GARDEN AMONG THE FLAMES:

STYLISTIC CHANGES IN THE OSMA AND FACUNDUS BEATUS MANUSCRIPTS AS REFLECTIONS OF MEDIEVAL IBERIAN SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

By

ZOEY M. KAMBOUR

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of the History of Art & Architecture
and the Division of Graduate Studies of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2021

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Zoey M. Kambour

Title: A Garden Among the Flames: Stylistic Changes in the Osma and Facundus Beatus Manuscripts as Reflections of Medieval Iberian Socio-Political Change

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of the History of Art & Architecture by:

Maile Hutterer	Chairperson
Kristen Seaman	Member
James Harper	Member

and

Andrew Karduna	Interim Vice Provost for Graduate Studies

Original approval signatures on file with the University of Oregon Division of Graduate Studies.

Degree awarded June 2021

© 2021 Zoey M. Kambour

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons

Attribution-NonCommerical-NoDerivs (United States) License.

THESIS ABSTRACT

Zoey M. Kambour

Master of Arts

Department of the History of Art & Architecture

June 2021

Title: A Garden Among the Flames: Stylistic Changes in the Osma and Facundus Beatus Manuscripts as Reflections of Medieval Iberian Socio-Political Change

Scholars universally acknowledge the eleventh century as the turning point in medieval Iberian history. Léon-Castile did not ally with the papacy until 1080 at the Council of Burgos when their liturgical practices were forcefully changed from the Visigothic to Roman rite. The illumination style, controversially referred to as "Mozarabic," emerged alongside this multi-century old Visigothic religious tradition. Therefore, this forced change resulted in the imposition of a new, foreign style found in Rome. Before the style was fully assimilated into the northern Iberian manuscripts, I argue that two eleventh-century Beatus manuscripts, the Facundus (1047) and Osma (1086), reflect the socio-political transitionary period in their use of local and foreign styles. Through stylistic analysis, I demonstrate that the instances of religious involvement — the introduction of the order of Cluny and the papal intervention regarding the Visigothic rite —catalyzed a stylistic progression out of the local style and into the foreign.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Zoey M. Kambour

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Lewis & Clark College, Portland

DEGREES AWARDED

Master of Arts, Art History, 2021, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Music Performance & Art History, 2018, Lewis & Clark College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Medieval Iberia
Codicology
Paleography
Manuscript illumination

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Rare Books Cataloger, Aardvark Books, Eugene, OR, Jun. 2021 – present

Special Projects Cataloger, University of Oregon Special Collections & University Archives, Jul. 2020 – Jun. 2021

Graduate Employee, University of Oregon, Sep. 2019 – June. 2021

Business Owner and Artist, Rhapsody in Hue Art, Eugene, OR, Jul. 2018 – present

GRANTS, AWARDS, HONORS

Golden Key International Honor Society, University of Oregon, 2021

Donnelly Book Prize in Any Area of Art History, "The Journey of the Medieval Pigment, University of Oregon, 2020

Alice Wingwall Travel Scholarship [unexecuted due to COVID-19 pandemic], University of Oregon, 2020

PUBLICATIONS

Kambour, Zoey. "The Black Plague: A Pandemic of the 14th Century." *Unbound: Special Collections and University Archives Blog,* September 23, 2020, https://blogs.uoregon.edu/scua/2020/09/23/the-black-plague-a-pandemic-of-the-14th-century/

Kambour, Zoey. "Emblem Book Collection." *Unbound: Special Collections and University Archives Blog,* August 24, 2020, https://blogs.uoregon.edu/scua/2020/08/24/emblem-book-collection/

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincerest thanks to those who helped me make this thesis happen, professionally and personally. First and foremost, I thank my advisor, Dr. Maile Hutterer, for her continuous guidance, patience, and encouragement during my entire MA career at the University of Oregon. I have achieved a new level in my writing that I never thought possible because of her feedback and instruction. I am not only a significantly stronger writer because of her, but I am a more confident scholar and person. She has further fueled my passion for art history and medieval studies through her own example as a phenomenal professor, scholar, and advisor. I thank my committee, Dr. Kristen Seaman and Dr. James Harper, for their support and help with my thesis and in the classroom as a student and Graduate Employee. I wish to express thanks to Gabriela Chitwood for her endless support, both professionally and personally — I am eternally gracious for such a wonderful scholarly ally and dear friend. Many thanks as well to Dr. Michael Peixoto for his comments and historical guidance in my drafts. I express thanks to David de Lorenzo for the incredible opportunity to work with and learn from our medieval manuscript collection — my love for archival work, paleography, and codicology catapulted because of the opportunity he gave me.

I could not have managed the stress of graduate school without my family. I thank my parents, Hillary and Michael, and my brother Zach for being conference presentation guinea pigs, proof-readers, and the biggest cheerleaders, even when they may not have fully understood what I was presenting and writing about. I sincerely could not have done this without my soon-to-be-wife, Chloe Robinson, who has supported me with endless love and patience through the tears, stress, and pressure of academia. I am

eternally grateful to be spending my life with the most wonderful and supportive woman in the world. Last, and certainly not least, I thank my cat Franklin for being there for pets and purrs exactly when I needed them.

Poem 11: *Tarjuman al-Ashwaq*

Marvel, a garden among the flames!
My heart has become receptive of every form:
It is a meadow for gazelles,
A cloister for monks,
For the idols, sacred ground,
Ka'ba for the circling pilgrim,
The tables of the Torah,
The scrolls of the Quran.
My creed is Love;
Wherever its caravan turns along the way,
That is my belief,
My faith.

Muhyeddin Ibn Arabi (1165-1240 CE)

قصيدة 11: ترجمان الأشواق

وحرعاة مابين الترايب والحشى
ويا عجبا من روضة وسط نيران
لقد صار قلبي قابلا كل صورة
فمرعى لـــــــــــــغزلان ودير
لرهـــــــــــبان
وبيت لأوثان وكعبة طائف وألواح
تورات ومصـــــــــــحف قرآن
أدين بدين الحب أنّى توجهت
ركائبـــــــــــُـــــــــــهُ
فالدين ديني وايمان

محيدن ابن عربي (560-637)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Facundus (1047) and Osma (1086) Beatus manuscripts serve as transitionary manuscripts in the stylistic history of the Beatus corpus. A Beatus is a commentary on the Apocalypse — the Book of Revelation and the Book of Daniel — written by the monk Beatus in the eighth century. For over one hundred years prior to the Facundus' production, the Beati produced in the northern Iberian Peninsula shared a relatively uniform style. Most twelfth-through-thirteenth-century Beati use a new, foreign style with no remnants of the previous style.[1] This transition from local to foreign style parallels a similar transformation in the socio-political and religious environment in which the Facundus and Osma Beati were made — one that saw a papal focus on the expansion of Christian kingdoms in Iberia. In addition to political intrusion, King Alfonso VI changed the Visigothic rite — a form or formulary according to which public religious worship, especially Christian worship, is conducted — to the Roman, conforming to the desires of Pope Gregory VII, leading to the replacement of the tenth-century static and chromatic manuscript illumination style of Léon-Castile with the more naturalistic, dynamic Roman style.

This thesis investigates the connections between the stylistic change in the Facundus and Osma Beatus manuscripts in the context of their production in the Northern Iberian Peninsula between 1037-1086. My argument explains this change in through the combination of visual and textual evidence. On the one hand, I suggest that the Facundus Beatus demonstrates a heterogenous use of the local style to Léon and the foreign Roman

[1] Only one anomalous Spanish Beatus, the Silos Beatus (1109), produced after the Osma Beatus preserves this century-old style.

style most likely found in the manuscripts the first Cluniac monks brought to Fernando I's kingdom. In contrast, I posit that the homogenous blend of these styles present in the Osma Beatus demonstrates a conscious artistic resistance to the forced change in liturgy under Alfonso VI. I further demonstrate that the instances of religious involvement — the introduction of the order of Cluny and the papal intervention regarding the Visigothic rite — catalyzed a stylistic progression out of the local style and into the foreign. To effectively demonstrate the connection between style and historical context, my approach to the stylistic analysis segregates identifiable elements and assigns them to terms according to their regional and temporal approaches. The logic of what my visual analysis evidence presents argues that liturgical practice connects to Spanish Christian identity.[2]

Historiography of the Beatus Corpus

In the words of a senior scholar during our discussion of my thesis in October of 2020, the Beatus corpus is the most thoroughly researched manuscript genre from medieval Spain.[3] Since the Pierpont Morgan Library's acquisition of the Beatus illuminated by Maius — now called the Morgan Beatus — in 1919, scholarship on the Beati has flourished through the twenty-first century. Twenty-first-century scholarship has focused especially on the question of al-Andalusian influence in the "Mozarabic" illumination style,[4] the

[2] On the Visigothic rite and Spanish identity see Robert Bartlett, "Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe," in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 34.

[3] Many thanks to Dr. Pamela Patton for her guidance on my topic.

[4] O.K. Werckmeister, "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Gerona," *Gesta*, Visual Culture of Medieva Iberia, 36, no. 2 (1997): 101–6; Krysta L. Black, "Bible Illustration in Tenth-Century Ibera: Reconsidering the Role of al-Andalus in the Leon Bible of 960."," *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 165–75; Henri Stierlin, *Le Livre de Feau: L'Apocalypse et l'art mozarabe* (Paris: La Biblioteque des Artes, 1978).

transition from "Mozarabic" to Romanesque styles,[5] the defining characteristics of the "Mozarabic" style,[6] and on the relationship between image and narrative in Beatus' Commentary.[7] John Williams, the most prolific scholar on the corpus, authored sixteen out of fifty publications on the Beati and the Iberian Peninsula in my bibliography.[8] When

[5] Peter K. Klein, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 185–93; Carl Nordenfalk, "From Carolingian to Romanesque: Mozarabic Illumination," in *Early Medieval Book Illumination* (Geneva: Rizzoli, 1988); Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 4 (1939): 313–74; John Williams, "Léon and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 167–73.

[6] Christopher de Hamel, "The Morgan Beatus," in *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts: Twelve Journeys into the Medieval World* (New York: Penguin Books, 2016), 188–231; Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated* (University Park: Pennslyvania State University, 2018); Maius, John Williams, and Barbara A. Shailor, *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript* (New York: G. Brazillier in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991); Bernard F. Reilly, "Mozarabic," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 9–20; O.K. Werckmeister, "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 121–66; William D. Wixom and Margaret Lawson, "Picturing the Apocalypse: Illustrated Leaves from a Medieval Spanish Manuscript," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 59, no. 3 (2002): 1–56; John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 2, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994).

[7] Elizabeth S. Bolman, "De Coloribus: The Meanings of Color in Beatus Manuscripts," *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999): 22–34; Mireille Mentré, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, 4th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994); Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Narrative and Illumination in the Beatus Apocaylpse," *The Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (April 1995): 185–210; Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London: British Library, 1998); Rose Walker, *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016); O.K. Werckmeister, "The First Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," *Actas Del Simposio Para El Studio de Los Codices Del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana* 1 (1980): 167–72; John Williams, "Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 217–33; John Williams, *Visions at the End of Spain* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 2017).

[8] Williams, *Visions at the End of Spain*; Williams, "Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary"; Maius, Williams, and Shailor, *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*; Williams, "Léon and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque"; John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27, no. 1 (1988): 93–101; John Williams, "The Census: A Complete Register of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries and Fragments," in *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain*, ed. Therese Martin (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 67–148, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1rzx606.6; John Williams, "Beatus of Liebana," Online Journal, The Public Domain Review, 2011, https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/beatus-of-liebana; John

looking at the extensive historiography of the corpus, at first it appears the previously mentioned senior scholar is right.

Stylistic categorization and the question of artistic influence on the Beati dominate this historiography. A vast majority of the scholarship focuses on the illumination style in the tenth-century Beati called "Mozarabic," since Manuel Gomez-Moreno coined the now controversial term in 1919.[9] This same focus on style is not as prevalent in the manuscripts from the mid-eleventh century on, most likely due to the familiarity of the "Romanesque" style present in the twelfth-century Beati.[10] The style exhibited in the Osma Beatus, in particular, has been dismissively assigned "Romanesque," broadly lumping it in with the "international" architectural and sculptural style from the entire European area, although it is entirely different than its twelfth-century successors, assigned the same term.[11]

Williams, "Orientations: Christian Spain and the Art of Its Neighbors," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 13–26; John Williams, "Meyer Schapiro in Silos: Pursuing an Iconography of Style," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (September 2003): 442–68; Williams, "Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary"; John Williams, "Fernando I and Alfonso VI as Patrons of the Arts," *Anales de Historia del Arte* Suppl. Volumen Extraordinario 2 (2011): 413–35; John Williams, "San Isidoro at León: Evidence for a New History," *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 2 (1973): 178; John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 1, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994); Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 1994; John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 3, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994); John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 4, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994).

[9] Manuel Gomez-Moreno, *Yglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX a XI,* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919) 131. As will be discussed later in this thesis, I refuse to actively use the term "Mozarabic," hence why it is consistently put in scare quotes.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Some of those who assign "Romanesque" to the Osma: Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 1994; *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993); Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*.

While I agree that the elements commonly identified by scholars as "Romanesque" appear in the Facundus and Osma Beati, I argue that the greater precision of my terms reveals the artistic exchange resulting from the relationship between the papacy in Rome and the kingdom of Léon-Castile within a specific place and time frame. This more nuanced terminology not only allows me to avoid the inherent internationalism associated with the Romanesque stylistic label, but also reinforces my argument that the illumination style present in these two manuscripts derives from Roman, rather than Frankish, manuscripts.[12]

Modern scholarship has further neglected the stylistic connection between the Facundus and Osma Beati.[13] The Facundus experiments with a foreign style in its prefatory folios, whereas the same foreign style is consecutively blended with the local style in the Osma. While the Facundus segregates the foreign from the local, the same elements present in both styles in the Facundus is homogenized in the Osma. None of the prior scholarship on this manuscript corpus connects the change in style between these two Beati to the changing environment of the northern Iberian Peninsula in the mid-to-late-eleventh-

[12] This argument is further articulated and elaborated upon in chapter 2. Additionally, while it is too large of a topic to tackle in a Master's thesis, I argue that "Romanesque" is an inappropriate term to use with manuscript illumination, since it ultimately derives from Roman influence on architecture. While there may be more stylistic unity amongst sculpture and architecture during this period, there is little uniting stylistic elements amongst manuscripts created in the same period across the European continent. To read more about the debate of the term Romanesque, see: Nordenfalk, "From Carolingian to Romanesque: Mozarabic Illumination;" George Zarnecki, *The Universe History of Art and Architecture: Romanesque*, Second (New York: Universe Books, 1989). Willibald Sauerlander, "Romanesque Art 2000: A Worn Out Notion?," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, Index of Christian Art: Occasional Papers 10 (Pennsylvania: Pennslyvania State University Press, 2008), 40–56; Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Art, Then and Now: A Personal Reminisence," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, The Index of Christian Art: Occasional Papers 10 (Pennsylvania: Pennslyvania State University Press, 2008), 31–39.

[13] The only scholar who approaches this topic is in Williams' *Corpus,* vol. 4, 20.

century. My thesis, therefore, complements existing scholarship on the local and foreign styles found in the Beati corpus but extends our understanding about what makes this change in style important and unique; the stylistic transition in the Facundus and Osma Beati clearly visually parallel the socio-political events outside the confines of the scriptoria, therefore reinforcing how significant socio-political catalysts effect artistic style.

Methodological Approach: Stylistic Analysis

When discussing the illumination style in the Beati, I use three approaches: regional, temporal, and, for the Osma Beatus, individual. In order to discard the problematic and broad terms "Mozarabic" and "Romanesque," I invented the terms Leonese tenth-century style (LTCS) and Roman eleventh-century style (RECS). These two illumination styles contain individualistic and identifiable elements found in the tenth-century Beati and Roman eleventh-century manuscripts. They are then translated into the Facundus heterogeneously and the Osma homogenously. The homogeneity of styles in the Osma manifests as the illuminator's, Martinus, own hand. He successfully blends the identifiable elements of the RECS and LTCS to create his own individual style. Chapter two elaborates on the historiography, identification, and application of these two styles.

My identification of the LTCS and RECS follow discussions of style by Meyer Schapiro, James Ackerman, and Jas Elsner. When identifying and segregating the elements unique to each style, I follow Schapiro and Ackerman. Schapiro defines style as: "The constant form — and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expression — in the

art of an individual group."[14] Ackerman defines style as: "The formulation…of dealing with collections of work of a certain span of time, place, group, or individual by defining…those common traits that constitute an order…" and that style is, "essentially a depiction after the fact based on the observer's perception of traits common to a body of works."[15] In other words, the styles are segregated and organized according to elemental consistency, time, and place.

My hypothesis of change in style borrows Ackerman's understanding of evolution of style: "In the evolution of a style, the rate and degree of change is directed by the attitude of the audience, including artists themselves, toward the desirable limits of tradition and innovation."[16] For my argument, the rate and degree of change is directed by the introduction of foreign illumination styles and the forced change in liturgy. My conclusive method borrows Jas Elsner's method of applying art to history. He stresses that the use of stylistic observations ultimately connects art to its historical extrapolations.[17] My stylistic observations similarly incorporate connections to historical events, particularly those of monastic and papal religious intervention.

In defining elements of the LTCS and RECS, my visual analyses not only identify the elements of style and context, but also consider spatial organization, color, and

[14] Meyer Schapiro, *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society.* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1994), 12.

[15] James S. Ackerman, "On Rereading 'Style,'" *Social Research* 45, no. 1 (1978): 153–63.

[16] Ibid, 160.

[17] Jas Elsner, "Style," in *Critical Terms for Art Hsitory*, Second Edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 101.

architectural representation. However, in order to understand how the elements function within the manuscript, some context about the genre of the Beatus is required.

What and Who is a Beatus?

Around 776 CE, a monk of St. Martín de Turieno from Liébana compiled multiple religious commentaries for his Commentary on the Book of Revelation in the New Testament of the Christian Bible. The monk's name, Beatus, lives on through the thirty-five surviving illuminated copies of his Commentary, produced from the ninth to thirteenth centuries. This large period of consistent production demonstrates the consistent popularity of the manuscript throughout Spain, Italy, and Southern France. In addition to Beatus's own contribution, the text includes commentaries of Irenaeus (d.203), Tyconius (d. c. 390), Gregory of Elivira (d.392), Bachiarius (fl. early fifth century), Jerome (d. 419), Augustine (d. 430), Fulgentius (d.55), Apringius (fl.540) Gregory the Great (d. 604), and Isidore of Seville (d. 636).[18] The entire text is divided into sixty-eight *storiae* — selections of the biblical narrative —from the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation. Both biblical texts, belong to the literary genre of apocalypse — a first-person narrative in which the author writes one or more revelatory predictive visions about the earthly future, heavenly world, or both.[19] While only the Book of Revelation speaks specifically to the Last Judgment — an event after the Resurrection in Jesus Christ judges the souls of the saved and damned — both texts describe the promise of, "deliverance in the new kingdom of God and individual resurrection and exaltation for those who remain faithful in the face of

[18] John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 1, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 15.

[19] Harold W. Attridge, Ed. *The Harper Collins Study Bible,* Revised Edition (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2006), 2087.

persecution."[20] The *expanatio suprascripte historie* — long allegorical commentaries — and an accompanying image follow each *storia*.[21] The Commentary underwent three editions, with the third edition finished in 786.[22] Throughout the editions, the purpose of the Commentary remained stable: to expand upon the Book of Revelation and Book of Daniel so as to educate and prepare the monastic community for the Last Judgment.

The Beatus's emphasis on the Book of Revelation stems from the Visigothic liturgy; Revelation was a canonical book read during mass from Easter to Pentecost.[23] Therefore chiliasm, the fear of the Last Judgment, is the most probable reason for the Commentary's creation.[24] This hypothesis is based upon the general atmosphere regarding medieval apocalypticism — actively preaching and writing about millenarianism was condoned by Augustine in the fifth century, who interpreted the Book of Revelation mystically and symbolically in Book 20 of his *City of God*.[25] Yet the vacillating nature of

---

[20] Ibid, 1169.

[21]Christopher de Hamel, "The Morgan Beatus," in *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts: Twelve Journeys into the Medieval World* (New York: Penguin Books, 2016), 206. It is not known whether the original Commentary from the eighth century was illuminated, but Williams hypothesizes that the last edition most likely was.

[22] O.K. Werckmeister, "The First Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," *Actas Del Simposio Para El Studio de Los Codices Del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana* 1 (1980), 186.

[23] Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus,* vol. 1, 104.

[24] Although some may use chiliasm interchangeable with millenarianism, this thesis uses chiliasm to differentiate between the fear of the year 1000 (millenarianism) with the fear of the Last Judgment (chiliasm). (Original differentiation provided by Richard Landes, "The Fear of the Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," *Speculum* 75, no. 1 (January 2000): 101.)

[25] Johnathan Alexander, "The Last Things: Representing the Unrepresentable," in *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, ed. Francis Carey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 51-52. To read more about medieval apocalypticism see: Francis Carey, ed., *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Randolph Daniel, "Medieval Apocalypticism, Millennialism and Violence," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14, no. 1 (2002): 275–300; Richard K. Emmerson, "The Prophetic, the

Beatus's own Commentary, indicates that he struggled with interpreting the Apocalypse literally and spiritually.[26]

While the Apocalyptic text invoked fear in its readers, the Commentary's primary purpose was to increase active devotion.[27] This inspiration is why Beatus production continued for hundreds of years after the final version of his Commentary — the bright, vividly pigmented Beatus manuscripts not only solidified the Apocalyptic texts in the clerical mind, but thoroughly illustrated what was to come.

The Visigothic liturgy is unique to the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, the art produced within the liturgical books, such as the Beatus manuscripts, aligns with Northern Iberian Christian identity, particularly that of Léon-Castile.[28] King Alfonso VI fought until threatened with excommunication for his subjects to retain their liturgy. As will be argued in chapter four, this identity connected to liturgy is the reason why one illumination style,

---

Apocalyptic, and the Study of Medieval Literature," in *Poetic Prophecy in Western Literature*, ed. J. Wojcik and R.J. Frontain (Farleigh: Dickinson University Press, 1984), 40–54; Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992); Frank Kermode, "Millennium and Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, ed. Francis Carey (Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1999), 11–28; Guy Lobrichon, "Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 67–79; Dianne Watt and Stephen Hunt, "Medieval Millenarianism and Prophecy," in *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 88–97.

[26] Umberto Eco, "Waiting for the Millennium," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 121–22.

[27] Werckmeister, "The First Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," 168.

[28] Bartlett, "Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe," 34.

the LTCS, preserved for over a century and continued even when the papacy wiped the Visigothic liturgy from the Northern Iberian practice.[29]

[29] Ibid, Bartlett presents a similar argument and argues for identity associated with this specific liturgy.

CHAPTER II

STYLISTIC TERMINOLOGY BREAKDOWN

The stylistic balance in each Beatus demonstrates degrees of artistic experimentation and local retention, paralleling the socio-political climate in which they were created. The Facundus and Osma Beati simultaneously use a local Leonese-Castilian and a foreign illumination style in two approaches. While the styles are heterogeneous in the Facundus due to the presence of two illuminator hands, the Osma was illuminated by a single artist borrowing elements from both illumination styles resulting, in its own unique homogenized style. This chapter examines the detailed differences between the elements of each style, and invents a new, more precise terminology situated within both the local geographic and chronological contexts. As stated in the introduction, a more refined terminology allows for a more nuanced discussion of the parallels between artistic exchange and religious intervention between the papacy in Rome and the kingdom of Léon-Castile within a specific time frame characterized by constant change.

Rather than assigning the broad and controversial terms Mozarabic and Romanesque to differentiate the illumination styles, I created two alternatives that specifically relate style to the time and place in which the manuscripts are made: the Leonese tenth-century style (LTCS) and the Roman eleventh-century style (RECS).[30] The LTCS is the local style, as seen in the Morgan Beatus, and the RECS is the style exemplified in an Italian Benedictine Evangelistary from 1066.[31] The LTCS references

[30] The issues with these terms will be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

[31] Morgan Beatus, New York, Morgan Library, MS M.644, 940-945, Léon; Benedictine Evangelistary Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Vitrina 20-6, eleventh century, Vatican City. The Morgan Beatus is currently the earliest complete Beatus manuscript and is

specifically the tenth century because the mid-tenth century is when these stylistic elements first appear, but the primary elements of the style carry into the beginning of the eleventh-century with the Facundus Beatus.

The Leonese Tenth-Century Style (LTCS*)*

The Morgan Beatus, the earliest most complete copy of Beatus' Commentary finished c. 940 by the illuminator Maius, encapsulates the Leonese tenth-century style. The characteristic elements, such as the large almond eyes and lack of ground plane, continue in the Beatus manuscript tradition until the mid-eleventh-century, with the Facundus as the last Beatus manuscript to be executed primarily in the LTCS. This continuation of style in the Beati could be credited to two primary Beatus illuminators of the tenth century — Maius and Emeterius. In addition to the Morgan, Maius co-illuminated the Tábara Beatus with Emerterius in 968, and Emeterius latterly illuminated the Girona Beatus in 975.[32] The consistency of this style carries through into other Beati from the tenth century not illuminated by either, such as the Vitrina 14-1 Beatus, the Valladolid Beatus, the Urgell Beatus, the San Millán Beatus, and the Escorial Beatus.[33]

The unique elements of the LTCS can be identified in folios 219v and 222v from the Morgan Beatus (figures 1 and 2). Both folios are painted in bright, vivid colors with an

completely executed in the LTCS. The Evangelistary is a Roman manuscript later found in a Toledo library that exemplifies the RECS.

[32] Tábara Beatus, Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 1097B; Girona Beatus, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11).

[33] The Vitrina 14-1 Beatus (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-1, middle of the tenth century;the Valladolid Beatus (Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433, 970); the Urgell Beatus (Museu Diocesá de la Seu d'Urgell, Num. Inv. 501, last quarter of the tenth century); the San Millán Beatus (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 3, last quarter of the tenth century); the Escorial Beatus (Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, II.5 151, 1000).

emphasis on a warm-tone palette of reds, oranges, and yellows. Folio 219v exemplifies the figural elements. Encased in a knotted, complementary-color frame, is the scene of the *Last Judgment.* The most prominent element are the figures' large, almond eyes. There is no emotion except for a slight turned up mouth, and the eyebrows and nose connect in one line. All the stiff, slightly bowing standing figures float just above the dividing color lines, demonstrating the lack of solid ground plane characteristic of LTCS compositions. The clothing of the seated figure of Christ in the upper area of the folio is outlined in bold black and white lines that convey drapery folds that lie flat against the body. His shins are outlined in red through his yellow tunic, and when directing attention to the angel to the right of Christ, the drapery similarly outlines the angel's arm in red. The wings of both angels show the distinct execution of the LTCS wing: rather than a differentiation between top and bottom feathers through length or pattern, this wing features a swirl at the hinged joint of the wing and separate feathers that extend the entire body of the wing.

Folio 222v of *Heavenly Jerusalem* demonstrates the architectural characteristics of the LTCS. Every hollow arch in the manuscript is a horseshoe arch, but these arches do not distinguish interior and exterior space. Instead, the image presents the two spaces simultaneously in one plane. This is best seen if we read the yellow and red tiles as an interior space, while the *alfiz* — the rectangular frame that encloses the spandrels of the arch — and towers denote exterior space. Although there is no traditional frame enclosing this illumination, the vine decorations on the towers are sufficient substitutes.

The invention of the term Leonese tenth-century style discards the unresolved problematic and commonly used term, Mozarabic. The term broadly applies to any activity or creation by Christians living under Muslim rule in al-Andalus in addition to Christians

who immigrated from al-Andalus to the Northern Kingdoms. This is problematic because of the lack of evidence that Christians referred to themselves as such and it is too broad of a term to apply to the ethnic composition of the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, it will only be used when discussing previous scholarship that utilizes the term.

Given the style's unique characteristics, its origin is the most debated subject among art historians of medieval Iberia due to the diverse population and cultures of the Iberian Peninsula. The first stylistic connection to the tenth-century style made in the art historical discourse was to Celtic manuscripts, based upon the knots in the corners of later tenth-century Beati and the patterns on the garments and animals.[34] Although this theory has not gained wide scholarly support, John Williams adopts it in defining the ornament of the illuminated initials of the tenth- and eleventh-century Beati.[35]

In 1932, Wilhelm Neuss hypothesized that Coptic art and North African manuscripts — citing the Ashburnham Pentateuch as a comparandum — were prototypes for tenth-century Iberian illuminations. He drew comparisons particularly in the styles of the figure's poses with static posture and lack of recessive space.[36] About thirty years later, Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer posited a similar hypothesis, but narrowed their influence

[34] John A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts,* Second ed. (London: Methuen and co. ltd., 1912), 209; Shiela P. Wolfe., ed. "Curatorial Description of MS M.644." Morgan Library, June 1919, http://corsair.themorgan.org/msdescr/BBM0644a.pdf.

[35] John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 4, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 21. While this theory is not disputed, twenty first-century scholars tend not to adopt it. This is perhaps because of the expansive geography between Spain and the Celtic region and the lack of concrete documentation of their religious and/or political relationship.

[36] Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-illustration (das problem der Beatus-handschriften*), Munster i.W. Aschendorff, 1932; Ashburnham Pentateuch: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. Acq. Lat 2334.

to Ethiopian manuscripts based on their rendition of the figures, including the execution of the eyes, vacant faces, lack of shading, and fixed posture.[37] Subsequent scholarship has since dismissed these hypotheses due to the lack of evidence that points to North Iberian Christian monks exposure to North African manuscripts.[38]

The connection between the Beati and North Africa is not the only debated historiographical point. The possibility of artistic influence from al-Andalus is the most contested theory of Beatus illumination among scholars. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, who coined the term "Mozarabic" in 1919, defined the style as uniquely Spanish but ultimately derived from the Islamic art of al-Andalus.[39] The LTCS elements that potentially point to Islamic art influence are the horseshoe arches, stepped crenellations, and the *alfiz*. Additionally, the decorative patterns found on the frames, and figural and architectural textile elements resemble al-Andalusian textiles, ivories and other decorative arts.[40]

Nevertheless, not all scholars agree that al-Andalus is the primary influence on the Leonese tenth-century style, as exemplified by the Morgan Beatus. Williams acknowledges the Islamic-looking elements, but ultimately insists that they are marginal and restricted only to the Léon region as opposed to art from the Northern Christian kingdoms more

[37] Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1967), 56.

[38] Palol and Hirmer acknowledge this after positing their Ethiopian hypothesis. Neuss' hypothesis disproven by: Dorothy Miner, "Review of Die Apokaylpse Des Hl. Johannes in Der Altspanishcen Und Altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration. Das Problem Der Beatus-Handschriften by Wilhelm Neuss," *The Art Bulletin* 15, no. 4 (December 1933): 389.

[39] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes, Arte español de los siglos IX a XI,* Madrid, 1919.

[40] Krysta L. Black, "Bible Illustration in Tenth-Century Iberia: Reconsidering the Role of al-Andalus in the Léon Bible of 960.","*Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 165–75.

generally.[41] He further notes that the horseshoe arch was also present in Visigothic architecture, arguing that it and other architectural elements typically defined as Islamic actually reflect the contemporaneous Christian culture in their respective kingdoms. In sum, Williams suggests that their representation in manuscript illumination presents an indirect transmission from Islamic architecture.[42] Palol and de Hirmer echo Williams and add that Visigothic miniature painting may have influenced the style if they survived in the tenth century; while this could be true, it ultimately cannot be confirmed because there are no surviving Visigothic manuscripts from Spain or the Pyrenean region.[43]

Regardless of where this style originates or what it borrows from, the characteristics of the tenth-century style, as asserted by Gómez-Moreno, are uniquely Spanish.[44] The LTCS is distinguished by its use of bright, opaque pigment, non-dynamic figures, horseshoe arches, and elaborate frames. The unique nature of this style and its consistent use for over a century make the foreign elements conspicuous in the Facundus Beatus and the distinct style found in the Osma Beatus all the more striking.

The Roman Eleventh-Century Style (RECS)

The style found in the Facundus, Osma and later Beati is so distinct from the Leonese tenth-century style that scholars collectively conclude that it was transmitted from another culture — I term this style the Roman eleventh-century style (RECS). Early

[41] Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse,* 156.

[42] Ibid, 148.

[43] Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain,* 56.

[44] *Iglesias Mozárabes, Arte español de los siglos IX a XI,* 35.

twentieth-century scholars have traditionally linked this style to the Frankish side of the Pyrenean border.[45] This is based in the fact that by 1080, the Cluniac monastic order was well established in Northern Spain, bringing with it a connection in both religious networks and manuscript collections between the main monastery of Cluny in France and the new establishments in Northern Iberia.[46] However, the amount of contemporary French comparanda, especially from Cluny, is limited and do not consistently exhibit the same elements found in the Osma Beatus. As will be elaborated upon, I posit that due to the greater commonalities between the Osma and eleventh-century Roman manuscripts, the monks from Cluny instead brought manuscripts from Rome given the increased traffic to the holy city by clergy and laymen alike and Cluny's profound influence on the eleventh-century papacy.[47]

---

[45] See: A. Kingsley Porter, "Spain or Toulouse? And Other Questions," in *The Art Bulletin* 7, no. 1, (Sep. 1924): 2-25; Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1967); Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 4, (1939): 313-374.

[46] For literature on Cluny and the Northern Iberian Peninsula, see: Charles Julian Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1969); John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27, no. 1 (1988): 93–101; Simon Barton, "El Cid, Cluny and the Medieval Spanish Reconquista," *The English Historical Review* 126, no. 520 (June 2011): 517–43; Scott G. Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet: Hagiography and the Problem of Islam in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Giles Constable, "Cluny and the First Crusade," Actes de Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand, (1995): 173–93; Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1968); Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002); Lucy Margaret Smith, *The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny* (London: H. Milford, 1920); O.K. Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27, no. 1 (1988): 103–12; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform (*Oxford: Claredon Press, 1970).

[47] Iogna-Prat, *Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150,* 78-79.

My argument for the Roman over French manuscripts stems from similar theories posited by Rose Walker in *Art in Spain from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages.* Walker acknowledges the aforementioned theory on foreign artistic influence from Cluniac manuscripts north of the Pyrenean border from the early scholarship, but ultimately dismisses it. She instead posits two other theories of transmission: the missionaries sent by Pope Gregory VII from Rome in collaboration with the abbots of Cluny, and Alfonso VI embracing the artistic language of Toledo when he conquered the city in 1085.[48] Given the date of the Osma Beatus, 1086, the Alfonso-based theory does not apply because it is unlikely that the Toledan artistic style would have reached Sahagún in less than a year, provided that production on the Osma Beatus began around the battle of Toledo. However, any missionaries sent from Rome would certainly have brought Italian manuscripts with them, such as the 1066 Benedictine Evangelistary which was found in a library in Toledo.[49]

The similarities between the eleventh-century Beati and Roman manuscripts like the Benedictine Evangelistary include: a blush on the cheeks of the figures that take the form of a wash or opaque circles; clinging but more naturalistic drapery, where the folds are articulated by shadow and demonstrate movement; elongated fingers; a stance where the left foot is perpendicular to the right; defined facial features, such as smile and under-eye lines; varied emotional expressions beyond a turned up mouth; and dynamic poses.

---

[48] Rose Walker, *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016) 305.

[49] To read more about Roman manuscripts found in Toledo see: Elena De Laurentiis and Emilia Anna Talamo Talamo, eds., *The Lost Manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel: An Epic Journey from Rome to Toledo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010).

Scholars frequently identify these elements as examples of "Romanesque" art, but these are found more consistently in twelfth-century manuscripts outside of the Mediterranean and Peninsular regions rather than those from the eleventh century.[50] After thorough research and consideration of visual evidence from other manuscripts from southern France and Italy, I selected the Roman eleventh-century manuscripts as comparanda because the characteristics frequently displayed in them align with the elements found in the Osma Beatus, as well as the high likelihood of the Roman manuscripts appearing in the Northern Iberian Peninsula prior to the Osma's production.

Folio 2r from the Benedictine Evangelistary contains most of the elements from the RECS (figure 3). The color on the cheeks in this folio takes on more of a blush wash rather than opaque circles, but an opaque circular execution is often found in other Roman and Italian contemporary manuscripts.[51] The drapery clings to the body but does not outline the entirety of the leg as it does in the LTCS. Rather, it outlines the thigh and knee and then flows down, obscuring the calf; this is most clearly seen in the figures in the middle row of the Evangelistary folio. The fingers of the figures are long and thin, and the index finger is significantly longer than the rest. The bottom left figure exhibits the unique execution of the feet — the right foot is turned so that it is perpendicular to the left. Finally, the poses

[50] Common exempla of "Romanesque" manuscripts from art history survey courses: Codex Colbertinus, Southern France, BNF, Lat. 254, 1100; Book of Homilies, Westphalia, Germany, Stadtund Universitats-Bibliothek, MS. Barth. 42, early twelfth century; St. Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah from the Abbey of Citeaux, Burgundy, Bibliotheque Municipale, Dijon, MS. 129, 1125. (Exempla found in: Cothren, Michael W., and Stokstad, Marilyn. *Art History*. Fourth edition. (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2011)).

[51] See: Virgilius *Opera*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Latin 10308, eleventh century; *In epistolas S. Pauli*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Add. D. 104, 1067, Rome.

of the figures are rendered more dynamically; this is particularly supported by the position of the feet and natural extension of the legs.

Unlike the LTCS, the outlined elements are not exclusive to manuscripts of a hyper locality, thus allowing for a broader hypothesis of influence. As stated previously, the opaque red cheeks, feet position, long fingers, and the manner of drapery are found in twelfth-century manuscripts from Northern France and England.[52] Nevertheless, the most consistent elements that are similar in both Beati and outer-peninsular manuscripts lie within these Roman comparanda from the eleventh century. This chronological discrepancy best demonstrates why the Romanic manuscripts are the closest stylistic comparisons, even when considered against those north of the Pyrenean border.

The characteristic elements of the RECS, outlined above, will be identifying factors in the following chapter to demonstrate how each style is represented in the respective Beati. As I will show, the most frequent LTCS elements are the lack of ground plane, the warm bright pigment, horseshoe arches, and the outlines through the drapery; the most frequent RECS elements are the red dots on the cheeks, dynamic movement elaborated through drapery, and long, thin fingers. The way the Beati use each style's element is of particular importance to this argument, so it must be reiterated: the Facundus Beatus heterogenous use of the LTCS and RECS demonstrates experimentation

[52] See: Sacramentary from St-Étienne, Limoges. Early 12th century. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, MS Lat. 9438, fol. 84v; Letters of St. Gregory from St. Martin's Abbey, Tournai, c. 1150. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, MS Lat. 2288, fol.1r; Bury Bible from Bury St. Edmonds Abbey, 1130-40. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 2, fol. 94r.

through introduction, while the Osma Beatus blends the two styles together and shows that the blend is purposeful and in response to a change in liturgy.

CHAPTER III

STYLES MANIFESTED IN THE BEATI

The Facundus Beatus and Osma Beatus serve as transitionary manuscripts in the stylistic history of the Beatus corpus. The Facundus Beatus' introductory folios serve as evidence that a new illumination style was present in the Northern Iberian Peninsula since the early mid-eleventh century. Yet due to the fact that the folios executed in the LTCS and those in the RECS are separated by the prefatory pages and the *storiae*, and that the Facundus was produced forty years prior to the homogenous Osma, the new style is treated more experimentally without intentions of entirely adapting a foreign style. The way the illuminator, Martinus, uses the styles in the Osma must be considered within its historical context; since the manuscript finished production a year after the papacy and Alfonso made the Roman liturgy required, it is expected that a style used in the new liturgical books would be transformed in a new copy of an ecclesiastical manuscript. Even so, given the fact that the LTCS style appears to be aligned with the identity of Northern Iberian Christians, I read the persistent use of the local style mixed with the foreign as a form of stylistic resistance.

This chapter highlights the specific elements according to their style in select folios from each manuscript. For the Facundus Beatus, three select folios illustrate the place of dominance of the LTCS, the experimental use of the RECS, and the presence of the blend between the two. For the Osma Beatus, the three selected folios effectively parse out each element's style within the manuscript's stylistic blend.

The Facundus Beatus

The Facundus Beatus is the only known royally commissioned Beatus. King Fernando I and Doña Sancha of Léon commissioned the manuscript in 1047 for their private chapel, and it was executed by the scribe and illuminator Facundus. Although it lacks a commemoration to a monastery or abbot, it was most likely produced in the monastic scriptorium at Sahagún, since, as Williams notes, not every royal scriptorium was capable of illumination.[53] Werckmeister hypothesizes that the manuscript may have been a memorial gift, rather than for personal devotional use, based on the MRA — meaning in memoria — in the ex libris.[54]

Scholars traditionally mention the non-Leonese illumination elements in their discussion of this manuscript. Henri Stierlin applies the Celtic hypothesis to the borders and framing of the illuminations, particularly noting what he considers to be the Carolingian or Anglo-Irish nature of the interlaced corners.[55] Williams posits that the most significant stylistic change present in this manuscript is the "Romanesque formal language" in the outlines and linear schemes of the human figures.[56] Again, I argue that this "Romanesque formal language" derives from a Roman eleventh-century style, as discussed in the previous chapter.

---

[53] Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus,* vol. 2, 34. A large majority of the illuminated manuscripts from this period were made at the scriptorium in Sahagún.

[54] Werckmeister, "The First Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," 171.

[55] Stierlin, *Le Livre de Feau: L'Apocalypse et l'art mozarabe,* 214.

[56] Ibid, 37; *The Illustrated Beatus,* vol. 3, 20.

Even though this Beatus is primarily illuminated in the Leonese tenth-century style, the introductory folios leading up to folio 46 are executed in a manner more similar to the Roman eleventh-century style. As will be discussed in the next chapter, I argue that this introduction of a new style reflects Fernando I's eagerness to establish religious and outer-peninsular relationships through Cluny. Therefore, my analysis understands the play with a foreign style in the Facundus Beatus as experimentation rather than assimilation.

Folios from this Beatus demonstrate the dominant LTCS through folio 46, *The Commission to Write*, the introduction of the RECS through the *Alpha Page* in folio 6, and a play with both styles in the *Evangelist Portrait of Luke* in folio 9v. However, a different hand illuminated these introductory folios from of the central *storiae* of the Beatus Commentary. Williams acknowledges this "more polished and delicate" hand found in these introductory folios and posits two theories as to why this is: the first is that perhaps Facundus, identified with certainty as the scribe, may have also illuminated this first batch of folios and then a dedicated illuminator completed the rest of the manuscript; the second is that an entirely different illuminator than the primary took a significant amount of care with these introductory folios.[57] Regardless of the identity and number of illuminators for this manuscript, it is clear that someone saw the new Roman style and desired to experiment with it in their latest work.

The Leonese Tenth-Century Style: Commission to Write, fol. 46 (Figure 4)

[57] John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 3, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 35. Williams does not expand upon this second theory.

This folio separates two events that occur in Revelation 1:11-18, both encompassed in frames of plaited strands with interlaced knots in the corners. The top scene illustrates and includes all details in Rev. 1:13-18 and the bottom illustrates Rev: 1:11.[58] This folio exemplifies the figural style of the LTCS — vacant facial expressions, the folds in their garments fully outline the legs, and the poses, John kneeling before Christ in particular, are stiff and board-like. The wings of the angel next to Christ have the spiral wing joints and lack of individual top feathers. Both scenes include bands of vivid color that preclude a consistent ground plane. In the bottom scene, individually labeled horseshoe arches represent the seven churches. The three arches of Ephesus, Pergamus, and Smyrna are stacked on top of the other four arches in a compositive view, muddling recessive space and the ground line. The columns of the arches have vine decoration, while the arches themselves either have sequential dots or a similar vine motif.[59]

The version of this illumination in the Morgan Beatus is compositionally identical and elementally parallels that in the Facundus (figure 5). Comparing these two folios

[58] Rev. 1:13-18: "And in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, one like to the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the feet, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. And his head and his hairs were white as white wool and as snows. And his eyes were as a flame of fire: And his feet like unto fine brass, as in a burning furnace. And his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars. And from his mouth came out a sharp two-edged sword. And his face was as the sun shineth in his power. And when I had seen him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me saying: Fear not. I am the First and the Last, And alive and was dead. And behold I am living for ever and ever and have the keys of death and of hell." Rev. 1:11: "What thou seest, write in a book and send to the seven churches which are in Asia: to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamus and to Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea." This Bible translation and others are from the Latin Vulgate Bible, Douay-Rheims Version, http://www.latinvulgate.com/

[59] Scholars such as Krysta L. Black and O.K. Werckmeister generally see the vine motifs as deriving from al-Andalusian and Islamic ivory works to further their argument of the cross-cultural style prevalent in tenth-century Northern Iberian manuscripts. Black, "Bible Illustration in Tenth-Century Iberia: Reconsidering the Role of al-Andalus in the Leon Bible of 960," 168; Werckmeister, "The First Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," 172.

evince the artistic development of this style between the tenth and eleventh century. At the same time, the figures retain the almond eyes, static poses, and prominent outlines in their clothing, while those in the Facundus have longer bodies and thinner outlines. Additionally, the hierarchic scale between Christ and the other figures is not as dramatic as in the Morgan.

The same identifiable LTCS characteristics are present in all illuminations that illustrate the *storiae* — the Biblical texts of Revelation and the Book of Daniel. Perhaps the incipit folios prior allowed for experimentation because they would not be viewed as frequently as the Biblical texts. The best example of experimentation dominant in the RECS is in the *Alpha Page*.

The Roman Eleventh-Century Style: Alpha page, folio 6 (Figure 6)

The Alpha page is the frontispiece for the Beatus, and it is the first illumination in the manuscript. The knot motif present in the LTCS folio decorate the letter alpha on the points of the legs and head of the letter. The alpha extends outside of the foliate and plaited border. Christ stands underneath the bridge of the letter, holding a coupled lampstand in one hand and making the gesture of blessing in the other. The outline of Christ's legs is visible through the drapery as seen in the LTCS, his face and fingers are in the RECS; with small red dots appearing underneath his eyes, although they are not quite almond-shaped and are smaller, characteristically his face and beard are more detailed and his fingers are long and thin.

The angels' wings have no LTCS spiral joint, but the top half does not have individual feathers, as it would in the RECS. These angels, like Christ, have long, thin

fingers and a more proportional face. Although this illumination favors RECS elements, the position of Christ's feet as well as the light outline of his shins underneath the drapery betray the illuminator's comfort and familiarity in the LTCS. The miniatures and Evangelist portraits, in contrast, are illuminated in a more even and evident blend of the LTCS and the RECS.

The Stylistic Mix: Portrait of Luke, folio 9v (Figure 7)

Evangelist portraits traditionally precede the respective Gospel in an illuminated Evangelistary, insular Gospel Book or Bible. These full-page illuminations allow for the reader to quickly find the beginning of a Gospel when thumbing through a codex.[60] Taken from the ancient Mediterranean tradition of scribe portraits, the Evangelists are depicted holding or writing their Gospel. The corresponding symbol for the Evangelist and an angel reaffirming the sacredness of their word appear in the margins of the portrait.[61] The portraits in the Beati, conversely, might convey the same sacred authorial authenticity, but they do not serve a book-marking purpose since the Gospels are excluded from the Beatus text. In all Beati, the portraits precede the Biblical texts and commonly follow the Alpha page. The Morgan Library hypothesizes that these are included, "to suggest that the Apocalypse had the same authority as the Gospels."[62]

The Portrait of Luke simultaneously incorporates the LTCS and RECS. A traditional LTCS foliate horseshoe arch with interlaced knots at the capitals and bases

[60] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1986), 37.

[61] Ibid.

[62] "Fols. 3v–4," The Morgan Library & Museum, October 11, 2013, https://www.themorgan.org/collection/Las-Huelgas-Apocalypse/3.

frame the portrait. Against a tri-color banded tympanum, a winged ox holds a bifolio, the symbol of Luke. The LTCS swirl motif adorns the left wing of the ox, but the swirl is absent in the right. The wings have more texture than those as illuminated in the LTCS, as seen in the multi-colored multiple vertical and horizontal lines in the body and top part of the wing, but do not resemble the feathered detail from the RECS.

Two figures, one sitting and one standing, are situated against an open curtain. Both figures have red hair, but the seated figure has small bumps at the end of his hair to denote difference between the two. Their faces, adorned with red dots, smaller almond eyes, and pronounced chins, as well as their slender hands and fingers resemble the figural RECS. However, the outlined legs in their garments come from the LTCS. Although still vividly pigmented, the colors are darker than the folios executed in the LTCS; but this may be due to aging rather than artist's intention.

———

These three folios demonstrate the use of both the LTCS and RECS separately and simultaneously. The confinement of the RECS to the introductory folios demonstrates the experimental use of this style, but the use of the LTCS in the narrative Biblical illuminations evokes the tradition set by the Facundus Beatus' tenth-century predecessors. Conversely, the Osma Beatus completely and consistently combines elements from both the RECS and LTCS into a new style exclusive to this Beatus.

The Osma Beatus

The Osma Beatus is the first Beatus created after the Council of Burgos in 1080, a catalyzing socio-political event for Northern Spain and Rome. This event forced a shift

from the Visigothic rite to the Roman, consequently solidifying the religious and political alliance between Northern Spain and the papacy. One of the first monasteries to fully assimilate to the Roman rite and Cluniac order was the royal monastery of Sahagún, the location of the scriptorium that created the Osma Beatus in 1086.[63]

Martinus illuminated the Beatus, and a scribe signed himself as "Petrus clericus."[64] Martinus not only illuminated the manuscript in a style not seen in any previous Beati or other peninsular illuminated manuscripts, but also broke away from some of the iconographic traditions set by the earlier Beati.[65] An example of this radical iconographic change can be seen in folio 23r, *the Commission to Write*. When comparing this to the same subject found in folio 46r from the Facundus Beatus, Martinus includes a sea of tangled naked bodies being devoured by snakes and larger, dark skinned figures in the register below the seven churches. These may be the tribes of the earth that "bewail themselves" because of Jesus Christ, but this verse precedes *the Commission to Write* by four lines and is not violently depicted in previous Beati illustrating *Christ Appearing from the Clouds*.[66]

Prior scholars unanimously categorize this manuscript as "Romanesque."[67] One exception comes from Stierlin, who solely hypothesizes that the iconography may derive

---

[63] Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2018), 72.

[64] Carl Nordenfalk, "From Carolingian to Romanesque: Mozarabic Illumination," in *Early Medieval Book Illumination* (Geneva: Rizzoli, 1988), 86. It is unknown whether this is the scribe's real name or a pen name.

[65] John Williams, "The Census: A Complete Register of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries and Fragments," in *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain*, ed. Therese Martin (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 108.

[66] Rev. 1:7 – "Behold, he cometh with the clouds, and every eye shall see him: and they also that pierced him. And all the tribes of the earth shall bewail themselves because of him."

[67] In addition to Williams: Peter K. Klein, "The Romanesque in Catalonia," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 185–93; Carl

from Armenian influence, due to their presence in the west after the invasion of the Seljuks in Anatolia in 1071.[68] One of the most recent publication on the Osma Beatus, a census of the corpus conducted by John Williams in 2017, links the new style of this Beatus to the Cluniac monasteries north of the Pyrenees because oCluniac Archbishop Bernard de La Sauvetat took residency at the Sahagún monastery in 1080.[69] Overall, Williams remains consistent in his publications that the Osma Beatus is the first Spanish "Romanesque" manuscript. While we utilize different terminological vocabulary, I agree with his cited elements that point to a new style, such as the nature of the drapery folds, which he titles "flying folds," the lack of plasticity in the figural posture, and the dots on the cheeks.[70] With our fundamental agreement in mind, I again reiterate why I refine this common terminology: the term "Romanesque" is too broad and inappropriate to assign to manuscript illumination, and the Osma shares more stylistic similarities to contemporaneous and earlier Roman manuscripts than late tenth- and early eleventh-century Frankish manuscripts. Most importantly, the Osma's unique style reveals a simultaneous adaption of the Roman style and retention of the Leonese style.

The folios of *The Winepress of God's Wrath,* folio 131v, and *Visions of God Enthroned,* folio 70, serve as two of many examples in the Osma Beatus that utilize elements from both the LTCS and RECS. Unlike those of the Facundus, the illuminations

---

Nordenfalk, "From Carolingian to Romanesque: Mozarabic Illumination," in *Early Medieval Book Illumination* (Geneva: Rizzoli, 1988), 79-94; Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 4 (1939): 313–74; John Williams, "Léon and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 167–73

[68] Stierlin, 212. I have yet to see any other scholar make this association.

[69] Williams, "The Census," 107.

[70] Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus,* vol. 3, 19-21.

in the Osma Beatus are stylistically consistent throughout the entire manuscript. In order to discuss the Osma's unique illumination style apart from the LTCS and RECS, the next section brings a third folio of *The Burning of Babylon*, folio 147, into conversation with the aforementioned two folios.

Winepress of God's Wrath, fol. 131v (figure 8)

Folio 131v illustrates Rev. 14:10-11 — *The Winepress of God's Wrath*.[71] The scene is encased in a traditional LTCS frame: decorated, complementary color borders with Celtic-like knots adorning the corners. The figures float around the vivid yellow space — there is no established ground plane, except for the figure at the bottom pressing the wine. The horseshoe arch seems to make an allusion to architectural space, but no structure is present in the illumination. Although the drapery is more adherent to the RECS, the entirety of the legs, particularly that of Christ in the top of the illumination, is fully outlined with contours for the thighs. Collectively, the illumination uses the same color palette as its predecessors.

RECS elements appear simultaneously within the folio. Although the drapery follows the outlining of the LTCS, the drapery still conveys movement, such as the way the tunic hangs over Christ's arm and the way it follows the arm movements of the figures cutting the branches of the tree. The wings of the angels differentiate between the top and bottom sets of wings and the fingers of all the figures are thin and elongated. The feet, as

[71] Rev. 14:10-11: "He also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is mingled with pure wine in the cup of his wrath: and shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels and in the sight of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torments, shall ascend up for ever and ever: neither have they rest day nor night, who have adored the beast and his image and whoever receiveth the character of his name."

seen in the angel in the horseshoe arch and the upside-down angel next to Christ, turn out so that one is perpendicular to the other.

Visions of God Enthroned, folio 70 (figure 9)

Folio 70 illustrates Rev: 4:1-5 — the visions John has of *God Enthroned*.[72] Every single figure bears the same expression and facial features: red, opaque dots on the cheeks and disconnected almond-like eyes. The angels, and to some extent John, stand in a manner so that one foot is perpendicular to the other. The wings of the angels differentiate between the top and main body feathers; the top of the wings are small, individual, and semicircular. The fingers that make up Christ's blessing are abnormally long and thin, especially when compared to the folded hands of John below. The clothing of Christ and the angels, through their position and outlines, demonstrate movement, particularly in the ways the folds overlap around the calves and elbows.

Simultaneously, there are a few LTCS elements also evident in this example. First and foremost is the border, although it is not nearly as elaborate as the previous example. The vivid color scheme is employed, and the foliate purple and green bands resemble those of earlier Beati. Despite this, there are certain characteristics that belong neither to the

[72] Rev. 4:1-6: "After these things I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven, and the first voice which I heard, as it were, of a trumpet speaking with me, said: Come up hither, and I will shew thee the things which must be done hereafter. And immediately I was in the spirit. And behold, there was a throne set in heaven, and upon the throne one sitting. And he that sat was to the sight like the jasper and the sardine stone. And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats, four and twenty ancients sitting, clothed in white garments. And on their heads were crowns of gold. And from the throne proceeded lightnings and voices and thunders. And there were seven lamps burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God."

LTCS nor the RECS. As stated earlier, they are entirely of Martinus' creation, and therefore are elements of a third, more specific style, the Osma Beatus Illumination Style.

Martinus' Unique Artistic Expression

Martinus' use of the elements of the LTCS and RECS manifests as his own unique artistic expression. This combination demonstrates Martinus' agency and control over not only the composition of the manuscript, but his use of stylistic elements. Therefore, it is all the more plausible that the use of the LTCS in the post-Roman rite manuscript is a form of artistic resistance to the change in rite.

There are two elements that do not belong to the RECS nor the LTCS, but are entirely of Martinus' creation. The first is the extraordinary expressiveness shown in the body language and gestures of the figures, as best seen in folio 147, the *Burning of Babylon* (figure 10). In the bottom register, people are violently tugging at their hair and those caught in the circle of an ouroborosian monster in the primary register are brutally twisted on themselves, bending over backwards, arms wrapped around the arches, and legs splayed. The degree of emotion expressed in the bodies allows the illuminator to convey meaning with minimal emotion in their faces.

The second is the use of individual dots as an outlining adornment, as best seen in *Visions of God Enthroned*. In the garments of the twenty-four robed figures and in Christ's lower garment, this dot adornment alternates with solid lines. Even though a version of these outlining dots can be seen in the Facundus Beatus as well, for example on Christ's clothes in the *Alpha Page*, they only appear in the experimental introductory folios and they are smaller in diameter. The manner in which movement is expressed and the use of

decorative dots do not appear in twelfth-century and later Beati, since they are of Martinus' own creation.

These elemental additions and the manner in which Martinus uses individual elements from both styles exemplifies his proficiency in producing distinctive illuminations. Additionally, it demonstrates the purposeful selection of specific elements from each style to create illuminations that are neither completely of the LTCS nor the RECS. Instead, the combination possibly reflects the lay reaction to the change in their religious practice.

When looking at twelfth-century Beati, it is clear that the Osma Beatus does not entirely adapt to the RECS nor any other foreign style, such as the dominant Frankish style in the Rylands Beatus (figure 11). Further, the Osma-exclusive elements do not appear in later twelfth and thirteenth century Beati; rather, these later Beati more closely resemble the style found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts from Northern France and England. This unique style that utilizes both elements from the Roman eleventh-century and Leonese tenth-century styles demonstrates a retention of a local style simultaneously with an adaption of a foreign style.

The Osma and Facundus Beati show a unique mix of two styles on different scales. The fact that the Facundus uses the RECS purely for experimental purposes reveals the introduction of future applications of a non-Spanish style. The Osma Beatus, created during the unique turning point in Spanish-Christian history, reflects an artistic conflict of being required to forgo a style used for over a century due to the change in liturgy. Martinus, the

illuminator, maneuvers through this situation by creating an entirely new style that utilizes both the LTCS and RECS. The complete adaptation of Frankish and English styles in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Beati exemplifies a new Spain now fully allied with the papacy and northern European countries.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Over the course of seven centuries of sharing the Iberian Peninsula between Christian and Islamic dominions, the eleventh century carried the most wide-spread, constant, and catalyzing changes, politically and religiously.[73] This is in part because between the tenth and eleventh centuries the power dynamic between al-Andalus and the Christian Kingdoms reversed. In the tenth century, al-Andalus prospered under the new caliphate set up by Abd al-Rahman III while the Christian kingdoms warred with each other over the small territory they retained. By the turn of the millennium, the powerful caliphate built over a century crumbled, fractioning into independent *taifa* kingdoms, this disunity of which resembled the Christian kingdoms in the tenth century.[74] Sancho el Mayor took advantage of the sudden role reversal, united the Christian kingdoms until his death, and commenced the gradual expansion of the northern Christian territory.[75]

With the *taifa* kingdoms more in conflict among themselves than with their northern neighbors, the Christian rulers could finally focus on enhancing their power territorially and politically. Starting with Sancho el Mayor, three dynasties of Leonese

---

[73] Multiple scholars call the first third of the eleventh-century a turning point in the history of medieval Iberia: Jerrilynn Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University, 2008); Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered From 711 to 1502* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Gabriel Jackson, *The Making of Medieval Spain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2013); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Janina M. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2013).

[74] Muluk al-taifa (ملوك الطائفة) translates to party kings or kings of the territorial divisions (Marlé Hammond, "Muluk al-taifa," *A Dictionary of Arabic Terms and Devices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif - Oxford Reference (uoregon.edu)).

[75] Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," 17.

kings commenced and fostered a close relationship with the monastic order Cluny, which founded daughter houses in the Spanish kingdoms. Drawing from the broader patronage of Cluniac monasticism, the new Spanish ties to the order carried with them similar connections to Frankish military elites, allowing the kingdoms to grow militarily. While the Leonese-Castilian Kingdom embraced the Frankish order, the kingdom of Aragón concurrently cooperated with popes Alexander II and Gregory VII in their efforts to conform the rest of the Iberian Peninsula to Roman rite. Alfonso VI resisted the papal intervention until 1076 because his subjects were dedicated to the Visigothic rite. [76] Yet by 1080, Alfonso fully adapted the Roman rite and agreed to aid the papacy and his brothers. This change of rite not only coincided with broader papal interest in Iberian affairs, including the first actions toward military efforts against Muslims, but also causes the shift in artistic and architectural style.

This chapter discusses the historical events that spurred the stylistic change that is manifested in the Beati. The most important catalyst is the switch from the Visigothic to the Roman rite because the Visigothic liturgy was heavily engrained in the culture of the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula since the seventh century. The first part of this chapter discusses the differences between the two rites and explains why the change in liturgy mattered. With the liturgical context established, an abbreviated history of Fernando I's relationship with Cluny and Alfonso VI's fraught alliance with the papacy underscores how the Roman liturgy first emerged in the Christian Kingdoms and reveals the subsequent battle over the change in rite.

[76] Charles Julian Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1969), 80.

Visigothic vs. Roman Rite

The Visigothic rite, also called the "Mozarabic" or "Hispanic" rite, originated in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth century, and scholars theorize that it shows the influence of African and west Asian practices.[77] The Visigoths associated their religious practice with their identity, since scholars hypothesize that the prayers reflect the persecution and controversy of the Iberian Christians in the sixth century.[78] Isidore of Seville, whose writings are included in the Beatus Commentaries, outlined the liturgy in his *De ecclesiasticis offiiciis* in the early seventh century.[79] The rite is characterized by rhetorical and literary interpretation of the mass and, most importantly for my argument, heavily emphasized the Book of Revelation.[80] The Apocalypse, in addition to its required memorization by monks, was recited continuously between Easter and Pentecost.[81] This emphasis is the most prominent difference between the two rites.

---

[77] Jean-Michel Rabotin, "Hispanic Liturgy," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages* (James Clarke & Co, 2002), http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780227679319.001.0001/acref-9780227679319-e-1322.

[78] D.M. Hope, "The Medieval Western Rites," in *The Study of Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 230.

[79] Michel Banniard, "Isidore of Seville," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages* (James Clarke & Co, 2002), http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780227679319.001.0001/acref-9780227679319-e-1442.

[80] Rabotin, "Hispanic Liturgy."

[81] Johannes Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000," in *The Apoycalpytic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 27.

In contrast, the Roman rite is identified by its literal interpretation of the mass. Geoffrey Wainwright compares the Visigothic and Roman prayer types where the Roman prayers are characterized as, "pregnant, precise, simple, [and] sober" while the Visigothic prayers are, "elaborate, effusive, and picturesque."[82] On the other hand, Robert Bartlett emphasizes that the actual differences between the rites are miniscule, but nonetheless were "fought out with zeal and bitterness."[83] The Roman rite became the standard for most of western Europe, and consequently the papacy used the unification through rite to cement political alliances.[84] These networks became important when the first crusades launched in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, drawing from a group of supporters who self-identified as the *fidelis sancti Petri* — the loyalists to St. Peter.[85]

The introduction of the Roman rite into Léon came first through the Frankish monastic order of Cluny. The relationship first instigated by Sancho el Mayor in the 1030s was continued by his son Fernando I and grandson Alfonso VI. Such devout patronage of the Cluniac institutions was most prevalent within the Leonese kingdom. In contrast, the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon forged a more direct relationship with the reforming Gregorian popes earlier than Léon-Castile did, in an effort to "Europeanize" their kingdoms in the 1050s.[86] Despite its affiliation with the standard Roman rite, the liturgy of the Cluniac

[82] Geoffrey Wainwright, "The Understanding of Liturgy in the Light of Its History," in *The Study of Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 502.

[83] Bartlett, 34.

[84] Jeanne E. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, "Manuscripts of the Liturgy," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, Second (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), 393.

[85] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45.

[86] Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," 21.

order also emphasized the apocalyptic teachings; multiple documents refer to apocalyptic sermons conducted by monks of the order.[87] As a consequence, Cluniac monasteries in Spain continued to practice the Visigothic liturgy. However, their apocalypticism may be more influenced by millenarianism; there is no confirmation for the same fear in the Visigothic rite despite the ongoing creation of the Beati as the millennium approached.

The forceful shift of rites carried a political purpose more than a religious one. Through the unification of the rite, the papacy deepened its connection with the Northern Christian kingdoms. Most importantly, the cult at the new pilgrimage church, Santiago de Compostela, was assimilated under Roman Catholicism. Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela encouraged conversion and the confirmation to the Roman standard of Christian practice, brought wealth to the northern Iberian churches, and it also provided a symbol to rally behind in the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. However, in Léon at least, despite the association with Cluny, the acceptance of the Roman liturgy and the importance of the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela in religious affairs took nearly a century.

The Leonese Kings and Cluny

While al-Andalus' *taifa* states fluctuated in territory size and control, Sancho el Mayor (r.1000 – 1035) united the quarreling Christian kingdoms of Léon, Castile, Navarre, and Aragón for the first time since the initial Islamic invasion in 711. In addition to focusing regionally, Sancho looked north for political and religious allies over the Pyrenean border. Sancho sought out the Cluniac monastic order, which had possessed some daughter

[87] Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000," 48.

houses in Catalonia since the late tenth-century, and invited the order to establish themselves in Navarre and Castille in addition to assigning the first Cluniac abbot of San Juan de la Peña.[88] By 1034 Navarre, Léon, Aragón, and Castile united and Sancho el Mayor declared himself *Rex Dei Gratia Hispaniarum.*[89] Yet when he died in 1035, he split all the kingdoms once again to be dispersed to each of his sons and his son-in-law: King García Sánchez III of Navarre, King Fernando I of Castile, King Ramiro I of Aragón, and King Bermudo III of Léon.

Fernando I (r. 1035-1065) ruled more than just Castile by 1038. By killing his brother-in-law, Bermudo III, and wedding Bermudo's sister, Sancha of Léon, Fernando I joined Léon with Castile to establish the new Kingdom of Léon. Navarre assimilated into the kingdom in 1037 as a vassal state through the patricide of García Sánchez III.[90] While his kingdom grew, Fernando's involvement and relationship with the order of Cluny grew as well, even though his father left him with no legal obligation to maintain the relationship.[91] While Fernando saw religious and political opportunity with Cluny, Sancha noted the order's French origin and connections to England and Germany, and saw a prospect to Europeanize Léon as her family had done in Navarre.[92]

[88] John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27, no. 1 (1988): 93.

[89] Dodds, et al., 27. Gabriel Jackson, *The Making of Medieval Spain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 55-56.

[90] Hitchcock, 122.

[91] Williams, "Cluny and Spain," 93.

[92] Bishko, 21.

As previously stated and as Charles Bishko notes, the Cluniac relationship was a "distinctly Leonese phenomenon."[93] The Kingdom of Léon-Castile was one of the last kingdoms in Northern Iberia to hold onto the Visigothic rite. On the other side of the Northern Peninsula, Ramiro I of Aragón's Europeanizing focus brought the papacy into the Iberian conflict, and commenced the *Reconquista.*[94] Scholars note that the continuing patronage of Cluny by Fernando I, and later by Alfonso VI, was to counter the papal interventions that Ramiro I adopted so that the Leonese kings could continue to have political and financial control over their kingdom, despite the small power the Gregorian popes held over the European kingdoms.[95]

Like his father before him, Fernando I separated and dispersed his kingdom among his three sons: King Sancho II of Castile, King Alfonso VI of Léon, and the new territory Galicia for King García III.[96] This division resulted in civil war amongst the brothers. By 1072, Sancho II killed García II and defeated and imprisoned Alfonso VI in Burgos before exiling him to the *taifia* of Seville.[97] However, by the end of that year Alfonso VI regained

[93] Ibid, 70.

[94] Ibid, 71. While these terms can be confusing and appear to be interchangeable, the *Reconquista* is not "the crusades." This military campaign was for re-taking territory from al-Andalus, rather than the religious crusade which takes shape around the end of the twelfth century and ended in 1492. During the *Reconquista*, there was no pressure to convert; however, there was still a massive amount of violence against the Jews and Muslims.

[95] Xenia Bonch-Bruevich, "Ideologies of the Spanish Reconquest and Isidore's Political Thought," *Mediterranean Studies* 17 (2008): 29; Charles J. Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History,*(London: Variorum Reprints, 1969), 80.

[96] T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: CAlrendon Press, 1986), 15.

[97] Bishko, 31.

not only Léon, but Castile and Galicia as well through the power of his remaining family in Léon and the assassination of Sancho II.[98]

Alfonso VI and Pope Gregory VII: The Clash of Liturgy

Alfonso VI's political resurgence owes all to the interference of Abbot Hugh the Great of Cluny, who secured Alfonso's release in the winter of 1072.[99] Consequently, the immediate establishment of Cluniac monastery of San Isidro de Dueñas in 1073 was one of the first actions Alfonso VI took as king, resolidifying León-Castille's relationship with the order.[100] Spurred fervently by the successful assimilation of the Roman rite into Aragón in 1071, the papacy under Gregory VII prodded at Alfonso's kingdom, unleashing multiple written attacks at the Visigothic liturgy and demanding requests for intervention.[101] Although the date is disputed, Bernard Reilly asserts that by 1076 Alfonso VI agreed to replace the Visigothic liturgy with the Roman. Much to the frustration of Gregory VII, the agreement was not concretely adopted throughout Alfonso's kingdom for several more years.[102]

Despite his agreement with the pope, Alfonso VI continued to appoint Cluniac bishops and abbots in monasteries across his kingdom. Since these ecclesiastical figures did not actively adopt the Roman liturgy, Gregory VII sent more Roman cardinals and

---

[98] Denis Menjot, "Alfonso VI of Castile," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages* (James Clarke & Co, 2002); Bishko, 30.

[99] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 95.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid, 97-98. Pope Gregory VII called the Visigothic liturgy "a deviation from proper norms and a product of Priscillianism, Arianism, and the Muslim conquest."

[102] Ibid.

bishops in addition to the continuation of his strongly-worded correspondence. Finally, by 1080 pope Gregory VII threatened Alfonso VI with excommunication if he did not actively enforce the Roman rite. While the documents that detail the events of the replacement do not exist or are heavily tampered with, we know that eventually Alfonso heeded the warning, and officially required the replacement of the rites on May 8, 1080.[103]

The histories recounted in this chapter demonstrate the sheer amount of physical religious movement between France, Italy, and the northern Iberian Peninsula regardless of political alliances and liturgical affiliations. It is ultimately this connection that allowed for the exchange of style in varied manuscripts. The most important factors in this condensed historical account are the connection between the Visigothic liturgy and the culture of the Christians of Northern Spain, and the subsequent voidance of the same liturgy. The clergy of Northern Spain played a dangerous game with the papacy by not adopting the Roman rite despite being ordered to. Despite the minute differences in liturgical practice, the resistance nevertheless occurred because the liturgy was heavily tied to Northern Iberian Christian identity.[104]

It is equally possible to interpret the changing style of the Beati through the lens of the tumultuous shift in liturgical practices. For example, the presence of a new style in the beginning of the Facundus manuscript occurs contemporaneously to Fernando I's

[103] Ibid, 111. Bishko painstakingly emphasizes that the documentary record around this time is scant, so it is difficult to derive exactly what formal actions were taken. His conclusions are based upon educated guesses and the few existing charters.

[104] Bartlett, 34.

deepening relationship with Cluny, suggesting a link between style and politics. Since the monks of Cluny brought their own liturgical texts with them, it is highly probable that a Visigothic monk took note of the Cluniac illumination style in their manuscripts that arrived from Rome. The resistance to the change in liturgy manifests in the stylistic mesh between the Roman eleventh-century style, brought from Cluny, and the local Leonese tenth-century style. Since it is highly likely that Martinus used a Roman illuminated manuscript in order to adapt the new style, the appearance of the LTCS is seen as an act of visual resistance due to the loss of a key part of Christian identity in Northern Iberia.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

The eleventh-century in the Iberian Peninsula brought dramatic political, religious, and artistic change. The experimentation with the Roman eleventh-century style in the Facundus Beatus aligns with the growing relationship between Cluny and Fernando I. However, the retention and preferred use of the Leonese tenth-century style reinforces the cultural and artistic association with the Visigothic rite. The simultaneous use of the RECS and LTCS in the Osma Beatus aligns with the official and final order to assimilate the Roman rite. As stated many times before, the simultaneous use of the RECS and LTCS demonstrate a visual resistance to this change in rite by incorporating the distinct styles associated with each rite.

No other manuscript in the Beatus corpus parallels the socio-political and religious situation of the Northern Iberian Peninsula. The Osma and Facundus manuscripts stand as artistic transitionary moments through their simultaneous association with the socio-political and religious transitions. The experimental use of the RECS in the Facundus Beatus foreshadows the eventual and total use of the style associated with the Roman rite. The mix of styles in the Osma Beatus serves as a last declaration of Visigothic culture before the complete assimilation into the Roman rite and style. These two manuscripts are artistic reflections of a drastically changing society in the eleventh-century.

Medieval Iberian manuscripts are not the only medium in Léon-Castile that transformed as a result of liturgical change — church plans were reconstructed to reflect the architectural needs of the new liturgy. The best example of architectural change is at

San Quirce de Burgos in Léon-Castile. Amanda W. Dotseth in her chapter, "San Quirce de Burgos: One Medieval Transformation in the Life of a Romanesque Church," creates a diachronic timeline of the construction of this church.[105] She finds that two notable transformations of the church's plan and overall architecture occurred in the 1090s and the 1130s. While she does not make the liturgical connection, given the evidence of change as a result of liturgy in the Beatus manuscripts, it is highly likely that the church owes its 1090s transformation to the new Roman rite.

There is a powerful connection between politics and artistic change in Northern medieval Iberia. Therefore, it is possible that similar connections occurred in al-Andalus with the drastic changes brought by the fracturing of the caliphate. Additionally, there is humanity present behind the illuminations of manuscripts — the illuminators not only copy the manuscript in front of them but put intention into the manner of their execution; Martinus copied the style in front of him in the Osma Beatus, but purposefully kept elements that reflected his Christian identity. My thesis has further demonstrated that the category of "Romanesque" needs to be refined in order to carry a thorough and specified conversation of manuscript illumination style during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Since manuscripts traveled across the European continent for centuries, noting distinct cultural styles allows future scholars to see in detail the way that style evolves across time and geography.

[105] Amanda W. Dotseth, "San Quirce de Burgos: One Medieval Transformation in the Life of a Romanesque Church," in *The Long Lives of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 1st Edition (London: Routledge, 2019), 65–80.

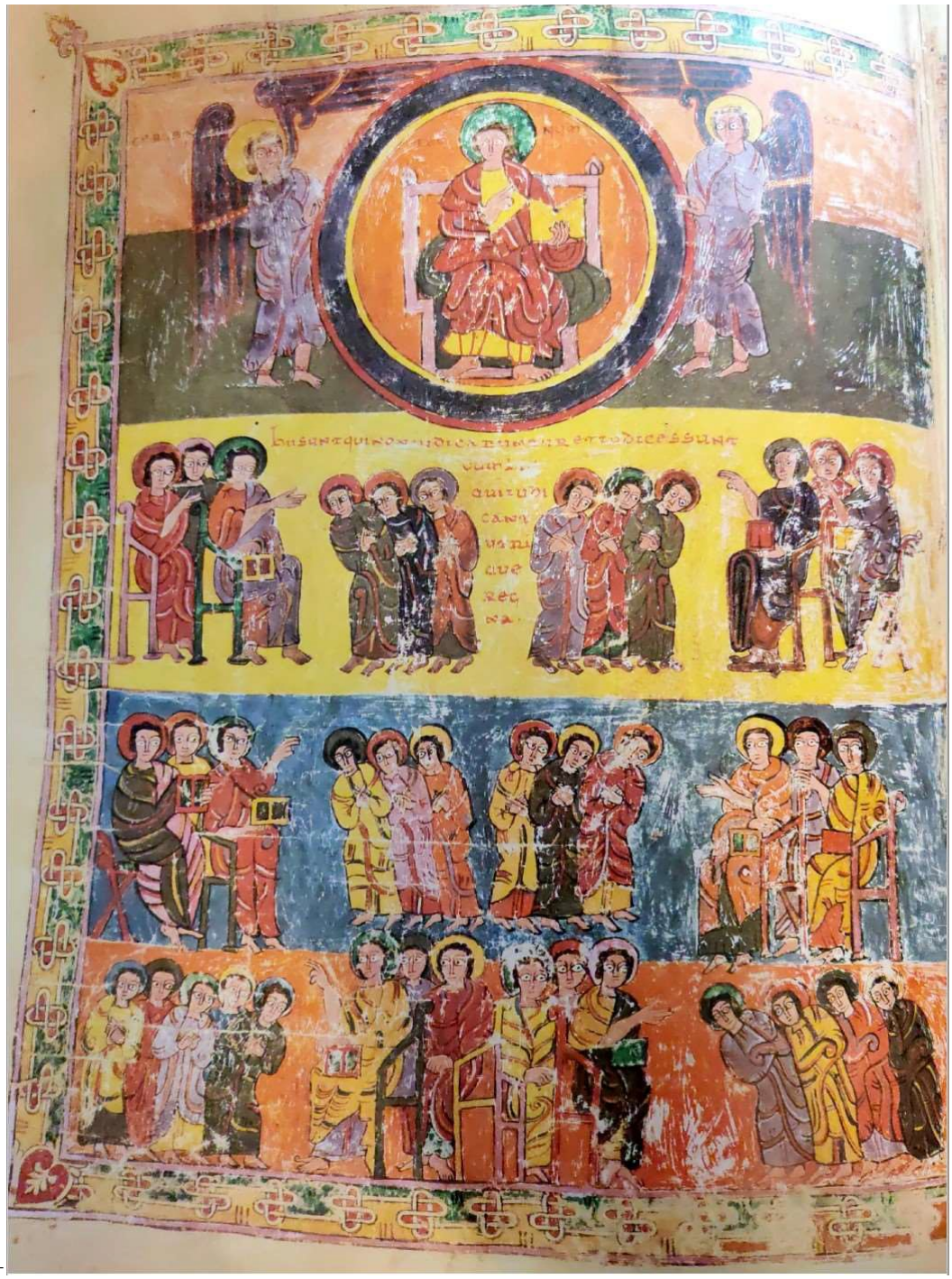

Figure 1: *The Last Judgment*, Morgan Beatus, 940-945. Morgan Library, New York, MS M.644, fol. 219v. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 2: *Heavenly Jerusalem,* Morgan Beatus, 940-945. Morgan Library, New York, MS M.644, fol. 222v. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 3: *Seasonal Cycle with Saint's Calendar*, Benedictine Evangelistary, 1066-1100. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MS Vitrina 20-6, fol. 2r. Photographic credit: Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 4: *Commission to Write,* Facundus Beatus, 1047. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MS Vitrina 14-2, fol. 46. Photographic credit: Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Figure 5: *Commission to Write*, Morgan Beatus, 940-945. Morgan Library, New York, MS M.644, fol. 27r. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 6: *Alpha page*, Facundus Beatus, 1047. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MS Vitrina 14-2, fol. 6. Photographic credit: Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 7: *Portrait of Luke*, Facundus Beatus, 1047. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MS Vitrina 14-2, fol. 9v. Photographic credit: Biblioteca Nacional de España

Figure 8: *Winepress of God's Wrath,* Osma Beatus, 1086. Archivo de la Catedral, Burgo de Osma, Cod. 1, fol. 131v. Facsimile reproduction courteous of Standford University.

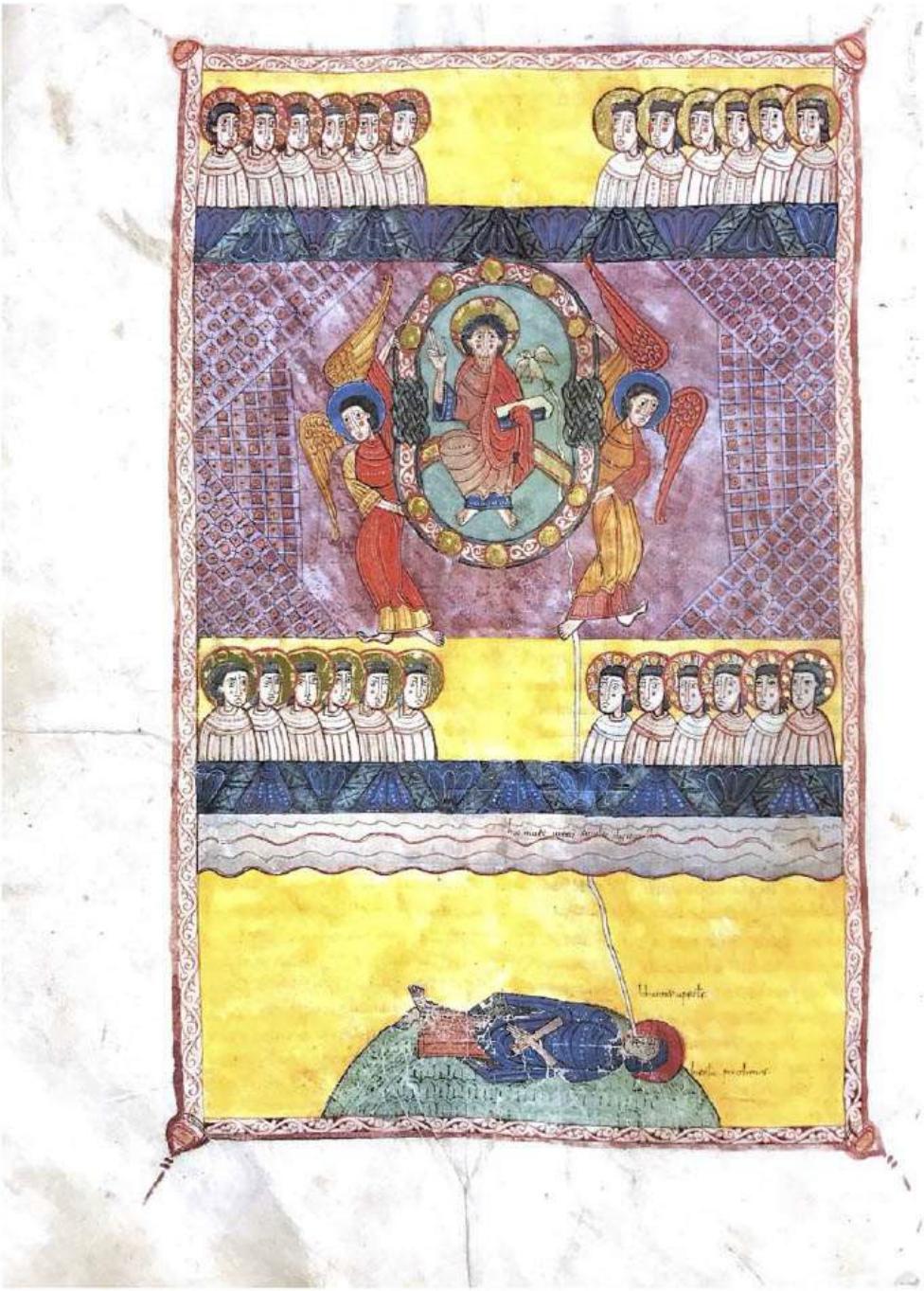

Figure 9: *Vision of God Enthroned,* Osma Beatus, 1086. Archivo de la Catedral, Burgo de Osma, Cod. 1, fol. 70v. Facsimile reproduction courteous of Standford University.

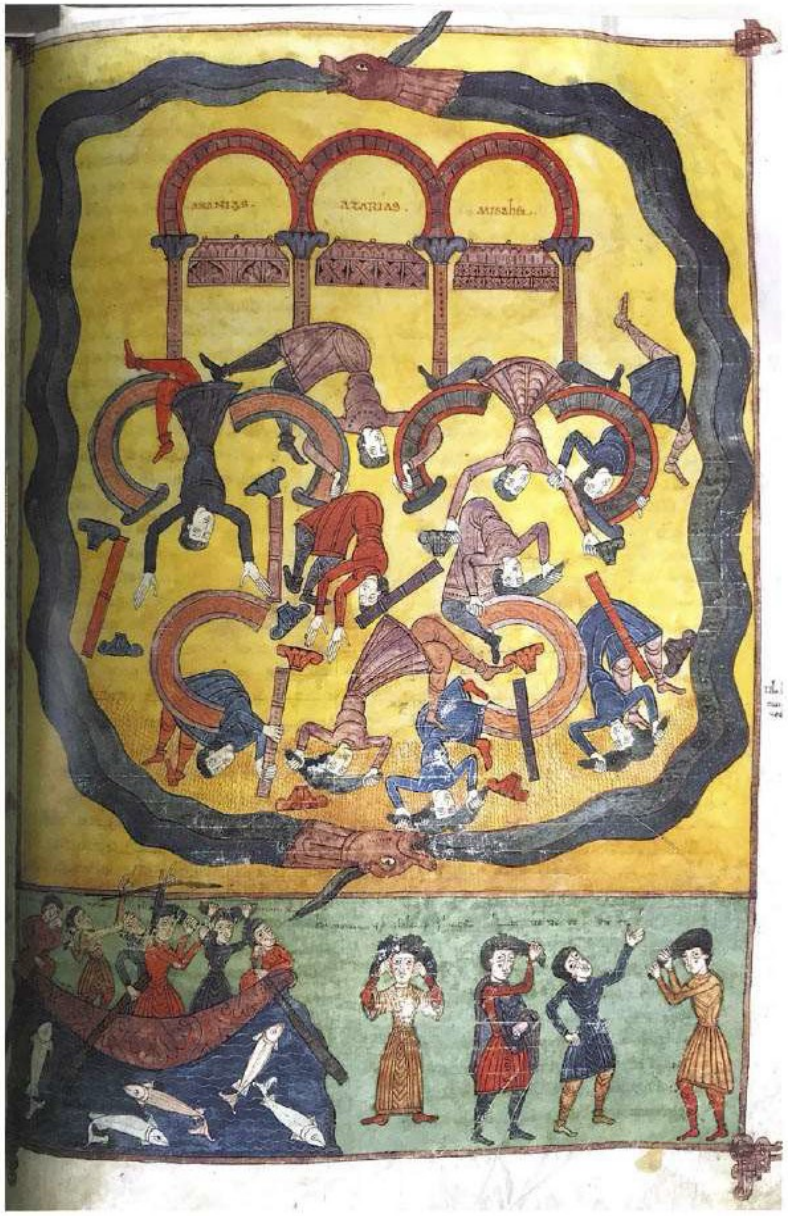

Figure 10: *Burning of Babylon,* Osma Beatus, 1086. Archivo de la Catedral, Burgo de Osma, Cod. 1, fol. 147. Facsimile reproduction courtesy of Stanford University.

Figure 11: *Evangelist Portrait of John*, Rylands Beatus, 1175. John Rylands University Library, Manchester, MS lat. 8, fol. 5v. Photographic credit: John Rylands University Library.

REFERENCES CITED

Ackerman, James S. “On Rereading ‘Style.’” *Social Research* 45, no. 1 (1978): 153–63. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40970322.

Alexander, Johnathan. “The Last Things: Representing the Unrepresentable.” In *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, edited by Francis Carey, 43–98. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Banniard, Michel. “Isidore of Seville.” In *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. James Clarke & Co, 2002. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780227679319.001.0001/acref-9780227679319-e-1442.

Bartlett, Robert. “Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe.” In *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies.*, 23–36. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Barton, Simon. “El Cid, Cluny and the Medieval Spanish Reconquista.” *The English Historical Review* 126, no. 520 (June 2011): 517–43.

Bishko, Charles Julian. “Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny.” In *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1969.

Bisson, T.N. *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*. Oxford: CAlrendon Press, 1986.

Black, Krysta L. “Bible Illustration in Tenth-Century Ibera: Reconsidering the Role of al-Andalus in the Leon Bible of 960.".” *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 165–75.

Bolman, Elizabeth S. “De Coloribus: The Meanings of Color in Beatus Manuscripts.” *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999): 22–34.

Bonch-Bruevich, Xenia. “Ideologies of the Spanish Reconquest and Isidore’s Political Thought.” *Mediterranean Studies* 17 (2008): 27–45.

Bruce, Scott G. *Cluny and the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet: Hagiography and the Problem of Islam in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, UNITED STATES: Cornell University Press, 2015. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uoregon/detail.action?docID=4189235.

Cahn, Walter. “Romanesque Art, Then and Now: A Personal Reminisence.” In *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, 31–39. The Index of Christian Art: Occasional Papers 10. Pennsylvania: Pennslyvania State University Press, 2008.

Carey, Francis, ed. *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Constable, Giles. “Cluny and the First Crusade,” Actes de Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand, 1995, 173–93.

Daniel, Randolph. “Medieval Apocalypticism, Millennialism and Violence.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14, no. 1 (2002): 275–300.

De Laurentiis, Elena, and Emilia Anna Talamo Talamo, eds. *The Lost Manuscripts from the Sistine Chapel: An Epic Journey from Rome to Toledo*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010.

Dodds, Jerrilynn, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. New Haven: Yale University, 2008.

Dotseth, Amanda W. “San Quirce de Burgos: One Medieval Transformation in the Life of a Romanesque Church.” In *The Long Lives of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 1st Edition., 65–80. London: Routledge, 2019.

Eco, Umberto. “Waiting for the Millennium.” In *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, 121–35. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Elsner, Jas. “Style.” In *Critical Terms for Art Hsitory*, Second Edition., 98–109. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Emmerson, Richard K. *Apocalypse Illuminated*. University Park: Pennslyvania State University, 2018.

———. “The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and the Study of Medieval Literature.” In *Poetic Prophecy in Western Literature*, edited by J. Wojcik and R.J. Frontain, 40–54. Farleigh: Dickinson University Press, 1984.

Emmerson, Richard K., and Bernard McGinn, eds. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Evans, Joan. *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1968.

The Morgan Library & Museum. "Fols. 3v–4," October 11, 2013. https://www.themorgan.org/collection/Las-Huelgas-Apocalypse/3.

Fried, Johannes. "Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000." In *The Apoycalpytic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, 17–66. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hamel, Christopher de. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1986.

———. "The Morgan Beatus." In *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts: Twelve Journeys into the Medieval World*, 188–231. New York: Penguin Books, 2016.

Hope, D.M. "The Medieval Western Rites." In *The Study of Liturgy*, 220–40. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Jackson, Gabriel. *The Making of Medieval Spain*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.

Kermode, Frank. "Millennium and Apocalypse." In *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, edited by Francis Carey, 11–28. Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1999.

Klein, Peter K. "The Romanesque in Catalonia." In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, 185–93. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Krochalis, Jeanne E., and E. Ann Matter. "Manuscripts of the Liturgy." In *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, Second., 393–430. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005.

Landes, Richard. "The Fear of the Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern." *Speculum* 75, no. 1 (January 2000): 97–145.

Lobrichon, Guy. "Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries." In *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, 67–79. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Maius, John Williams, and Barbara A. Shailor. *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*. New York: G. Brazillier in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991.

Menjot, Denis. "Alfonso VI of Castile." In *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. James Clarke & Co, 2002. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780227679319.001.0001/acref-9780227679319-e-113.

Mentré, Mireille. *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*. 4th ed. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994.

Miner, Dorothy. "Review of Die Apokaylpse Des Hl. Johannes in Der Altspanishcen Und Altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration. Das Problem Der Beatus-Handschriften by Wilhelm Neuss." *The Art Bulletin* 15, no. 4 (December 1933): 388–91.

Nordenfalk, Carl. "From Carolingian to Romanesque: Mozarabic Illumination." In *Early Medieval Book Illumination*. Geneva: Rizzoli, 1988

.

Palol, Pedro de, and Max Hirmer. *Early Medieval Art in Spain*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1967.

Rabotin, Jean-Michel. "Hispanic Liturgy." In *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. James Clarke & Co, 2002. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780227679319.001.0001/acref-9780227679319-e-1322.

Reilly, Bernard F. "Mozarabic." In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, 9–20. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

———. *The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Sauerlander, Willibald. "Romanesque Art 2000: A Worn Out Notion?" In *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, 40–56. Index of Christian Art: Occasional Papers 10. Pennsylvania: Pennslyvania State University Press, 2008.

Schapiro, Meyer. "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos." *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 4 (1939): 313–74.

———. *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society.* New York: Georege Braziller, Inc., 1994.
Smith, Lucy Margaret. *The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny*. London: H Milford, 1920.

Steinhauser, Kenneth B. "Narrative and Illumination in the Beatus Apocaylpse." *The Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (April 1995): 185–210.

Stierlin, Henri. *Le Livre de Feau: L'Apocalypse et l'art mozarabe*. Paris: La Biblioteque des Artes, 1978.
The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Wainwright, Geoffrey. "The Understanding of Liturgy in the Light of Its History." In *The Study of Liturgy*, 495–509. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Walker, Rose. *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016.

———. *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain*. London: British Library, 1998.

Watt, Dianne, and Stephen Hunt. "Medieval Millenarianism and Prophecy." In *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco*, 88–97. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Werckmeister, O.K. "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism." In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, 121–66. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

———. "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela." *Gesta* 27, no. 1 (1988): 103–12.

———. "The First Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death." *Actas Del Simposio Para El Studio de Los Codices Del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana* 1 (1980): 167–72.

———. "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Gerona." *Gesta*, Visual Culture of Medieva Iberia, 36, no. 2 (1997): 101–6.

Williams, John. "Beatus of Liebana." Online Journal. The Public Domain Review, 2011. https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/beatus-of-liebana.

———. “Cluny and Spain.” *Gesta* 27, no. 1 (1988): 93–101.

———. “Fernando I and Alfonso VI as Patrons of the Arts.” *Anales de Historia del Arte* Suppl. Volumen Extraordinario 2 (2011): 413–35.

———. “Léon and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque.” In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, 167–73. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

———. “Meyer Schapiro in Silos: Pursuing an Iconography of Style.” *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (September 2003): 442–68.

———. “Orientations: Christian Spain and the Art of Its Neighbors.” In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, 13–26. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

———. “Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary.” In *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 217–33. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

———. “San Isidoro at León: Evidence for a New History.” *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 2 (1973): 178.

———. “The Census: A Complete Register of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries and Fragments.” In *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain*, edited by Therese Martin, 67–148. Amsterdam University Press, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1rzx606.6.

———. *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Vol. 2. 5 vols. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994.

———. *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Vol. 1. 5 vols. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994.

———. *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Vol. 3. 5 vols. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994.

———. *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Vol. 4. 5 vols. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994.

———. *Visions at the End of Spain*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 2017.

Wixom, William D., and Margaret Lawson. “Picturing the Apocalypse: Illustrated Leaves from a Medieval Spanish Manuscript.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 59, no. 3 (2002): 1–56.

Zarnecki, George. *The Universe History of Art and Architecture: Romanesque*. Second. New York: Universe Books, 1989.