

Beatus a Liébana
In Apocalypsin commentarius



Codices illuminati medii aevi 16

Beatus a Liébana

In Apocalypsin commentarius

Manchester, The John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 8

Colour Microfiche Edition

Introduction and Codicological Description by
Peter K. Klein



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C O N T E N T S

* PREFACE	7
INTRODUCTION	
The Beatus Illustration and Its Impact on Medieval Art.....	8
The Position of the Manchester Beatus within the Beatus Tradition	11
Provenance, Origin and Style of the Manchester Beatus	19
DESCRIPTION	
Codicological Description	21
The Illustrations.....	22
NOTES	30
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	36
COLOUR MICROFICHE EDITION	
Binding, fly-leaf, II*, fol. 1r - 26r.....	Fiche 1
fol. 26v - 56r	Fiche 2
fol. 56v - 86r	Fiche 3
fol. 86v - 116r.....	Fiche 4
fol. 116v - 132, 132bis - 145r.....	Fiche 5
fol. 145v - 175r.....	Fiche 6
fol. 175v - 205r.....	Fiche 7
fol. 205v - 235r	Fiche 8
fol. 235v - 247v, I*, binding	Fiche 9

P R E F A C E

The Beatus Codex Latin MS 8 of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester is one of the late Romanesque copies of the eighth century Apocalypse commentary by the Spanish monk Beatus of Liébana, a text which by virtue of its content and rich illustration, enjoyed great popularity in Spain throughout the early and high Middle Ages¹. Despite its late date (end of the twelfth century), the Manchester Beatus Codex is of extreme importance for the history of the Beatus illustration, since this well preserved manuscript seems to be the reasonably faithful copy of a lost early 'mozarabic' Beatus manuscript. Nevertheless, the Manchester Beatus has been rather neglected in the scholarly literature, and only a few of its miniatures have so far been reproduced. Thus, the present microfiche edition will be welcomed by all those who are interested in the history of medieval book illumination.

The author wishes to acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. C.D. Field and of Dr. Peter McNiven at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, both of whom read the drafts of this introduction and made valuable corrections. Dr. McNiven also provided his counsel concerning questions of the provenance of the codex and graciously helped to verify some of the Latin inscriptions by comparing the transcriptions with the original manuscript.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Beatus Illustration and Its Impact on Medieval Art

By far the richest representations of the Apocalypse of St. John, the last gospel of the New Testament, are found in illuminated manuscript cycles, which also influenced wall and panel painting, stained glass, monumental sculpture, metalwork, and the graphic arts. Medieval cycles of the Apocalypse are not only distinguished by their great number of illustrations, but also by continuous, centuries-old traditions which assume different characteristics depending on the epoch and country. Accordingly, the cycles can be categorized into various families and groups, each of which had its greatest influence in a certain area or epoch.

Although no Apocalypse cycles dating from late Antiquity and the early Christian period have been preserved, they must have existed since the fifth or sixth centuries.² It is possible to reconstruct two entirely separate traditions: on the one hand, an early Christian prototype which originated in Rome and which influenced the central European cycles throughout their many changes until the close of the Middle Ages³ (this late Antique Roman cycle has been best preserved in the early Carolingian Trier Apocalypse [Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 31; France, early ninth century], which, except for insignificant deviations, represents a fairly exact copy of an Italian model of the sixth century)⁴; on the other hand, there was an early Spanish or North African prototype of the fifth or sixth century, which is reflected in the illustrations to the Apocalypse commentary by Beatus of Liébana.⁵ Beatus wrote his commentary between 776 and 784 in Asturia (then the only part of Spain not occupied by the Moors), using to a large degree older patristic commentaries.⁶ The copies of the Beatus Commentary were almost exclusively limited to Spain, only two of the extant manuscripts and fragments originating outside Spain.⁷ Ten copies include only the text, but another twenty-four

illustrate the text with a cycle based on a fifth- or sixth-century Spanish or North African model. These illustrations, inserted between the Apocalypse text and commentary and probably added already during the lifetime of Beatus, were originally simple, schematic images summarizing the essential elements of the Apocalypse text. Probably intended as a visual aid to help memorize the text, they thus formed an integral part of monastic-spiritual practice, Cassiodorus' *lectio divina*, which consisted of reading and memorizing, meditation and contemplation.⁸

The original cycle of illustrations is contained in the Beatus manuscripts of the first and second text edition from 776 and 784, i.e. in the "Family I" (as, for instance, the Beatus codices Madrid Vitr. 14-1, Escorial &.II.5, Osma MS 1, see the list below, p. 11).⁹ Reflecting the cultural rise and increased European contacts of the Kingdom of Asturias-León, the original picture version during the second quarter of the tenth century underwent a noticeable transformation in both style and composition - receiving, for example, background stripes in several colours - and a significant expansion in its iconography. Double-page pictures of the evangelists and their symbols were added, as were genealogical tables of the ancestors of Christ, and an illustrated Daniel commentary by Jerome.¹⁰ This expanded cycle is contained in the manuscripts of the "Family IIa" (e.g. Beatus M.644 of the New York Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Beatus manuscripts at Valladolid and Urgel) and in the "Family IIb" (e.g. Tábara Beatus at Madrid, Gerona Beatus), to which also belongs the Manchester Beatus (see the list below, p. 12f.).

The Beatus Apocalypse cycles continued to be copied into the thirteenth century. Several eleventh-century manuscripts reflect a pictorial and textual relation to the liturgy of the dead, including the codices of Saint-Sever (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8878), of Santo Domingo de Silos (London, British Library, Add. 11695), and of San Isidoro in León (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 14-2).¹¹ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Beatus tradition experienced a final revival, probably due to the large number of newly-founded monasteries: the Cistercians especially commissioned new and, at times, richly illustrated copies of this highly esteemed Iberian monastic text, including the manuscripts from the Cistercian monasteries of San Andrés de Arroyo (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 2290) and Las Huelgas (New York,

Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 429).¹² The influence of non-Spanish Apocalypse traditions is evident only occasionally in late Beatus manuscripts, such as the Navarra Beatus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 1366) and the Arroyo Beatus (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. acq. lat. 2290).¹³ The reason for the continuing 'popularity' of the Beatus Apocalypse in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is found less in the text, which by that time was entirely outdated, than in the extraordinary wealth of its images. The conceptual schematicism of the illustrations corresponded exactly to the abstract tendencies of Romanesque art, but it found no equivalent in the new, more 'realistic' Gothic style. Therefore, it is not surprising that the eventual dominance of the Gothic - along with the ascent of courtly-secular patronage - meant the death of the centuries-old Beatus tradition.¹⁴

The influence of the Beatus Apocalypse cycles on other art forms was less than is often assumed.¹⁵ In Spain, influence was limited essentially to the Kingdom of Asturias-León, the provenance of most extant Beatus manuscripts. Influence is evident already in tenth-century manuscripts from the Castilian scriptoria of Valeránica and San Millán de la Cogolla (e.g., the *Moralia* codex from 945 in Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Ms. 80; and the late tenth century *Códice de Roda* in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 78).¹⁶ Later influence is evident in the early twelfth-century vault paintings of the Panteón de los Reyes of San Isidoro in León,¹⁷ in a late twelfth-century world map from the Castilian monastery of Oña (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Ms. F.105 sup.),¹⁸ and in a thirteenth century Bible from the monastery at Uclés, New Castile (Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, Ms. 922-925).¹⁹ In Catalonia, the influence of the Beatus tradition was limited to the Leonese Gerona Apocalypse (Gerona, Catedral, Ms. 7), which was brought to Gerona during the eleventh century,²⁰ and which in the twelfth century served as a model for a Catalonian Beatus Apocalypse (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. I.II.1)²¹ and also for a capital in the cloisters of Gerona Cathedral.²²

Outside Spain the influence of the Beatus Apocalypse cycle was even more sporadic. Other than the occasional influence on Romanesque monumental sculpture in France, as for instance in some cloister capitals at Moissac from 1100²³ and the twelfth-century portal of La Lande-de-Fronsac²⁴, clear evidence of non-Spanish borrowing from the Beatus tradition exists only in the

Romanesque wall paintings of San Pietro di Civate near Como (ca. 1100)²⁵ and in a few miniatures of the early Gothic English Apocalypse at Trinity College in Cambridge (MS R.16.2; ca. 1250-1260).²⁶ These borrowings were evidently guided by the didactic-exegetical intentions of those who commissioned the work and, in the case of the Trinity College Apocalypse, by artistic considerations of the miniaturist.

The Position of the Manchester Beatus within the Beatus Tradition

Since the basic studies by Henry A. Sanders and Wilhelm Neuss,²⁷ the Beatus manuscripts are generally classified into three groups, called by Neuss "Family I", "Family IIa" and "Family IIb". Contrary to the opinion of Neuss (who believed only in one archetype of the Beatus manuscripts),²⁸ most scholars today accept the theory of Sanders²⁹ that these three groups reflect different editions or recensions of the Beatus commentary.³⁰ Thus, the Family I represents the two text editions from the lifetime of Beatus (776 and 784), the Family IIa reflects an enlarged text recension from the tenth century, whose subsequently revised version is given in the Family IIb.³¹

The extant illustrated Beatus manuscripts of these families are as follows:³²

Family I

- 1) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vitr. 14-1 (olim Hh 58); Kingdom of León, ca. 930-950 (= A¹).
- 2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8878; Saint-Sever (Gascony), between 1028 and 1072 (= S).
- 3) El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, Cod. &.II.5; Castile, second half of the tenth century (= E).
- 4) Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33; San Millán de la Cogolla (Castile), early and late eleventh century (= A²moz and A²rom).
- 5) Santo Domingo de Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, Fragm. 4; Northern Spain, late ninth or early tenth century (= Fc).
- 6) Burgo de Osma, Museo de la Catedral, Ms. 1; Northern Spain, 1086 (= O).

- 7) Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana (Accademia dei Lincei), Ms. Lat. 369; Spain, eleventh - twelfth centuries (= C).
- 8) Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Cod. 160; Lervao, 1189 (= L).
- 9) León, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Perg., Astorga 1; Northern Spain (León?), second half of the twelfth century (= Le).
- 10) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 1366; Navarre, about 1200 (= N).

Family IIa

- 1) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 644; San Miguel de Escalada, (León), ca. 950-960, by the painter Magius (= M).
- 2) Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, Ms. 433; Kingdom of León (Valcavado ?), 970 (= V).
- 3) Seo de Urgel, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 4; Northern Spain (Rioja ?), second half of the tenth century (= U).
- 4) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vitr. 14-2 (olim B.31); San Isidoro at León, 1047, by the scribe Facundus, for King Fernando I of Castile-León (= J).
- 5) London, British Library, Add. MS 11695; Santo Domingo de Silos (Castile), completed 1091-1109, by the painter Petrus (= D).

Family IIb

- 1) Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097 B (olim cod. 1240); San Salvador de Tábara (Kingdom León), completed 968-970, by the painters Magius and Emeterius (= T).
- 2) Gerona, Museo de la Catedral, Ms. 7; Kingdom of León (Tábara ?), 975, by the painters Emeterius and Ende (= G).
- 3) Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. I.II.1 (olim lat. 93); Catalonia (Ripoll?, Gerona?), early twelfth century (= Tu).
- 4) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 8; Castile, late twelfth century (= R).
- 5) Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Ms. 2 + Paris, Private Collection (olim Marquet de Vasselot) + Madrid, Biblioteca de la Fundación Zabálburu (olim Heredia Spínola) + Gerona, Museo Diocesano; from San Pedro de Cardeña (Castile), late twelfth century (= Pc).

- 6) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 2290; from San Andrés de Arroyo (Castile), early thirteenth century (= Ar).
- 7) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 429; from Las Huelgas, near Burgos (Castile), 1220 (= H).
- 8) Mexico City, Archivo General de la Nación, Ilustr. 4852; Castile, mid-thirteenth century (= Mex).

It has never been doubted that within this classification, the Manchester Beatus definitely belongs to the manuscripts of the Family IIB.³³ However, the precise position of the Manchester Beatus within this family remains controversial. Whereas Neuss and Sanders, on the basis of their detailed textual and art historical analyses, agreed that Manchester (= R) comes closest to the Cardena Beatus (= Pc) and Arroyo Beatus (= Ar), and that these three manuscripts form a subgroup within Family II,³⁴ more recently a number of scholars have assumed that Manchester is either a copy of the Leonese Beatus codex in Gerona (= G),³⁵ whose presence in Gerona is documented since the eleventh century,³⁶ or of the Tábara Beatus (= T),³⁷ which at the time of origin of the Manchester Beatus was in the region of Burgos, in Old Castile.³⁸ The former opinion - Manchester being a copy of Gerona - seems to me completely untenable: although Manchester shares with Gerona some few peculiar pictures and iconographical elements,³⁹ it otherwise lacks all the singular iconography of the Gerona Beatus; this specific iconography of Gerona, however, recurs almost completely in the Turin Beatus (= Tu), which is generally considered a direct copy of Gerona.⁴⁰ More legitimate is the theory of Williams that Manchester might be one of the Romanesque copies of the Tábara Beatus made in the region of Burgos. The Tábara Beatus being closely related to the Gerona Beatus (both were done in part by the same monks and perhaps even in the same scriptorium of Tábara), Williams' hypothesis would explain those elements in the Manchester Beatus which it shares with Gerona and the Turin copy (like the Cross page and the Majesty picture, see above). Furthermore, following Williams, two of the few extant illustrations of the Tábara Beatus, i.e. "The Seventh Vial Emptied into the Air" (Apc XVI, 17-21) and "The Satan, the Beast and the False Prophet being Cast into the Sulphur Pit" (Apc XX, 9-10), would be reflected most closely in the respective pictures of the Manchester Beatus (fol. 173r, 194v).

However, against this theory of Williams can be adduced a number of arguments. First, one has to recall that the Manchester Beatus does not contain even one of the singular motifs of the Tábara Beatus, like the "Tower of Tábara" and the "Omega" page (Tábara, fol. 167r, 167v), which both recur in the Huelgas copy of Tábara (= H), despite its free variations of the other illustrations of Tábara.⁴¹ Besides, by no means does Manchester resemble Tábara as closely as Turin does in respect of its Gerona model.⁴² Moreover, on the basis of their detailed textual analyses, both Neuss and Sanders have classified the Beatus codices of Manchester, Cardeña and Arroyo as a special subgroup of Family Iib, a subgroup which comes closer to the pair Tábara/Huelgas than to the branch of Gerona/Turin and of a tenth-century Beatus text fragment in Silos (Archivo del Monasterio, Fragm. 1-3), which is textually a twin of Turin.⁴³ Within the subgroup of Manchester/ Cardeña/ Arroyo, in a number of textual variants the former two do not coincide with Arroyo; however, among themselves Manchester and Cardeña do not agree either in all the readings.⁴⁴ Hence, the slightly later Cardeña codex cannot be a copy of the Manchester Beatus, as Williams suggested,⁴⁵ but both must hark back to a common prototype or model. Important also is the fact that the specific variants of the subgroup Manchester/Cardeña/Arroyo betray a common tendency towards more meaningful and correct 'modern' readings,⁴⁶ which indicates that their common prototype cannot have been an old, tenth-century manuscript like the Tábara Beatus, but that it must have been a more recent codex probably dating already from the twelfth century.

The basic results of Neuss' reconstruction of the *textual* tradition of the Beatus manuscripts of the Family Iib have been confirmed by the author of this study in his statistical analysis of the *pictorial* material of the Beatus manuscripts, i.e. of a random choice of Beatus illustrations:⁴⁷ of twenty-nine illustrations preserved by chance in the Beatus codex Vitr. 14-1 of the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional (= A¹, Family I), the number of singular parallels found only in two of the compared manuscripts, and hence indicating a stronger relationship, is given in the first table; the number of *total* parallels of two compared Beatus manuscripts is listed in the second table (each time, the total number of compared illustrations is given in parenthesis); a third table indicates the mathematical degree of relationship between two compared manuscripts, based on a 'correlation test' of the "Antichrist Tables" of the Beatus manuscripts. This factor of relationship can vary between + 1,000 (total

iconographic identity of two manuscripts) and - 1,0000 (total divergence of two codices).

Table I (G)	Table II (G)	Table III (G)
40 Tu (26)	72 Tu (26)	1,0000 Tu
9 H (27)	32 H (27)	0,6995 T
1 T (3)	6 T (3)	0,6891 H
4 R (27)	9 Pc (8)	0,4589 R
Pc (8)	27 R (27)	0,2735 Ar
Ar (25)	8 Ar (25)	

If we look at the above tables relating the Gerona Beatus (= G) to the other Family IIb manuscripts, we see at once the extremely strong correlation with the Turin Beatus (= Tu). Significantly, the manuscripts with the next highest values are the Tábara Beatus (= T) and its copy, the Huelgas Beatus (= H), whereas the Manchester, Cardeña and Arroyo manuscripts (= R, Pc, Ar) figure at the end of all tables, thus indicating that - contrary to the Huelgas Beatus - they do not derive directly from Tábara, but form an independent subgroup.

Basically, these results are confirmed by the values of relationship of the Tábara Beatus (= T):

Table I (T)	Table II (T)	Table III (T)
1 H (3)	6 H (3)	0, 9749 H
1 G (3)	6 G (3)	0, 7375 R
Tu (2)	2 Tu (2)	0, 6995 G
R (3)	2 R (3)	0, 5865 Tu
Ar (3)	Ar (3)	0, 4967 Ar

Here, we see again the extremely strong correlation with the Huelgas Beatus, Tábara's direct copy, followed by the values of Gerona and Turin. More remarkable is the surprisingly high value of Manchester (= R) in Table III, based on the "Antichrist Tables".⁴⁸

Table I (R)	Table II (R)	Table III (R)
8 Pc (9)	18 Pc (9)	0, 7594 H
13 Ar (26)	30 H (28)	0, 7375 T
11 H (28)	27 Ar (26)	0, 7092 Ar
9 Tu (27)	27 G (27)	0, 4589 G
4 G (27)	25 Tu (27)	0, 3599 Tu
T (3)	2 T (3)	

If we look at the tables for the Manchester Beatus (= R) we realize that in all the three tables Gerona/Turin figure at the end, thus confirming again that Manchester, together with the remaining branch IIb manuscripts, belongs to a different subgroup. Within this subgroup, Manchester comes closest to the Cardeña Beatus (= Pc) (cf. tables I and II), especially if one considers the small number of preserved illustrations in Cardeña and that, moreover, Cardeña does not show up in Table III since it lacks one of the "Antichrist Tables". Otherwise, after Cardeña, the Beatus manuscripts of Arroyo, Huelgas and Tábara (= Ar, H, T) have respectively the highest values of relationship with Manchester. However, by no means do these values indicate that Manchester might be a direct copy of Tábara and hence a 'brother' of Huelgas, as Williams supposed.

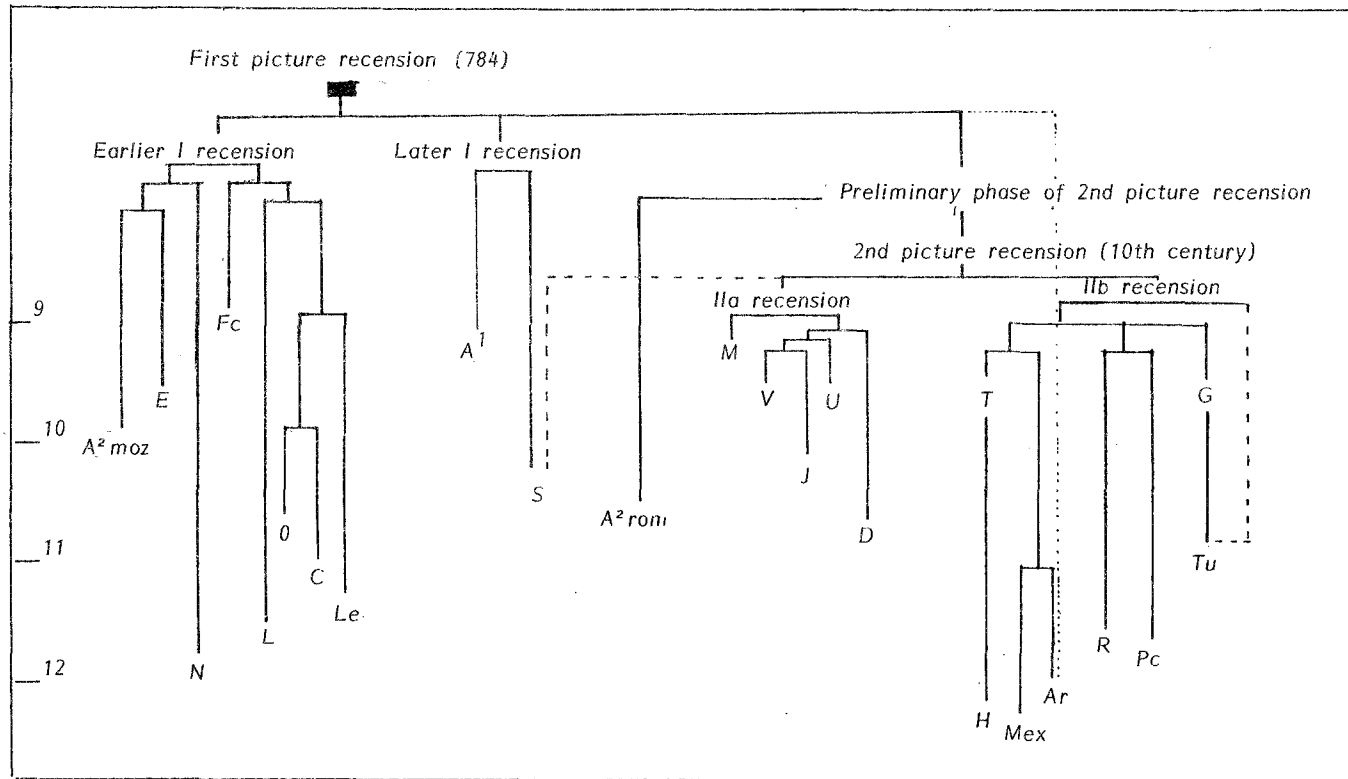
Table I (Pc)	Table II (Pc)
8 R (9)	18 R (9)
3 Ar (9)	9 G (8)
G (8)	8 Tu (9)
Tu (9)	6 Ar (9)
H (9)	5 H (9)

The special relationship of Manchester and Cardeña is also evident from the tables for Cardeña (see above), followed by Arroyo and Gerona/Turin, with Huelgas at the end. The latter contradicts Williams' assumption that Manchester/Cardeña derive directly from the sub-branch Tábara/Huelgas. Furthermore, despite the high values of relationship between Manchester and Cardeña, these are still not strong enough to suppose a direct model-copy relationship of these two manuscripts, especially if compared to the respective, much higher values of Gerona/Turin, and also if one considers that - contrary to Gerona/Turin and Tábara/Huelgas - Manchester and Cardeña are not separated by a radical change of style (which normally increases the differences).

Contrary to Neuss' «stemma» of the Beatus manuscripts,⁴⁹ despite its close relationship to Manchester/Cardena, the Arroyo Beatus does not belong to their sub-branch and does not derive from the same model. This is not only indicated by Arroyo's lower values of relationship with Manchester and Cardena, but it is also suggested by a study of the illustration of the "Seven Angels with the Seven Plagues and the Song of the Lamb" (Apc XV, 1-4):⁵⁰ in all branch IIB manuscripts, the Lamb is not hovering above the sea (as in branch IIA), but placed on a kind of support;⁵¹ however, whereas Gerona/Turin and Arroyo place the Lamb on a mountain (derived from the preceding illustration of the "Adoration of the Lamb on the Mount Sion", Apc XIV, 1-5), in the remaining three other branch IIB manuscripts (R, Pc, H) the support of the Lamb has adopted a geometrical form, which in the two respective pictures of the Huelgas Beatus still recalls the oval shape of the mountain, but which in Manchester and Cardena rather resembles an altar.⁵² Furthermore, the branch IIB fragment recently discovered by Rafael C6mez in Mexico City (= Mex), seems to be most closely related to the Arroyo Beatus.⁵³ Hence, both the Mexico fragment and the Arroyo Beatus belong to a sub-branch which is different from that of Manchester/Cardena.

All these genealogical relations are expressed diagrammatically in the following 'stemma':

Stemma of the pictorial tradition of the Beatus manuscripts



Provenance, Origin and Style of the Manchester Beatus

The provenance of the Manchester Beatus can only be traced back as far as the second half of the nineteenth century. Until 1870, the codex was part of the private collection of the Marquis of Astorga, Count of Altamira, in Madrid. As such the manuscript is mentioned 1869/70 in several books and articles.⁵⁴ In 1870, this Beatus codex was sold to the Parisian bookdealer Firmin Didot.⁵⁵ In May 1879, our manuscript was bought at the sale of the Didot collection by the London bookdealer Bernard Quaritch and, some years later being still in his possession, it appeared 1887 in one of his catalogues.⁵⁶ Then the codex became part of the Crawford Collection and later was purchased by Mrs. Rylands. After 1901 it was transferred to the John Rylands Library of Manchester.⁵⁷

The Manchester Beatus can be dated for both paleographical reasons⁵⁸ and on the basis of its style⁵⁹ to the second half of the twelfth century, more precisely to the last third of this century.⁶⁰ The slightly byzantinizing style of the illustrations of the Manchester Beatus has been compared to works of Northern Spain of the years about 1170-1180,⁶¹ especially to the «urna» (i.e. the shrine) of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos, Museum and Monastery of Silos)⁶² and to some capitals in the western crypt of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.⁶³

The Spanish origin of the Manchester Beatus has never been questioned. However, we have no concrete information about its scriptorium, i.e. its precise place of origin. Nevertheless, the just mentioned stylistic analogies with the «Urna of Santo Domingo de Silos» made by a local workshop in Silos (Old Castile), and especially the strong iconographical parallels with the other branch IIB Beatus manuscripts, which all come from monasteries in Old Castile (San Pedro de Cardeña, Las Huelgas, San Andrés de Arroyo, Medina de Rioseco near Valladolid⁶⁴), all give us strong arguments in favour of a Castilian origin for the Manchester Beatus. But the iconographical and stylistic analogies with the Cardeña and Huelgas Beatus manuscripts are not close enough to suggest an origin for the Manchester Beatus in Cardeña or generally in the region of Burgos, as has been supposed.⁶⁵

There were at least two painters at work on the Manchester Beatus, one much more talented than the other. However, there is some controversy about the exact distribution of these two hands: whereas James⁶⁶ sees the second, inferior artist start after fol. 113 and end before fol. 158v, Williams⁶⁷ recognizes this second hand only in gathering XVIII and the first page of the following quire XIX (i.e. on fol. 135r-143r). Considering the fact that with the first picture of gathering XVIII (fol. 137r) the inscriptions begin to be continuously added to the pictures, and that even James⁶⁸ concedes that the second artist is "most clearly perceptible about fol. 137 sqq." (i.e. starting with the first picture of gathering XVIII!), we have to assume with Williams that the second hand began with quire XVIII, more precisely with fol. 137r. On the other hand, James is right in asserting that on fol. 158v the first, better artist takes up the work again.

DESCRIPTION

Codicological Description

Vellum, 248 fols. + 4; 442 x 313 mm. Text written in double columns of 38 lines, in plain black Gothic hand. The simple leather binding (458 x 328 mm), probably of the eighteenth century,⁶⁹ has "S. Amandus in Apocalipsin" on its spine. On the inside front cover are the ex libris "Bibliotheca Ambrosii Firmin Didot" and "Bibliotheca Lindesiana - F/1"; on the inside back cover is the ex libris of the John Rylands Library.

Collation

The modern foliation (in pencil on the upper right corner of the leaves) begins after a vellum fly-leaf and two paper leaves. After fol. 132 the numbering is incorrect by one (there is a fol. 132 bis). The first fly-leaf seems to have been originally part of the first gathering, which is now incomplete. The last folio (fol. 248) is a vellum replacement of the final page of the Commentary on Daniel.

Gatherings: I^s -1 (fol. 1-7), II^s (fol. 8-15), III^s (fol. 16-23) catchword, IV^s (fol. 24-31) catchword, V^s (fol. 32-39) catchword, VI^s (fol. 40-47) catchword, VII^s (fol. 48-55) catchword, VIII^s (fol. 56-63) catchword, IX^s (fol. 64-71) catchword, X^s (fol. 72-79) catchword, XI^s (fol. 80-87) catchword, XII^s (fol. 88-95), XIII (fol. 88-95), XIII^s (fol. 96-103), XIV^s (fol. 104-111), XV^s (fol. 112-119) catchword, XVI^s (fol. 120-127) catchword, XVII^s (fol. 128-134), XVIII^s (fol. 135-142), XIX^s (fol. 143-150), XX^s (fol. 151-158), XXI^s (fol. 159-166), XXII^s (fol. 167-174), XXIII^s (fol. 175-182) catchword, XXIV^s (fol. 183-190), XXV^s (fol. 191-198), XXVI^s (fol. 199-206), XXVII^s (fol. 207-214) catchword, XXVIII^s (fol. 215-222) catchword, XXIX^s (fol. 223-230) catchword, XXX^s (fol. 231-238) catchword, XXXI¹⁰ (fol. 239-248).

Contents

- Fol. 16r Beginning of Prologue I of the Beatus Commentary: *Incipit prologus totius libri. Johannes apostolus et evangelista a Christo electus*
- Fol. 16v Beginning of Prologue II: *Incipit prologus eiusdem. Diversos marina transvadantes* - Interpretation: *Incipit explanatio. Johannes quoddam vaticinio ex merito*
- Fol. 25r Beginning of Book I of the Beatus commentary.
- Fol. 39r Beginning of Book II.
- Fol. 56v Beginning of Book III (*Liber secundus*).
- Fol. 85r Beginning of Book IV (*Liber tertius*).
- Fol. 103r Beginning of Book V (*Liber quartus*).
- Fol. 125r Beginning of Book VI (*Liber quintus*).
- Fol. 141r Beginning of Book VII.
- Fol. 160r Beginning of Book VIII.
- Fol. 174r Beginning of Book IX.
- Fol. 180v Beginning of Book X.
- Fol. 186v Beginning of Book XI.
- Fol. 195r Beginning of Book XII.
- Fol. 205v-248r Jerome's Commentary on Daniel.

The Illustrations

The "Ark of Noah" is placed among the frontispieces (fol. 15r), instead of on fol. 82v or 83r, its proper location with the commentary text, as an illustration to the last paragraph of Book II (whose title is: *Incipit expositio septem ecclesiarum qualiter et septem nominantur, specialiter per arcam Noe declaratur*).⁷⁰ The illustration of the "Silence in Heaven" (Apc VIII, 1) is omitted on fol. 125r. As in the other branch IIb manuscripts (except the Arroyo Beatus), the miniature of the "Second Plague Angel" (Apc XVI, 3) was never included. The «storia» and the illustration of the "Heavenly Jerusalem" (Apc XXI, 1-27) were omitted and displaced by the picture of the "River of

Life" (Apc XXII, 1-5), which usually follows the image of the "Heavenly Jerusalem".⁷¹

Fol. 1r Title page. Arch with blank medallions, as in the Genealogies which follow.

Fol. 1v The Cross of Oviedo.

Fol. 2r Christ in Majesty.

Fol. 2v - 6r Pictures of the Evangelists:

Fol. 2v St. Matthew with witness. Above, symbol of St. Matthew.

Fol. 3r Two angels holding the Gospels. Above, the symbol of St. Matthew.

Fol. 3v St. Mark with witness. Above, symbol of St. Mark.

Fol. 4r Two angels holding the Gospels. Above, the symbol of St. Mark.

Fol. 4v St. Luke with witness. Above, symbol of St. Luke.

Fol. 5r Two angels holding the Gospels. Above the symbol of St. Luke.

Fol. 5v St. John with witness. Above, the symbol of St. John.

Fol. 6r Two angels holding the Gospels. Above, the symbol of St. John.

Fol. 6v - 13r Genealogies of Christ:

Fol. 6v Fall of Adam and Eve.

Fol. 7v Noah's sacrifice of two doves.

Fol. 8v World map.

Fol. 9r Sacrifice of Isaac.

Fol. 9v Medallion with Isaac (*Ysaach*).

Fol. 10r Medallion with Jacob (*Jacob*) and Leah (*Lia uxor Jacob*).

Fol. 10v Rachel.

Fol. 11v David (*Dauit rex*).

Fol. 13r The adoration of the Magi.

Fol. 13v End of the text of the genealogies, comparing Christ destroying Satan to a certain bird which rolls itself in mud and kills a serpent.

Fol. 14r Bird killing the serpent.

Fol. 14v Portraits of the Commentators of the Apocalypse (i.e. of the text sources of the Beatus commentary).

Fol. 15r Noah's ark. In the triangular space at the top Noah (wife and three daughters on L., three sons on R.) takes in the dove and olive-branch through the top of the roof. Below this are forty-two square compartments in six rows of seven each. The three upper rows contain pairs of birds, and in

two cases cooking utensils. The next three contain swine, oxen, mules, horses, asses, sheep, goats, unicorns, deer, human-headed dragons, three other pairs of dragons, two camels, men with pointed ears, two beasts with seven heads, lions, bears (?), wolves (?), and lastly two garde-robres. On R. a tall tree with the dove plucking a branch. Below, three corpses, the raven plucking out the eye of one.

Fol. 15v Blank.

Fol. 16r Angel under horseshoe arch, holding book. Decorative initials to prologues.

Fol. 23v Grotesque lion in outline in lower margin, surrounding the catchword of the quire.

Fol. 25r Decorative initials.

Fol. 25v Christ sending the Angel to St. John (Apc I, 1-6).

Fol. 27v Christ coming in the clouds (Apc I, 7-9).

Fol. 29v The vision of Christ between the "seven candlesticks": The calling of St. John - John looking at seven arches - The seven churches (Apc I, 10-20).

Fol. 31v Nimbed figure in outline (St. John) enclosing catchword.

Fol. 43v - 44r World map. An illustration of the *Prologus de Ecclesia et Synagoga* of the Beatus commentary,⁷² in which the areas of mission of the twelve Apostles are indicated.

Fol. 44v The Twelve Apostles, holding gold books, except Peter, who has keys and scroll. Their names are given: *Petrus, Andreas, Thomas, Iohannes - Mattheus, Philipus, Bartolomeus, Simon Zelotes - Iacobus, Paulus, - , Iacobus.*

Fol. 49v The four beasts of Daniel (Dan. VII, 3-8). Below: The statue and the stone from the mountain which smites its feet (Dan. II, 31ff).

Fol. 51r The woman riding on the beast, Palm-tree. An illustration to the paragraph *De muliere super bestia* of the Beatus commentary.⁷³

Fol. 56v - 81r Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia (Apc II-III): A series of pictures, each in two sections. In that on L. John is addressing or addressed by an angel. On R. is one of the churches, represented in section as a rule, and containing an altar with gold chalice. The others on fols. 60v, 64v (smaller), 68v (large: church on L.), 72r, 75v, 81r:

Fol. 56v Letter to Ephesus (Apc II, 1-7).

Fol. 60v Letter to Smyrna (Apc II, 8-11).

Fol. 64v Letter to Pergamos (Apc II, 12-17).

Fol. 68v Letter to Thyatira (Apc II, 18-29).

Fol. 72r Letter to Sardis (Apc III, 1-6).

Fol. 75v Letter to Philadelphia (Apc III, 7-13).

Fol. 81r Letter to Laodicea (Apc III, 14-22).

Fol. 86r The Vision of God in Heaven and of the twenty-four Elders (Apc IV, 1-6). Above, twelve Elders, like Apostles, seated, with books. In c., Christ in gold sphere, supported by two angels. Below, twelve Elders, as above.

Fol. 89r The Adoration of the Lamb by the Four Living Creatures and the twenty-four Elders (Apc IV,6 - V,14): A great circle held by four angels. Below, John and an Elder. In c. the Lamb with cross in medallion. Above, God throned: surrounding, the four beasts, between them are three Elders holding golden cups of incense, and three with guitars.

Fol. 103v The opening of the First Four Seals: The Four Riders (Apc VI, 1-8): In c., Lamb with cross in medallion: on L. and R. the first and second beasts hold the hand of John kneeling. The first and second riders with bow and sword. The third and fourth beasts hold the hand of John. Third rider with scales, fourth rider followed by shaggy winged figure of the Devil.

Fol. 106v The opening of the Fifth Seal: The Souls of the Martyrs beneath the Altar (Apc VI, 9-11): Gold altar, draped. On R. and L. hang eight gold objects (originally votive crowns) and on ground R. and L. are a large number of white birds (souls). Christ standing between two trees. Two groups of nimbed beardless figures (thirteen in all), conversing.

Fol. 109r The opening of the Sixth Seal: The Earthquake (Apc VI, 12-17). *Cherubim - Seraphim - Seniores - Hyc sol obscurabitur.*

Fol. 111v The Restraining of the Four Winds (Apc VII, 1-3): Three angels, head downwards: R. and L. have trumpets: C. Angel descends from the sun, has a gold cross. C. a tree: R. and L. six and five nimbed figures. Two angels with trumpets. These four are holding the winds.

Fol. 113r The adoration of the Lamb by the Multitude of the Elect (Apc.VII, 4-12): Lamb, angels, four beasts holding books. Twelve men with palms. Thirty-two nimbed men. At bottom a band of remarkable ornament: two dragons and scroll-work, principally white on black.

Fol. 123r A large palm-tree. A man climbs up the trunk with a bill-hook. An illustration of the Beatus commentary on the *palmae in manibus eorum* (pc VII, 5).⁷⁴

Fol. 125r The Apparition of the Seven Trumpet Angels. The Angel with the censer (Apc VIII, 2-5).

Fol. 126r The First trumpet: Fire and hail (Apc VIII, 7).

Fol. 127v Second trumpet (Apc VIII. 8-9).

Fol. 128r Third trumpet (Apc VIII, 10-11).

Fol. 129r Fourth trumpet (Apc VIII, 12-13). - *Sol - Luna*. On the r. margin: *Lector atencius excogita que legis*.

Fol. 130r Fifth trumpet (Apc IX, 1-6).

Fol. 131v Locust Plague (Apc IX, 7-12).

Fol. 132v Sixth trumpet (Apc IX, 13-16).

Fol. 133r The Riders on Horses with Lion Heads (Apc IX, 17-21).

Fol. 134v John Receiving the Book and the Staff. John measuring the Temple (Apc X, 1 - XI, 2).

Fol. 137r The Two Witnesses (Apc XI, 3-8). - *Enoch - Elyas*. At this point inscriptions begin to be continuously added. They are inscribed on the grounds of the pictures. Other Beatus copies contain them throughout.

Fol. 138v The Witnesses Slain (Apc XI, 7-10). - *Antichristus ciuitatem Iherusalem subuertit. - Elias et Enoch occidunt*. Beheaded by four warriors.

Fol. 139v Resurrection of the Witnesses (Apc XI, 11-14). - *Elyas et Enoch ascenderunt in nube - Ubi uidentes eos inimici eorum - Isti sunt qui in terre motu ceciderunt in ciuitatibus suis*.

Fol. 140v Seventh trumpet (Apc XI, 15-18). - *Ubi septimus angelus tuba cecinit*.

Fol. 141r The temple in Heaven (Apc XI, 19). - *Templum apertum - Ascendit bestia de abisso*.

Fol. 142v - 143r The Woman Clothed with the Sun and the Dragon (Apc XII, 1-18). - *Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus ius*". - *Super mulieris [caput] .x. stelle. - Ubi date sunt mulieri ale ut uolaret in heremum. - Ubi puer est raptus. - Ubi draco traxit terciam parte[m] stellarum - Michael - Angeli eius pugnant cum dracone*.

Fol. 146v The Adoration of the Beast from the Sea (Apc XIII, 1-10). *Ubi reges terre bestiam et draconem adorant. - Ubi bestia ascendit de abisso*.

Fol. 149v The Beast from the Earth (Apc XIII, 11-17). - *Ubi bestia ascendit de terra*.

Fol. 151r The Fox and the Cock. Illustration of the sentence *Vulpicula enim fallax est animal, et insidiis semper intenta rapinam fraudis exercet*, within the Beatus commentary of Apc XIII,4.⁷⁵

Fol. 155r First Antichrist Table.

Fol. 155v Second Antichrist Table.

Fol. 158v The Adoration of the Lamb (Apc XIV, 1-5). - *Quatuor animalia. - Seniores. - Agnus stans in monte Syon et cum eo centum quadraginta iiii milia habentes citharans* (sic).

Fol. 160v The Angel with the Everlasting Gospel (Apc XIV, 6-13). *Angelus uolans per medium celi habens euangelium eternum. - Isti dederunt gloriam deo celi.*

Fol. 162r The Son of Man upon the Cloud, the Harvest and Vintage (Apc XIV, 14-20). - *Iste angelus habet potestam super ignem. - Ubi metent mesem terre - Ubi uindemiant brotos [botros] uinee terre. - Ubi calcantur torcularia extra ciuitatem et exiit sanguis de torculari usque ad frenos equorum.*

Fol. 164r The Seven Angels with the Seven Plagues and the Song of the Lamb (Apc XV, 1-4). - *Isti sunt tenentes phialas. - Ubi sancti tenentes citharas et cantantes canticum nouum magnum.*

Fol. 165v The Open Door of the Temple and the Giving of the Vials (Apc XV, 5-8). - *Iste animal dedit angeli vii fialas. - Hii sunt vii angeli portantes fialas aureas.*

Fol. 166v The Mission of the Seven Angels with the Vials (Apc XVI, 1-2). No inscription.

Fol. 168r (above) The first Vial (Apc XVI, 2). - *Primus angelus effundit fialam in terram.* - (below) The third Vial (Apc XVI, 4-7). - *Et tercius angelus effundit fialam suam super flumina.*

Fol. 169v The fourth Vial (Apc XVI, 8-9). - *Et iiiius angelus effudit fialam super solem.*

Fol. 170r The fifth Vial (Apc XVI, 10-11). - *Ubi quintus angelus effundit fialam super tronum bestie.*

Fol. 170v The sixth Vial (Apc XVI, 12). - *Ubi sextus angelus effundit fialam super eufraten.*

Fol. 171r The Unclean Spirits from the Mouth of the Dragon, the Beast and the False Prophet (Apc XVI, 13-16). - *Ubi draco et bestia et pseudoprophete et tres spiritus ostenduntur quasi rane.*

Fol. 173r The seventh Vial (Apc XVI, 17-21). - *Et viius [angelus] effundit fialam in aerem et facta sunt fulgura et grandines.*

Fol. 174r The Scarlet Woman and the Kings (Apc XVII, 1-3). - *Mulier regibus propinat de calice pleno sanguine.*

Fol. 175r The Scarlet Woman on the Beast (Apc XVII, 3-13). - *Mulier sedet super bestiam.*

Fol. 179v The Victory of the Lamb over the Kings (Apc XVII, 14-18). - *Ubi agnus uincit pseudoprophetas draconem et diabolum et bestiam.*

- Fol. 181v - 182r** The Destruction of Babylon and the Lament of Kings and Merchants (Apc XVIII, 1-20). - *Ubi babilon id est iste mundus ardet - Ubi reges uel mercatores babiloniam plangunt.*
- Fol. 184v** The Angel with the Millstone (Apc XVIII, 21-24). - *Hic angelus lapidem molarem mittit in mare - Lapis molaris est iste.*
- Fol. 185v** The Adoration of Christ in Heaven (Apc XIX, 1-10). - *Hic iiii animalia et seniores adorant tronum - Hic Iohannes cadit ante pedes angeli.*
- Fol. 187r** The Rider "True and Faithful" (Apc XIX, 11-16). - *Christus cum suo exercitu ad pugnam uadit contra diabolum.*
- Fol. 188r** The Angel in the Sun (Apc XIX, 17-18). - *Angelus in sole.*
- Fol. 189r** Victory of the Rider over the Beast (Apc XIX, 19-21).
- Fol. 190r** The capture of Satan and the Dragon (Apc XX, 1-3). - *Ubi angelus apprehendit draconem et ligauit eum in abissum.*
- Fol. 191r** The Righteous Enthroned and the Souls of the Martyrs (Apc XX, 4-6). - *Hii sunt sedentes in trono et iudicium datum erit eis.*
- Fol. 192v** The Last Attack of Satan (Apc XX, 7-8). - *Antichristus circumdat altare et uenit ignis de celo et comedit eos - Ubi abscondunt se in montibus.*
- Fol. 194v** Satan, Beast and False Prophet cast into Sulphur Pit (Apc XX, 9-10). - *Ubi bestia et pseudopropheta et diabolus missi sunt in stagnum ignis et sulphuris.*
- Fol. 195v - 196r** The Last Judgement (Apc XX, 11-15).
- Fol. 197r** Christ Enthroned upon the River of Life (Apc XXII, 1-5). - *Hic populus meus et habitauit deus cum eis. - Tronus. - et regnum in secula seculorum. - Flumen de trono exiens. - Arbor iste per singulos menses singulos dat fructus.*
- Fol. 203v** Christ sends the Angel to the Kneeling John (Apc XXII, 6-21). - *Ubi angelum iohannes adorat et dicit ei angelus ne feceris deum adora conseruus tuus et fratrum tuorum sum.*

Illustrations to Jerome on Daniel

- Fol. 204r** Babylon.
- Fol. 206v - 207r** The Siege of Jerusalem and the Lament of Jeremiah (4 Kings XXV, 7).
- Fol. 208v** Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of the Statue (Dan. II, 1-34). - *Hec est statua quam uidit nabucodonosor.*

- Fol. 212r** Worship of the Statue, the Three Hebrews in the Furnace (Dan. III). - *Statua aurea quam erexit nabucodonosor in campo tirat. - Isti adorant statuam. - Hic uidet nabucodonosor tres pueros miti [mitti] in fornacem.*
- Fol. 215r** Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of the Heavenly Tree (Dan. IV). - *Ubi nabucodonosor erbam pascit. - Fenum ut bos comedet.*
- Fol. 218r** Belshazzar's Feast (Dan. V). - *Candelabrum. - Articulus scribens in parietem. - Mane id est numerauit deus regnum tuum et compleuit illud. - Thecel .i. pensus es in statera et inuentus es minus habens phares .i. diuisum est regnum tuum et datum est medis et persis. - Daniel contra scripturam respiciens. - Hic est baltasar in conuiuio cum obtimatibus suis.*
- Fol. 221v** Daniel in the Lion's Den (Dan. VI). - *Hic est lacus leonis ubi daniel missus est et abacuc porta(ns ?) illi prandium. - Rex ieiunus dolens pro daniele nequid dormire.*
- Fol. 223r** Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days (Dan. VII). - *Hic est iudicium et libri aperti sunt milia milium. - Scena [leaena] regnum babilonum. - Ale aquile. - Pardus habens iiii-or capita regnum alexandrino(rum). - Ursus cum tribus dentium ordinibus regnum medorum atque persarum. - Os loquens terribile ingens regnum romanorum.*
- Fol. 226r** Daniel's Vision of the Ram and Goat (Dan. VIII, 1-15). - *Suse ciuitas. - Hic aries qui et darius rex medorum atque persarum unum cornu excelsus altero atque subrescens.*
- Fol. 227v** Gabriel Expounds the Vision to Daniel (Dan. VIII, 15-17). - *Gabriel locutus est uolando danieli.*
- Fol. 228r** Daniel's Illness, Gabriel Returns to Daniel (Dan. VIII, 27 - IX). - *Hic languet daniel per multos dies - altare.*
- Fol. 234v** Daniel's Vision of the Angel at the Tigris (Dan. X - XII). - *Hic est fluuius tigris qui ebrayce dicitur edegel. - Daniel interrogans usquequo finis horum mirabilium erit. - Ubi uestitus lino qui stabat super aquas fluminis alloquitur danielem de desolatione futura. - Et alius angelus hinc super ripam fluminis. - Et alius inde ex altera ripa fluminis.*

NOTES

- 1) See Peter K. KLEIN, "La fonction et la 'popularité' des *Beatus*, ou Umberto Eco et les risques d'un dilettantisme historique," in: *Études Roussillonnaises offertes à Pierre Ponsich*, Perpignan, 1987, 313-325.
- 2) As already supposed by Montague Rhodes JAMES, *The Apocalypse in Art*, London, 1931, 37, and by NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 265f.
- 3) See Peter K. KLEIN, "Der Apokalypse-Zyklus der Roda-Bibel und seine Stellung in der ikonographischen Tradition," in: *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 45-47 (1972/74), 267-333; idem, "Der Kodex und sein Bilderschmuck," in: R. LAUFNER / P.K. KLEIN, *Trierer Apokalypse. Kommentarband* (Codices selecti, 48*), Graz, 1975, 51-163; idem, "Les cycles de l'Apocalypse du haut Moyen Age (IXe-XIIIe s.)," in: Yves CHRISTE (ed.), *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques*, Geneva, 1979, 135-186.
- 4) See James SNYDER, "The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation: The Trier Apocalypse," in: *Vigiliae Christianae*, 18 (1964), 146-162; KLEIN, *Trierer Apokalypse* (s. note 3), 89-103.
- 5) Cf. NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 239-241; KLEIN, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 99-104.
- 6) For the *Beatus* commentary and its textual sources, see SANDERS (ed.), *Beati in Apocalypsin* (1930); Sergio ALVAREZ CAMPOS, "Fuentes literarias de Beato de Liébana," in: *Actas del Simposio Beato de Liébana, I* (1978), 117-162; Eugenio ROMERO POSE (ed.), *Sancti Beati a Liébana Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, 2 vol., Rome, 1985.
- 7) For the preserved *Beatus* manuscripts and fragments, see Manuel MUNDO / Manuel SANCHEZ MARIANA, *El comentario de Beato al Apocalipsis: Catálogo*, Madrid, 1976; Richard Kennard EMMERSON / Suzanne LEWIS, "Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations, c. 800-1500 (I)," in: *Traditio*, 40 (1984), 337-379 (cf. 347-379); *Los Beatos* (1985), 99-126.
- 8) See especially Jacques FONTAINE, "Fuentes y tradiciones paleocristianas en el método espiritual de Beato," in: *Actas del Simposio Beato de Liébana, I* (1978), 75-101; O. K. WERCKMEISTER, "The First Romanesque *Beatus* Manuscripts and the Liturgy of the Death," in: *ibid.*, II (1980), 165-192 (cf. 168-171). - See also Mireille MENTRÉ, "Note sur les perspectives utilisées dans les miniatures mozarabes," in: *L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art*, 14 (1969), 115-122 (cf. 116); eadem, *Contribución al estudio de la miniatura en León y Castilla en la alta Edad Media*, León, 1976, 81ff.

- 9) See KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 176-217 (espec. 216); idem, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 91-98 (espec. 95).
- 10) See Note 9, and especially John WILLIAMS, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration," in: *Actas del Simposio Beato de Liébana, II* (1980), 201-219.
- 11) O. K. WERCKMEISTER, "Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever," in: *Studi medievali*, 3a serie, 14 (1973), 565-626 (cf. 617ff.); idem, "First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts" (s. note 8), 171ff.
- 12) See KLEIN, "La fonction et la 'popularité' des Beatus" (s. note 1), 315f.
- 13) See e.g. Peter K. KLEIN, "Et videbit eum omnis oculus et qui eum pupugerunt: Zur Deutung des Tympanons von Beaulieu," in: *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, Stockholm, 1987, 123-144 (cf. 131).
- 14) KLEIN, "La fonction et la 'popularité' des Beatus" (s. note 1), 321.
- 15) For the influence of the Beatus tradition, see Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, "Repercusión de la ilustración de los «Beatos» en la iconografía del arte monumental románico," in: *Actas del Simposio Beato de Liébana, II* (1980), 33-50; KLEIN, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 104-106; idem, "La fonction et la 'popularité' des Beatus" (s. note 1), 316ff.
- 16) See John WILLIAMS, "The Moralia in Job of 945: Some Iconographic Sources," in: *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 45-47 (1972/74), 223-250; Manuel DIAZ Y DIAZ, "Tres ciudades en el Códice de Roda: Babilonia, Nínive y Toledo," in: *ibid.*, 251-265.
- 17) As has been demonstrated by John Williams in his unpublished lecture at the "Colloque International sur les Beatus" in Brussels, November 1985.
- 18) Luis VAZQUEZ DE PARGA, "Un mapa desconocido de la serie de los Beatos," in: *Actas del Simposio Beato de Liébana, I* (1978), 271-278.
- 19) KLEIN, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 105, fig. 33, 34.
- 20) Cf. *El arte románico: Catálogo* [exhibition catalogue], Barcelona-Santiago de Compostela, 1961, 69 no. 96 (Joan AINAUD); CID / VIGIL, "El «Beato» de Turín" (s. note 21), 167f.
- 21) Carlos CID / Isabel VIGIL, "El Beato de la Biblioteca Nacional de Turín," in: *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, 17 (1964/65), 163-329 cf. 183ff.; KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 165f., 213f.
- 22) See Jaime MARQUES CASANOVAS, "El Códice Gerundense," in: *Sancti Beati a Liébana in Apocalypsin Codex Gerundensis* [facsimile edition], vol. 2, Olten-Lausanne, 1962, 64-86 (cf. 72f.); BARRAL I ALTET, "Repercusión de los «Beatos»" (s. note 15), 47f., fig. 24.

23) See e.g. the capitals of the South Gallery with the representations of the Christ-Angel with the sickle and of the anthropomorphic Four Living Creatures (i.e. the evangelist symbols). - Cf. Emile MALE, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, 11 and fig. 5, 6 (Engl. edition: *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century*, Princeton, 1978, 12 and fig. 5, 6); Peter K. KLEIN; "Les Apocalypses romanes et la tradition exégétique," in: *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 12 (1981), 123-140 (espec. 134f. and fig. 11, 12).

24) Cf. MALE, *Art religieux du XIIe siècle* (s. note 23), 14f. and fig. 7, 8 (Engl. edition [s. note 23], p. 15 and fig. 7, 8); Mireille MENTRÉ, "Les sept églises et le fils de l'homme au tympan du portail sud, au prieuré bénédictin de la Lande-de-Fronsac," in: *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 8 (1977), 89-103.

25) See Peter HOEGGER, *Die Fresken in S. Elia bei Nepi*, Frauenfeld-Stuttgart, 1975, 96; KLEIN, "Les cycles de l'Apocalypse" (s. note 3), 151f. and fig. 33, 34; idem, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 105f. and fig. 35-38.

26) See Peter H. BRIEGER, *The Trinity Apocalypse* [facsimile edition], London, 1967, 9-11; Peter K. KLEIN, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie: Die englischen Bilderapokalypsen der Frühgotik und MS Douce 180*, Graz, 1983, 136f., 157, 164.

27) Cf. SANDERS, *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), p. XII-XVIII; NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 62-111.

28) NEUSS, *ibid.*, 107-110.

29) SANDERS, *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), p. XV-XVIII, XXIV. - This was already supposed by Léopold DELISLE ("Les manuscrits de l'Apocalypse de Beatus", in: *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, Paris, 1880, 137) and Konrad MILLER (*Mappae Mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten. I: Die Weltkarte des Beatus*, Stuttgart, 1895, 9ff.).

30) See e.g. WERCKMEISTER, "Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever" (s. note 11), 613; KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 170-217; idem, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 86-98; WILLIAMS, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration" (s. note 10), 213ff.; Nouredine MEZOUUGH, "Beatus et les <<Beatus>>", in: *El <<Beato>> de Saint-Sever. Edición facsimil del Ms. lat. 8878 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, vol. 2 (commentary), Madrid, 1984, 19-31 (cf. 26f.); idem, "La place de Babylone entourée de serpents entre l'Apocalypse et le livre de Daniel dans les Beatus", in: *Saint-Sever. Millénaire de l'abbaye. Colloque International 25-27 Mai 1985*, ed. Jean CABANOT, Mont-de-Marsan, 1986, 293-315 (cf. 301f.).

31) See note 30 (espec. KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* and KLEIN, "Tradición pictórica").

32) For the bibliography of these manuscripts see the recent catalogue *Los Beatos* (1985), and especially EMMERSON / LEWIS, "Census and Bibliography" (1984). See above note 7. - In the following list, the Berlin Beatus (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 561; Lombardy, 12th century) is not mentioned, since its illustrations basically do not follow the Beatus tradition, though its text belongs to the Family I of the Beatus manuscripts. See NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 247-267; KLEIN, "Roda-Bibel" (s. note 3), 275ff (espec. 292f.); idem, *Trierer Apokalypse* (s. note 3), 105-112; idem, "Tradición pictórica" (1980), 106.

- 33) Thus, already MILLER, *Weltkarten* (s. note 29), 17; SANDERS, *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), p. XIII, XVIII; NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 101ff.
- 34) SANDERS, *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), p. XVIII; NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 105f. - See also KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 168ff.
- 35) See e.g. Gonzalo MENENDEZ PIDAL, "Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la alta Edad Media," in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 134 (1954), 137-291 (cf. 266); Manuel DIAZ Y DIAZ, "La circulation des manuscrits dans la péninsule ibérique du VIII^e au XI^e siècle," in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 12 (1969), 219-241, 383-392 (cf. 385).
- 36) See above note 20.
- 37) Thus John Williams in his unpublished lectures at the Beatus Symposium in Brussels (1985) and at the Symposium on the Pórtico de la Gloria in Santiago de Compostela (1987). See especially his 'corpus' of the Beatus manuscripts (*The Illustrated Beatus*, London, 1990, publication in preparation).
- 38) Since in 1220 it served in Las Huelgas, near Burgos, as a model for the Huelgas Beatus (= H), as it is indicated in the colophon of this Beatus codex. See NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 54.
- 39) As the Cross page (fol. 1v) with the instruments of Passion and especially the Majesty page (fol. 2r), with undulating ribbons surrounding the lozenge-shaped mandoria. For the respective illustrations of the Gerona Beatus, see José CAMON AZNAR et al., *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim. Codex Gerundensis* [facsimile edition], Madrid, 1975, facsimile, fol. 1v, 2r, commentary volume, 123f.; CID / VIGIL, "El <<Beato>> de Turín" (s. note 21), 185f.
- 40) See especially CID / VIGIL, "El Beato de Turín" (s. note 21), passim.
- 41) For the relation of the Tábara and the Huelgas Beatus, see David S. RAIZMAN, *The Later Morgan Beatus (M. 429) and Late Romanesque Illumination in Spain*, Ph.D. University of Pittsburgh, 1980, pp. 32-40, 135-153.
- 42) See note 39. Compare also the tables of the statistical relationship of these manuscripts (KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 165f.
- 43) See above note 34.
- 44) See NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 105f.
- 45) WILLIAMS, *Illustrated Beatus* (s. note 37).
- 46) NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 106.
- 47) See KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 165-169.
- 48) The Cardena Beatus (= Pc) does not figure in the third table, since it has preserved only one of the two "Antichrist Tables". See NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 76.

- 49) NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 111.
- 50) For this illustration, see KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 194f.
- 51) The same applies to the respective illustration in the late branch IIa Beatus from Silos (=D; London, Brit. Libr., Add. 11695), where the Lamb also stands on a kind of support. This element could suggest a branch IIb influence in the Silos Beatus.
- 52) See KLEIN, *Beatus-Kodex* (1976), 194f. and fig. 151-153.
- 53) See Rafael COMEZ, *El documento más antiguo del Archivo General de la Nación (Fragmento de un Beato del siglo XIII)*, Mexico City, 1985, 27-31.
- 54) See *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Son Excellence le Marquis d'Astorga*, vol. I,1, Paris, 1870,; Armand d'AVEZAC, "Une digression géographique à propos d'un beau manuscrit à figures de la Bibliothèque d'Altamira," in: *Le Bibliophile Français*, 4 (1869/70), 223-230; Antoine BACHELIN, *Description d'un commentaire de l'Apocalypse, manuscrit du XIIe siècle, compris dans la Bibliothèque de Son Excellence le Marquis d'Astorga*, Paris, 1869 (also published in: *Le Bibliophile Français*, 4, 1869/70, 98-108). - According to Frank Taylor, the former Keeper of Manuscripts at the John Rylands University Library and his "Additional Notes" in: M.R. JAMES, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in The John Rylands University Library*, reprint (1980), 9*, the codex was bought by Antoine Bachelin in Madrid before it came to the collection of the Marquis of Astorga.
- 55) NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 50. - See *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. A. Firmin Didot, 2e série*, Paris, 1879, 27.
- 56) See *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Books Bought at the Sale of Part II of the Didot Collection by B. Quaritch*, London, 1879, 8. - *A General Catalogue of Books*, i. (1887), 9-11 (no. 10).
- 57) See EMMERSON/LEWIS, "Census and Bibliography" (s. note 7), 365 no. 22.
- 58) See DELISLE, "Manuscrits de l'Apocalypse" (s. note 29), no. 10. Followed by H. L. RAMSAY, "The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Beatus of Liébana on the Apocalypse," in: *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 12 (1902), 74-103 (cf. 80-82); Montague Rhodes JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, Manchester-London, 1921, 17; SANDERS, *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), p. XIII.
- 59) Cf. WILLIAMS, *Illustrated Beatus* (s. note 37).
- 60) On the contrary, NEUSS, (*Apokalypse des hl. Johannes*, 1931, 51) and Jesús DOMINGUEZ BORDONA (*Exposición de códices miniados españoles. Catálogo*, Madrid, 1929, 66 no. 11: "siglos XII-XIII") argued for a slightly later date around 1200.
- 61) WILLIAMS, *Illustrated Beatus* (s. note 37).

- 62) For the <<Urna of Santo Domingo>>, see Marie-Madeleine GAUTHIER, *Émaux du Moyen Age Occidental*, Fribourg, 1972, 84 no. 41, 327ff. and colour pl. op. p. 84; eadem, "El taller de orfebrería de Silos: La urna y el relicario de Santo Domingo," in: *Actas del Simposio <<El Románico en Silos>>*, Burgos, 1990 (in press).
- 63) For these capitals, see Serafín MORALEJO, "Esculturas compostelanas del último tercio del siglo XII," in: *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, 28 (1973), 294-310 (cf. 294f. and fig. 6).
- 64) The Mexico fragment. See COMEZ, *El documento más antiguo* (s. note 53), 2-4.
- 65) EMMERSON / LEWIS, "Census and Bibliography" (s. note 7), 365 no. 22; WILLIAMS, *Illustrated Beatus* (s. note 37).
- 66) JAMES, *Descriptive Catalogue* (s. note 58), 20, 22.
- 67) WILLIAMS, *Illustrated Beatus* (s. note 37).
- 68) JAMES, *Descriptive Catalogue* (s. note 58), 20.
- 69) JAMES, *ibid.*, 17.
- 70) SANDERS (ed.), *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), 255-263.
- 71) For these illustrations, see NEUSS, *Apokalypse des hl. Johannes* (1931), 218-220.
- 72) Cf. SANDERS (ed.), *Beati in Apocalipsin* (1930), 116f.
- 73) Cf. SANDERS (ed.), *ibid.*, 141f.
- 74) Cf. SANDERS (ed.), *ibid.* (1930), 400.
- 75) Cf. SANDERS (ed.), *ibid.* (1930), 487.

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