

Women's Spaces —Real and Imagined— in the Illustrated Beatus Commentaries

Espacios de mujeres —auténticos e imaginados— en los Beatos ilustrados

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RESUMEN

El Comentario al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana representado por veintinueve conocidos ejemplares, desde un solo folio hasta más de 300, es un género ilustrado cuya vigencia superó los tres siglos. Aunque los coloridos manuscritos han sido estudiado por especialistas en una gama amplia de campos, la tradición de los Beatos jamás se había analizado desde una perspectiva de género. Por lo tanto, en el presente artículo los autores investigan esta tradición apocalíptica como un conjunto para poder recuperar la memoria de la participación de las mujeres. Para tal fin, se aplica una analítica espacial al matronazgo y a las prácticas de las religiosas así como a las imágenes más parlantes de las representaciones femeninas para demostrar que a través de una aproximación de género se revelan evidencias de originalidad en los manuscritos medievales. De la misma manera se recobra una comprensión más completa y equilibrada de la tradición de los Beatos en sí.

Palabras claves: Comentario al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana. Mujeres. Monacato medieval. Espacio. Memoria.

ABSTRACT

The medieval Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana, with twenty-nine surviving examples that extend from a single page to over 300 folios, is an illustrated genre spanning more than three centuries. Although the color-filled manuscripts have been well studied by scholars from a range of fields, the Beatus tradition has never been analyzed from a gendered perspective. In the present article, therefore, the authors investigate this apocalyptic genre as a whole in order to recover the memory of women's involvement with the Beatus Commentaries. To do so, we apply a spatial analysis to female patronage and practices, and to the most telling examples of female representations within, demonstrating that a gendered lens brings to the fore evidence of originality in medieval manuscripts while restoring a more complete and balanced understanding of the Beatus tradition overall.

Key words: Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana. Women. Medieval monasticism. Space. Memory.

SUMMARY

1.—Introduction. 2.—Assessing the Statistics of the Beatus Commentaries. 3.—The Gendered Spaces of the Beatus Commentaries. 3.1.—Physical Space. 3.2.—Social Space. 3.3.—Imagined Space. 4.—Conclusions. 5.—Bibliographic References. 6.—Appendices. 6.1.—Appendix A, List of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries. 6.2.—Appendix B, Monastic Origins of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries. 6.3.—Appendix C, Female Imagery in the Beatus Commentaries.

1.—Introduction

The illustrated Commentaries on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana, with surviving examples from the tenth through thirteenth centuries, are justly famous for their brilliant painted imagery¹. Twenty-nine manuscripts are known, from complete books to fragments representing a lost whole; of these, twenty-five were produced on the Iberian Peninsula, one just across the Pyrenees in France, and three in Italy². The Beatus tradition has long been studied by art historians, philologists, and paleographers³; however, the Commentaries as a whole have never before been examined from a gendered perspective. The present article therefore poses questions about what more these largely anonymous manuscripts might reveal if subjected to a scholarly inquiry that does not start from the presumption that their producers and consumers were necessarily men. In some of the examples addressed here, both genders participated in the making and use of the manuscript, while in other copies the anonymity of artists, patrons, and readers is absolute. In our collaborative study, therefore, the authors examine the clear evidence for the various roles played by women in the history of these objects, teasing out the

1. This article brings together the research and methodological approaches of John Williams and Therese Martin to produce a study that neither of us could have done alone. It further developed through fruitful discussions with colleagues in the research project headed by Ana Rodríguez, “Espacios y lugares del rey. Una perspectiva europea”, as part of “Los espacios del poder regio, ca. 1050-1385. Procesos políticos y representaciones” (HAR2010-21725-C03-03). A visiting scholar residency at Stanford University in 2017-2018, with support from a Salvador de Madariaga grant (PRX17/00526), allowed Therese Martin to finish the research and writing of the joint study. Any errors that remain are hers, as John Williams did not live to see this work come to completion. Thanks are offered to Jitske Jasperse, Antonio Ledesma, Shannon Wearing, and the anonymous reviewers of *Arenal*, all of whom gave helpful suggestions for improvement.

2. See Appendix A for a citation of each manuscript. The details in this article’s three appendices have been gleaned from WILLIAMS, John: *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. London, Harvey Miller, 5 vols., 1994-2003, with supplements from WILLIAMS, John: *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain: Catalogue of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse and Study of the Geneva Beatus*. MARTIN, Therese (ed.), Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2017 (<http://www.oapen.org/search?keyword=9789462980624>).

3. See especially Manuel Díaz y Díaz, Peter K. Klein, Roger Gryson, Wilhelm Neuss, Ana Suárez González, and John Williams.

remembrance of a few named women while delving into the choices behind the representations of female figures in the imagery overall. As we shall see, an analysis of the Beatus Commentaries through the concept of women's spaces offers evidence of originality in individual manuscripts, despite the reiterative nature of the genre, enriching our understanding of medieval book culture as a whole.

In the interest of shining a light on this scholarly lacuna, it is useful to ask why the full scope of women's involvement with the Beatus phenomenon has not yet been interrogated. It is true that individual studies have centered on a few named women, such as the illuminator who declared herself "En, painter and helper of God" in the Girona Beatus⁴, or the queens who sponsored a book's production, as did Sancha of León in the mid-eleventh century or Berenguela of Castilla in the early thirteenth⁵. But missing from Beatus scholarship are the overarching questions about women within the genre as a whole. This absence likely springs in part from the preponderance of male monasteries to which several of the manuscripts can reliably be associated, as we discuss below. This is not a complete answer, however, given that a greater number of Beatus Commentaries are anonymous or unassigned than are firmly tied to male communities. For another part of the answer, therefore, we must look to presumptions about power in the Middle Ages and about men's versus women's place in historical memory. That is to say, because medieval men are understood to have had more agency and authority than women, scholarly thinking about the Beatus Commentaries has unconsciously naturalized even the anonymous manuscripts as pertaining to men's space. Assumptions such as this represent a fracturing of memory through which the roles of medieval women come to be forgotten.

By analyzing the copies that can be identified with specific women and comparing them with several manuscripts for which we have no concrete evidence for either gender's involvement in their production or patronage history, this study points to a richer and more complex story for the Beatus Commentaries overall. Many "makers", in the formulation of Therese Martin, intersected in the creation

4. FERRER DALGÁ, María Rosa: "Una miniaturista en tierras de repoblación". In HERNANDO GARRIDO, José Luis and GARCÍA GUINEA, Miguel Ángel (coords.): *Seminario: repoblación y reconquista. Actas del III curso de cultura medieval*. Aguilar de Campoo, Centro de Estudios del Románico, 1993, 267-272; PÉREZ, Maurilio: "Tres colofones de Beatos: su texto, traducción y comentario". In PÉREZ, Maurilio (ed.): *Seis estudios sobre Beatos medievales*. León, Universidad de León, 2010, pp. 226-227.

5. For Sancha's patronage, see GALVÁN FREILE, Fernando: "La producción de manuscritos iluminados de la Edad Media y su vinculación a las monarquías hispanas". *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 13 (2001) 37-51. Concerning Berenguela, see RAIZMAN, David: "Prayer, Patronage, and Piety at Las Huelgas: New Observations on the Later Morgan Beatus (M. 429)". In MARTIN, Therese and HARRIS, Julie (eds.): *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*. Leiden, Brill, 2005, pp. 235-273.

of this genre, from scribes and abbots to countesses and queens⁶. Taking our analysis beyond the historical individuals who produced or pored through illustrated Commentaries, another question we ask concerns the imagined space of women therein: where and why do the visual differentiations between the genders play out in the Commentaries on the Apocalypse? In sum, this essay addresses the larger tale to be told through a holistic look at the evidence for women's place—real and imagined—in the making of the illustrated Beatus manuscripts. In doing so, we take a step toward restoring to scholarly memory some overlooked women's spaces from the Middle Ages.

2.—*Assessing the Statistics of the Beatus Commentaries*

Abbot Beatus of Liébana completed the first version of his Commentary on the Apocalypse in 776 for his own monastic community in the mountains of Cantabria; today, the oldest manuscripts to survive in nearly complete form date from a century and a half later. For the purposes of this essay, a telling example concerns the three major tenth-century copies produced at San Salvador de Tábara, a mixed monastery with both nuns and monks, which had been founded around the year 900 by Saint Froilanus⁷. Tábara serves as a healthy reminder that early medieval monasticism on the Iberian Peninsula, based on a kinship model, was more likely to include both male and female religious members than to be dedicated exclusively to one gender or the other⁸. At this major monastic site, we can trace successive generations of highly trained scribe-illuminators, beginning with Maius, who produced the magnificent Morgan Beatus around 945⁹. After the death of Maius, his unfinished work on the Tábara Beatus was brought to conclusion by his disciple Emeterius

6. The term “makers”, from the common *me fecit* inscriptions, refers to the individuals of the early and central Middle Ages who participated in the production and consumption of art as “patrons and facilitators, producers and artists, owners and recipients”. See MARTIN, Therese: “Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History.” In MARTIN, Therese (ed.): *Reassessing the Roles of Women as ‘Makers’ of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden, Brill, 2012, pp. 1-33, esp. 5.

7. GONZÁLEZ LOPO, Domingo L.: *Froilán de Lugo. Biografía e culto dun home santo (Ensaio de revisión haxiográfica)*. Lugo, Concello de Lugo, 2005.

8. On this matter, see the scholarship of DÍAZ, Pablo C.: “*Regula communis*: Monastic Space and Social Context”. In DEY, Hendrik and FENTRESS, Elizabeth (eds.): *Western Monasticism ante litteram: The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2011, pp. 117-135.

9. WILLIAMS: *The Illustrated Beatus*, vol. II, pp. 21-33; *id.*: “Introduction”. In *Estudio del manuscrito del Apocalipsis de San Juan: Beato de Liébana de San Miguel de Escalada*. Valencia, 2000, Scriptorium, pp. 599-605; SHAILOR, Barbara, “Maius and the Scriptorium of Tábara”. In *Estudio del manuscrito del Apocalipsis de San Juan: Beato de Liébana de San Miguel de Escalada*. Valencia, Scriptorium, 2000, pp. 635-639; PÉREZ: “Tres colofones”.

in 970¹⁰. For the Girona Beatus, completed at the same monastery just five years later, Emeterius worked together with a third illuminator, the aforementioned En (fig. 1)¹¹. In the 975 colophon of the Girona Beatus, red script on a dark green background places En's name before that of Emeterius, indicating that his role in the manuscript's production should be remembered as subordinate to hers. The line reads "En, painter and helper of God, brother Emeterius, priest" (*En depintrix et D[e]i aiutrix frater Emeterius et presbiter*)¹². The Morgan, Tábara, and Girona copies form a rare group within the Beatus tradition for their detailed colophons that allow us to confidently associate them with specific moments in time at a particular monastery, in this case a mixed community¹³. As we shall see, this does

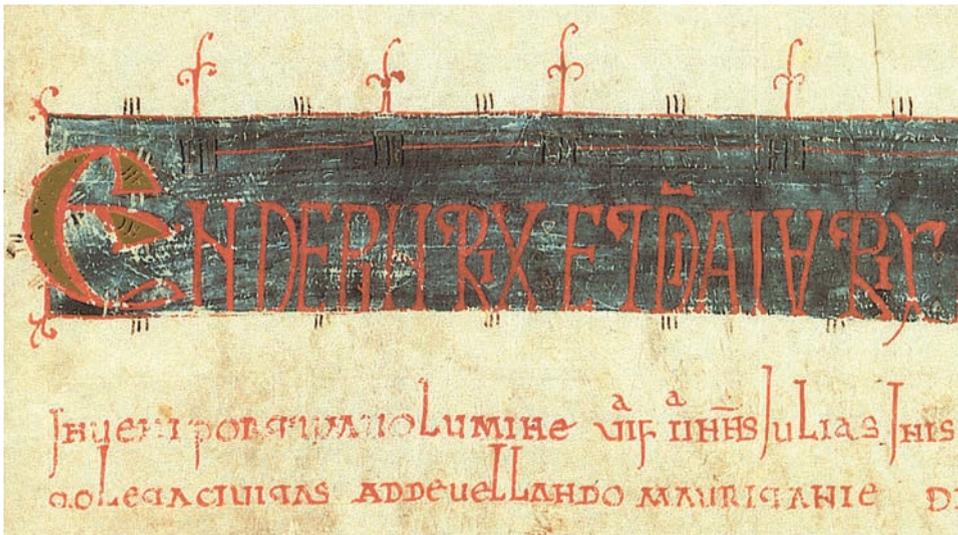


Fig. 1. Colophon detail, Girona Beatus, fol. 284r. Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7(11). Photo: John Williams.

10. WILLIAMS: *The Illustrated Beatus*, vol. II, pp. 43-49; *id.*, WILLIAMS, John: "El Beato de Tábara". In *Beato de Tábara: original conservado en el Archivo Histórico Nacional. Estudios*. Madrid, Testimonio, 2005, pp. 147-171; YARZA LUACES, Joaquín: *Beato de Liébana: manuscritos iluminados*. Barcelona, Moleiro, 1998, pp. 96-98.

11. WILLIAMS: *The Illustrated Beatus*, vol. II, pp. 51-64; YARZA: *Beato de Liébana*, pp. 106-141; MIRANDA GARCÍA-TEJEDOR, Carlos: "Estudio estilístico e iconográfico del Beato de Girona". In *Beato de Liébana. Códice de Girona*. Barcelona, Moleiro, 2004, pp. 23-309.

12. A close examination of the Girona colophon clarifies the confusion that has cropped up around her name: spacing indicates that she is *En depintrix*, not *Ende pintrix*. Further confirming this reading, the colophon for the Valcavado Beatus also uses the verb *depingere* (not *pingere*) for Obecus, its scribe/illuminator.

13. Yet even this conclusion is not shared by all scholars. GARCÍA LOBO, Vicente: "El Beato de Tábara". In *Beato de Tábara: original conservado en el Archivo Histórico Nacional. Estudios*.

not hold true for most *Beatus* manuscripts, in which patrons and producers are but irregularly commemorated.

Of the twenty-nine known copies or fragments of the Commentary, only nine —just over one-third— name the illuminator (whose role is sometimes differentiated from that of the scribe¹⁴); the only female painter is the aforementioned En. Although she stands alone in the *Beatus* Commentaries, En is representative of the larger group of female scribe/illuminators whose names and even portraits appear in medieval manuscripts across western Christendom, such as Guda in the Frankfurt Homiliary, who states that she “wrote and painted” this book (*scripsit quae pinxit*)¹⁵.

The numbering of the manuscripts below follows Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, in which nos. 1-26 appear in chronological order from the late ninth to early thirteenth centuries (see Appendix A for specific dating of each example); numbers 27-29 represent the recently discovered copies.

Named *Beatus* illuminators

2. The Morgan *Beatus*: Maius
4. The Valcavado *Beatus*: Obecus
5. The Tábara *Beatus*: Magius/Maius, Emeterius
6. The Girona *Beatus*: En, Emeterius
11. The Facundus *Beatus*: Facundus
13. The Saint-Sever *Beatus*: Stephanus Garsia, Placidus, *et al.*
14. The Osma *Beatus*: Martinus
16. The Silos *Beatus*: Petrus
22. The Lorvão *Beatus*: Egeas

As this short list indicates, painters were more likely to be named in manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries than in later moments. The Silos *Beatus* was completed in 1109, leaving the Lorvão *Beatus*, made in 1189, as the only true outlier in terms of date. No other surviving copies from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries include the name of the illuminator. This may reflect a shift

Madrid, Testimonio, 2005, pp. 58-65, holds that the Morgan *Beatus* was made at the Leonese monastery of San Miguel de Escalada.

14. The colophon of the Silos *Beatus*, for example, tells us that the writing was completed in 1091, but the illustration had to wait till 1109 when a trained painter joined the monastery. See Appendix A for a list of the *Beatus* manuscripts with the names of all identified scribes, illustrators, and patrons.

15. For Guda's self-representation, see MARIAUX, Pierre Alain: “Women in the Making: Early Medieval Signatures and Artists' Portraits (9th-12th c.)”. In MARTIN, Therese (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden, Brill, 2012, pp. 393-427, esp. 413-415, fig. 9, color plate 16.

from in-house manuscript production by members of the religious community to the more professionalized nature of later illuminators, who were often itinerant¹⁶.

The number of extant Beatus Commentaries with named patrons is even lower, just eight of the twenty-nine known examples. Of these eight manuscripts, women's names figure in two (although John Williams has proposed the involvement of a female patron in a third example, discussed below).

Named Beatus patrons

2. The Morgan Beatus: "at the command of the abbot of the victor" [i.e., the abbot of San Miguel de Moreruela]
4. The Valcavado Beatus: Abbot Sempronius
6. The Girona Beatus: Abbot Dominicus
11. The Facundus Beatus: King Fernando (r. 1037-1065) and Queen Sancha (d. 1067) of León-Castile
12. The Fanlo Beatus: Abbot Pantio (or Banzo)
13. The Saint-Sever Beatus: Abbot Gregory
16. The Silos Beatus: Abbot Fortunius
24. The Las Huelgas Beatus: Berenguela of Castile (d. 1246), queen of León 1197-1204

In a list made up mainly of abbots, a royal couple and a solo queen may seem to be anomalous, but this apparent oddity might better be put down to accidents of survival. The Facundus Beatus (completed 1047) names both Fernando and Sancha as patrons of the manuscript in the acrostic on folio 7: FREDENANDUS REX DEI GRA[TIA] M[EMO]R[I]A LIBER / SANCIA M[EMO]R[I]A L[I]BRI¹⁷. This explicit statement about remembrance underlines the multiple functions of such manuscripts; first, the Commentaries were designed to be contemplated by members of a religious community, for as Beatus himself declared in the original dedication of the first Commentary, both texts and images were created "for the edification of the brothers". But at the same time, these books would also have evoked the memory of their patrons, maintaining the donor's presence through the tangible pages of the book. Although the commissioning of a Beatus Commentary by secular figures seems unexpected, it must be assessed within the larger context of lay donations

16. This is the case, for example, in the creation of a bible in 1162 by itinerant painters for the Augustinians at San Isidoro in León, as the colophon makes clear. See HERNÁNDEZ FERREIRÓS, Ana: "Tradicón y copia en la ilustración de manuscritos bíblicos en la península ibérica. Las Biblias de San Isidoro de León (1162) y San Millán de la Cogolla (ca. 1200)". Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2016.

17. SÁNCHEZ MARIANA, Manuel and YARZA LUACES, Joaquín (eds.): *El Beato de Liébana, códice de Fernando I y doña Sancha*. Barcelona, Moleiro, 1994; WILLIAMS: *The Illustrated Beatus*, vol. III.

in general and of this royal couple's books in particular, which also included his-and-hers prayer books and a miscellany that bears the names of Sancha and her eldest son Sancho. In this group, the queen's primary role stands out: her name is the common factor in all four, as scholars have emphasized, while Fernando never appears without Sancha¹⁸. What is more, the queen is credited in the elaborate prayer book as having ordered it to be made for Fernando¹⁹. So while both members of the ruling couple sought to be remembered through the commissioning of manuscripts, it is safe to say that Sancha was the driving force in these acts. Further, we have the *Las Huelgas Beatus* (completed 1220), which David Raizman has argued was made for Berenguela of Castile more than a decade after her marriage to King Alfonso XI of León had ended and she had returned to Burgos²⁰. This would have been just around the time that Berenguela reigned as queen of Castile in 1217 and then as co-ruler with her son Fernando III, who would go on in 1230 to govern the reunited Kingdom of Castilla-León. In the colophon of the *Las Huelgas Beatus*, the patron is named "that lady, most generous to God and to men" (*illa d[omi]na largissima deo et hominibus*), for whom the scribe desires that she may be seated at the right hand of God so that she can "pray for the souls of her deceased" (*orate pro animabus predecessorum suorum*)²¹. Raizman recognizes in the making of this, the largest of all *Beatus* Commentaries, "Berenguela's consciousness of and ambitions for the Castilian royal patrimony and her sense of duty to her deceased parents and siblings [as] essential elements in strengthening the dynasty"²². As

18. CASTIÑEIRAS GONZÁLEZ, Manuel Antonio: "Algunos usos y funciones de la imagen en la miniatura hispánica del siglo XI: los Libros de Horas de Fernando I y Sancha". In *Propaganda e Poder: Congresso peninsular de história da arte, Lisboa, 5 a 8 de Maio de 1999*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri, 2000, pp. 71-94; GALVÁN FREILE: "La producción de manuscritos"; *id.*: "El Liber canticorum et horarum de Sancha (B.G.U.S., Ms. 2668). Entre la tradición prerrománica y la modernidad". In ARBEITER, Achim *et al.* (eds.): *Hispaniens Norden im 11. Jahrhundert: christliche Kunst im Umbruch = El norte hispánico en el siglo XI: un cambio radical en el arte cristiano*. Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009, pp. 248-256; MARTIN, Therese: "Fuentes de potestad para reinas e infantas: el infantazgo en los siglos centrales de la Edad Media". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 46, 1 (2016) 97-136.

19. *Sancia ceu voluit /quod sum regina peregit /era millena nouies /dena quoque terna. / Petrus erat scriptor /Fructuosus denique pictor.*

20. WILLIAMS: *The Illustrated Beatus*, vol. II, pp. 38-42; RAIZMAN: "Prayer, Patronage, and Piety". KLEIN, Peter K.: "Las ilustraciones del Códice del Beato de Las Huelgas". In *Estudio del manuscrito del Beato de Las Huelgas, M. 429*. Valencia, Scriptorium, 2004, pp. 11-176. Klein assigns the *Las Huelgas* Commentary to Doña Sancha García, who was abbess 1207-1230, rather than to Berenguela.

21. The colophon appears on folio 184. For its full transcription and translation, see BUCHANAN, E.: *The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse from the Codex Laudianus (Sacred Latin Texts, IV)*. London, Heath, Cranton, 1916, pp. 68-69.

22. RAIZMAN: "Prayer, Patronage, and Piety", p. 248.

is well known, Berenguela also commissioned the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy, indicating her larger interest in book production with a dynastic emphasis.

The memories of Queens Sancha and Berenguela live on through the lucky survival of the magnificent works they sponsored; indeed, Sancha is doubly present in a donor portrait and in the repetition of her inscribed name. To comprehend the larger context of these two Commentaries, however, we must also take into account Apocalypse manuscripts that were made or donated at the behest of other elite women; now lost, these books are known only from brief references in charters. Countess Mumadona Dias (d. after 968), for example, who ruled the county of Portugal as regent from 943 to 950, made a spectacular donation in 959 to the monastery of Guimarães. There, among a multitude of properties, liturgical objects, and books, she gave an “*Apocalipsin*”²³, just as did Infanta Urraca of León (d. 1101) in her own generous foundational charter of 1099 to the monastery of Eslonza²⁴. In the infanta’s donation, the book is equally listed without elaboration as an “*Apochalipsim*”. Neither of these offerings provides descriptive details to confirm that the Apocalypse manuscripts were Beatus Commentaries, though it is the most likely option²⁵. This type of endowment from powerful women to a favored monastery also parallels that of Countess Urraca of Pamplona (d. after 1008), wife of Guillaume-Sanche of Gascony. John Williams posited the lost gift of a Beatus Commentary from the countess to the monastery of Saint-Sever, which flourished under her patronage, seeing the older book’s reflection in a copy made at Saint-Sever in the third quarter of the eleventh century²⁶. Before going to Gascony, Urraca’s first marriage had been to the Castilian count Fernán González (d. 970), who employed the famous illuminator Florentius of Valeránica as his court scribe²⁷. Perhaps the commissioning of the Facundus and Las Huelgas Commentaries by queens would not seem so extraordinary within the pattern of Beatus patronage if more recorded gifts by elite women had survived.

23. GUIMARÃES, João Gomes de Oliveira: “Testamentum quod fecit domna Muma de suas villas ad cisterio Vimaranes”. In *Vimaranis Monumenta Historica: a saeculo nono post Christum usque ad vicesimum*, IX, 959, Vimarane, Vimarane Senatus, pp. 7-10.

24. RUIZ ASECIO, José Manuel and RUIZ ALBI, Irene (eds.): *Colección documental del Monasterio de San Pedro de Eslonza*, vol. I (912-1300). León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2007, pp. 182-187.

25. For other types of Apocalypse manuscripts, see EMMERSON, Richard K.: *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts*. University Park, Penn State University Press, 2018.

26. WILLIAMS: *Visions of the End*, pp. 63-64. See also CABANOT, Jean and PON, Georges: “La mappemonde de Saint-Sever”. *Bulletin de la Société de Borda*, 138e année, 509 and 510 (2013) 3-18 and 131-158; KLEIN, Peter K.: “Commentary”. In *The Saint-Sever Beatus and its Influence on Picasso’s Guernica*. Valencia, Patrimonio, 2013, pp. 303-306.

27. WILLIAMS, John: “A Contribution to the History of the Castilian Monastery of Valeránica and the Scribe Florentius”. *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 11 (1970) 231-248.

As these examples illustrate, women should be remembered for their roles as illuminators and patrons of Beatus Commentaries, if in numbers much lower than those of men, paralleling the reduced margin to act of women during the Middle Ages²⁸. Moving now from the individual to the institutional, when we examine the locations at which the illustrated Commentaries were made and put into use, fully thirteen have no known origin (see Appendix B). Of the remaining sixteen, two copies can be associated with female monasteries and four with mixed communities. Ten Commentaries have been assigned to male monasteries, with the caveat that only six of these are certain, and one of the six (Lorvão) would become a female Cistercian establishment just a generation after its manuscript was created²⁹. In the Lorvão Beatus, marginal notations indicating an adaptation to liturgical usage appeared long after the monastery's conversion, demonstrating this book's active use by the female community over the course of centuries. In one additional example that is not counted today among the twenty-nine illustrated copies, John Williams has suggested that the Commentary belonging to the female monastery of San Pedro de Dueñas, now in a fragmentary state, may once have had illustrations, just as do the two surviving copies made at Sahagún, the male monastery on which Dueñas depended³⁰. In terms of gendered location and usage, then, less numerical disparity exists in the corpus of Commentaries than in the matter of named illuminators or patrons. Perhaps we can suggest that this institutional sample reveals the real spaces of medieval women, but their place as generally subordinate to men in the Middle Ages is reflected in the smaller number of women's names in the colophons.

3.—*The Gendered Spaces of the Beatus Commentaries*

The lack of commemorative details associated with most Beatus manuscripts need not lead to a scholarly dead end for the question of women's involvement in the larger illustrated tradition. Rather, if we consider the Commentaries through the concept of medieval space, we can delve into the matter through multiple

28. For an approach to medieval culture through this lens, see MARTIN, Therese: "The Margin to Act: A Framework of Investigation for Women's (and Men's) Medieval Art-Making". In MARTIN, Therese (ed.): *'Me fecit.' Making Medieval Art (History)*, special issue, *Journal of Medieval History*, 42, 1 (2016) 1-25.

29. MARQUES, Maria Alegria Fernandes: "Inocência III e a passagem do mosteiro de Lorvão para a ordem de Cister". In *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal*. Lisboa, Edições Colibri/Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1998, pp. 75-125.

30. WILLIAMS: *Visions of the End*, p. 57. See also DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel C.: *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*. Logroño, Servicio de Cultura de la Excm. Diputación Provincial, 1979; SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, Ana: "Los otros Beatos". In *Fragmentos de Beatos*. Madrid, Testimonio, 2009, p. 86.

layers and dimensions, from geographical to the built environment to the painted and conceptual, each of which is complex and interconnected³¹. In the Beatus manuscripts, we can perceive interwoven spaces in which women's roles play out: these are *physical*, *social*, and *imagined*³². Here we lay out briefly the ways in which the Commentaries could be fruitfully studied through the layers of spatial analysis, with a close look at the place assigned to women in the two-dimensional painted space of a selection of Beatus manuscripts.

3.1.—Physical Space

At the most concrete level the physical spaces of the Beatus Commentaries include the straightforward geographical fact that this iteration of the illustrated apocalyptic genre is overwhelmingly a northern Iberian phenomenon (see Appendix A). However, recent discoveries have increased to three the known examples from the Italian Peninsula, suggesting an as yet untapped avenue for further research: the Beatus manuscripts as an element of shared culture across the Mediterranean. Other physical spaces ripe for further investigation are the places of women in

31. For a historiography of the “spatial turn in the humanities” and current state of the question, see COHEN, Meredith, MADELINE, Fanny, and IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique: “Introduction”. In COHEN, Meredith and MADELINE, Fanny (eds.): *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies*. Farnham, Ashgate, 2014, pp. 1-20, esp. 6: “Lefebvre defined space through a conceptual triad comprising physical, social, and mental dimensions. The physical domain is articulated by ‘representations of space’, associated with the production and the ordering of space, and is linked to knowledge, systems, and signs. ‘Spatial practice’ acknowledges social space, and refers to both the active use of space and the forces that operate in space. The mental component informs ‘representational spaces’, such as imagined or symbolic spaces”.

32. Based on Lefebvre's triad, for the third space we use imagined rather than mental. See LEFEBVRE, Henri: *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford, Blackwell, 1974. For useful approaches to the study of women's space, see OLSON, Sherri: “Women's Place and Women's Space in the Medieval Village”. In CLASSEN, Albrecht (ed.): *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2012, pp. 209-225, and the introduction by BEEBE, Kathryne, DAVIS, Angela and GLEADLE, Kathryn (eds.): *Space, Place and Gendered Identities: Feminist History and the Spatial Turn*, special issue, *Women's History Review*, 21, 2 (2012) 523-532, esp. 530. The editors neatly sum up the approach's usefulness in the historical analysis of gender: “the concept of space provides a rich analytical framework within which to investigate the fluctuating constructions of gender and social status as they respond to economic and political concerns. After three decades of the ‘spatial turn’, it is no longer enough simply to recognize the ‘constructed’ nature of ‘female’ and ‘male’ spaces, and the reciprocal role that architecture, urban planning, and the ‘imagined’ space of social relations have in the production of gender. ... The gendered and political meanings of space—be that space domestic or public, rural or urban, real or imagined, or a combination of all these and more—are fashioned through the movement of historical actors as they negotiate through space and time, in a true Foucauldian sense, the relations of power and knowledge”.

the mixed monasteries of Iberia, especially as manifested through collaborations between illuminators like En and Emeterius. This type of monastic interaction has lately been studied for Germanic lands by scholars such as Alison Beach and Fiona Griffiths; the mixed Hispanic communities merit comparable scholarly attention³³.

3.2.—Social Space

In terms of social space, it is useful to consider aspects such as the gifting and reuse of Beatus manuscripts throughout their long lives and the concomitant retrospective character these books would have taken on during their centuries of use³⁴. Space implies occupation and stability as well as movement through the practices that take place and give meaning to a location. Books can be used to define physical spaces, such as a library or an archive, but they also structure the societal relationships that arise from their reading. The clearest monastic example of a social space for books is the selection of a text to be read aloud in the refectory by one member of the community while the rest listen and eat. In his analysis of the marginal notations in the Lorvão and Las Huelgas Commentaries, Peter Klein determined that, by the later Middle Ages at least, each copy had been adapted to this communal liturgical use at the respective Cistercian nunnery, suggesting an updating of the Beatus tradition to bring it in line with developing devotional practices³⁵. The evolving use of Beatus manuscripts in female convents from

33. BEACH, Alison: *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004; GRIFFITHS, Fiona J. and HOTCHIN, Julie (eds.): *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100-1500*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2014; GRIFFITHS, Fiona J.: *Nuns' Priests Tales: Men and Salvation in Medieval Women's Monastic Life*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017. For classic studies of double monasteries on the Iberian Peninsula, see ORLANDIS ROVIRA, José: "Los orígenes del monaquismo dúplice en España". In *Homenaje a don Juan Moneva*. Zaragoza, 1955; *id.*: "Los monasterios dúplices españoles en la Alta Edad Media". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 30 (1960) 49-88; reprints in *id.*: *Estudios sobre instituciones monásticas medievales*. Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 1971, pp. 19-34, 167-202.

34. For a sociological approach that has been assimilated into art historical analysis, see APADURAI, Arjun (ed.): *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986. See also the forthcoming volume, FELTMAN, Jennifer M. and THOMPSON, Sarah (eds.): *The Long Lives of Medieval Art and Architecture*. AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Science, Technology, and Art. Abingdon, Routledge, 2019.

35. KLEIN, Peter K.: "Im Spannungsfeld von Endzeitängsten, Konflikten mit dem Islam und liturgischer Praxis: die Erneuerung der Beatus-Illustration im 10. Jahrhundert". In KÄFLEIN, Ines *et al.* (eds.): *Cruce de Culturas/Im Schnittpunkt der Kulturen. Architektur und ihre Ausstattung auf der iberischen Halbinsel im 6.-10./11. Jahrhundert. Arquitectura y su decoración en la Península Ibérica del siglo VI a X/XI*. Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert and Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2016, pp. 11-48, esp. 42-43. In a personal communication, Peter Klein further indicated that he also sees

the thirteenth century might be contextualized in relation to the transformations in male monastic practice at a time when the preaching Orders were surging in popularity. Male communities turned outward to the cities around them, even as the contemplative traditions were maintained and nurtured by female convents, as evidenced through the reworking of their treasured books to suit the changing times.

Social space can also be defined through the giving of gifts, in which a precious object, like a luxury manuscript, materializes a relationship. John Williams has suggested that the Morgan Beatus, which he argues was made at Tábara, eventually came to rest at the Leonese monastery of San Miguel de Escalada as an act of gift-giving. More than a century after Maius painted the Morgan Beatus, this revered manuscript is theorized to have been given to Escalada by the *infantas* of León who controlled this monastery as one of many in the network formed by the royal inheritance known as the *infantazgo*³⁶. As such, the book manifests a social connection whose memory extends from a great scriptorium at a mixed monastery of the past through the hands of elite women to a smaller male community without its own means of producing elaborately illustrated manuscripts.

3.3.—Imagined Space

Within the conceptual category of imagined space, the two-dimensional painted space of the Beatus Commentaries merits close examination. Our analysis lays bare first the unsurprising place of women throughout the entire corpus in two key Apocalyptic scenes, the extremes of good and evil embodied by the Woman Clothed in the Sun and the Whore of Babylon/Woman on the Beast. These contrasting images are common in all Beatus copies that have reached us in a complete state. Other depictions of women, however, make unique appearances only in given manuscripts; all representations of female figures in the illustrated Commentaries have been gathered in Appendix C, from which the following analysis is drawn. The settings in which women are shown —always in smaller numbers than their male counterparts— comprise a range of spaces, including houses, cities, landscapes, and hell. Women make appearances at key moments in the biblical genealogy of Christ, from Eve to the wives of Old Testament patriarchs, especially Leah and Rachel (with Sarah and Rebecca present only in the Saint-Sever copy). As a counterpoint to Eve as first mother, the genealogies end with the enthroned Virgin, who is sometimes shown receiving the gifts of the Magi. In scenes of the Ark of Noah,

evidence for the use of the Osma and Facundus Commentaries within a liturgical context, a topic he is currently investigating.

36. WILLIAMS: *Visions of the End*, p. 30. For bibliography on the *infantazgo*, see MARTIN, Therese: “Fuentes de potestad”.

his wife and daughters-in-law are always present with their husbands among the saved, except in the Saint-Sever Beatus, which lacks the patriarchal family; instead, a dead woman and her infant float among the drowned. In New Testament imagery, only the Girona and Turin copies include Mary in the additional Infancy scenes of the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt, while Girona alone portrays women in scenes from the Passion: female servants are witnesses at Peter's denial of Jesus, while the Marys play their accustomed roles at the tomb of the risen Christ. These images are consistent with the standard iconographic traditions of the time.

In terms of the strictly Apocalyptic imagery across the Beatus tradition, naked souls of the damned are shown as ungendered in the tenth- and early eleventh-century copies painted in the so-called Mozarabic style. Although we cannot draw conclusions from the Commentaries that have come down to us in a fragmentary state (see Appendix A for the numbers of folios in each), a shift can still be perceived in the later eleventh century with the arrival of the style now known as Romanesque, as crowd scenes begin to include representations of both male and female figures. The early twelfth-century Turin Commentary provides very clear examples: among those who die at the sounding of the Third Trumpet (Apoc. VIII, 10-11) and the Fifth Trumpet (Apoc. IX, 1-6) are in each case one woman and three men. The female figures are indicated by long hair and distinctive breasts with nipples. Turin also shows two women and seven men among the dead in the scene of the Death-dealing Cavalry (Apoc. IX, 17-21), while one woman can be seen on each side of the two-page spread of the Last Judgment (Apoc. XX, 11-15): on folio 177v, a centrally placed woman rises from her tomb among many men (all are clothed and gesticulating), and on folio 178r, one naked woman looks back to heaven from among the many damned who are about to descend into hell.

An extraordinary representation of both male and female participants in the scene of the False Prophet, Beast, and Devil (Apoc. XX, 9-10) can be found in the mid-eleventh-century Geneva Beatus (fig. 2). Here the False Prophet is rendered as a tonsured monk or cleric, who finds himself together in hell with a centrally-placed naked woman, whose gender is signaled by her breasts. Unique within the entire Beatus tradition, these two figures are linked by the deliberately made brown stains that issue from their mouths, perhaps representing the false words associated with each³⁷. The medium appears to be the same brown ink used for the text and for figure outlines, another indication that scribe and painter might have been one and the same³⁸. Four generic figures are ranged behind them, while the Beast and the Devil are placed in front, flanking the naked woman. The Devil is identified by his flame-like hair and beard, along with the *titulus* DIABOLUS just

37. I am grateful to Antonio Ledesma for pointing out this detail to me.

38. This observation is due to the keen eye of one of the anonymous reviewers. See also note 46 below.

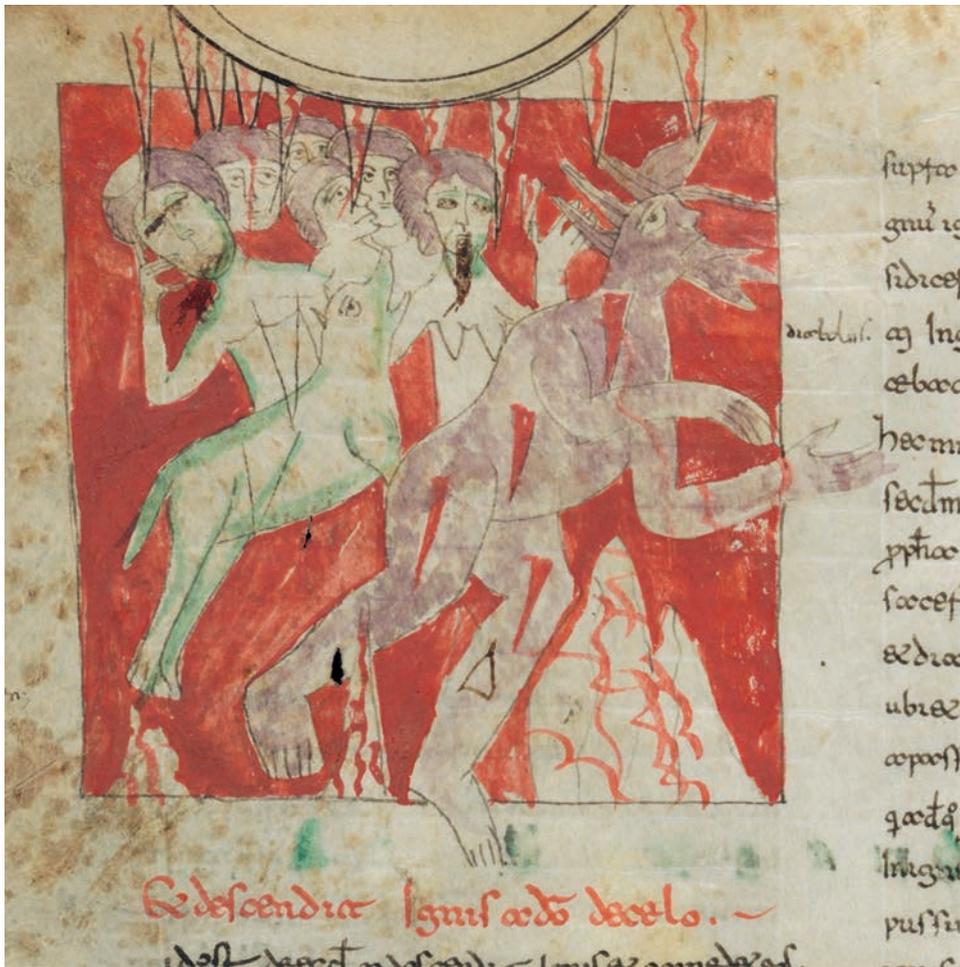


Fig. 2. The Devil, the Beast, and the False Prophet in the Lake of Fire (Apoc. XX, 9-10), Geneva Beatus, folio 239v. Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 357. Photo: open access, <https://www.e-codices.ch>.

outside the frame to the right. To the left of the frame is the word *INFERNUS*, locating this scene in the space of hell presided over by the Devil, the only figure whose limbs break through the frame, indicating that he is free to move about but the others are trapped within.

In addition to the hair and breasts of nude figures, gesture and clothing serve to distinguish the genders in some Beatus scenes from the mid-eleventh century on. This characteristic appears in both Romanesque and Gothic Commentaries, where the female presence is notable in crowd scenes, if fewer women than men appear. At the Burning of Babylon (Apoc. XVIII, 1-20), for example, women in the Osma

Beatus mourn the terrible destruction of the city through characteristic gestures: one within the urban setting tears at her hair with both hands, while another standing below rends her cheeks. Of the six figures in a boat, the one who pulls her hair is likely also to be a woman. Osma's clothed male figures wear tight-legged trousers, while women are represented in full-length dresses, which make their genders easy to identify, by contrast with the naked souls of the dead in the same manuscript. The undressed figures in the Osma Beatus are surprisingly voluptuously drawn, with rounded breasts and thighs set off by a tapering waist; in fact, at first glance, all appear to be female (see fig. 6). However, a close examination confirms that this is the generic way the illuminator Martinus renders the nude body, whether present at the beatific Vision of Christ among the Candlesticks or in torment in the abyss³⁹. In the thirteenth-century Arroyo Beatus, kings, bishops, monks, and high-ranking lay and religious women, each distinguished by headdress or hairstyle, make up the throng of witnesses at Christ's Appearance in the Clouds (Apoc. I, 7-8). The same is true for the multitude at the Sealing of the Elect (Apoc. VII, 4-12), while at the Last Judgment (Apoc. XX, 11-15) in the same manuscript, women and men differentiated by dress and hair can be seen both among the saved in the upper part of the illustration and among the damned below (fig. 3). In the heavenly space, a prominently placed nun wearing white appears to reference the collective memory of the Cistercian community at San Andrés de Arroyo for which this Beatus was made, boding well for their place in paradise at the end of time.

For an unusual iconography centered on a woman, the Osma and Lorvão Commentaries, made in 1086 and 1189, highlight the character of Jezabel in the Message to the Church of Thyatira (Apoc. II, 18-29). Appearing only in these two Commentaries, the scene comes from a section of the Apocalyptic text ignored by the rest of the Beatus genre:

“But I have against you that you suffer the woman Jezabel, who calls herself a prophetess, to teach, to seduce my servants, to commit fornication, and to eat of things sacrificed to idols... Behold I will cast her upon a bed and those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation” (Apoc. II, 20-22).

Below the standard representation of John receiving the message from the angel, common to each scene of the seven Churches, for the Osma Beatus Martinus placed Jezabel (labeled ZEZABEL MERETRIX) in a luxuriously appointed bed; she is dressed in white and her hair is covered with a veil (fig. 4). In her room and in a separate space beyond, crowds of men gather. The first two figures offer the

39. For the (mis)identification of Osma's naked False Prophet as a woman, see ROJO ORCAJO, Timoteo: “El ‘Beato’ de la catedral de Osma”. *Art Studies*, VIII, 2 (1931) 103-156. KLEIN: *El Beato de Burgo de Osma*, rightly rejects this idea, recognizing a stylistic constant across all naked figures in the Osma copy.



Fig. 3. Last Judgment (Apoc. XX, 11-15), Arroyo Beatus, fol. 160r. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 2290. Photo: Hamid Shams.

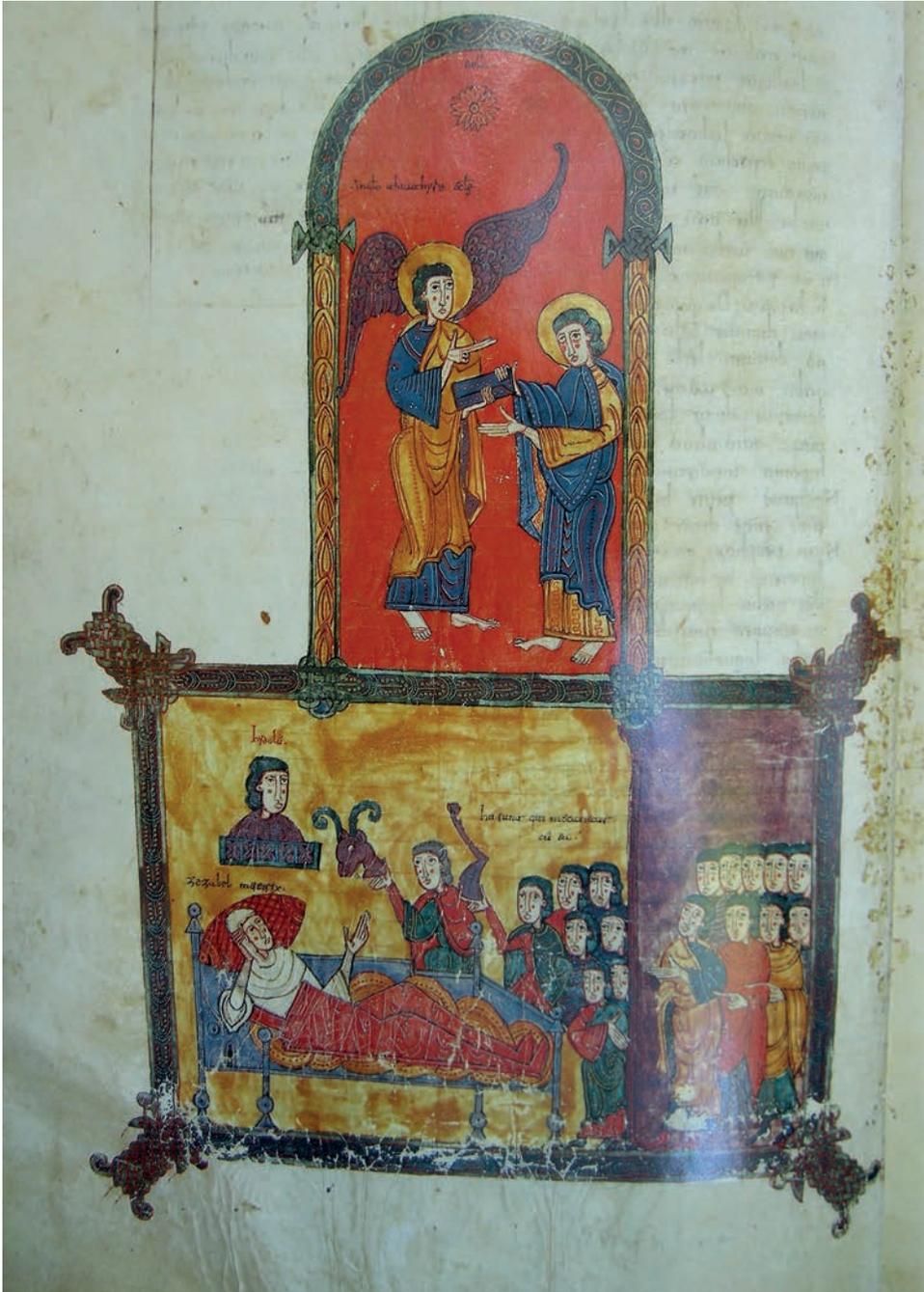


Fig. 4. Jezabel, Message to the Church of Thyatira (Apoc. II, 18-29), Osma Beatus, fol. 55v. Burgo de Osma, Cabildo de la Catedral. Photo: John Williams.

head and leg of a horned goat to Jezabel and to the bust above her head (labeled HYDOLU[S])⁴⁰. Egeas, the illuminator of the Lorvão Commentary, likewise allotted space to this scene (fig. 5). By contrast with Jezabel's unexpectedly honorable appearance in the Osma copy, here the queen, wearing a crown over flowing, uncovered hair, lies naked with her lover; they are draped from the waist down in a vertically oriented bed. Before the lovers are an idol (labeled IDOLI SIMULACRUM) and a male figure, who adores the idol. Only the male figure has escaped defacing by this codex's readers, first the monks of São Mamede and then the nuns who replaced them only a generation after the manuscript was made. Even within the repeated programs of images across the Beatus tradition —and despite the presumed common model that gave rise to these representations— such details as the choice to show the naked breasts of Jezabel make clear that there was room for individual painters to insert changes into their copies, perhaps according to the particular interests of their specific audiences⁴¹.

Another remarkable image in the Osma manuscript is the portrayal of the Victory of the Lamb over the Kings. Here a naked woman engulfed in fiery waves tears at her hair in the classical gesture of despair noted above for the illustration of the destruction of Babylon. The inclusion of a naked woman in this scene is startlingly original within the Beatus tradition. The text includes references to two female figures:

“And he said to me: “The waters which you saw, where the whore sits, are peoples, and nations, and tongues. 16. And the ten horns which you saw, and the beast, these will hate the whore, and will make her desolate and naked, and will eat her flesh, and will burn her with fire... 18. And the woman whom you saw is the great city, which has kingship over the kings of the earth” (Apoc. XVII, 15-18).

John Williams has identified the female figure in the Osma Beatus as the positive Woman of the Lamb from the end of the apocalyptic passage, who is shown receiving the homage of the Kings: “Stripped naked and pulling her hair in agony, a gesture employed by mourning merchants and sailors in the depiction of Babylon

40. YARZA: *Beato de Liébana*, p. 208, interprets this scene as a veiled attack on Queen Constance (d. 1093), second wife of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (r. 1065-1109), following the critique by Pope Gregory VII. KLEIN: *El Beato de Burgo de Osma*, p. 34, does not agree, arguing instead that the Osma image should be understood in the context of Romanesque *luxuria* images of female unchastity and possibly also within the Church reform movement.

41. On this question, see KLEIN, Peter K.: “The Role of Prototypes and Models in the Transmission of Medieval Picture Cycles: The Case of Beatus Manuscripts”. In MÜLLER, Monika E. (ed.): *The Use of Models in Medieval Book Painting*. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, pp. 1-28, esp. 12, where the author discusses for the Lorvão and Geneva copies the “misunderstandings and deviations [that] abound in certain Branch I manuscripts”. Klein does not consider here the patron's or artist's choice to make deliberate changes.



Fig. 5. Jezabel, Message to the Church of Thyatira (Apoc. II, 18-29), Lorrão Beatus, Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro de Lorrvão, codex 44, fol. 64r. Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (PT/TT/MSML/B/44). Photo provided by: ANTT.

that follows (fol. 147r), she is attacked by the dragon and stands in a shower of fire from the beast's mouth. If this depiction of her plight evokes sympathy, it should, for in the *explanatio* the Whore is now the Woman of the Lamb, who, through the Lamb/Christ, has dominion over the kings of the earth"⁴². It is worth noting the uniqueness of the composition: no other Beatus manuscript includes a woman here, yet Martinus or his patron has chosen to make her the centerpiece of the scene.

For the Osma Apocalypse, a remarkable interpretation of the Woman Clothed in the Sun was also devised (Apoc. XII, 1-18). Many Commentaries simply superimpose a radiant sun over the woman's midsection. However, in the Osma example the woman's hands cross protectively over the child visible in her womb (fig. 6). Lorvão's Woman Clothed in the Sun also holds one hand on her belly and the other across her chest, but no child is shown. Rather, her slim silhouette belies the Apocalyptic description of a heavily pregnant woman who begins to give birth: "a woman clothed in the sun, and the moon was under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And being with child she cried out in her labor and was in the anguish of delivery" (Apoc. XII, 1-2). In fact, the only Beatus manuscript that makes an effort to represent the Woman Clothed in the Sun as visibly pregnant, resting her right hand on her distended belly, is the recently discovered Geneva Commentary (fig. 7)⁴³. Might this extraordinary image suggest that the Geneva copy was made for or by an individual who had an interest in the portrayal of a gravid body, possibly a female patron or illuminator? Until further research has been done to pin down the making of the Geneva Beatus, we can only speculate on this association, based on the uniqueness of the image. Unlike the better-known Commentaries, which have been the object of intense investigation since Wilhelm Neuss's pioneering work nearly a century ago⁴⁴, the Geneva Beatus came to light only in 2007, and thus has just begun to be studied. Due to its script (primarily Beneventan with a second Caroline hand) and rough painterly technique, scholars place this manuscript somewhere on the Italian Peninsula at some point around the middle of the eleventh century, yet neither the physical place where it was made nor the social space to which it contributed has yet been clarified. We would like to add a small piece to the puzzle by pointing to a visual parallel that, although far from conclusive, seems to speak to a connection with a female Benedictine

42. WILLIAMS: *Visions of the End*, p. 108. By contrast Peter Klein calls this figure "the depiction of the completely naked Harlot Babylon as a dangerous seductress, turning her breasts provocatively toward the spectator... She not only exposes her breasts to the spectator, but also presents her long hair, rather spreading it out than pulling it in agony". KLEIN: *El Beato de Burgo de Osma*, p. 34 and color plates, p. 17.

43. KLEIN, Peter K.: "Remarques sur le manuscrit bénéventin de Beatus récemment découvert à Genève". *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 56 (2013) 3-38, esp. 26.

44. NEUSS, Wilhelm: *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration*, 2 vols. Münster, 1931.



Fig. 6. The Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), Osma Beatus, fol. 117v. Burgo de Osma, Cabildo de la Catedral. Photo: John Williams.



Fig. 7. The Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), Geneva Beatus, fol. 208v. Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 357. Photo: open access, <https://www.e-codices.ch>.

house. Loretta Vandi has identified the Pistoia Antiphony, made c. 1102, with the female monastery of Pontetetto in Lucca (fig. 8)⁴⁵. In both the Antiphony and the Geneva Beatus (fig. 9), the illustrations' underdrawings are competent, but the painting does not point to an origin in a major scriptorium. Rather, these sorts of works seem to have been produced by a lesser workshop, perhaps for in-house usage. For the Geneva Beatus, the program of images was laid out in columns before the text was written, yet the remarkably close relationship between the two suggests that scribe and illustrator—if not one and the same person—worked hand-in-hand together⁴⁶. In signaling the painterly similarities between the Pistoia and Geneva manuscripts, we are not suggesting that the same atelier must have produced both, but rather pointing out shared characteristics, especially in the common applications of color. Green is used for shading around the jawline, while red highlights cheeks and brows. In the drapery, blue is used to fill in the cloth and red to create the folds. To bolster (or refute) a stylistic relationship between the Pistoia Antiphony and the Geneva Beatus and to begin to home in on the place where the latter was produced, the sort of chemical testing of pigments that has recently been carried out for manuscripts at the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça would be highly desirable⁴⁷.

Although further unique images featuring women in the Commentaries are ripe for analysis⁴⁸, the constraints of the present article oblige us to turn briefly to a final aspect of imagined space beyond the two-dimensional, encompassing larger gender issues, as exemplified by Megan Cassidy-Welch's examination of the spaces of 'belonging and ownership' and of 'roles and behaviors'⁴⁹. Imagined

45. VANDI, Loretta: "Redressing Images: Conflict in Context at Abbess Humbrina's Scriptorium in Pontetetto (Lucca)". In MARTIN, Therese (ed.): *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden, Brill, 2012, pp. 783-822.

46. WILLIAMS: *Visions of the End*, pp. 146, 156.

47. MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO, Alicia *et al.*: "Beatus Manuscripts under the Microscope: The Alcobaça Beatus and the Iberian Cistercian Tradition Revisited". *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 8, 2 (2016) 217-251.

48. Two images that cannot be addressed here for lack of space are the hell scene inserted at the beginning of the Silos Beatus (f. 2r), in which a veiled woman lies with her partner in sin, their bed surrounded by tormenting devils; and the beard-puller vignette from the Saint-Sever Beatus (f. 184r). The latter, in which a woman wrings her hands while men grapple, is a *non sequitor* to the scene of the Sixth Angel emptying his bowl on the Euphrates (Apoc. XVI, 12). It bears the explanatory *titulus FRONTIBUS ATTRITIS BARBAS CONSCINDERE FAS EST* ("When heads are bald, beards may be pulled") and between the figures *CALUI DUO P[RO] HAC MUL[IE]R* ("two bald men for this woman"). For an assessment of this iconography in Romanesque art, see STONES, Alison: "A Note on the Beard-Pulling Motif: A Meeting between East and West, or a Northern Import?". In REYNOLDS, Andrew and WEBSTER, Leslie (eds.): *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World. Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*. Leiden, Brill, 2013, pp. 877-891.

49. CASSIDY-WELCH, Megan: "Space and Place in Medieval Contexts". *Parergon*, 27, 2 (2010) 1-12, esp. 3.



Fig. 8. Initial I, Pistoia Antiphony, fol. 109v (Monastery of Pontetetto?) Antiphony, MS R 69, Pistoia, Biblioteca arcivescovile. Photo: Loretta Vandi.



Fig. 9. The Seventh Angel Empties His Bowl in the Air (Apoc. XVI, 17-21), Geneva Beatus, fol. 227r. Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 357. Photo: open access, <https://www.e-codices.ch>.

space can usefully be applied to the memory of women, taking in as it does the scholarly approaches to the Beatus Commentaries that have tended to give short shrift to the multiple parts played by women in the history of these manuscripts by imagining the Commentaries as pertaining only to a male world. Despite the high status of the royal women who commissioned two of the Beatus Commentaries and the Cistercian nuns who made use of the manuscripts at elite communities like Las Huelgas and San Andrés de Arroyo⁵⁰, the imagined space dedicated to women in the scholarly bibliography is out of proportion to real knowledge about them. By a careful thinking through of the manifold layers of imagined space, however, one can counteract the largely unconscious displacement of female participation from the Beatus tradition.

4.—Conclusions

Although conclusions about the illustrations in the Beatus Commentaries as a whole across nearly three centuries of production can be difficult to draw, especially given the fragmentary or anonymous nature of many of the surviving examples, such a holistic analysis allows overarching trends to come to the fore. It can be seen that the generic make-up of crowd scenes in the “Mozarabic” examples begins to give way by the mid-eleventh century to an interest in distinguishing between male and female figures⁵¹. By the thirteenth century, these figures are further individualized as to gender, station, and role. Named illuminators or patrons appear in twelve of the twenty-nine known examples, becoming less common in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples (with the caveat that some survive in just a single folio). If we take the example of the Osma, Turin, and Arroyo Commentaries, the three copies cited above for their emphatic renderings of distinctly male and female figures in the scenes with apocalyptic multitudes, it is useful to remember that Osma was made for the male monastery of Sahagún, and Arroyo for the female monastery of San Andrés; however, Turin has no colophon and its original home is not known. Future studies of this manuscript's social space would do well to keep in mind that the Turin copy could have been made for either monks or nuns, acting as a repository for the community's now lost memory. Such a neutral scholarly starting point might well allow previously overlooked material to suggest new answers to the Beatus questions, as we have also suggested for

50. For the larger context of female Cistercian monasteries, see D'EMILIO, James: “Widows and Communities: Cistercian Nunneries and Their Architecture in the Kingdom of León (1150-1300)”. *Cîteaux – Commentarii cistercienses*, 66, 3-4 (2015) 223-302.

51. This characteristic fits neatly with the question posed by BYNUM, Caroline Walker: “Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?”. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31, 1 (1980) 1-17.

the Geneva Beatus. Despite forming part of a genre that depends on the faithful copying of both texts and images, certain Beatus manuscripts make manifest the choices by patrons or illuminators to effect changes within the cycle of illustrations to suit their particular audiences and agendas.

Further, an analysis of the larger Beatus tradition across the central Middle Ages speaks to their place within the shifting cultures of monasticism. Mixed houses that had flourished during the early Middle Ages, like San Salvador de Tábara with its superb scriptorium, gave way to single-sex communities as a result of reform movements. This was the case for the royal monastery of San Juan/San Pelayo in León which, had come to be known as San Isidoro when, in the mid-twelfth century, its nuns were removed from their physical and social space within the city, relocated to an isolated convent far outside the walls, and replaced by Augustinian canons⁵². The early thirteenth century saw a high point in Beatus production for Cistercian nuns, with deluxe copies produced for the royally sponsored communities at Las Huelgas and San Andrés de Arroyo, and it may be that a third Castilian female community was the original home of the Rylands Beatus, made in the late twelfth century⁵³. After this time, no new illustrated Beatus Commentaries appear to have been made (at least, none is now known), but marginal notations indicate that existing copies were reused and adapted to changing devotional practices. As discussed above, a Beatus manuscript was repurposed for the Cistercian nuns at Lorvão, further indicating that in later medieval Iberia, more women's communities than men's evinced interest in the illustrated Apocalypse.

Finally, examined through the overlapping lenses of space and gender, the phenomenon of the Beatus Commentaries proves revealing about the way this group of manuscripts has generally been approached in the scholarship. The unintentional yet all too frequent exclusion of women from the study of genres like this threatens to skew our understanding not only of the Beatus phenomenon but also of activities that played out across medieval monasticism, especially in mixed communities. The concept of medieval space offers a framework for recovering the memory of women's roles in the long lives of illuminated Beatus manuscripts, from producers to consumers to representations. By pulling together the previously untapped yet bounteous evidence for women's spaces within the Beatus tradition, we can document their concrete actions in medieval society. At the same time, an analysis of the images makes clear that the Beatus Commentaries contributed to the idea of female contrasting archetypes: the good Woman Clothed in the Sun and the evil Whore of Babylon. In the pages of the tenth-century Morgan Beatus,

52. MARTIN, Therese: *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*. Leiden, Brill, 2006.

53. WILLIAMS: *Visions of the End*, p. 122.

for example, later readers scratched out the face of the Whore, just as they did to Jezabel and her lover in the Lorvão Beatus and to devils in other scenes. Their readers practiced the defacing of malignant figures, understanding that even an imagined space has power. Now through the application of gendered methodologies to medieval traditions, including the illustrated Beatus manuscripts, scholars can contribute to restoring the memory of women—in both imagined spaces and real ones—to the larger framework of the stories we choose to tell about the Middle Ages overall.

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6.—Appendices

6.1.—Appendix A, List of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries

1. The Silos Fragment

Silos, Bibl. del Monasterio de Santo Domingo,
frag. 4
1 fol., 12 x 9.8 in. (305 x 250 mm.)
Last quarter of the ninth century
Origin: Northern Spain (Asturias?)
Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

168 fols., 14 x 10 in. (360 x 255 mm.)
27 July 970
Origin: San Salvador de Tábara
Scribes: Monnius, Senior
Illuminators: Magius, Emeterius
Patron: unknown

2. The Morgan Beatus

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M644
300 fols., 15.2 x 11.2 in. (387 x 285 mm.)
c. 940-945
Origin: San Salvador de Tábara
Illuminator: Maius
Patron: “at the command of the abbot of the
victor” (San Miguel de Moreruela)

6. The Girona Beatus

Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7
(11)
284 fols., 15.7 x 10.2 in. (400 x 260 mm.)
6 July 975
Origin: San Salvador de Tábara
Scribe: Senior
Illuminators: En, Emeterius
Patron: Abbot Dominicus

3. The Vitrina 14-1 Beatus

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitrina 14-1
144 fols., 13.5 x 11 in. (345 x 257 mm.)
Middle of the 10th century
Origin: Kingdom of León (San Millán de la
Cogolla?)
Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

7. The Vitrina 14-2 Fragment, folios 1-5

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS
Vitrina 14-2, fols. 1-5
5 fols., 14.3 x 10.4 in. (365 x 265 mm.)
Second half of the 10th century
Origin: Kingdom of León
Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

4. The Valcavado Beatus

Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 433
230 fols., 13.7 x 9.5 in. (350 x 240 mm.)
8 June - 8 September 970
Origin: Kingdom of León (Valcavado?)
Scribe and Illuminator: Obecus
Patron: Abbot Sempronius

8. The Urgell Beatus

Museu Diocesà de La Seu d’Urgell, Num. Inv.
501
232 fols., 15.8 x 10.5 in. (402 x 265 mm.)
Last quarter of the 10th century
Origin: Kingdom of León
Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

5. The Tábara Beatus

Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod.
1097B

9. The San Millán Beatus

Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33
282 fols., 14 x 9.5 in. (355 x 240 mm.)

Last quarter of 10th century (RAH 33 Mozarabic); First quarter of 12th century (RAH 33 Romanesque)
 Origin: Castile (RAH 33 Moz.)?, San Millán de la Cogolla (RAH 33 Romanesque)?
 Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

10. The Escorial Beatus

Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, &.II.5
 151 fols., 13 x 9 in. (335 x 225 mm.)
 c. 1000
 Origin: San Millán de la Cogolla
 Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

11. The Facundus Beatus

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitrina 14-2
 312 fols., 14 x 11 in. (360 x 280 mm.)
 1047
 Origin: León, royal scriptorium (?)
 Scribe/Illuminator: Facundus
 Patrons: King Fernando (r. 1037-1065) and Queen Sancha (d. 1067) of León-Castile

12. The Fanlo Beatus

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 1079, fols. 6-12
 17th-century facsimiles of 7 pages of a mid-11th-century Commentary formerly in the Monastery of Montearagón
 12.5 x 8.5 in. (315 x 220 mm.)
 c. 1050
 Origin: San Andrés de Fanlo? San Millán de la Cogolla?
 Scribe: Sancius
 Patron: Abbot Pantio (or Banzo)

13. Saint-Sever Beatus

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8878
 292 fols., 14.4 x 11 inches (365 x 280 mm.)
 Third quarter of the 11th century
 Origin: Saint-Sever-sur-l'Adour
 Illuminator: Stephanus Garsia, Placidus, *et al.*
 Patron: Abbot Gregory

14. The Osma Beatus

Burgo de Osma, Cabildo de la Catedral
 166 fols., 14.2 x 10 in. (360 x 253 mm.)
 Begun 3 January or 3 June, 1086

Origin: Sahagún
 Scribe: Petrus
 Illuminator: Martinus
 Patron: unknown

15. The Turin Beatus

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Sgn. I.II.I
 223 fols. (214 original), 14.6 x 11.6 in. (372 x 296 mm.)
 First quarter of 12th century
 Origin: Catalonia (Girona or Ripoll?)
 Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

16. The Silos Beatus

London, British Library, Add. MS 11695
 280 fols., 15 x 9.2 in. (378 x 235 mm.)
 18 April 1091 (writing)
 1 July 1109 (illustration)
 Origin: Santo Domingo de Silos
 Scribes: Munnio, Dominico, *et al.*
 Illuminator: Petrus
 Patron: Abbot Fortunius

17. The Corsini Beatus

Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Segn. 40.E.6
 151 fols., 6.7 x 3.7 in. (170 x 95 mm.)
 Second quarter (?) 12th century
 Origin: Sahagún
 Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

18. The León Fragment

León, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Perg., Astorga 1
 2 fols., 15.4 x 12.2 in. (390 x 310 mm.)
 Mid-12th century
 Origin: Kingdom of León (region of Astorga?)
 Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

19. The Berlin Beatus

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS
 Theol. lat. Fol. 561
 98 fols., 12 x 7.5 in. (302 x 190 mm.)
 12th century
 Origin: Southern Italy
 Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

20. The Rylands Beatus

Manchester, John Rylands University Library,
MS lat. 8

248 fols., 18 x 12.8 in. (454 x 326 mm.)

c. 1175

Origin: Castile (region of Burgos or Toledo?)

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

21. The Cardeña Beatus

17.5 x 11.8 in. (445 x 300 mm.)

Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, MS 2,
165 fols. (127 original)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15 fols.
Madrid, Coll. Francisco de Zabáburu y Basabe,
2 fols.

Girona, Museu d'Art de Girona, Num. Inv.
47, 1 fol.

c. 1180

Origin: Castile

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

22. The Lorrvão Beatus

Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo

219 fols., 13.6 in. x 9.6 in. (345 x 245 mm.)

1189

Origin: Monastery of São Mamede, Lorrvão

Scribe/Illuminator: Egeas

Patron: unknown

23. The Navarre Beatus

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 1366

157 fols., 13.8 x 9 in. (350 x 230 mm.)

Date: late 12th century

Origin: Navarre? Astorga?

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

24. The Las Huelgas Beatus

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M429

184 fols., 21 x 13.3 in. (530 x 340 mm.)

September 1220

Origin: Toledo? Las Huelgas?

Scribe/Illuminator: unknown

Patron: Queen Berenguela (d. 1246)

25. The Arroyo Beatus

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat.
2290

167 fols., 17.3 x 12 in. (440 x 305 mm.)

Los Angeles, Getty Center, 1 fol.

c. 1220-1235

Origin: Region of Burgos?

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

26. The Rioseco Fragment

Ciudad de México, Archivo General de la Na-
ción, Ilustración 4852

1 fol. + fragment, 19.3 x 12.2 in. (490 x 310
mm.)

First half of the 13th century

Origin: Castile?

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

27. The San Pedro de León Fragment

León, Archivo Parroquial de Santa Marina la
Real de León, sig. ASM (SP), Libro de
Difuntos, 4

2 fragments, 4 x 1.8 in. (100 x 45 mm.) and 5 x
2 in. (130 x 50 mm.)

c. 1000

Origin: Kingdom of León?

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

28. The Milan Fragment

Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili
3823, 2 fols.

Mid-11th century

Origin: Southern Italy

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

29. The Geneva Beatus

Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 357

97 fols. [of 245], 9.8 x 6 in. (250 x 160 mm.)

Mid-11th century

Origin: Southern Italy?

Scribe, Illuminator, Patron: unknown

6.2.—Appendix B, Monastic Origins of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries

Male	Female	Mixed	Unknown
San Millán de la Cogolla 3. The Vitrina 14-1 Beatus (?) 9. The San Millán Beatus (?) 10. The Escorial Beatus 12. The Fanlo Beatus (?)	Santa María la Real de las Huelgas 24. The Las Huelgas Beatus (Toledo?) San Andrés de Arroyo 25. The Arroyo Beatus (?) [San Pedro de Dueñas (Beatus fragment, originally with illustrations based on Osma?)]	San Salvador de Tábara 2. The Morgan Beatus 5. The Tábara Beatus 6. The Girona Beatus San Juan/San Pelayo de León 11. The Facundus Beatus (?)	1. The Silos Fragment 7. The Vitrina 14-2 fragment 8. The Urgell Beatus 15. The Turin Beatus 18. The León Fragment 19. The Berlin Beatus 20. The Rylands Beatus (possibly from a female Cistercian monastery?) 21. The Cardeña Beatus 23. The Navarre Beatus 26. The Rioseco Fragment 27. The San Pedro de León Fragment 28. The Milan Fragment 29. The Geneva Beatus
Monastery of Valcavado 4. The Valcavado Beatus (?)			
Saint-Sever-sur-l'Adour, Gascony 13. The Saint-Sever Beatus			
Sahagún 14. The Osma Beatus 17. The Corsini Beatus			
Santo Domingo de Silos 16. The Silos Beatus			
Monastery of São Mamede, Lorzvão 22. The Lorzvão Beatus (Cistercian female convent as of 1206)			

6.3.—Appendix C, Female Imagery in the Beatus Commentaries

1. The Silos Fragment

(none)

2. The Morgan Beatus

Adam and Eve, Genealogical Table I, f. 4v

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 33v-34r

Woman on the Beast, Prologue Bk. II: 8/Apoc. XVII, 3-5, f. 42

Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. I, viii), f. 79

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 152v-153r

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 194v (defaced, as are devils in this ms.)

3. The Vitrina 14-1 Beatus

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), f. 109v

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 137v

4. The Valcavado Beatus

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 36v-37r

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 43v (riding astride)
 Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), f. 73v
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 130v-131r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 160v
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 161v (riding astride)
 Last Judgment (Apoc. XX, 11-15), ff. 180v-181r (possible female figures in hell)

5. The *Tábara Beatus*

(none)

6. The *Girona Beatus*

Adam and Eve with Snake, Genealogical Table I, f. 8v
 Jacob and Leah, Genealogical Table VIII, f. 12r (labeled *Lia ux[or] Iacob*)
 Rachel, Genealogical Table IX, f. 12v (alone, labeled *Ra-el*)
 Mary, with Gabriel, Joseph, and infant Jesus, Genealogical Table XIV, f. 15 (labeled SCI MARIE, double scene of Annunciation and Nativity)
 Mary holding infant Jesus, with Angel and Three Magi (Adoration); Mary, with Joseph, Angel holding infant Jesus facing one mounted warrior and another on the ground (Flight into Egypt), f. 15v
 Servants, in scene of Peter's denial of Christ after his trial by Caiaphas (labeled UNA EX ANCILLIS and ALIA ANCILLA), f. 16r
 Two Marias at the tomb with risen Christ and Angel (labeled MVLIERIBVS); Two Marias at the tomb with Joseph of Arimathea (labeled MARIA MAGDALENA ET ALTERA MARIA), f. 17r
 Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 54v-55r
 Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 63r (riding astride)
 Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), ff. 102v-103r
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 171v-172r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 208r
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 209r (riding astride)

7. The *Vitrina 14-2 Fragment*

(none)

8. The *Urgell Beatus*

Rachel, Genealogical Table IX, f. IIIr (labeled *Racel uxor Iacob*, all other figures in Genealogies are patriarchs except culminating image on f. V)
 Virgin and Child, crowned and enthroned, Genealogical Table XIV, f. Vr
 Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. VIv-VIIr
 Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 47v (riding astride)
 Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), f. 82v
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 140v-141r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 167v
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 168v (riding astride)

9. The *San Millán Beatus* (RAH Cod. 33, female figures appear in Romanesque pages, none in Mozarabic)

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 159v-160r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 167v
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 168v (riding sidesaddle)

10. The Escorial Beatus

Adam and Eve with Snake, f. 18 (full page)

Woman on the Beast/Waters (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 24v (standing, no beast shown)

Woman Clothed in the Sun, f. 104v-105r

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 167v

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 168v (riding sidesaddle)

11. The Facundus Beatus

Adam and Eve, Genealogical Table I, f. 10v

Virgin and Child before Angel, enthroned, Genealogical Table XIV, f. 17r

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 63v-64r

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 72v (riding sidesaddle)

Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), f. 109r

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 186v-187r

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 224v

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 225v (riding astride)

12. The Fanlo Beatus (fragmentary)

(none)

13. The Saint-Sever Beatus

Adam and Eve, Genealogical Table I, f. 5v

Sarah, Genealogical Table VI, f. 8r (labeled SARAH UXOR HABRAHAM, next to Sacrifice of Isaac)

Rebecca, Genealogical Table VII, f. 8v (labeled REBECCA UXOR ISAAC, next to Isaac)

Leah, Genealogical Table VI, f. 9r (labeled LIA UXOR IACOB ..., next to Jacob)

Rachel, Genealogical Table IX, f. 9v

Virgin and Child, enthroned, with Three Magi, Genealogical Table XIV, f. 12r

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 45bis verso-45ter (remarkable representation of Eve plucking fruit from the tree, shown in profile with her hair streaming down to her legs; Adam is in frontal view, as in all other examples in the Beatus tradition)

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 43v (riding sidesaddle)

Noah story, drowned woman with baby and four male figures (full page, no Ark) (Bk. II, viii), f. 85r

Third Trumpet: Flaming Star (Apoc. VIII, 10-11), f. 140r (woman, four men killed by the flaming star)

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), f. 159r [left half with Woman missing]

Vignette following Sixth Angel Empties His Bowl on the Euphrates (Apoc. XVI, 12): woman wrings hands while two bald, bearded men grapple, labeled below FRONTIBUS ATTRITIS BARBAS CONSCINDERE FAS EST and between figures CALUI DUO P[RO] HAC MUL[IE]R, f. 184r.

[Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), cut from f. 187v]

[Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), cut from f. 188r]

14. The Osma Beatus

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 40v (riding sidesaddle)

Message to the Church of Thyatira (Apoc. II, 18-29), f. 55v (below standard scene of John receiving the message from the angel, Jezabel (labeled ZEZABEL MERETRIX) lies in bed, dressed in white, hair covered. Two men offer a goat's head and leg to her and/or to the bust (labeled HYDOLU[S]) above.

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), f. 117v (hands crossed over the child visible in her womb)

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 141v

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 142v (riding sidesaddle)

Victory of the Lamb over Kings (Apoc. XVII, 14-18, f. 145v (naked woman engulfed in fire pulls her hair)

Burning of Babylon (Apoc. XVIII, 1-20), f. 147r (women mourning destruction, one within the city tears her hair among nine men, while another below with three men rends her cheeks; one of the six figures in the boat may also be a woman tearing her hair)

15. The Turin Beatus

Adam and Eve with Snake, Genealogical Table I, f. 8v

Leah, Genealogical Table VI, f. 9r (labeled LIA UXOR IACOB, next to Jacob)

Rachel, Genealogical Table IX, f. 9v (labeled RACHEL)

Mary, with Gabriel, Joseph, and infant Jesus (Genealogical Table XIV?), f. 15 (labeled SCA MARIA, double scene of Annunciation and Nativity)

Mary holding infant Jesus, with Angel and Three Magi (Adoration); Mary, with Joseph, Angel holding infant Jesus facing one mounted warrior and nude figure on the ground (Flight into Egypt), f. 15v

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 45v-46r

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 51r (riding astride)

Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), f. 77v (labeled *mulieres*)

Third Trumpet: Flaming Star (Apoc. VIII, 10-11), f. 118r (woman, three men killed by the flaming star)

Fifth Trumpet: Falling Star and Plague of Locusts (Apoc. IX, 1-6), f. 119v (woman, three men stung by locusts)

Death-dealing Cavalry (Apoc. IX, 17-21), f. 123r (two women, seven men among the dead)

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 131v-132r

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 159r

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 160r (riding sidesaddle)

Last Judgment (Apoc. XX, 11-15), ff. 177v-178r (on f. 177v, one centrally placed woman rises from her tomb among many men, all clothed and gesticulating; on f. 178r, one naked woman looks back to heaven from among many damned about to descend into hell)

16. The Silos Beatus

Hell, f. 2: couple in bed, woman veiled

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 39v-40r

Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), f. 79v

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 147v-148r

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 182v

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 183v (riding astride, magnificently veiled and dressed)

17. The Corsini Beatus

(none)

18. The León Fragment

(none)

19. The Berlin Beatus

Fourth Trumpet: Eagle Flying through Heaven (Apoc. VIII, 13), f. 62 (two naked women [no men] with long, loose hair sit on tussocks)

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), f. 70r

The Marking of the Foreheads and the Right Hands (Apoc. XIII, 16), f. 76r (veiled woman [?] centrally placed among men receiving marks)

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 84v (riding sidesaddle)

20. The Rylands Beatus

Adam and Eve with Snake, Genealogical Table I, f. 6v
 Leah, Genealogical Table VI, f. 10r (labeled LIA UXOR IACOB, next to Jacob)
 Rachel, Genealogical Table IX, f. 10v (labeled *Rachel*)
 Genealogical Table XIV, f. 13r, Mary holding infant Jesus, with Angel and Three Magi (Adoration)
 Ark, Noah's wife and three daughters-in-law (Bk. II, viii), f. 15r
 Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 43v-44r
 Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 51r (riding astride)
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 142v-143r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 174r
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 175r (riding astride)

21. The Cardena Beatus

Genealogical Table XIV, f. 3r, Virgin and Child enthroned, with Angel and Three Magi (Adoration)

22. The Lorrão Beatus

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 43r (uniquely standing upright on the beast, she holds chalice and chrism; Orriols [p. 137 and n. 36] suggests that she performs magic to oppose the beast)
 Message to the Church of Thyatira (Apoc. II, 18-29), f. 64r (Jezebel, crown over loose hair, lies naked with a lover in bed, both defaced; before them, an IDOLI SIMULACRUM and a male figure, adoring the idol)
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), f. 153v
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 186v (riding astride)

23. The Navarre Beatus

Woman on the Beast/Waters (Prologue II/Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 30v (seated over the waters)
 Message to the Church of Sardis (Apoc. III, 1-6), f. 48 (unique within Beatus tradition: angel gives message to a veiled and mantled woman rather than to John; she stands in front of an altar within an architectural framework. Neuss [p. 149] suggests that she is a personification of the church.)
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 102v-103r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 128r
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 129r (riding sidesaddle)

24. The Las Huelgas Beatus

Genealogical Table I, f. 6v
 Adam and Eve x3: Fall (with dragon); Expulsion (with God); tilling and spinning; Eve is veiled, both are dressed in furs. Genealogical tables are extraordinary for including portraits within the traditional circles, mostly men but some women as well, e.g. *Ada uxor Lamehe*, portrait in Genealogical Table I, f. 6; *Anata uxor Lamehe filie Baribieti ex q[ui] genit[us] est Noe*, portrait above, and *Sella uxor Lamehe*, portrait below in Genealogical Table II, f. 7.
 Leah, Genealogical Table VIII, f. 9r (labeled LIA UXOR IACOB, next to Jacob)
 Rachel, Genealogical Table IX, f. 9v (labeled *Rachel*)
 Genealogical Table XIII, f. 11v, Mary holding infant Jesus, with Angel and Three Magi, servant with three horses (Adoration)
 Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 31v-32r (Eve on left, Adam right)
 Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 36v (riding astride)
 Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 101v-102r
 Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 128r (modestly veiled)
 Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 129r (riding astride, loose hair)

25. The Arroyo Beatus

Christ's Appearance in the Clouds (Apoc. I, 7-8), f. 3 (witnesses include women distinguished by headdress or hair)

Adam and Eve with Snake, Map of the World (Prol. Bk. II), ff. 13v-14r (Eve on left, Adam right)

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 20v (riding sidesaddle)

Sealing of the Elect (Apoc. VII, 4-12), f. 79v (elect include women distinguished by headdress or hair)

Seven Angels with Trumpets (Apoc. VIII, 2.5), f. 91r (clothed men and women lie dead)

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), ff. 110v-111r

Fourth Angel Scorching the Sun (Apoc. XVI, 8-9), f. 137r (clothed men and women attempt to cover their faces while gesturing up at the angel)

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 128r

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 129r (riding sidesaddle)

Last Judgment (Apoc. XX, 11-15), f. 160r (men and women distinguished by dress/hair among saved at top and damned below, including prominent nun in each group)

26. The Rioseco Fragment

(none)

27. The San Pedro de León Fragment

(none)

28. The Milan Fragment

(none)

29. The Geneva Beatus

Woman on the Beast (Prologue Bk. II, 8), f. 149r (bust on beast's haunches)

Woman Clothed in the Sun (Apoc. XII, 1-18), f. 208v

Whore of Babylon and Kings of the Earth (Apoc. XVII, 1-3), f. 227v

Woman on the Beast with Seven Heads (Apoc. XVII, 3-5), f. 228r (riding sidesaddle)

False Prophet, Beast, and Devil (Apoc. XX, 9-10), f. 239v (False Prophet as tonsured cleric/monk. Axially place naked woman flanked by Beast and Devil; four additional figures behind them).