

AARHMS Newsletter

The American Academy of Research Historians of
Medieval Spain

Fall 2004

Survey Results

Twenty-nine individuals responded to the mail and internet survey regarding AARHMS' future. Of these, all but one committed to continuing their membership and an encouraging number volunteered their services to the Academy. Furthermore, only one individual voted not to use AARHMS funds to subsidize the LIBRO project. With the support of members, and with funds from other sources, it is hoped that a new server can be brought online during the spring, 2005 semester. A full report on the LIBRO project will be included in the next edition of the *Newsletter*.

Election of Officers

It is time to elect new officers for 2005-2006. Dr. Teofilo Ruiz, Professor and Chair of History at the University of California at Los Angeles, has agreed to stand for president and Dr. Helen Nader, Professor of History at the University of Arizona, for Secretary Treasurer. Members are asked to complete the ballot enclosed in this Newsletter and return it by December 15, 2004.

New AARHMS Staff

Dr. Simon Doubleday, Associate Professor of History at Hofstra University, is the new bookreview editor. Members are encouraged to suggest titles for review and to indicate their willingness to undertake reviews.

Dr. Nathaniel Taylor, who trained at Harvard under Thomas Bisson, is the new editor of the *AARHMS Newsletter* and will be responsible for issues commencing with the Spring 2005 issue. This is an important responsibility and Nat deserves our appreciation for his willingness to serve in this capacity. He STRONGLY encourages members to submit their information via email to: spanhist@yahoo.com. For the digitally challenged, a traditional response form is included in this Newsletter.

Dr. Mark D. Johnston, Professor and Chair at DePaul University, is the new AARHMS webmaster and over the next months will work to update the site. Members are encouraged to pass their suggestions regarding the website to him. The URL for the page will likely change, but a redirect page at the current address (www.uca.edu/aarhms) will steer members to the new site.

Notes from Members

Lorraine Attread has been promoted to professor of history at the College of the Holy Cross and has received a faculty fellowship to study during the spring of 2005 Anglo-Iberian relations in the 15th and 16th centuries.

James W. Brodman has published the following: "Religion and Discipline in the Hospitals of Medieval France," in *The Medieval*

Hospital and Medical Practice (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), in press; "Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders," *The Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001), 383-400; "The Rhetoric of Ransoming: A Contribution to the Debate over Crusading in Medieval Iberia," *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 41-52; "Religious Orders", *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. E. Michael Gerli (New York: Routledge, 2003): 700-04. He is completing a book entitled *Religion and Charity in Medieval Europe*.

David A. Buehler is visiting faculty at Providence College and is writing a dissertation entitled "Conflict, Convivencia, & Conversion in Medieval Minds: al-Ghazali, Maimonides, and Lull."

Robert I. Burns, S.J., has published "100,000 Crossbow Bolts for the Crusader King of Aragon," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 2 (2004), 159-164; and "The Crusade against Murcia: Provisioning the Armies of James the Conqueror, 1264-1270," in *Jews, Muslims, and Christians in and around the Crown of Aragon: Essays in Honour of Professor Elena Lourie* (Leiden, 2004), 35-74.

Orlando O. Espin is professor of Religious Studies and Director of the Center for the Study of Latino/a Catholicism at the University of San Diego; he is the author of eight books and over 200 articles.

George Greenia has published the following: "The Bigger the Book: On Oversize Medieval Manuscripts". Special Issue on Manuscript Studies, Keith Busby, Guest Editor. *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* [forthcoming]; "The Tragicomedia as a Canonical Work". *Actas of the International Symposium 1502-2002: Five Hundred Years of Fernando de Rojas*

Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, 18-19 October, 2002. NY: Hispanic Society of America, 2004. [forthcoming]; *Castilian Writers, 1200-1300*. Eds. Frank A. Domínguez and George D. Greenia. Dictionary of Literary Biography. Detroit: Gale, 2004; *Castilian Writers, 1300-1400*. Eds. Frank A. Domínguez and George D. Greenia. Dictionary of Literary Biography. Detroit: Gale, 2004 [forthcoming]; *Castilian Writers, 1400-1500*. Eds. Frank A. Domínguez and George D. Greenia. Dictionary of Literary Biography, Vol. 286. Detroit: Gale, 2004 [released 2003]. xxii + 470 pp.

Mark D. Johnston has published "Gender as Conduct in the Courtesy Guides for Aristocratic Boys and Girls of Amanieu de Sescás," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20 (2003): 75-84.

Michael Jamie Kelly has received a M.A. in World History from Northeastern University.

Robert A. MacDonald has published *Leyes de los Adelantados Mayores. Regulations, Attributed to Alfonso X of Castile, Concerning the King's Vicar in the Judiciary and in Territorial Administration* (New York, 2000) and is completing *The Fuero of Briviesca: The Code of Law Granted in 1313 to the Burgaleses Municipality Called Verviesca* (New York, 2005).

J.B. Owens of Idaho State University has received fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for, respectively, the 2004-2005 and 2005-2006 academic years.

Kevin R. Poole is a Ph.D. Candidate in Spanish Literature and Culture at Ohio State University, working on a dissertation entitled "Image and Narration in the Morgan Beatus: Comentario al Apocalipsis, ms 644, from 926 A.D.," under the direction of Prof. Vicente Cantarino.

Teolilo F. Ruiz is chair of the History Department at UCLA, 2002-2005, and author of *From Heaven to Earth: The Reordering of Castilian Society* (Princeton University Press, 2004) and of *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* (Longmans, 2001).

Joseph T. Snow has been named an Honorary Life Member of the Canadian Association of Hispanists and has authored the following articles: "Fernando de Rojas," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography, 268. Spanish Writers, 1400-1500*, ed. F. Domínguez and G. Greenia (Columbia, S.C., 2003), 193-212; "Lo teatral en *Celestina*: el caso de Areúsa," *Proceedings of the International Congress in Commemoration of the Quincentennial Anniversary of 'La Celestina'* (New York, forthcoming 2004); "Laureola, Melibea, Marcela: Unas observaciones," in *Siglos dorados: Homenaje a Agustín Redondo*, coord. P. Civil (Madrid, 2004), 1401-1410; "Some Observations on Narrative Sequences in Alfonso X's Profane Poetry," *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* 6 (forthcoming, 2004); "Celestina en Europa, 1500-1550," in *Literatura y transgresión: Estudios. En homenaje al profesor Manuel Ferrer Chivite*, ed. Fermín Sierra Martínez, *Diálogos Hispánicos* 24, Amsterdam, 2004, 285-94; "Alfonso X. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Spanish Writers, 1200-1400*, ed. G. Greenia and F. Dominguez (Columbia, S.C., 2004).

Michael C. Weber is Assistant Professor of History at Salem State College; he has published articles on al-Farabi, Gundisalvus, Petrus Alfonsi, Al-Khwarismi and Monto Cassino in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Science* (Routledge, 2005 forthcoming).

Book Review

Williams, John, 2003, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse, V: The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. (413 pp.) London/ Turnhout, Harvey Miller Publishers.

Reviewed, with comments on Volumes I and II, by: L. G. Freeman, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago, and Instituto para Investigaciones Prehistóricas, Santander, Spain.

The appearance of Volume V of *The Illustrated Beatus*, covering codices of the 12th and 13th Centuries, at last completes John Williams's masterful project, begun in the 1970's and intended to describe all 27 surviving illustrated manuscripts, to determine when and where they were produced, and provide a short introductory discussion of the origins, evolution, and cultural context of the commentaries and their illuminations. In this review article I shall have occasion to refer to the first two volumes where they bear on this latest one -- the reader is also referred to my two previous reviews in this journal for additional detail. With exceptions that will be obvious, the following discussion summarizes Williams's text.

Ten years have passed since the first of these volumes appeared in 1994, and the fifth one has evidently been in the press for some time, since its bibliography contains no reference to Williams's own "Introduction" and "Commentaries of the Illumination," nor to Shailor's "Maius and the Scriptorium of Tábara," which appeared in Tomo III (Estudio) of the three-volume facsimile edition of the Morgan Beatus (Morgan ms. 644) published by Editorial Scriptorium in 2000. Since the Tábara Beatus was the model for the Las Huelgas ms., and seems to be the stem of the family of mss. including the Girona, Rylands, and Cardeña codices, reference to those studies would have been relevant to this volume had they been available when it went to press.

Williams never intended his treatise to be an exhaustive monographic study of each surviving manuscript, but rather an annotated photographic catalogue of the more than 1500 illustrations that have been preserved. The first of the five volumes in this work includes general introductory essays that are among Williams's most important contributions. Both Neuss and Klein have assigned the codices to two major "Family Trees," and Williams here adds his own revisions to the second of the branches. The introductory volume has

chapters on the person of Beatus, the text of the Commentaries, the origin and evolution of the illustrations, the intended uses of the commentary, and the relationship between the Beatus illuminations and Islamic art. There is a useful table of illustrations contained in each codex, and a bibliography. A list of the Commentaries included in each volume follows. It has been updated in Volume V to include new discoveries.

Williams's introductory volume presents what can now be known about the life of the presumed author of the commentaries, Beatus of Liebana, a monk and, according to Alcuin, Abbot of the monastery of Saint Martin of Turieno (later rededicated to Santo Toribio), in Liébana, formerly a part of the Kingdom of Asturias (now the western portion of the Autonomous Region of Cantabria) in Atlantic coastal Spain. Little is known of his life except from his commentaries, *In Apocalypsin*, first produced around the year 776 and revised in 784, his long anti-Adoptionist apologetic *Adversus Elipandum*, of 785-786, and (as I and my Spanish colleagues believe), the hymn *O Dei Verbum*, which first claimed Santiago as patron and defender of Spain. Beatus died sometime shortly after 800. It is impossible to exaggerate the impact of his writings, which were very widely copied and circulated, or of the illuminations of *In Apocalypsin*, on Western Christianity and on Romanesque art.

The text of the Commentaries is a compilation of observations on the Apocalypse and other themes, taken often verbatim from the works of the leading writers in Christendom. It was intended to be used by religious communities as a devotional aid, as material for the preparation of homilies, and as a guide to the coming end of the world (Vol. I, Ch. IV.) It is evident from the language Beatus borrows that it would have been best understood by those who already had some familiarity with patristic writings. But as I have noted elsewhere,¹ Beatus has imposed his own organization on what could otherwise be seen as a haphazard collection of quotations from authority.

In the chapter on the illustrations that is the meat of the first volume, Williams provides large black-and-white photos of selected pages from various codices, as well as some full-page, full-color illustrations. There are other color plates in the following chapter on intended uses of the Commentaries. They are nothing less than wonderful, and one can only regret that the publisher could not have reproduced all the figures in the same way. Clearly, however, no publisher could have afforded to do so, and the detail visible in the smaller illustrations in the other four volumes is adequate to the needs of most readers.

This third chapter discusses the origin and evolution of the illuminations; the position of the Silos fragment; the Isidoran texts cited by Beatus and their

relevance to the T-O maps in some codices; the relationships between the various branches in Neuss's and Klein's family trees; the incorporation of new material, including Christ's genealogy and Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel; the addition of frames and banded polychromatic backgrounds to the illustrations; the important influence of illuminators such as Maius of the Morgan Beatus produced at Tábara, whose work influenced so many later codices, and of Florentius and his successors at Valeránica; and the relationship of the illustrations to Carolingian art. Williams denies Mâle's claim that a widespread influence of *In Apocalypsin* on Christian art can be seen in sculptures in Central and Southern France, though he recognizes "occasional" examples of that influence in Spain (pp. 97 - 99). More than occasional, evidence of the influence of Beatus' codices on church sculptures in Cantabrian Spain is pervasive, and examples far from Spain are also known: dragons with twisted tails on capitals from Canterbury could have been copied directly from the Beatus illuminations.

Without denying the Islamic influence manifest in some codices (Williams's discussion of this in his fifth chapter is quite reasonable), a few illuminations that are generally assumed to exemplify Christian use of "Oriental" symbols probably have other explanations. That is true of the supposedly Islamic horseshoe arch, which really antedates Islam by centuries. Stierlin² (1983) correctly observed that this shape was already known in Imperial Rome. Figures on a stela from Monte-Cildá and an arch in the 6th century Visigothic rock-cut church from Arroyuelos, both illustrated by González Echegaray,³ are horseshoe-shaped. Another supposedly "Oriental" figure is the rider spearing the serpent (Vol. II, fig. 318) in the Girona codex. Williams recognized that this figure might be, rather than an Oriental rider, a Christian rider copying Muslim dress (Vol. I, p. 60). But the description Strabo gives of the hair style and headband of Cantabrian warriors and a Mainz stele showing a mounted Cantabrian⁴ (*Cantaber Viroti*) provide a pre-"Islamic" model for the Girona illumination. As Williams notes, any anti-Islamic (or subversive pro-Islamic) message intended to be conveyed by the Commentaries and their illustrations is either absent or indirect at best.

The second volume presents the Silos fragment, the Morgan (San Miguel de Escalada) Beatus, the fragments from Vitruvius 14-1 and 14-2, and the Beatus codices from Tábara and Girona. These oldest extant manuscripts should presumably exemplify some of the characteristics of the originals. The single illumination from the Silos codex is the crudest, which does not mean it is closest to the original form of the illuminations. Williams interprets the heads on its lower register as the faithful awaiting their reward, but does not note that

severed heads are used to represent the souls of the martyrs in some codices, and doves are so used in others, while both are represented together in the Silos fragment. The Morgan 644 manuscript was apparently produced for the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada, presumably by the same Maius who began the Tábara commentary of 968 that was either the model for several other Branch II codices or a very close relative of that model. I note that the monks of San Miguel considered it their pious duty to scratch the eyes from the figures of Satan, the Beast, the Whore, and the Antichrist (in one case, fig. 94, they have almost wholly obliterated the Devil). I have elsewhere called attention to this vandalism as an example of Church-sanctioned sympathetic magic. The Branch IIa Valcavado (Valladolid) *Beatus*, produced by the scribe Obeco, is very similar to the Morgan, except that Belshazzar and Daniel are shown semi-reclining on divan-thrones that appear to be Islamic in inspiration. The Tábara *Beatus* has a drawing of the scriptorium where it was produced, and a colophon recording the death of Maius and the termination of his work by one Emeterius in 970. The commentary is mutilated, and preserves only three illuminations from *In Apocalypsin* with others from Jerome's Commentary on Daniel. The Tábara commentaries seem to be older than the Girona, though both are said to have "Mozarabic" characteristics, including supposedly kufic-inspired ornaments. The Tábara also has later marginal glosses in Arabic. Williams rightly doubts that the scribes were truly Mozarabs, finding Carolingian sources for the ornamentation. The Girona codex is pictorially the most fascinating, from my perspective, and is relatively complete. It shows obvious Oriental influence – for example, in the large depiction of a Senmurv beside an eagle that has caught a gazelle, but as I have noted, the supposedly Islamic character of the Rider spearing a serpent can be otherwise explained, which renders Williams's long explanation of the figure (Vol. II, p. 60) superfluous. Most interesting to me are the inserted scenes from Christ's life, the Crucifixion, Harrowing of Hell, and Resurrection. The other two codices discussed in this volume are fragments from the Biblioteca Nacional. The Vitrina 14-1 fragment is the larger, and its figure of the Woman Clothed in the Sun is somewhat defaced by pious graffiti including the Crismon and initials of Christ.

Williams is to be commended for rectifying some previous errors in this final volume. He retracts his affirmation in Vol. 4 that Gregorio de Andrés claimed the Corsini *Beatus* might have been the model for 16th century Italian copies, noting that Andrés in fact observed that the Corsini only got to Italy in the 17th century. He also rightly observes that any reconstruction of the archetype for the Commentaries and their illustrations remains conjectural. Discussing the origins of the *Beatus* illuminations, Williams originally inclined to the opinion that an

illustrated Tyconian Commentary produced in North Africa was most likely as a model, though no such illustrations are known. At the writing of Vol. I, he stated that 8th century Asturias lacked any evidence of creativity in the figurative arts. However, by the time he composed his fifth volume, he had retracted this unfounded suggestion. On p. 10, he says that he has now decided that the *Beatus* miniatures were independently invented.

Volume V is the longest of the volumes in the series (413 pages), but as usual (except for Vol. I), when the lists of extant commentaries, the summary list of codices and their attribution to their places on Neuss' family trees, and the diagrammatic *stemmae* of various authors' analyses of the relationships between manuscripts are excluded, Williams's analysis of the catalogue of included codices occupies only 34 pages of the total. Given the quality of his commentary, one could only wish that it were more extensive. Small black-and-white illustrations of the miniatures make up most of the remainder. In reviewing earlier volumes, I have commented that reducing these (otherwise excellent) illustrations to such a small size, and rendering them in shades of gray instead of their original colors often obscures the details the specialist needs for interpretation, but given such a large number of miniatures, the publisher had no practical alternative.

As major sources of miniatures, Volume V encompasses the fascinating Lorvão codex and that from Navarre, both assigned to Neuss' Branch I, and the Branch IIb manuscripts from Manchester's Rylands University Library, from San Pedro de Cardeña, and the convents of Las Huelgas and San Andrés de Arroyo. Two (very) minor fragments are also described: two folios from Medina de Rioseco (Branch IIb), sent to Mexico as a cover for an expedient of purity of blood, and two small pieces from San Pedro de León, one of which shows a bird in the style of Branch I.

The almost intact codex from the Rylands Library in Manchester, dated to the last part of the 12th century, was apparently modeled on a manuscript from the family (IIb) of the Maius *Beatus* produced at Tábara. That *Beatus* manuscript was also the ultimate inspiration for the codices from San Pedro de Cardeña, as well as the Girona and Las Huelgas manuscripts; the one from San Pedro de Cardeña was probably directly modeled on the Rylands itself. The Rylands also introduced the polylobate arch form into the illustration of the message to the Church of Thyatira (Fig. 46), evidently copied by the Cardeña illustrator (Fig. 152). The illustrations of the message to the Church of Sardis from the Rylands codex (Fig. 47) and that from Cardeña uniquely show interlaced arches. I know of only one such set of interlaced arches in Spanish Romanesque architecture: the cloister from San Juan de Duero in Soria, dated to the first half of the 12th century. That may suggest that Williams's attribution of these codices to Castile (and

the age he assigns the Rylands manuscript) is correct. There is another (sculpted) depiction of intercrossed arches on the side of a sarcophagus at San Martín de Elines, near Valderredible in the Upper Ebro region of Cantabria, not far from the region's border with Burgos; however, it bears no inscription and its date can only be estimated as mid 12th century.

Williams notes that draperies in the Rylands have nested folds and ovoid forms suggesting Byzantine influence, not unexpected in a 12th century manuscript, and other indications of "Channel Style" influences. In particular, the Rylands is like a Commentary on an Epistle of St. Paul from Sahagún, dated to 1181.

I find it remarkable that the Beast in the Rylands figure of the Rider Triumphant Over the Beast (Fig. 107) is a boar. I do not recall any similar depiction in the codices. However, figures of boar hunts are well known from Romanesque sculptures in Cantabria (for example, the frieze at Sta. María de Piasca), and the Rylands illumination suggests that they may have more allegorical content than has been recognized. In fact, the bestiaries say that the boar is the epitome of savagery, who often attacks and disperses the faithful (the Jews)⁵.

The codex from San Pedro de Cardeña has been dispersed to 4 different places. It is a conservative manuscript of Family IIb. Two surprisingly similar hands are recognized in the production of the illustrations. The Cardeña commentary shows sufficient similarity to a 12th century Bible from Burgos that the latter may well have been illustrated by one of the two masters of the Cardeña manuscript, but both may have been produced in a scriptorium in Toledo, which was strongly tied culturally to Burgos at the time. Textual parallels as well as the unusual frontispiece both share are sufficient to indicate the Rylands as Cardeña's model, despite the contrary opinions of Neuss and Peter Klein. Williams notes in the first Antichrist table in both the phrase "cum septem capitibus et decem *carnibus* serpens" (rather than "decem *cornibus*"), and my inspection of the tables shows that in both cases numerical values are given for the letters that spell *Antechristum* rather than *Antichristum*, though the spelling "ante" (meaning "before" or predating) instead of "anti" (meaning "against" or opposed to) is expressly rejected by Beatus in his text. The dates of the two Beatus manuscripts are determined indirectly by the fact that each has characteristics of the English and French "Winchester Style" (after the Winchester Psalter) and "Channel Style", including details of figures and illuminated initials. Williams adds that the commission was carried out sometime during the reign of Alfonso VIII of Castile, who in 1170 married Leonor Plantaganet, the daughter of Henry II of England. In my opinion, this strengthens a connection with Soria already alluded to. As a child, Alfonso VIII had been raised and protected by the House of Lara in Soria,

and Queen Leonor became an especial benefactrix of the region, acquiring the title "Señora de Soria" shortly after her marriage.

The Branch I Beatus now in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo was produced by the scribe Egeas in the monastery of San Mammas de Lorvão in 1189. Though the colophon lists only the date and the scribe's name, and not the place of origin, that is established by similarities to "*O Livro das Aves*," known to have been produced at Lorvão. Apparently the scribe was also the illuminator, and one who wrote more expertly than he illustrated. The figures are diagrammatic, and color where present is a restricted palette of thinly applied colors: red, yellow and orange. I find some of the Lorvão miniatures, particularly that of the Woman Seated on the Beast, particularly enlightening. Williams notes that the signs that accompany her "indicate a shift on the part of Egeas from the reference in the Prologue to Book I to superstitious use of lunar or diurnal time ... to pictograms evocative to him, presumably, to (*sic*) the sign 'the ignorant attribute to Solomon'" — here Williams quotes from Sanders and Romero-Posé (Williams 2003: 32). Williams and the authorities he cites have come close to the right explanation. These strange signs were actually inspired by Beatus' section on the Woman Seated on the Beast which is immediately adjacent to the illustration in his Prologue to Book II. There, he condemns "those who practice augury and cast spells, and write and hang characters that are called by the ignorant the seal of Solomon, or any other kind of charms, from their necks ...; all these and similar things are inventions of the devil, and were introduced from pagan ritual This is the corrupt woman, who sits on the beast"⁶

Elsewhere, I have noted that one of the signs is in fact what is popularly called the Seal of Solomon, that most of the others are readily identifiable as occult characters, and that the mounted woman bears in her right hand the monogram that is simultaneously the name and the number of the Antichrist⁷.

The semi-circular shape of arches suggests that the model for the Lorvão Beatus was probably not in so-called "Mozarabic" style, and may be (distantly) related to the 11th century manuscript from Burgo de Osma. This as well as the Las Huelgas Beatus bear marginal annotations indicating the monastic use of passages from the Commentary. Though these glosses were added at a later date, it is likely that they reflect traditional uses that date as early as the production of the manuscript.

The Navarre Beatus is judged to be the youngest representative of Branch I but, unlike earlier examples of this branch, has illustrations that are both framed and set against uniformly colored grounds, ordinarily violet or reddish. The style of the illustrations shows that it should still be considered a twelfth century production. The

mapamundi has been rotated so that south is at the top, and the drawing of a unipod is found on its SW corner. There, Astorga has been depicted as walled, which Avril took to indicate the illustrator's familiarity with the real city, and hence a Leonese origin for the manuscript, but the illustration is so schematic as to be worthless as evidence of a concrete place, in my own opinion. (Williams also states that a 14th century Navarrese document bound with the codex only shows that the manuscript was there by the 14th century, and is no proof of origin. He nonetheless postulates illumination in a scriptorium somewhere near Pamplona). The figure of the message to Sardis shows a female, interpreted by Neuss as the Church, rather than St. John. The panel of the Silence in Heaven shows 4 people with their fingers to their lips in a "hushing" gesture. As I have remarked elsewhere, I think that the stars on this panel may originally have been inspired by flowers — perhaps roses — which seems to be what they are in the Morgan, and what they may also be in the Burgo de Osma and Escorial miniatures illustrating the same passage. I also find the miniature of the Sixth Trumpet, and the loosing of the angels from the Euphrates, to be unusual. Unlike most, it shows only the six angels, omitting the figure of the Pantocrator. Another illustration that seems peculiar to me is that of the Reign of the Seven-Headed Beast, which shows him with eleven horns instead of the conventional ten. I should also point out that the horseshoe-shaped arches in the figures of the Plague Angels issuing from the Sanctuary (Fig. 300) and the Devil Chained in the Abyss (Fig. 318) are virtually identical to those on a pre-Islamic stele from Monte Cildá.

The Las Huelgas codex is the youngest one dated (Sept. 1220). That it is modeled on the Tábara Beatus of Branch IIb is shown by a copy of the Tábara colophon and of the illustration of scribes working in the Tower of Tábara. It was found in the Convent of Las Huelgas, founded in 1187 by Alfonso VIII and Queen Leonor (though it may not have been produced there) and may have been donated by Queen Berenguela, who retired to that convent. Three illustrators are involved, and all were apparently related to Toledo. The Morgan Library acquired it from a Cistercian dependency of Las Huelgas.

Williams's best analysis of illustrations in this volume's catalogue is that of the manuscript from San Andrés de Arroyo, a Branch IIb codex dating perhaps from 1220-1235. The Commentary on Daniel is missing from the manuscript, which unfortunately lacks several of its final pages. Textually, it is virtually identical to the Rylands and the Cardeña, with which it also shares pictorial elements. Whether it is actually based on the Tábara manuscript or a later copy like the Rylands cannot be determined.

Some elements of the miniatures are like Branch I. Williams observes that the miniature of the Woman

Clothed in the Sun (Figs. 487-488) unusually shows two dragons, one on each facing page. But the narrative suggested by the illumination is divisible into the story of the Woman (Ap 12: 1-6, 13-17) and the story of the War in Heaven (Ap 12: 7-12), which seem to me to be separately depicted here. In my opinion, an illustration showing two dragons may have been the model for the storied capital in the Romanesque church of Santa María de Bareyo in Cantabria showing two multi-headed dragons, which has also been considered anomalous. It seems strange that Williams did not comment that the comparable figure in the Navarre Beatus is similarly divided; the right-hand page, pretty clearly the War in Heaven, shows three dragons being speared and forced from Heaven by angels (Fig. 295). One, the largest, is the same seven-headed serpent shown with the Woman on the facing page; each of his minions has but a single head.

The unique illustration of the Last Judgment (Fig. 519) is one of the most striking from any manuscript. It shows Hell as the open mouth of a grotesque Leviathan, devouring the tortured souls of the damned. Similar depictions of Hell are to be found in the (later) Rylands codex (Fig. 113) the late 12th century Bible of Avila, and the 13th century Psalter of Blanche of Castile. I find the likeness of this conception of Hell to that illustrated by the Master MS in the 1534 Luther Bible quite striking⁸.

The 13th century Rioseco fragment consists of one folio and part of another, used as a cover for a certificate of "purity of blood" sent from Spain to Mexico in 1559. The complete folio has a miniature of the *Millennial Judges*, and the fragment has the left side of the *Angel Standing in the Sun*. Both simple line drawings belong to Branch IIb and show details like those from San Andrés de Arroyo.

Two small fragments from San Pedro de León date to the late 10th to early 11th centuries. One shows a bird in Branch I style that may have been part of a miniature of Noah's Ark.

A few errors have crept into the illustration captions. The captions of figures 304, 305, and 306 in the Navarre Beatus have been interchanged: 304 is the *Fourth Angel*, not the *Third*; Fig. 305 the *Fifth*, not the *Fourth*; and 306 the *Third*, not the *Fifth*. For the Arroyo Beatus, there is a similar confusion: the captions for the *Fifth Trumpet* and the *Sixth Trumpet* have been exchanged. Carelessness on the designer's or editor's part, rather than Williams's, is probably responsible. But any comparison of the caption texts with the accompanying illustrations should have made these errors obvious. However, a detail of Arroyo's *Fifth Seal* showing Christ flanked by stylized plants has been labeled "Wheat and Barley," and in this case the fault likely lies with Williams. No Spanish illuminator, cleric or not, would have been unfamiliar with the real shapes of those common grains, and the imaginative bushy and arboreal growths shown, some with stylized rounded fruits,

could never in a million years be intended to represent wheat or barley.

As one might expect, such an extensive work has some minor failings. There are a few misprints in the text. Some of the legends of the illustrations have been exchanged. In his first volume, Williams repeatedly uses the non-word "Cantabrian" for the Cantabrian region (p. 7). And while the extensive bibliography has been updated periodically, it is far from exhaustive, and contains a number of misprints. Since a good bibliography is one of the most important aspects of a work like this, I also find it irritating that in some cases the titles and editors of volumes are only given as parts of citations of selected articles (try, for example, to find R. Emmerson and B. McGinn, eds., 1992, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* in the main bibliography – it is there, but only under Williams – and where is Peter Klein's useful article in the same volume?). The bibliography looks to have been compiled in some haste. I admit that my peevishness reflects a bit of personal bias: the bibliography still lists me as Leslie J. Freedom.

As is normal for such a well illustrated work, each of the individual volumes in this set is so costly that only institutions and specialists are likely to be able to afford all five. That, though unavoidable, is a great shame, for the strength of Williams's conception is that he intended to familiarize a larger audience with these works. Though he has succeeded to a degree, the number of readers will still be limited by the price. But despite their cost, no Medievalist who buys the complete set will find the expense unwarranted. Since publication of this work began, a number of beautifully produced facsimile editions of Beatus manuscripts have appeared, but each is priced so much farther beyond the reach of any but the wealthiest collector that by comparison the Williams volumes are quite economical. These five volumes are an absolutely essential resource. There is nothing that can take their place.

NOTES

- 1 Freeman, L. G., "Elementos simbólicos en la obra de Beato." Ch. III in González Echegaray, J., A. del Campo, and L. G. Freeman, eds., *Obras completas de Beato de Liebana*, 1995, Madrid, Biblioteca de Aurores Cristianas and Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, BAC maior 47: pp. XXXIII-LVI.
- 2 Stierlin, H., *Los Beatos de Liébana y el Arte Mozárabe*, 1983, Madrid, Editora Nacional, pp. 120-121.
- 3 González Echegaray, J., *Cantabria en la transición al Medioevo*, 1998, Santander, Ediciones de Librería Estudio. Plates IIIb and VIII.
- 4 Strabo, ca. 58 B. C. – 25 A. D., *Geography* III, 7; Iglesias Gil, J. M., "Roma en el país de los Cántabros", in *Cántabros. Génesis de un pueblo*. 1999, Caja Cantabria, Santander, pp. 202-204).
- 5 Barber, R., *Bestiary*, 1993, Woodbridge UK, The Boydell Press, p. 87.
- 6 Beatus of Liebana, "Commentaries on the Apocalypse of the Blessed Apostle John", (Transl. L. G. Freeman), in Facsimile edition of the San Miguel de Escalada codex of Beatus de Liebana's *In Apocalypsin*, Vol III, *Estudio del Manuscrito del Apocalipsis de San Juan, Beato de Liebana de San Miguel de Escalada*, 2000, Valencia, Editorial Scriptorium, p. 415.
- 7 Beatus of Liebana, *op. cit.* p. 374.
- 8 "Die Offenbarung Sanct Johannis," f. 186v., Die Dritte Figur (The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse) in Complete Facsimile Edition of *Biblia, das ist die Gantze Heilige Schrift: Deudsch*, T. II, *Das Neue Testament*, (1534), Tr. Martin Luther, Wittemberg, 2003, Cologne, Taschen.