe away every tear from their eyes.

Chapter 8: 1-5

And then he had opened the seventh seal, there was a silence in heaven.

And I saw seven angels, which stood before God, and had received seven trumpets.

And another angel came and stood upon the altar, having a golden censor. And there was given unto him the incense of the prayers of all saints as he stood upon the golden altar which is before God.

And the smoke of the incense of the prayers of the saints ascended up before God out of the angel’s hand.

And the angel took the censor, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.
Appendix 6H: Revelation 17

1 And there came one of the seven angels, who had the seven vials, and spoke with me, saying: Come, I will shew thee the condemnation of the great harlot, who sitteth upon many waters.

2 With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication; and they who inhabit the earth, have been made drunk with the wine of her whoredom.

3 And he took me away in spirit into the desert. And I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.

4 And the woman was clothed round about with purple and scarlet, and gilt with gold, and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of the abomination and filthiness of her fornication.

5 And on her forehead a name was written: A mystery; Babylon the great, the mother of the fornications, and the abominations of the earth.

6 And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. And I wondered, when I had seen her, with great admiration.

7 And the angel said to me: Why dost thou wonder? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast which carried her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8 The beast, which thou sawest, was, and is not, and shall come up out of the bottomless pit, and go into destruction: and the inhabitants on the earth (whose names are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) shall wonder, seeing the beast that was, and is not.

9 And here is the understanding that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, upon which the woman sitteth, and they are seven kings:

10 Five are fallen, on is, and the other is not yet come: and when he is come, he must remain a short time.

11 And the beast which was, and is not: the same also is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into destruction.

12 And the ten horns which thou dost sawest, are ten kings, who have not yet received a kingdom, but shall receive power as kings one hour after the beast.

13 These have one design: and their strength and power they shall deliver to the beast.
These shall fight with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, because he is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and they that are with him are called, and elect, and faithful.

And he said to me: The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are peoples, and nations, and tongues.

And the ten horns which thou sawest in the beast: these shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall burn her with fire.

For God hath given into their hearts to do that which pleaseth him: that they give their kingdom to the beast, till the words of God be fulfilled.

And the woman which thou sawest, is the great city, which hath kingdoms over the kings of the earth.
Appendix 61: Text of Revelation 19:1-10

1 After these things I heard a voice as of great multitudes in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, belong unto our God:

2 For both true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the great harlot, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said, Alleluia. And the smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders and the four Living Ones fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; and Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a trumpet, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for our Lord God reigneth omnipotent.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and glorify his name: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8 And to her it hath been granted that she should be arrayed in his shining and white raiment; for his raiment is the righteousness of the saints.

9 And the angel said, Write, These are the true sayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worship him. And the angel said, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow servant, and one of the brethren that have the testimony of Christ Jesus: worship the Lord. The testimony of Christ Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.
But that he said, “Palms in their hands”:

The life of the just is not compared to palms [Job 29:18] undeservedly, because of course the palm is rough to touch from below, and it is as if wound up in rough dry bark; and yet, from above it has a beautiful appearance and fruits. From below, its bark is constricted by its windings; but from above, it is spread out to a breadth of beautiful greenness. So indeed is the life of the elect: despised from below, lovely above. ‘Near the earth, that is, ‘it is as if wound around with many barks at the very bottom while constricted with many barks; truly, at the top,’ for eternity, ‘it is as if rewards spread out in the breadth of beautiful greenness of leaves.

Indeed, the palm has something else’ which ‘separates it from’ all ‘other kinds of trees. For on the other hand, every tree stands huge in its trunk near the ground, but growing above, is constricted; and’ as much ‘as it is taller for a short while, it is rendered that much thinner up high. Truly,’ near the earth, ‘the palm’ starts ‘with its least breadth,’ and ‘near the branches and fruit it rises to a wider trunk. And that tenuous thing it produces at the very bottom grows huger at the top.

And so, of what other groves are found to be similar — huge’ in this life, ‘narrow’ in that — ‘if not earthly minds’ and those desiring earthly gains? ‘Because’ without a doubt, ‘all’ lovers ‘of this present age are strong in earthly things, weak in celestial. For they desire to sweat after temporal glory until death, and they stand unequal in labor for a perpetual hope. They endure any sort of injuries for earthly gains, and they refuse to bear insults of the slimmest words for celestial pay. And also they are strong appearing before all earthly judgment; truly, they are exhausted by the effort of one hour before the Lord in’ prayer. ‘Often they endure nakedness, degradation, hunger — for the sake of acquiring wealth and honors; they torture themselves with abstaining from things’ of food, ‘although they hurry winning such gains. But they ignore seeking the things above that much more laboriously; they believe [such effort] to be paid back that much more slowly. And so, as if according to the custom of trees, they are huge underneath, constricted up high,’ indeed. ‘Because they stand up strong in lower things, but they falter in things above.
But in another way, the life of the just ones, who ever are strong toward earthly cares’ nor ‘weak toward celestial ones, is described in action by the quality of the palm tree. But they exhibit themselves to be longer and further eager about God than they remembered to be about this present world. For about such ones, it is said through our preacher, “I say a humane thing on account of the weakness of your flesh. As you presented your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, in iniquity; so now present your members to serve justice, in sanctification.” [Rom. 6:19] Without a doubt, he is bent down to their weakness; and thus it would be said more openly to them, “If in no way you can do more, you shall at least do as much in the fruit of good works as you did’ beforehand ‘in the activity of the vices. Nor may holy liberty’ of air ‘have you weaker than the use of earthly pleasures had in strong flesh.

‘Truly, there are some who, when they desire celestial things, even leave behind the crimes done in this world; afterward,’ by unkind cogitation, ‘they falter by the despondency of inconstancy every day. Who are these like, should I say, if not to groves’ of things who in no way grow above in the same way as they sprouted up below? Of course,’ these ‘persevere not so greatly as ‘they began coming to conversion; and as if by the custom’ of the others, ‘they are huge at the start but they grow thinly up high, because for a short time they suffer a diminishment of virtue through’ the trick ‘of time. Of course they wilt’ easily ‘in their desire of things above; and those who had put themselves forward robust and strong, end up weak and feeble; and while they make an increase in age, they grow more pliant.

Truly, as it was said, the palm tree’ is more huge ‘at the top than it began to be in its character from the root. Because often the conversion of the elect completes more in its ending than it put forth at the start; and if at first one begins more lukewarmly, one ends more warmly further on. Clearly, he always reckons himself to be starting,’ and afterward ‘he lasts long, indefatigable in his newness.

Of course, the prophet said, considering this constancy of the just, “Those who trust in the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall take wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.” [Is. 40:31]

‘Of course “they renew their strength,” because they who were strong in the flesh’ before ‘are eager to be strong in spiritual works. But “they shall take wings as eagles,” because contemplating, they fly. “They run and do not grow weary,” because they preach more quickly through great swiftness. “They shall walk and not faint,” because they retain the velocity of their understanding, so that they stoop
down for the slower ones. Truly, in all the good things which they receive — however much they accommodate [them] freely to others, so much do they endure unchanged in newness. And he who goes forth thinly from the starting root thrives strongly at the perfection of the very top.'

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Cur justi palmae comparantur.---Nec immerito justorum vita palmae comparatur, quia scilicet palma inferius tactu aspera est, et quasi aridis corticibus obvoluta; superius vero et visu fructibus pulchra; inferius corticum suarum involutionibus angustatur, sed superius amplitudine pulchrae viriditatis expeditur. Sic quippe est electorum vita, despecta inferius, superius pulchra; in imo ista quasi multis corticibus obvolvitur, dum innumeris tribulationibus angustatur, in summo vero illa quasi pulchrae viriditatis folii amplitudine retributionis expeditur. Habet quidem alium palma quo a cunctis arboribus generibus differt. Omnis namque arbor in suum robere juxta terram vasta subsistit, sed crescendo superius angustatur, et quando paulisper sublimior, tando in altum subtilior redditur. Palma vero minoris amplitudinis ab imis inchoat, et juxta ramos ac fructus ampliori robere exsurget; et quae tenuis ab imis proficit, vastior ad summa succrescit. Quibus itaque alia arbusta nisi terrenis substantia inveniuntur esse similia, inferius vasta, superius angusta? quia nimirum omnes hujus saeculi dilectores in terrenis rebus fortes sunt, in coelestibus debiles. Nam pro temporali gloria usque ad mortem desudare appetunt, et pro spe perpetua ne parum quidem in labore subsistunt. Pro terrenis lucris quasi libet injurias tolerant, et pro coelesti mercede vel tenuissimi verbi ferre contumelias recusan; terreno judici toto etiam die assistere fortes sunt, in oratione vero coram Domino vel unius horae momento lassantur. Saepe nuditatem, dejectionem, famen pro acquirendis divitiis atque honoribus tolerant, et earum rerum se abstinentia crucian ad quas adipiscendas festinant; superna autem laboriose quaerere tanto magis dissimulat, quanto ea retribui tardius putant. Hi itaque quasi aliarum arborum more deorsum vasti sunt, sursum angusti, quia fortes in inferiora subsistunt, sed ad superiora deficiunt. At contra ex qualitate palmarum designatur proficiens vita justorum, qui nequaquam sunt in terrenis studiis fortes, et in coelestibus debiles; sed longius atque distantius studiosos se Deo exhibent quam saeculo fuisse meminerunt. Nam cum quibusdam per praedicatorum nostrum dicitur: Humanum dico, propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae; sicut enim exhibuistis membra vestra servire impuritati et iniquitati ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiae in sanctificationem eorum procul dubio infirmitati condescenditur, ac si eis apertius dicetur: Si nequaquam amplius potestis, saltem tales estote in fructu bonorum operum, quales suistis dudum in actione vitiorumne debiliros vos habeat sancta libertas charitatis, quos in carne validos habuit usus terrenae voluptatis. Non vero palmae comparantur qui cum bene coeperint, minime perseverant.---Sunt vero nonnulli qui cum coelestia appetunt, atque hujus mundi
noxia facta derelinquunt, ab inchoatione sua quotidie inconstantiae pusillanimitate
deficiunt. Quibus hos nisi arbusitis reliquis similes dixerim qui nequaquam tales
superius surgunt quales inferius oriuntur? Hi quippe ad conversionem venientes
non tales quales coeperunt perseverant, et quasi more arborum inchoatione vasti
sunt, sed tenues crescent, quia paulisper per augmenta temporum patiuntur
detrimenta virtutum. Sensim quippe in eis desideria superna languescunt; et qui
robusta ac fortia proposuerant, debilia atque infirma consummunt; dumque aetatis
augmento proficiunt, quasi flexibles crescent. Palma vero, sicut dictum est, vastioris
in summitate est quam esse coeperit quantitatis ex radice, quia saepe electorum
conversio plus finiendo peragit quam proponit inchoando; et si tepidius prima
inchoat, ferventius extrema consummat, videlicet semper inchoare se aestimat, et
idcirco infatigabilis in novitate perdurat. Hanc scilicet justorum constantiam
propheta intuens, ait: Qui confidunt in Domino, mutabunt fortitudinem suam,
assumpt pennas ut aquilae, current et non laborabunt, ambulabunt et non
deficient Mutant quippe fortitudinem, quia fortes student esse in spirituali opere, qui
dudum fuerant fortes in carne. Assumunt autem pennas ut aquilae, quia
contemplando volant. Currunt et non laborant, quia velocibus magna celeritate
praedicant. Ambulant et non deficiunt, quia intellectus sui velocitatem retinent, ut
tardioribus condescendant. In cunctis vero bona quae accipiant quanto aliis libenter
accommodant, tanto ipsi incommutabiles in novitate perdurant; et qui tenues a
radice inchoationis exeunt, fortes in culminis perfectione convalescunt. Dicat itaque
beatus Job ex persona sua, dicat ex voce sanctae Ecclesiae pro his quos pacis
tempore ad se conversos habuerat, atque in bonis moribus perseveratuos
credebat: Dicebamque: In nidulo meo moriar, et sicut palma multiplicabo dies. 1Quasi
enim palma multiplicare se dies credidit, quae mentes fidelium ad extremum usque
robustiores exsurgere putabat. Cum enim multorum corda persecutionibus
coeperint lassata mollescere, dolet jam in se quasi ad debilitatem tendere, quos
mirabatur fortia proposuisse. Et quia mente semper spirituali scientiae intendit, recte
subjungitur
Appendix 7B: Hymn for Cock Crow

Cathemerinon
I. Hymnus ad Gallo Cantum

Ales diei nuntius
Lucem propinquam praecinit
No excitator mentium
Iam Christus ad vitam vocat

Auferte, clamat, lectulos,
Aegros, soporos, desides:
Castique recti ac sobrii
Vigilate, iam sum proximus

Post solis ortum fulgidi
Serum est cubile spernere
Ni parte noctis addita
Tempus labori adieceris.

Vox ista, qua strepunt aves
Stantes sub ipso culmine
Paulo ante quam lux emicet
Nostri figura est iudicis

Tectos tenebris horridis
Stratisque opertos segnibus
Suadet quietam linquere
Iam iamque venturo die:

Ut, cum coruscis flatibus
Aurora caelum sparserit
Omnes labore exercitos
Confirmet ad spem luminis

Hic sompnus ad tempus datus
Est forma mortis perpetis,
Peccata ceu nox horrida
Cogunt iacere ac stertere

Sed vox ab alto culmine
Christi docentis praemonet
Adesse iam lucem prope
Ne mens sopori serviat:

Ne sompnum usque ad terminus

---

The Christian's Day
I. Hymn for Cock Crow

The bird that herealdeth the day
Foretells the sunbeam drawing nigh:
Now Christ arouseth us that lay
Torpid, to life beneath His eye.

"Away!" He cries, “with slothful bed”;
Awake from sickly drowsyhed
Watch ye! For I am close at hand."

‘Tis late to spurn the couch of ease
When flames the Orient sun in heaven,
If grafted on Day’s ministries
No part of Night to toil be given.

That summons shrill of vocal bird
Perching the roof’s high ridge beneath,
Though the grey morning’s silence heard
The Judge’s coming figureth.

It bids us start from Sleep’s embrace,
From sluggish chambers break away,
Life’s unremitting duties face,
And gird us for the task of day;

That breezy Morn with splendours dight
May of her horrors Night despoil,
And fresh Hope animate with light
The painful family of toil.

Sleep, Heaven’s best boon to wearied man
Mimics the death that doth not die
For sin like the deepest darkness can
Bind fast in helpless lethargy.

But mindful of the bitter goal
Christ’s warning pealeth from on high
Lest swinish slumber steep the soul
Vitae socordis opprimat
Pectus sepultum crimine
Et lucis oblitum suae.

Oblivious of her native sky.

Ferunt vagantes daemonas
Laetos tenebris noctium,
Gallo canente exterritos
Sparism timere et cedere

‘Tis said that prowling evil sprites,
Who haunt and love the blackest shades,
By cock-crow scared, Night’s satellites,
Hie trooping, as the darkness fades,

Invisa name vicinitas
Lucis, salutis, numinis,
Rupto tenebrarum situ
Noctis fugat satellites.

For holy Light they loathe and flee:
What wonder? ‘Tis the sign and seal
Of hope fulfilled: from slumber free
The coming of our Lord we feel.

Hoc esse signum praescii
Norunt repromissae spei,
Qua nos soporis liberi
Speramus adventum Dei

Christ’s warning dignified that bird,
Its power He did to Peter show;
Thrice would his bitter reckless word
Deny Him ere the cock should crow.

Quae vis sit huius alitis
Salvator ostendit Petro,
Ter Antequam gallus canat
Sese negandum praedicans.

For Sin held universal sway
And bound in thrall the human race,
Till Morning’s Herald taught the way,
And did from Earth the darkness chase.

Speramus adventum Dei
Norunt repromissae spei
Qua nos soporis liberi
Speramus adventum Dei

Christ’s warning dignified that bird,
Its power He did to Peter show;
Thrice would his bitter reckless word
Deny Him ere the cock should crow.

Quae vis sit huius alitis
Salvator ostendit Petro,
Ter Antequam gallus canat
Sese negandum praedicans.

For Sin held universal sway
And bound in thrall the human race,
Till Morning’s Herald taught the way,
And did from Earth the darkness chase.

False speech that flowed from hasty lips
The saint repentant rues with tears.
Steadfast his faith: nor careless trips
His tongue through all the future years

Nec tale quidquam postea
Linguae locutus lubrico est,
Cantuque galli cognito
Peccare iustus destitit.

The saint repentant rues with tears.
Steadfast his faith: nor careless trips
His tongue through all the future years

Inde est quod omnes credimus,
Illo quietis tempore,
Quo gallus exultans canit,
Christum redisse ex infernis.

And thus we hold—from Hades’ bourne
That hour when chanticleer sings loud
Saw Christ triumphantly return
While Death and Hell beneath him bowed.

Tunc mortis oppressus vigor,
Tunc lex subacta est tartari,

So not that Day her foe has slain,
Tunc vis diei fortior
Noctem coegit cedere.

Let crimes this earth no longer cumber,
Be cleansed each contagious stain
And “leprous sin” o’erwhelmed in lam slumber

Iam iam quiescent inproba
Iam culpa furva obdomiat
Iam noxa letalis suum
Perpessa sompnum marceat.

Iam culpa furva obdomiat
Iam noxa letalis suum
Perpessa sompnum marceat.

Up! Mount thy guard, unwearies man,
With toil, with tears, with diet spare,
Stand firm for time’s remaining span—
Awake, pure heart intent on prayer!

Enough with folded limbs we’ve lain
Weighed down in gross obliviousness;
Life’s pomp and pride, its storm and stress

Fortune and Pleasure’s treacherous gleam,
Wealth, gilded baubles, vain display
All melt like a delusive dream,
With morning: Truth is child of day.

Sat convolutes artubus
Sensum profunda oblivio
Pressit, gravavit, obruit
Vanis vagantem sompniis

Come, break the spell of the sluggish night,
Sunder, O Christ, her iron chain!
Come, showering down Thy healing light,
And purge our nature’s ancient stain!