CHRISTUS TRADITOR:

The Traditiones on the Evangelist Pages

of the Beatus of St. Sevar

A Thesis

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I. Introduction

Sometime between the years 1028 and 1075, a scribe penned his name, Stephanus Garsia, and the words "placidus ad S." on a column on the sixth folio of a most exceptional copy of the Beatus Commentary on the Apocalypse. This copy was dedicated to St. Gregor of Montana, abbot of the Abbey of St. Sever on the Adour (Landes) in the southwestern part of France. Gregor's Beatus has many special qualities: an early text, Carolingian script, and decidedly un-Mozarabic style of illuminations. These qualities have led to much comment and controversy on the part of scholars for the last century.

In 1880 when Delisle described the St. Sever Beatus he called it "l'un des plus curieux exemplaires du livre de Beatus!" Many years later, Moë also noted the extraordinary character of this work and called it "un des livres les plus remarquables qui soient".

Artistically, the St. Sever Beatus is indeed remarkable. It raises a great number of questions regarding iconography and style; and leaves one impressed with the multiplicity of elements which, taken together, appear to encompass a whole epoch of the history of art, beginning with the Early Christian period and moving up to the early Romanesque.

Attention was drawn to this remarkable volume in the early part of the twelfth century, when Émile Mâle suggested that certain aspects of its iconography influenced the sculptured tympana of the Romanesque churches of southern France. In the late 1920's two scholars, Harry Sanders and Wilhelm Neuss did authoritative studies of the Beatus manuscript group. For the first time, the Beatus of
St. Sever was put into a frame of reference regarding the rest of the twenty-odd remaining manuscripts in the Beatus group. Both of these scholars noted that in many ways the St. Sever Beatus was close to the oldest form of the Beatus manuscripts, and Neuss went so far as to suggest that, on the basis of some similarities of its iconography with that of the Ashburnham Pentatuch, the St. Sever was the closest remaining manuscript to the archetype of the Beatus cycle.

Though there was scholarly reaction to such a theory, there has not been much written about the St. Sever manuscript or the Beatus group since the studies of Neuss and Sanders. The only facsimile edition for the group so far published, that of the Gerona Beatus, contains in its scholarly discussion little more than background and descriptive material, and does not come to grips with iconographical problems in any detail. The fascinating iconographical content of this group of manuscripts, including the St. Sever Beatus, continues to be analyzed only in studies referring basically to other works. It is also referred to in studies of individual themes represented in the Beatus group, such as the Mappae Mundi, which was first studied by Müller in 1895 and later by Menendez-Pidal, and more recently by Carlos Cid, with ever more penetrating and meaningful iconographic analysis. But the sequel to the work of Sanders and Neuss is still to come, as is a monographic study on the Beatus of St. Sever.

It is not the purpose of this paper to pursue any of the topics suggested above. We are concerned, rather, with the one Beatus manuscript, the remarkable St. Sever, and with one aspect of its iconography: the evangelist pages which are part of the illuminations preliminary to the imagery of the apocalypse proper. We shall, of course, by
necessity refer to the Beatus group iconography as a whole from time to time.

The evangelist iconography of the Beatus group is so unusual that in the late nineteenth century it was not even recognized as such. In fact, Delisle described the eight pages of the St. Sever Beatus containing this iconography (folios 1v-5) as representations of the life of St. John. It was Ramsay who identified these pages as evangelist frontispieces, and it became obvious from Neuss' later study that the St. Sever Beatus was one of eight Beatus manuscripts having these pages extant (or possibly one of eight having it at all).

In 1957, Nordenfalk, in his Early Medieval Painting survey for Skira, asked the important question of why the evangelist iconography would be preliminary to a book on the Apocalypse when it would be more suitable to a gospel book. Williams in his 1957 study of the San Millán Bible also notes this in reference to the Beatus type evangelist pages, indicating that "their location before the individual Gospels in the San Millán Bible is a logical one, whereas there is no specific passage in the Commentary to explain their presence in the Beatus manuscripts."

The remainder of the scholarship on the Beatus evangelist iconography has been concerned with the problem of identifying the figures involved and placing them in an iconographic tradition. No one else has tried to connect the unusual iconographical format of these pages with a reason for their presence in a commentary on the Apocalypse.

We shall, therefore, in this brief study attempt to answer the question of why these pages are in the Beatus manuscripts and how they got there, using the St. Sever Beatus as an example of the Beatus group.
We shall refer to other manuscripts in the Beatus group when necessary.

The eight evangelist pages in the St. Sever Beatus are comprised of four pairs of facing pages. The pages on the left are the evangelist pages, strictly speaking, and depict Christ and the evangelist under the arcade. We shall, for reasons explained below, call these left hand pages the traditio pages. Among these four pages there are two which we shall identify as expressing a traditio evangeliorum and two others which we shall define as expressing what we will call a traditio licentiae. The right hand pages of each set we shall for want of a better description simply call the angel pages.

We shall try to point out why these pages represent traditiones, and what it is that is being transferred. This will not only involve defining the figures and action on the traditio pages themselves and placing them in an iconographic tradition, but it will also involve a discussion of a possible typological prototype for the eight pages as a whole. It will be necessary in our study to look at the biography of Beatus in order to determine the doctrinal and liturgical meanings of this iconography. We shall then be able to give ample evidence for the presence of these pages in the Beatus commentary.

The evangelist pages are an integral part of the St. Sever manuscript. Thus, it will be necessary to begin by describing at some length the composition of the manuscript.
I. Footnotes

1. Blasquez, "Los manuscritos de los commentarios al apocalipsis de S. Juan per San Beato de Liebana", Revista de los Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos, XIV (1906), p. 265, gives these dates. He appears to favour some time after 1047, according to the date on the mappa mundus (p. 267). According to Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos", Art Bulletin, XXI (1939), p. 358, note 153, there are some, especially Lefebvre Des Noettes, who would place the St. Sever Beatus in the twelfth century. Schapiro, however, assigns it to "the third quarter of the eleventh century".

2. According to Gallia Christiana, Provincias ecclesiasticae distributa, Parisiiis, Apud V. Palmae, 1870, I, col. 1175, Abbot Gregor was abbot of the monastery of St. Sever during the period when the manuscript was made. The name is quite clearly written in the center of the folio.


6. Harry Sanders, Beati In Apocalipsin, Rome, American Academy in Rome, 1930; and Wilhelm Neuss, Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der alsphanischen und alchristlichen bibel-illustration (das Problem der Beatus-handscritt), Münster in Westfalen, Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931, hereinafter noted as Neuss II.


8. Sancti Beati Liebana in Apocalypsin Codex Gerundensis, ed. Burckhart, Oltun and Lausanne 1962. The only monograph on the St. Sever Beatus is that of van Moë (cf. note 4 above) but it is not a complete study.


14. The research for this paper was carried out not from a direct study of the manuscripts involved, but from microfilms and reproductions. It is, therefore, possible that some of the conclusions drawn here would be changed if one could examine the originals more carefully. The author is indebted to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris for microfilms of the St. Sever Beatus, Latin 8878 of their collection; and also to the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City for microfilms of Beatus manuscripts 644 and 429 of their collection. The author is further indebted to Mrs. Jacqueline Sisson of the Ohio State University Fine Arts Library, Miss Jane Gatliiff and Mrs. Claire Goldsager of the Ohio State University Library Interlibrary Loan Service, and Monsignor Kleinschmidt of the Library of the Pontifical College of the Josephinum, for various other materials, including reproductions and descriptions of manuscripts. Questions raised by this study have led the author into areas of research, particularly in theological and religious history, which would require much more extensive scholarship than one can command without highly specialized study. For aid in this area the author is grateful to Professor Franklin J. Pegues of the History Department of the Ohio State University, and to various priests and officials of the Columbus Diocese of the Catholic Church, especially Father Bernard J. McClory.
II. Description of the Manuscript and Its Evangelist Pages

The St. Sever Beatus is a very large book, having 292 leaves which measure 14 1/2 x 11 1/4 (37 x 29 cm.), a great number of which are in a more or less damaged condition. Many pages have abrasions across the painted areas, as well as discolorations on the margins, and in some places the paint appears to be in a deteriorated condition. The margins appear to be no larger than necessary, and in some places uneven, so that one wonders if the pages were cropped when the volume was bound or rebound. In addition there are many pages missing, including portions of the text (folios 87 and 90, for example) and apparently some pictures (for example folios 186 and 186v, 187, 188 and 188v). But all of this is to be expected of a manuscript with a history of diverse ownership.

Provenance

The codex, which bears the library number, Latin 8878, came into the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1790. In the seven centuries which separate this acquisition from the production of the manuscript, little is known of its history. It is presumed that it was executed at the abbey of St. Sever on the Adour, and we shall substantially reinforce the case for its production at St. Sever below. It is dedicated to the abbot of St. Sever, so it is possible and as we shall see, more probable, that it was done there at the request of the abbot. No matter what its origin, it seems to have remained at St.
Sever for some time, since there are additions to the manuscript text made in a thirteenth century hand which deal with routine matters concerning the abbey (folios 284-290).

It is surprising that the manuscript has survived. There were numerous upheavals in the area in which the St. Sever abbey is located, and the abbey itself was severely damaged on several occasions, particularly during the Reformation. It would seem likely that the manuscript was taken from the monastery during that period, for it was presented sometime between the years 1599-1628 to the Cardinal de Sourdis (Francois d'Escoubleau) by William Guerry of Tiffauges in the diocese of Mâleznais (in the archbishopric of Bordeaux), upon the occasion of the latter's visit to Bordeaux. How long it remained with the archbishop is not known. It was in the possession of at least two other owners in the eighteenth century, Gaignet and the Marquis de Paulmy, before it was purchased for the Bibliothèque in 1790.

The Text

The text is written in two columns in Carolingian minuscule, and was probably written by at least two scribes. The text is divided into three basic sections: a) a preface or introduction, beginning with folio 14v; b) the Commentary on the Apocalypse, beginning on folio 25v; and c) a supplementary treatise, the Commentary of Jerome on the Book of Daniel, beginning on folio 218.

The first section begins with a preface containing the names of the authors to whom Beatus gives acknowledgment (folio 14v); a prologue; and a summary of the Apocalyptic Commentary, followed by a
brief explanation of each book. The second section, the main body of the Commentary, comprises twelve books and is made up of numerous storiae (the Biblical text from the Apocalypse) and explanationes (commentaries which give the meanings of the storiae). In addition to the twelve books on the Apocalypse in this section, there is a passage in Book II which deals with the church and the synagogue (folios 42-57), and Book II also contains a passage which treats the ark as a prefiguration of the Christian Church. Book XII of the commentary ends with a brief explanation of the words "book" and "codex" from the Entymologies of St. Isidore (folio 216v).

The Commentary on Daniel comprises almost all of the remaining folios, except for the last three or four pages which, as we noted above, contain records of the abbey. There are also a poem on the Epiphany and a poem to the Virgin, both written in a later hand, inserted on folio 142.

Many mistakes and omissions are to be found in the text, including words, parts of words, and whole sentences. For example, on folio 153, the wrong case is used for the word "Evangelii", and on folio 57v the first sentence is missing.

The Illuminations

There are over one hundred illuminations extant in this manuscript, counting the preliminary pictures before the prologue, those in the Commentary proper and those in the Commentary on Daniel as well. In order to have a clearer picture of the relationship of the illuminations to the text of the manuscript, it is necessary for us to make a brief
survey of the illustrations. This will be done by first looking at
the general aspect of the imagery of the book, and then describing in
detail the eight pages with which we are specifically concerned in
this paper.

The illuminations begin on f 1 with the richly ornamented
dedication page. The evangelist pages follow, containing four pairs
of miniatures as noted in the introduction (above p. 4): a traditio
page with Christ and the evangelist on the left, and an angel page on
the right with two angels holding an ark between them. The Matthew
pages are first (folios 1v and 2), followed by Mark (folios 2v and 3),
Luke (folios 3v and 4), and John (folios 4v and 5). Folio 5v begins
the series of genealogies of Christ, with the Old Testament families
listed, and the heads of the important members portrayed in roundels:
for example, Adam and Eve and descendants appear on folios 5v and 6;
Noah and descendants on folios 6v and 7; Abraham, Hagar and Sarah and
descendants on folios 7v and 8; Isaac and Rachel and family on folio
8v, Jacob and Leah, 9 and 9v: the Judges folio 10; David and family
on 10v.

Folios 11 and 11v, list the history of David's descendants, high-
lights of the history of the Kingdom of Israel including the prophets,
and the kings of Syria, Babylon and the Roman Caesars. Then follow
two folios (12 and 12v) containing pictures with commentaries on the
life of Christ. Folio 12 shows the Epiphany, with an essay which in-
cludes a brief discussion of the life of Christ. Folio 12v shows
the Annunciation to the Shepherds, with a brief discourse on the Bird
and the Serpent. These animals, which are illustrated on folio 13,
represent the meaning of the Incarnation. The bird and the serpent
are followed by illustrations of the authors who are Beatus' sources: John, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgutus, Gregory, Apringius, and Isidore (Folio 13 v). The Alpha is on folio 14 (there is no Omega in this Beatus). The illustrations to the Apocalypse are introduced with the Vision of Christ in the Clouds (Apoc. I, 7-10) on folio 21 and the Commissioning of John (Apoc. I, 1-6) on folio 26 v.

The illuminations of the Commentary proper are too numerous to mention here, as are those of the Daniel Commentary. But there are several pages worth noting which are not part of the Apocalyptic illuminations. One is the Mappa Mundus in the Prologue to Book II, which was missing when the St. Sever Beatus was added to the collection of the Bibliothèque, and which was later inserted as 45 bis-ter. There is also an illumination of the flood (folio 85) which accompanies the passage in Book II on the ark as a prefiguration of the Christian church. In addition, there are several sheets with animals and interlace decorations (folios 26, 138 and 198) and on folio 52 there are two ranks of paradise trees with little birds at their tops, which no doubt refer to souls in heaven.

The drawing in the illuminations is consummate, and appears to have been done mostly by one artist, often considered by scholars to be the "Stephanus Garsia" who signed his name on the column of folio 6 (cf. above, page 1). However, this signature is more likely that of the principal scribe, unless, of course, Stephanus was responsible for both the illuminations and the script. The color is reported to be quite rich, as several reproductions and Lauer's descriptions indicate, and every bit as imaginative as the design. This imaginative quality prevails on all eight of the evangelist pages of the manuscript, which
will now be described in detail.

The Evangelist Pages

As noted above, the eight evangelist pages of the manuscript are arranged in four pairs of facing pages, with a traditio page at the left and an angel page at the right (cf. figs. 1-8). The basic format of the pages is an arcade structure, with two figures beneath a lunette enclosing an evangelist symbol. The design of the architecture varies from page to page, according to the fancy of the artist. It is richly ornamental -- a wealth of imaginative detail which incorporates figures and animals into its structure and decoration. The architectural structure of the Matthew traditio pages seems to be a small church (cf. fig. 1), with a loggia just big enough to contain the evangelist symbol in the center of its upper portion. This format is modified on the Matthew angel page (fig. 2), where the upper portion of the arcade is a rectangle with a trefoil lunette containing the symbol. Small designs which look like doors and circles which might be windows decorate the side spaces between the trefoil lunette and the outer edge of the rectangle.

On the other pages, the structural format is less architectural in character. The Mark and Luke traditio and angel pages (figs. 3-6), have very similar structural formats. On the Mark angel page (fig. 4), one of the strange little figures who hold up the decorative lintels is shushing a monkey who is apparently telling him something heretical. On the spandrels of the John traditio page (fig. 7) there are large, dark faces with tongues hanging out and with small naked figures on all
fours dancing on top of them. These are joined by a wolf and a pelican who decorate the left margin. The John angel page has roundels which contain water birds on each side of its structural format (fig. 8).

The evangelist symbols which appear in the arcade lunettes of these pages face each other across the center fold of the book, except in the Matthew pages where they are frontal in position. The symbols are the traditional evangelist symbols: the angel for Matthew (figs. 1 and 2), the lion for Mark (figs. 3 and 4), the ox for Luke (figs. 5 and 6), and the eagle for John (figs. 7 and 8). The symbols on the tradition pages are without attribute or nimbus, except in the case of the Matthew tradition page where the angel holds a scroll in his left hand and a scepter with a fleur de lis tip and has a prominent nimbus. The symbols on the Mark, Luke and John angel pages are still without nimbus. Matthew's angel, however, has a halo. All four symbols are winged and hold books, like the Beasts of the Apocalypse. All of them (the Matthew angels excepted) appear to be rather uncomfortably placed in the lunette which they occupy. The lion of the Mark tradition page is too far to the left, and the ox of the Luke tradition page is too far to the right of the lunette to be properly centered. The eagle of the John tradition page completely fills his lunette, as if the artist had difficulty estimating the correct size. The symbols on the Mark, Luke and John angel pages have their wings overlapping the edges of their lunettes. In fact, the eagle of John on the angel page seems about to rise out of his lunette as if ascending.

In contrast to the symbols, the figures under the arcades appear to be placed fairly logically into the space which they occupy.
However, some details of the composition are awkward. One example of this is the throne which is fitted rather uncomfortably behind the column at the left on the Matthew traditio page (fig. 1). Another is the bottom of the robe of the evangelist which stands out behind the evangelist and overlaps the column on the John traditio page (fig. 7).

All the traditio page figures contained within the arcade are in front of a curtained background. The seated figures are Christ, and the standing ones the evangelists. The figures may be identified as Christ and the evangelists for reasons pointed out below (p. 27 ff), even though there are problems with the nimbi and figural treatments. Christ is represented as enthroned on a bench type Byzantine throne, except for the John traditio page where there is a low armrest. This throne is either seen from the side or in an awkward three quarters view, and its position is reversed on two of the pages, being at the left on the Matthew and Luke pages (figs. 1 and 5), and on the right on the Mark and John pages (figs. 3 and 7).

No matter what their position, the traditio figures appear to be involved in a dialogue, as they are turned toward each other. They seem to be discussing the object which is either held by Christ in the case of the Matthew and Luke page (figs. 1 and 5), or the evangelist in the case of the Mark and John pages (figs. 3 and 7). This object looks like an ark on the Matthew page, and appears to be a dark square on the three traditio pages. On the Matthew page, Christ holds the ark in his left hand and points in an instructing manner to it with his right. Matthew, who is pointing towards the angel page, holds a scroll in his left hand and points with his right hand, not at the ark which Christ
is holding, but to the angel page (fig. 2). They, therefore, appear
to be discussing and perhaps equating the ark on the traditio page
with the ark which is held carefully and gravely by the two angels
on the angel page.

This connection between the dialogue acted out on the Matthew
tradtio page and the Matthew angel page is not as strong on the other
three sets of pages. Perhaps the artist felt he conveyed his point on
the first pages and so it was unnecessary to emphasize it any further.

On the Mark traditio page (fig. 3), it is the evangelist who
holds the square object, which is probably supposed to represent a
book. His head is gently bowed in reverence as the enthroned Christ
points a blessing hand at the object which he holds. Facial expres-
sions are very grave, Christ appears very emphatic and Mark full of
respect. Since the evangelist holds the book with both hands, and
is on the left side of the page it is not possible for him to point
at the other page. Therefore, it is the angels on the angel page (fig.
4) who point at the ark they hold between them. The sense of something
being emphatically explained is present on these pages, but it is ex-
pressed in a different way than it is on the Matthew pages.

The Luke and John angel pages (figs. 6 and 8) follow this second
method of explanation: the angels point to the ark which is held be-
tween them. On the Luke traditio page, the evangelist points clearly
and strongly at the square object which Christ holds. Christ also
points to this object. On the John traditio page, the evangelist, as
in the case of Mark, is holding the square object with both hands and
Christ points directly to it with one finger.

On the Matthew traditio page, it is fairly evident that what is
represented is the ark. On the other pages all we can discern is that the object is square. Whether this "square" can be associated with the ark is a question which will be discussed below. No matter what the position of the figures, who is holding the objects, or what the objects are meant to represent, it is evident that the two pages of each set are linked together by a dialogue and that it is Christ who is the authoritative figure, and thus the source of the action.

This iconography is obviously complex and ambiguous. Its meaning lies with the religious beliefs of its designer. Before we attempt to examine these beliefs we must further clarify our identification of the figures, and attempt to define the underlying theme represented in these pages. In order to do this, we must study what visual materials bearing on these unusual iconographical themes there are in Early Medieval art.
II. Footnotes


2. For example, Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 85, notes that the first part of the names of the antichrist and part of the explanation of him (folio 171v) is missing due to the mutilation of folio 171. Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 129, lists damaged folios to be: 167, 171, 186, 187, 188, 200, 218, 220, 262. Some of his numbers are incorrect, but it is not necessary to go into this at the present.

3. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 85, notes the following portions of the text to be missing, using Florez's (_M. Florez, Sancti Beati, Presbyteri Hispani Liebanesis, in Apocalypsin, ac plurimas utriusque foederis Agines Commentarius, ex veteribus, nonnulesque desideratis Patribus, Mille retro annis Collecta, nunc primum edita, Joachim Ibarra, Catholicae Majestatis Typographum, 1770_) numberings: 222, K22 - 224, K8; 232, 21 - 233, 16; 371, 11 - 372, 29; 417, 4 - 29; 429, 5 - 13; 431, 13 - 15; 441, 14 - 443; 450, 23 - 452, 4; 453, 10 - 30; 484, 22 - 485, 10; 485, 16 - 486, 3; 487, 4 - 18; 487, 30 - 488, 11; 489, 16 - 490, 5; 490, 16 - 491, 2; 508, 20 - 509; 520, 14 - 522, 18; 523, 31 - 524, 14; 524, 24 - 27; 536, 25 - 538, 16; 544, 5 - 546, 26. Florez used a third edition copy for his edition, as did Sanders. Cf. Georgiana Goddard King, "Divagations on the Beatus", *Art Studies*, VIII (1930), p. 11, who says Florez used the Las Huelgas Beatus, the Morgan 429. This would account for the size of Ramsay's list of missing text, which is much larger than Delisle's. Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 130, notes that "Il y a des lacunes après les fol. 84, 87, 90, 143, 158, 162, 170, 172, 173, 174, 194, 199, 204, 206, 218 et 226." Ramsay did note a difference (p. 84) between the text of the St. Sever and Florez, but could not account for it properly, as Sanders was later able to do. Sanders' edition, which was used for this paper, does show many disparities with the St. Sever manuscript, some of which are due to a difference of edition, but some of the open spaces are definitely due to missing pages.


5. The "placidus ad S." on folio 6 (cf. note 1, Chapt. I, above) doesn't necessarily indicate that the work was done at St. Sever. However, as has been amply pointed out by many scholars, the style is French and not Mozarabic, so it may be assumed that it was executed somewhere in southern France. As it is dedicated to Abbot Gregor (folio 1), it is generally assumed that it was commissioned for him. Stylistic considerations and political and theological implications, some of which will be considered below in Chapter IV of this paper, do point to the probability of the manuscript being copied at St. Sever at the request of the Abbot himself. It has been said that the codex was done in Spain (Blasquez, *op. cit.*, p. 266), and King, *op. cit.*, p. 36, says it was done by a Spaniard. But Dorothy Miner, *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), p. 390, disagrees, and admirably defends the French position on the part of both location and writer and/or artist.
6. It is clear by the handwriting, as well as the content, that these pages were done at a later period. The pages are described as such by Delisle, op. cit., p. 129, and Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

7. For background and location of the abbey, cf. Congrès Archéologique de France, Session 55, 1888, p. 176; and Session 102, 1939, pp. 345-354. The historical details related in the second article are mostly to be found in Dom du Buisson, ed., L'Histoire du monastère de Saint-Sever, (Historiae Monasteri S. Severi in Vasconia libri X), 1681, published by Pédegert and Luget (Lucay?) in 1876 (Congrès 102, p. 345). There were disasters in 1295, 1360, 1372, 1435, 1558, and several after 1569 (Congrès 102, pp. 347-49). Ramsay, op. cit., p. 83, note 2, notes that on folio 289r, there is in French: "Je suis un messire Mathurin Briñ prestre in (sic) demourant au village de la Grassiere paroisse (sic)". An analysis of this handwriting might throw some light on when the manuscript left St. Sever.

8. Delisle, op. cit., p. 127; Ramsay, op. cit., p. 82. Ramsay notes that this information is contained on folio 290v, which reads: "Hunc librum dignatus est accipere Illustriissimus et reverendissimus Cardinalis Thiffaugrano cancellely des Sourdis a Guillelmo Guerry dum Thiffaugranos in viseret in episcopatu Maleancensi.

9. Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

10. Many have noted this. King, op. cit., p. 36, for example, notes that it is the work of two hands in both writing and illuminations, one much finer.

11. Sanders, op. cit., pp. XIV-VI, notes that the text is a first edition of the commentary. The Commentary on Jerome, however, was added to the third edition of the Beatus Commentary (cf. pp. 69 and 74 below).

12. Entitled Prologus in libro apocalypsin in Johannis apostoli et evangeliste. Delisle, op. cit., pp. 127-129, includes a brief description of some of the major chapter headings, but some of the folio and content notations are wrong.

13. Under headings, Incipit prologus totius libri (folio 15), and Incipit capitulationes interpretis que facilius per duodecim capitula libro primo cognoscuntur esse distinctus (folio 15v).

14. With the title Incipit tractibus de apocalypsi Johannes in explicatione sue amabilis doctoribus et probatissimis viris inlustribus, de diverso quidem stilo, set no diversa fide (25v).

15. Gerona facsimile, op. cit., pp. 65-66. This has a good basic description of the commentary as it generally appears.
16. On folio 153 this is obvious: "incipit Storia Elie et enoc, sive Legis et evangelium." "Evangelium" is the accusative case, and the word should be in the genitive: "Evangelii", as appears in Sanders, op. cit., p. 444. Delisle, op. cit., p. 128, also notes the missing first sentence on folio 57v. Cf. also Sanders, p. 159, and Florez, op. cit., p. 138 (from Delisle).

17. Few Beatus cycles include scenes from the life of Christ. Neuss II, p. 125, lists these as the St. Sever, folios 12-12v; Gerona, folios 15-17; Turin, folios 14v-15; Rylands, folio 13; and Morgan 429, folio 12. The scenes vary from manuscript to manuscript. Neuss includes the inscription from St. Sever on folio 12, which indicates that Christ was born of Mary at Bethlehem in Judea, and was the Son of God and the "secundum carnem". There follows a brief description of His baptism by John in the Jordan, and an indication that the miracles found in the Gospels were carried out in the years following. A comment is then made on His preaching, along with that of His disciples, to the world. His death and passion is noted as having taken place in the "anno Tiberii XVIII. 0." The discourse ends with "Faciens que nostra sunt auferens obprobrium beneficio suo et gratie sue splendori nos irradiatv".

18. In the circle on this folio is a brief reference to the genealogy of Christ: of the tribe of Juda, from the tree of David, and so forth; and an indication that Christ’s genealogy is the fulfillment of the written prophecy. Below the annunciation scene is the story of the "avis in regione orientis", who with his beak attacked the snake, who had "enveloped our flesh in mire" and more, and who was eventually killed by the bird. The bird, of course, is Christ. King, op. cit., p. 31, notes that this symbolism is also found in the Morals of Gregory. The use of this story on the annunciation to the shepherds page is very interesting and deserves further notice.

19. Ramsay, op. cit., p. 85, notes that M. d'Avezac, who was responsible for the recovery of the "Mappa" tells his story in the Bibliophile Français, IV (1869-70), p. 226. Delisle, op. cit., p. 127, indicates that this recovery was made in 1867. Cf. Cid, Compostellanum, for the significance of the map of the world in the Beatus manuscripts.

20. I have referred to these trees as paradise trees following Eleanor Greenhill's discussion of the tree as the ladder upon which the soul climbs on its way to paradise. ("The Child in the Tree, A Study of the Cosmological Tree in the Christian Tradition", Traditio, X (1954), pp. 323-371.) But Jean Porcher, "Beatus in Apocalypsim, The Apocalypse of Saint-Sever", Graphis International, XII, (1956), p. 218, refers to this page as "The forest of ignorance". Obviously, the problem needs further attention.

21. Delisle, op. cit., p. 138: "il est à peu près impossible de ne pas voir dans Stephanus Garsia l’un des peintres qui ont concouru à l'exécution du manuscrit de Saint-Sever. King, op. cit., p. 36,
however, indicates that "Stephanus Garsia" copied the manuscript for the Abbot of St. Sever, and goes on to note that: "Two hands may be distinguished by difference in the drawing though the style is homogeneous. The matter of painting and writing is not really clear in King's discussion and notes (cf. pp. 10-11, for example) and one gets the impression that she uses them interchangeably. It is possible to note a difference in drawing in the St. Sever manuscript, particularly in the last folios of the Daniel Commentary.


24. The evangelist symbols in the St. Sever Beatus are obviously not human figures with animal heads, as occurs on some of the Beatus cycle evangelist pages, as well as other pages, such as the Adoration of the Lamb. Cf. Z. Ameisenowa, "Animal-headed Gods, Evangelists, Saints, and Righteous Men", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XII (1949), pp. 21-45; Rene Crozet, "Les Premières Representations Anthropo-zoomorphiques des Evangélistes", Etudes Mérovingiennes, 1959, pp. 53-63; "Les Quatre Evangelistes et Leurs Symboles", Les Cahiers Techniques de L'art, IV, 3 (1962), pp. 5-26; Representations Anthropo-zoomorphiques", Cahiers de Civilization Médiévale, I (1958), pp. 182-189. On p. 185 of this last reference, Crozet lists Beatus manuscripts which contain this peculiar iconography. The St. Sever has, rather, a combination of classical and northern animal types, with the symbols being treated rather as those at St. Vitale, but enhanced by a northern linear style.

25. The question of whether this object is a tabernacle or a book is a very complex one to answer. There are numerous references to the ark in the Beatus cycle imagery, and these references are too obvious to overlook. In addition to the examples of hip-roofed objects reproduced by Francisco Iniguez Almech in "La Liturgia en las miniaturas mozárabes", Archivos Leoneses, XV (1961), pp. 49-76, one can see ample use of it throughout the Gerona and the two Morgan beatus cycles, as well as a few uses in the St. Sever. The examples are too numerous to go into in detail, but the most interesting aspects of the use of the ark are in relation to the story of the three youths in the Commentary of Jerome on Daniel which was added to the third edition of the Beatus Commentary.
(cf. note 11 above). In the Gerona Beatus, on folio 236v-237, three little arks are contained in niches which appear in a row across the facade of the city of Babylon. The first, at the left, is marked ARCA, the next, TESTAMENTI, and the last, DOMINI. These same little arks occur in the St. Sever Beatus on folio 217, and on folio 147r of the Morgan 429, both of which have no inscription; and on folio 238v of the Morgan 544, where the arks have small bodies within each, and inscriptions with the names of the three boys: ANANIE, AZARIG, and MISAEILI. Neuss II, p. 223, refers to these as the sarcophagi of the three youths in the fiery furnace, but the boys were not killed in the furnace (Daniel 312:50). It rather refers to their attempted sacrifice, particularly as the furnace of the Morgan 644 manuscript (folio 248v) is in the shape of an ark. The ark-shaped furnace is also seen on folio 275v of Madrid, B.N. B31 (Neuss II, fig. 201, Pl. CXLI; folio 224 of St. Sever; and folio 154 of Morgan 429 where the shape is an ark, but it has a second building surrounding it. This iconography probably refers to the church as a protection for the three youths. The story was considered to be Eucharistic during the Reformation period, following St. Augustine, (cf. Roberto Bellarmino, De Sacramento Eucharistiae, Secundi Tomi, Tertia Controversia Generalis, 1538, pp. 699-700), and it is possible that it was in the Morgan 644 meant to be a prefiguration of the Eucharist. On folio 192r of the Gerona Beatus, the angel with the Everlasting Gospel (Apoc. XIV, 6-8) holds an ark shaped object which is gold outlined in red, and which is carefully marked LIBER. This perhaps indicates that in the Beatus cycle the ark and the book are considered as one, a problem which will have to be left until another time. There is, in addition to the problem of the ark and the square, the problem of the roll which appears to change hands. This roll, which could be the roll of authority, has not really been considered for purposes of this paper. For studies of the book and the roll cf: Theodor Birt, Die Buchrolle in der Kunst, Leipzig, 1907; L. Koech, Das Himmlische Buch in Antike und Christenitum, Bonn, 1952; and Theodore Michel, "Christus mit der Buchrolle", Orients Christianus, VII, (1932), pp. 138-48.
III. The Representation of the Tradition

By the eleventh century evangelist portraits in western art appeared in accordance with one or two firm traditions, either in a standing or seated pose. In manuscript illuminations there was a preference for the seated portrait, which usually showed the evangelist writing within an arcade format with his symbol either hovering over him in the same spatial area or placed above him in the lunette of the arcade.

The evangelist iconography in the St. Sever manuscript is different, as we saw above, and appears to have developed from sources other than or somewhat different than traditional evangelist iconography. The St. Sever and the other seven Beatus manuscripts having the evangelist pages extant all follow the same format. There is a page to the left with a standing and a seated figure enclosed in an arcade under a lunette containing the evangelist symbols and a page to the right with two angels standing holding an ark or square object under a lunette enclosing a second representation of the evangelist symbol, and holding an ark or square object between them. In each of the manuscripts, the standing and seated figures are reversed in position on the Mark and John pages from those on the Matthew and Luke pages (cf. above pp. 17 and 18 and figs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16 and 17).

Furthermore, the seated figure, appears to give something to the standing one on the Matthew and Luke pages, and to receive something from the standing one on the Mark and John pages. In at least two of the Beatus manuscripts, the St. Sever and the Morgan 644, there are no
nimbi on the standing figures. The seated figures in all the manuscripts have slight variations in clothing and physical appearance from page to page.

As we noted above, this iconography is perplexing and, at first glance does not seem possible to explain on the basis of any previous iconographic tradition known to us. Yet by examining this material we can come to certain conclusions regarding a possible prototype for the figures and action in the evangelist pages. It is not surprising that these conclusions appear to agree with those derived from Beatus' religious beliefs discussed in Chapter IV below.

To begin, we must look at three manuscripts outside the Beatus group that contain similar evangelist iconography. The first of these is an Evangelium, Capitolare No. 2 at the Perugia Museum, probably executed in central Italy no earlier than the eighth century and no later than the ninth. Another is an Evangelium, Coptic 9 in the Vatican Library, possibly from Egypt and written in the thirteenth century but reflecting an earlier local tradition. The third is the Gospel Book of St. Livinus at St. Bavo in Ghent, sig. no. 13, which is undoubtedly contemporary with the Perugia manuscript. For ease of discussion we shall refer to these three books as, the Perugia Gospels, the Vatican Gospels, and the Ghent Gospels. These three books, two of which are western and one eastern in origin, contain only \textit{traditio} pages. They do not display the paired pages we find in the Beatus evangelist pages. The location of the evangelist pages within the body of these three manuscripts is different in each case.

The Perugia Gospels has all four \textit{traditio} pages extant, and all four display the same format. There is an enthroned figure at the left
(fig. 18), who is obviously Christ with a cruciform nimbus and a Greek inscription to identify him. The evangelist symbol is nimbed and winged and holds a book. It appears at the upper right with a Latin inscription above it.\(^6\) The evangelist appears at the lower right, walking toward Christ and holding up a book with another Latin inscription on it.\(^7\) Christ blesses with his right hand and holds a roll in his left. The composition is set within a plain square border which conforms to the shape of the page and there is no indication of ground plane or background. This is obviously quite different from the format of the Beatus pages where there is an arcade and a definite attempt to set the figures in recognizable space.

The only **traditio** page in the Vatican Gospels is the Matthew page. This page (fig. 19) has a compositional format which is midway between that of the Perugia Gospels and the Beatus group. The figures are set in an ambiguous space, obviously designed to adapt figures taken out of a spatial context like that of the Perugia Gospels to one somewhat like that of the Beatus group. The base of the throne of Christ, which is at the left, drops to the border at the bottom of the page but the figure of Matthew at the right floats uncertainly on a crudely drawn ground plane well above that of the throne. This scene is enclosed by a well-defined, decorative border. The background is dark and plain, and there is no evangelist symbol.\(^8\) Matthew bends over slightly toward Christ in reverence and is nimbed and holds an open book on which there is an inscription in Greek. A Greek inscription also appears on either side of the head, identifying him. Christ has a cruciform nimbus and a Greek inscription on either side; he holds a book with a decorative cover in his left hand while with his right he
gives a blessing.\footnote{ }

In all the Perugia Gospels representations and in that of the Vatican Gospels, Christ is at the left. This arrangement appears in only the Matthew page of the two remaining evangelist pages in the Ghent gospels (fig. 20); on the John page of the Ghent manuscript (fig. 21) the figures are reversed just as they are on the John and Mark \textit{traditio} pages in the Beatus group. One can well imagine that the two lost pages of the Ghent Gospels, the Mark and Luke pages, follow the format found on the Beatus Mark and Luke \textit{traditio} pages as well.

The compositional details of the Ghent Gospels \textit{traditio} pages are different from the Beatus group. The structural framework has been given a faceted, decorative treatment, as if a metal icon has been copied. There are suggestions of architectural features in the columns set into the framework at the sides and in the column in the center, as well as a suggestion of coffering inside the frame at the top. But the composition is not well understood architecturally. As in the Vatican Gospels, the space is not well defined; the figures seem to be set inside the enclosing framework, yet they rest uncertainly upon the ground plane. The roundels containing the evangelist symbols overlap the framework at the top of the page and seem to be supported by the column below it. But this column is treated in a way that totally denies its ability to support the roundels. The top of the columns appear to be in front of the two figures, but the bottom descends to a point clearly behind them. This creates an unnatural spatial tension, and indicates clearly that the artist did not understand the spatial principles found in the supposed model, or the
supposed model was already abstracting Hellenistic spatial principles.

On the Matthew page of the Ghent Gospel the figures turn toward each other and are gesticulating in a manner which clearly indicates a dialogue between them (cf. fig. 20). This is distinctly different from the St. Sever Matthew traditio page, where the standing figure is turned away from the seated one and points to the next page. In the Ghent Gospel page, the figures do not look at each other but seem to look at the spectator, as if to explain something to him. The seated figure, who appears to be bearded and lacks a cruciform nimbus has his right hand extended but, due to the bad condition of the manuscript it is difficult to tell what sort of gesture he is making or whether he holds anything in his hands. The standing figure, who has no nimbus has his right hand extended as if to receive something. His other hand could possibly hold a roll, but this is not visually clear.

On the John traditio page of the Ghent Gospels, the two figures are definitely engaged in a dialogue, for they look at each other (cf. fig. 21). The standing figure (unnimbed) is holding what appears to be an open book with a cloth hanging from it. Possibly this is a misunderstood copy of an open book held with a cloth as is found in many Early Christian representations. The seated figure (without cruciform nimbus) holds out his right hand in a gesture of blessing. In his left hand he appears to hold a roll. This arrangement varies only slightly from that of the John traditio in the St. Sever manuscript. There the standing figure holds a flat square object, probably a book, but holds it higher and with arms outstretched and the seated figure points instead of blesses with his right hand.

The evangelist iconography of the Perugia Gospels, the Vatican
Gospels, and the Ghent Gospels, has with good reason been traditionally associated with that of the Beatus group. Though there are many stylistic and compositional differences among the traditio pages of these manuscripts, the figures and actions are closely related. The Perugia Gospels traditio pages, the Vatican Gospels Matthew traditio page, the Ghent Gospels John traditio page, and the Beatus Mark and John traditio pages all seem to have similar action; while the Ghent Gospels Matthew traditio page, and the Matthew and Luke traditio pages of the Beatus group have identical action. But we cannot define precisely what the activity is unless we first name the figures. In two of our examples, the Ghent Gospels and the Beatus group, the identity of these figures cannot be determined unless we resort to collateral evidence.

The Figures: Christ and the Evangelist

There is no question concerning the identity of the figures on the traditio pages of the Perugia Gospels and the Vatican Gospels. But there is some controversy concerning whether the figures on the traditio pages in the Ghent Gospels and the Beatus group are Christ and the evangelist. The uncertainty surrounding these figures stems from the lack of cruciform nimbi, variations in the appearance of the seated figures, and the lack of nimbi on the standing figures. This situation has generated much scholarly debate. Two possible identifications have been suggested: either the seated figure is the evangelist and the standing one a witness or the seated figure is Christ and the standing one the evangelist.
In 1931 Neuss suggested that the seated figure in the Beatus group was Christ, basing his identification on what he believed was a cruciform nimbus found on the seated figure in the Morgan 544. Williams in 1957 took issue with Neuss on this point for two reasons: first, the cruciform noticed by Neuss is difficult to identify because of oxidation and secondly, the angels on folios 3 and 4 of the Morgan manuscript also have cruciform nimbi.

Inconsistencies such as these are probably an indication of the antiquity of the model used for these manuscripts. As we know, there were many inconsistencies in the use of the nimbus during the Early Medieval period. For example, Bruce-Mitford cites the Book of Kells, where "the Virgin and the Evangelist (if correctly identified as such) have crossed nimbus (sic), and Christ, as often as not, no nimbus at all". He also notes that "the Gospels of S. Livinus in Ghent and twenty-four of the twenty-six manuscripts of Beatus of Liebana on the Apocalypse demonstrate the existence of contemporary (with the Book of Kells) and later picture-cycles showing Christ without the crossed nimbus".

In the St. Sever Beatus such inconsistencies in the use of the nimbi are apparent throughout the manuscript. For example, Christ appears at least eight times without a cruciform nimbus (folios 122, 147, 156, 159, 208v, 215 and 235; and perhaps on folio 135v). Only on folios 26v, 29 and 31v does a clear cruciform shape appear (and even 31v is difficult to identify). The standing figures accompanying the seated figures on the traditio pages in the St. Sever have no nimbi at all. Yet in the pictures of the "author sources" and the two prophets Enoch and Elias (folios 13v and 153 respectively) the figures have
nimbi.

The second problem of identification is that of the variation in the appearance of Christ. This is also due to inconsistencies in the Early Medieval tradition. As is well known, many differences appear in the visual representations of Christ during the early centuries of Christianity. Williams concluded that the seated figures on the traditio pages of the Ghent Gospels are evangelists because they have different features and thus could not be one person: i.e., Christ. This is not credible in light of the flexibility of representation that is found in the art of the early centuries of Christianity. The variation in the figures that troubled Williams: i.e., that one figure is bearded and the other not, can be explained if we consider that the artist of the Ghent Gospel Book copied a model which showed two alternate types of Christ popular in the early periods of Christianity, the Oriental bearded and the Hellenistic unbearded.

As the St. Sever-Beatus shows, the model for the Beatus manuscripts also contained these two types of Christ imagery. In twelve representations of Christ excluding the evangelist pages, ten show Him bearded and two unbearded (folios 26v, 29, 31v, 122, 135v, 147, 156, 159, 208v, and 235; and on 199 and 215, respectively).

There are also differences in the St. Sever manuscript in the costuming of Christ. The bearded Christ is clothed five times in tunic and toga of rather dark shades with a very light outline and a light overall pattern of three small dots (folios 26v, 29, 31v, 159 and 208v). Two of these five representations have an additional border at the bottom of the toga with a repeated small circular motif as the decoration (folios 26v and 31v). The other five bearded Christs are
clothed in tunio and toga of different shades, with either dark toga over light tunic (folios 122 and 156) or light toga over dark tunic (folios 135v, 147 and 235). The togas are painted in solid colors except for the toga in folio 122 which is decorated with the three-dot pattern noted above.

The beardless Christ is also costumed in different ways. On folio 215 He wears a tunic and toga of plain dark shade with a light border of small circular pattern but on folio 199 He is clothed in a toga with the three-dot decoration. Other variations, such as hair treatment and body proportions are too numerous to go into here but it is evident that there are great variations in the physical appearance of the Christ figure in this manuscript.

Just as we have seen that there is no single tradition for the representation of Christ in this manuscript, so the variations in the evangelist pages are not especially significant. They are not important enough to preclude the identification of all four seated figures on the traditio pages as Christ. This identification would also hold true for the seated figures in the Ghent Gospels. The identification is justified despite the absence of a cross in the nimbi of the seated figures, and the variations in the figural treatment. If we accept the identification of the seated figures as Christ, then the standing figures are the evangelists.

The Relationship of the Figures

Having identified these figures as Christ and the evangelist, we must then raise the question of what the two figures are actually doing. Again, the scholarship is divided on this matter. Neuss
suggests that Christ is giving the gospels to the evangelists.\textsuperscript{21} Werckmeister agrees to this, and further concludes that the evangelist page figures of the Ghent Gospels and the Beatus group belong to the Mediterranean tradition of Christ giving the gospels to the evangelist.\textsuperscript{22} He maintains that the Perugia Gospels represent the source of this tradition.\textsuperscript{23} In contrast to this point of view, Koehler puts the Perugia Gospels at the beginning of the tradition that is called the "presentation" type of evangelist iconography.\textsuperscript{24} In Koehler’s opinion, the Ghent Gospels also belong to this tradition.

The term "presentation" used for this particular iconography implies the concept that the evangelist is offering his gospels to Christ instead of receiving them from Christ. The meaning of this presentation type is exemplified in Early Medieval manuscripts showing scribes presenting books to their donors. An example of this is found in the famous Carolingian Count Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 1) where on folio 1, the monks of St. Martin of Tours\textsuperscript{25} are offering the manuscript to Charles the Bald. Another example is the Mozarabic Antiphonal of 1047 (Leon, Cathedral Archives), where on folio 1v the scribe Ille is giving her finished work to Abbot Itilano.

That a presentation is made is self-evident in these examples, but when the evangelists present the gospels to Christ it is difficult to understand the concept involved or the doctrinal basis for this concept. The normal Christian doctrine would have Christ presenting the book to the evangelist as a symbol of the Christ revealing the word to the evangelist. The concept of the evangelist presenting the book to Christ would imply that the evangelist is making an offering of his scriptures for Christ's approval or blessing. However, this turns out
to be not an entirely adequate explanation of the imagery, as we
shall see below.

The scholarship involving this problem in the Beatus traditio
pages has failed to recognize that different actions are taking place
in them. The scholars have considered that in each of the themes the
action involved is that of Christ giving something to the evangelist,
or alternately that the evangelist is giving something to the Christ.
Some scholars have determined that Christ is the recipient in all the
scenes while others have determined that the evangelist is the recipi-
ent. However, a closer examination of the scenes shows that the evan-
gelist is the recipient in two of the scenes, and Christ is the recipi-
ent in the two others. The scholars have failed to observe the varia-
tion in the action.

The action of the Matthew and Luke traditio pages of the Beatus
group is different from that of the Mark and John traditio pages of
this group. The action in the former corresponds with that in the
Matthew page in the Ghent Gospels, and the action of the latter cor-
responds with the John page of the Ghent Gospels, the four traditio
pages of the Perugia Gospels, and the Matthew page of the Vatican Gos-
pels. The difference between these two groups is enough to question
whether the second group is properly called a traditio.

In the first group, Christ is quite clearly giving the gospels to
the evangelists. In the second group of pages, it is the evangelist
who holds the object, and Christ merely points to it or blesses it.
We have already noted that this latter form does not conform to a
normal "presentation". We may assume that it is an authoritative
action like the traditio in the first group and that it is closely
related in meaning to the first *tradtio* action, but differs from it in some respect. It is probably a different sort of *tradtio* which complements the first one. A close examination of these scenes shows that rather than a simple blessing, the Christ is giving a *licentia* or authorization to the evangelist to teach and spread the word of the gospel. We can make this interpretation because the evangelist holds the book, and is posed so that he is showing his readiness to fulfill his commission.

This variation on the *tradtio* iconography corresponds, we think, with a concept in the Christian liturgy and doctrine, the *tradtio licentiae*, which we will discuss in considerable detail later. According to this concept, the Christ not only gives the law but also gives permission to his apostles who are the first officials of the church to execute and interpret it.

The concept involved in all four of the Beatus *tradtio* pages (as well as the related manuscripts discussed) is that of the authoritative relationship between Christ and the evangelists. The *tradtio* in the first group is that of Christ giving the gospels to the evangelist, and the second is that of Him commissioning the evangelist and giving him the authority to preach. Neuss and Werckmeister have suggested this meaning although they failed to note a significant variation in the *tradtio* iconography.

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**The Sources of the Traditio Iconography**

A. M. Friend, Jr., in his pioneering articles of 1927 and 1929 on the development of the evangelist iconography distinguished a type
of representation that he called a "presentation". His presentations showed standing figures of the Christ and the evangelist with the evangelist giving the scriptures to the Christ. While this iconography differs from the actions represented in the St. Sever manuscript, it is possible that this presentation type is one of the several sources of the St. Sever iconography. One may note that Friend does not refer to any traditiones in his extensive published studies. A brief summary of his findings regarding presentations is called for in this study. It could explain why scholars have felt there is an association between the presentation and traditio developments.

Friend concluded that there were two basic types of early evangelist portraits: the seated and the standing one. In both types the evangelist could be alone or "accompanied" by another figure. The seated accompanied type is descended from representations of the ancient philosopher with his muse or disciple with the philosopher seated and the muse or disciple standing (cf. figs. 22 and 23). The Early Christian descendant of this iconographic type is exemplified by the evangelist portrait in the Codex Rossanensis where the evangelist is seated at the left and an inspirational figure is standing at the right (cf. fig. 24). The standing evangelist type is also descended from antiquity but from the standing statues of poets and philosophers. Standing accompanied types are found in Early Christian art in examples such as the Etschmiadzin Gospels where two evangelists stand together under an arcade in a frontal position (figs. 25 and 26). Other examples show the evangelist "accompanied" by Christ as in a Syriac manuscript (Paris, B. N., Syr. 4 (Anc. Fonds 25) where the standing evangelist "presents" his book to a standing Christ.
who appears on the facing page (fig. 27). A variation of this iconography is also seen on folios 11v and 12 of a Byzantine manuscript (Vatican Greek 756) where the four figures of the evangelists, in four compartments of the left page are walking towards the standing figure of Christ on the opposite page to present Him their books. (fig. 28).

For this latter type of representation Friend used the term "presentation". He indicates that these representations are a late development in Early Medieval art, although one which occurs before the tenth century. He further notes that the Vat. Gk. 756 is a compiled work, "clumsy and awkward" in appearance. He suggested that the work was a compilation because the four evangelists who usually appear separately are brought together on one page. He might also have added that the two pages of the Vat. Gk. 756 display a synthesis of Christ and evangelist iconography. One might also note that the combination of the Christ and the evangelist on facing pages indicates a synthesis of the iconography of single Christ figures and single evangelist figures.

The use of the evangelist in association with Christ is also found in Carolingian manuscripts in examples such as the Godescalc Gospels (Paris, B.N., Latin 1203), where the evangelist portrait of John on folio 2v appears opposite a Majestas Domini which is on folio 3r. While this association may not be a synthesis representing a single activity going on between the evangelist and Christ, a connection is nevertheless established between the two by their proximity.

The traditio iconography in the manuscripts with which we are dealing in this paper could well have been a composite of the traditional standing evangelist with the iconography of Majestas Domini or
Christ in the guise as King. If this were the case, the synthesis would have been made by combining the figures on one page rather than using two facing pages such as the examples Friend cited. The single page format could well have been in a traditional western evangelist composition enclosed with arcade showing the symbol and possibly even including an inscription from Sedulius. But this hypothesis is not really convincing, for the reason that the evangelist iconography in the western tradition usually showed the evangelist seated rather than standing. To give the Christ the seated position would involve a very considerable artistic, if not conceptual change, probably too much of a change for western artists to imagine. It seems much more likely that the placement of the two figures in the St. Sever traditio pages was arrived at by substituting for the seated evangelist the seated figure of Christ and the standing evangelist taken from the iconography surrounding Christ as King.

The rich and complex iconography of the Majestas Domini developed, as we know, out of the imperial iconography of the late Roman empire, by a process which transferred to the Christ the visual attributes of the emperor. Included in this iconography were various representations of the Christ conferring authority, and in this sense making a traditio. When the Majestas Domini was developed the artist preferred to represent Christ as Lord in the guise of the ancient philosopher figure rather than the emperor in full regalia. In the earliest Christian traditiones, Christ is thus shown as philosopher-teacher among the apostles, although he is invested with the dignity of all powerful authority as in the example of the mosaic of St. Pudenziana in Rome (fig. 29).
However, in the early representations of the *Majestas Domini*,
the authority conferred was primarily that of the law or the new
doctrine. Few of these *traditio* depictions showed the conferring of
the *licentia* of the authority to teach. The Christ is in Early Chris-
tian art represented as conferring the law or Himself teaching, but
not conferring the authority for others to teach. The visual means
of representing the conferring of the law is derived from imperial
iconography showing the emperor giving a roll or a weapon as the sym-

dols of the authorities conferred. An example of such iconography is
seen in the *Plate of Theodosius* (fig. 31).

During the fourth century the authority of the Christ was made
further explicit in one aspect in the new iconography generally re-
ferred to as the *traditio legis* (fig. 32). This iconography repre-
sented not the transfer of the law through teaching, or the transfer
of the law through giving the roll of authority. In this iconography
the roll symbolized *potestas*, and it represented in this form a specif-
ic emphasis on the primacy of Rome in the Early Christian community.
Thus Christ is seen actually giving the *potestas* in the form of a roll
to St. Peter (cf. below p. 63 and Chapter IV, note 15).

The iconography of the *traditio legis* was elaborated during the
Early Christian and Early Medieval periods. It is a familiar theme
on the late third and fourth century sarcophagi of Rome and Ravenna,
and also of Gaul. But these representations of the Early Christian
*traditio* iconography do not conform to the types found in the *traditio*
pages of the *Beatus* group. There are only a few examples to be found
in the Early Christian period which appear to relate in any way to the
St. Sever type. Among these examples is the sarcophagus from the Musée
Archéologique in Istanbul (fig. 33), and another is a sarcophagus at Ravenna (fig. 34). On these sarcophagi the enthroned Christ appears between four figures (evangelists?) who are spaced across the front of the sarcophagus in each case. On the Istanbul sarcophagus, Christ simply raises his hand in blessing; in the work from Ravenna, however, he holds out the roll of authority, which one of the four figures is about to receive with covered hands. The only examples of Christ enthroned with one standing figure so far discovered is in a detail of a sarcophagus fragment from Istanbul (fig. 35).

Although there is little extant visual evidence of an iconographic tradition showing Christ giving the new teaching or the licentia to the evangelists, there is definite liturgical evidence for the expression of these concepts. This evidence not only comes from the Early Christian Roman Baptismal Rite, but from the mass as it was regularly said. We shall discuss this evidence in Chapter IV. It would thus be appropriate that some imagery of the traditio evangeliorum and the traditio licentiae was used in the frontispieces of early illustrated gospel books following liturgical practice.

We have established that in the Beatus manuscripts, including the St. Sever Beatus, the evangelist page iconography represents the traditio evangeliorum and the traditio licentiae. These representations were grounded in the theological and liturgical concepts of Christ giving the gospels to the evangelists and conferring the rights and powers to preach. While there is scant evidence that these concepts were already illustrated in Early Christian art, it remains possible and likely that they had received an artistic formulation before the Beatus iconography was invented. By what means this
iconographical tradition descended to Beatus and was absorbed or modified by the Beatus artists is the next question to explore.

The Sources of the Beatus Traditio Iconography

In seeking the immediate prototype for the traditio pages, we are confronted with the problem of whether the illustrations were designed in the eighth century by Beatus himself or whether they were developed later in the reproduction of Beatus Commentaries by someone such as the painter Magius who was responsible for the execution of the illuminations in the tenth century Morgan 644.

This problem as it relates to the imagery of the Beatus cycle in its entirety is extremely complex and cannot be discussed in this thesis.

We have, for reasons stated below, assumed that it was Beatus himself who designed the original traditio pages of his manuscripts and that he added this iconography to his last edition. Since this last edition was completed, according to Sanders, in 736, the sources from which Beatus drew his pictorial material were pre-Carolingian or the Earliest Carolingian.

In the Asturian mountains of the eighth century Beatus would have available to him artistic sources which included the surviving remains of the Spanish Late Antique, Visigothic art, Merovingian art from southern France and Islamic art in its early Omayyad stage. Presumably he also had access to the works from contemporary religious centers in Byzantium, Italy and particularly Rome, and possibly to the very earliest artistic products of the Carolingian Renaissance such as
the Codexcale Evangeliary of 781-783 which was contemporary to his own work.

The famous seventh century Ashburnham Pentateuch, so often considered in connection with the iconography and style of the Beatus manuscripts must be cited as a possible influence on the Beatus imagery other than the *traditio* iconography. However, since it contains no evangelist iconography it need not be considered in a discussion of the Beatus *traditio* pages.

The evangelist iconography of those manuscripts we have discussed as related to the Beatus group are also of interest to us in the present discussion. The Ghent Gospels, the Perugia Gospels, and the Vatican Gospels all come from regions that scholars have often suggested as the regions that possibly influenced the Beatus iconography, i.e., the north of France, Italy and Africa. Yet it is clear that in the evangelist iconography of these three manuscripts we have three variations on earlier themes and not three different prototypes.

Even though the iconography of these manuscripts reveals eastern influences, even though it is likely that the *traditio* form in particular stemmed ultimately from the East, we must be cautious about placing the origins of the Beatus evangelist iconography prototype in the East. The *traditio* iconography was brought into the West at an early enough date to have become an integral part of the artistic development of western medieval art before the eighth century. There were infiltrations of influences from Byzantium to the West throughout the Early Medieval period and these successive infiltrations would be enough to account for the appearance of eastern motifs in all the western manuscripts treated here. Such motifs should be taken as
indications of these sporadic influences and should not be considered as evidence that the pictures derived from some particular eastern manuscript tradition or specific work.

We would do better to seek the iconographic source of the Beatus _tradicio_ pages in manuscript tradition or a manuscript from the Latin west. A likely candidate would be a fifth century manuscript contemporary with the construction of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and similar to the one which Koehler suggested as a source for the illustrated Bibles produced at Tours in the ninth century. Another would be similar to the sixth century Roman manuscript which Koehler proposed as a prototype for the Ghent Gospels. Perhaps such a manuscript produced in Rome during the fifth or sixth century made its way, directly or through intermediary copies, into Spain so that Beatus could have seen and used it. This supposed manuscript would have been a gospel book with frontispieces showing the evangelists in arcade formats similar to those of the Chronograph 354, the St. Augustine Gospels and the Codex Aureus (cf. figs. 40, 41 and 42). We can only speculate that this codex already had the alternating representations of the _traditiones_ in its evangelist pages, or that the figures of the _tradicio licentiae_ pages (the Mark and Luke pages) were reversed from those of the _tradicio evangeliorum_ pages (the Matthew and John pages). If these features were already present in Roman manuscripts, it would account for the reversals, not only in the Beatus manuscripts but in other manuscripts such as the Ghent Gospels.

The reversal of the figures in these two different themes is difficult to explain. If one assumes that in the prototype of the Beatus manuscript, the _tradicio_ pictures were inserted into the codex
at the beginning of each gospel as they appear in the Ghent Gospels, the reversal of the figures is not accounted for. In the Ghent Gospels, the evangelist pictures both appear on the left hand page, and so the reversal does not appear to make sense compositionally. Christ is at the left on the Matthew page and looking toward the center fold of the manuscript. But He is on the right on the John page, and consequently facing toward the left margin.

If, however, one assumes that all four evangelist pages appeared at the beginning of the codex in the Roman model, as is the case in the Early Carolingian Godescal Gospels, then we can speculate that, in the model Beatus used the format was reversed on every other traditio page for reasons of composition. The Matthew and Mark pages would have faced each other, and the Luke and John pages would also have been facing pages. Thus the composition of the two pages would have been enclosed and a rather circular effect would have been achieved, tying the actions on the two pages together.

The use of the format of the original traditio iconography is, of course, different in both the Ghent Gospels and the Beatus manuscript evangelist pages. In the Ghent Gospels, the traditio appears, as we noted above, opposite a page which was more than likely an initial page. The figures on the Ghent Gospels are thus not related compositionally with the page opposite them. In the Beatus evangelist page, however, there is a definite attempt to relate the traditio pages to a second page, a page which was, as we saw above, quite probably not present in the Roman prototype. On the Matthew traditio page, for example, the turning figure of the evangelist relates the traditio page to the second page. This leads us to believe that
Beatus added his own second page to the *tradtio* iconography he found in the Roman model.

The model for this second page probably can never be reconstructed with certainty, but it could well have been an incipit page with two angels holding a tablet between them such as is found in the Trier Gospels (fig. 39). On the Matthew angel page in the Morgan 644 (fig. 10) there is a small column between the angels which, as Williams notes, appears to be reminiscent of the base of a tablet such as the two Trier angels have between them (fig. 39).

The substitution of the ark for the tablet on the angel pages in the Beatus manuscripts leads us to look for additional sources for this unusual iconography. The simple, hip-roofed object which appears throughout the Beatus manuscripts, including many of the evangelist pages was possibly taken from an early Apocalypse cycle or borrowed from another early manuscript. We cannot determine with any certainty whether the ark came from the model for the *tradtio* pages. In the Ghent Gospels Matthew *tradtio* pages Christ has no object in His hand (cf. fig. 20).

It is also possible that Beatus took the ark he used in the angel pages from representations found in monumental art. He may, for example, have seen a mosaic containing iconography similar to that in the mosaic from the oratory of Theodulf, St. Germigny-des-Prés, where two large angels stand on either side of the Ark of the Covenant on which two small angels (cherubim) stand (fig. 40). St. Germigny was dedicated in 806 and is too late in date for Beatus to have seen, but he could have seen the same source that Theodulf used. This source could have been in Italy or, perhaps in Spain in painted cycles.
following Roman churches of the period and earlier such as S. Prassede and S. Maria Antiqua.

The Ark of the Covenant held a great importance for the Spaniards as well as for the Carolingian court. The court of Charles-magne was dominated in part by Theodulf who was himself from Spain. It was no doubt the same associations with the ark which led Theodulf to commission the work on the mosaic for this oratory that had some years earlier led Beatus to include the ark in the iconography of his manuscript.

The ark appears not only in the iconography of the angel pages, but in the iconography of the traditio pages as well. But whether the ark appeared in all the original Beatus scenes represented on the evangelist pages, i.e., in all the traditio and angel scenes is a complex question which deserves more study.

Both the traditio evangeliorum (the Matthew and Luke) pages in the Morgan 644 contain the ark (figs. 9 and 11). But the only remaining traditio licentiae (the John) page has a scroll instead of the ark (fig. 13). The ark also appears on all three remaining angel pages in the Morgan 644 (figs. 10, 12, and 14).

From this rather scant evidence, one may conclude that perhaps Beatus intended for the ark to be on all the angel pages, but only on two of the traditio pages, the traditio evangeliorum (the Matthew and Luke) pages. This would draw a distinction between the two traditiones which is difficult to account for at this time. Perhaps Beatus wanted the ark to appear in the hand of the Christ as a visual symbol of the covenant between Him and the evangelist. But this does not explain why the evangelist should not hold the ark on the traditio licentiae (the
Mark and John) pages, unless on those pages the object held by the evan
gelist is not meant to be equated pictorially with the ark as it more than likely is on the traditio evangeliorum pages.

This problem is complicated by the fact that the distinction between the ark on the traditio evangeliorum pages and the scroll on the traditio licentiae page in the Morgan 644 does not always appear in the other Beatus manuscripts having the evangelist iconography. There is a great deal of inconsistency in the use of the ark and the "square" in these other manuscripts. In the St. Sever Beatus, for example, the Matthew traditio page has an ark, but the Luke traditio page has a square object. The ark also appears on the Matthew, Mark and Luke angel pages in the St. Sever, but not on the John angel page. In the Gerona Beatus, the Luke traditio page has an ark, but the artist has forgotten to put an object in the hand of Christ on the Matthew traditio page as did the artist of the Ghent Gospels, as noted above.

Whatever the specific usage of the ark in the evangelist iconography of the original Beatus manuscript, it is clear that its presence gives a new significance to the iconography which Beatus has so carefully borrowed and blended together. The appearance of this object which has so many associations gives the content of these pages multiple layers of meaning.

We can see that in developing this iconography Beatus had a definite motive in mind. What his purpose was we shall learn when we examine the circumstances of his life, work and religious beliefs. First, however, we must understand more clearly the meaning of the word traditio.
III. Footnotes


2. These are, according to Neuss II, p. 116: St. Sever, folios 1v - 5; Morgan 644, fol. 8v - 11 (these are wrong, they are fol. 1v - 4); Madrid, B. N. 383, folios 7v - 10; Gerona, folios 4v - 7; Turin, folios 3v - 7; Manchester Rylands, folio 2v - 6; Madrid Mus. Arcg. Nac., folios 2v - 6; Morgan 429, folios 2v - 6. Williams, op. cit., passim, notes a difference in format on some of the evangelist pages in the Morgan 429. This is a late manuscript, and raises many problems which are special to it, and cannot be gone into in this paper. Therefore, when the evangelist page format of the Beatus group is spoken of in this paper, the exception of the Morgan 429 must be taken into account.


Gospel Book of St. Livinus, VIII-IX Century. Done at St. Amand (close to Douai 12).

6. Caleca, op. cit., p. 25, records these as being: 7v: "MATH. EUGL."; 49v: "MARCUS LEONIS GERENS FIGURA"; 72v: "LUCAS EUGL" - "LUCAS UITULI SPECIEM GESTAT"; 104: "IOH EUGL" - "IOHANNES HABET SIMILITUDINE AGUILAE QUOD NIMIS ALTA PETIERIT. AIT ENIM".

7. Idem: on the John page is "VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST", for example.


9. A. N. Didron, Christian Iconography, transl. E. J. Millington, N.Y. 1968 (first publ. 1851), has a discussion of blessing gestures in Vol. I on pp. 405-411. He indicates on p. 407 that the Greek blessing was given with the thumb crossed on the third finger and with the index finger straight and the fourth finger slightly bent. This formed the name of Christ. On p. 408 he notes the Latin benediction to be given "with the thumb and two fingers open; the third and the little finger remaining closed." This symbolizes the Trinity.

10. The difficulty of working from reproductions here presents itself, for it is hard to tell exactly what is going on in these pages which are reproduced by W. Koehler in "Die Denkmäler der Karolingischen Kunst in Belgien", Belgische Kunstdenkmäler, ed. P. Clemens, Munich 1923, Pls. 2 and 3, hereinafter referred to as Koehler, B.K.

11. They are listed as a group in the Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, Herder, 1968, Vol. I, p. 703; and in most of the scholarship in the discussion below, such as in Koehler, B.K. Wetizmann-Fiedler, op. cit., and others.

12. Williams, op. cit., P. 78, suggests this second view, as King, op. cit., p. 30, also implies when she says: "on the left a seated figure to whom another does humble service", without mentioning that the seated figure is Christ and the standing one the evangelist. M. R. James in his description of the Rylands Beatus in A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, Manchester-London, 1921, p. 18, says on each left page one finds: "a seated evangelist and a nimbed (note difference from St. Sever) messenger." McGurk, op. cit., p. 45, also describes the seated figures as evangelists. His description reverses Matthew's position relative to the reproduction in Koehler's article (cf. fig. 20).
13. Neuss II, pp. 116, 117. Moe, op. cit., p. 13 agrees. Others will be noted below in text. Didron, op. cit., pp. 22-106, has a long discussion on the nimbus. The cruciform nimbus is applied to God and the persons of the Trinity (pp. 38-66). Both angels and saints wear the plain nimbus (p. 52). Yet many inconsistencies appear in this (pp. 47-49) and in the earliest centuries, even Christ was represented without a nimbus (pp. 52-53).

14. Williams, op. cit., p. 76. From the microfilm it is difficult to tell whether there ever were cruciform marks on the nimbi. Williams also notes, p. 77, that "outside of the earlier Morgan Beatus the only example of the cruciform nimbus in the Commentary miniatures are those of fol. 5v in the Gerona and Turin manuscripts." Let us hope, there, that he means in the evangelist pages, for the cruciform does appear throughout the cycles in various representations; and, one might add, in an apparently indiscriminate manner. For example, on folio 34r and folio 39v of the Gerona, the figure of John has a cruciform nimbus, as does the angel, and on the folio representing the earthly kings (folio 34r), some of the kings have cruciform nimbi.


17. Idem. A. M. Friend, in the American Journal of Archeology, XXX (1926), p. 89, points out that the Gospels of Xanten (Brussels, MS Latin 18723) which are Carolingian, have Christ with a plain nimbus and the evangelists with no nimbus at all in the gospel frontispiece. He says this is contrary to Carolingian custom but in consonance with fourth century practice. Cf. also Didron op. cit., pp. 47-52 on the use of the nimbus for Christ in the early middle ages.

18. Williams, op. cit., p. 77.


23. Koehler, B.K., p. 18.

24. Idem. Bruce-Mitford, op. cit., p. 163, also indicates this. Cf. the inscription for his Plate 32c, a page of the Perugia Gospels: "Christ receiving the Gospels from St. John". Cf. also P. Bloch
In Das Erste Jahrtausend, Düsseldorf, 1962, p. 848, who indicates that the Ghent Gospels and the Perugia Gospels are presentation types; and the Herder Lexicon (cf. note 10 above) which on p. 703, refers to the whole group of manuscripts we have been discussing as "presentation" types. Here one feels they would do well to indicate the difference in motifs on the pages.


28. Cf. note 11 above. The Herder Lexicon associates these two types by listing, p. 703, "presentation" types with the iconography in the Beatus and related manuscripts discussed in this paper. Listed are the Ghent Gospels, the Perugia Gospels, the Beatus manuscripts, the Vatican Gospels, and Vatican Greek 756. The S. Millán Bible (Madrid, R. Acad. Hist. Cod. 3) discussed by Williams, op. cit., is referred to as an "abweichende Deutungen", and listed with the other "presentation pictures."

29. Friend I, p. 141-146, and Friend II, p. 7; Baumstark, Oriens Christianus, III, 1913, pp. 305-10; Buberl, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1917, p. 5 ff.; Buchthal, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XV, p. 128ff; Weitzmann, Festschrift Belle da Costa Greene, 1954, pp. 358ff; and Vorm aid, op. cit., p. 7. Note particularly monuments such as Aratos and Urania in the mosaic of Monnus, Trèves, Museum; Roman Relief, also in the Trèves Museum, showing a seated figure at the left, as in the first example, and a standing one at the right, along with two others; Dioscorides and Heursis, Vienna, National Library, Med. Gr. 1, fol. 4v; Friend I, figs. 155, 132 and 149, respectively.

30. Friend I, fig. 148. In the Rossano Gospels, the Evangelist is clearly seen as the replacement of the ancient philosopher, but the question of who the standing female figure is remains. Friend I, p. 147, notes that the John and Prochos types, where John dictates and Prochos, who is standing, writes is not descended from the same sort of antique type.


32. Friend I, p. 133.

33. Idem.

34. Idem.
35. Rosenbaum, Art Bulletin, 1956, pp. 81-90 (cf. note 1 above), reproduces the pages in question (figs. 7 and 17).

36. Neuss II, p. 117, notes inscriptions on evangelist pages in some of the Beatus cycle, the Morgan 644, Gerona and Turin. He indicates these inscriptions as being from Coelius Sedulius, Liber I, p. 355-360, Migne, PL, XIX, p. 591. This may indicate that there were inscriptions in the model from which Beatus borrowed.

37. Walter Ullmann in A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 32-33, notes that "it was especially Eusebius in the fourth century who was chiefly responsible for this imperial ideology, linking monotheism with the concept of Roman emperorship... 'one God, one Empire, one Church' . Eusebius in various places throughout his The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine (transl. G. A. Williamson, New York, 1966), does, indeed do this. For example, on p. 387, he calls Christ "God's great Commander-in-Chief", and "Son of God and sovereign Lord of the universe". On p. 388 he repeats "our Saviour is King". Cf. also, Per Beskow, Rex Gloriae, The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church, Stockholm, 1962, where he notes in his first chapter the development of this association in the fourth century, and on p. 16, he notes that military titles and attributes of the Roman Emperor were taken over by the church and applied to Christ: victor, triumphator, imperator, and the faithful "are described as his soldiers and the martyrs as sharing his victory". He also indicates that "Christ is seldom or never portrayed as King in pre-Constantinian Christian art: on Roman sarcophagi or in the catacomb paintings; what we find instead is Christ the Good Shepherd, Christ the Miracle-worker, or Christ the Philosopher in conversation with his disciples. But by the middle of the 4th century - or a little earlier - attempts were being made to stress the majestic aspect of the figure of Christ..." He goes on to note that it is often hard to tell which aspect is being presented, particularly during the fourth century when "neither Christ the Philosopher nor Christ the King are portrayed so clearly as to be unmistakably one or the other, and it is often difficult, when considering certain representation, to decide which of the two aspects is more prominent".


40. Grabar, loc. cit., passim.

41. The problem of the traditio legis iconography bears more study. There are clear distinctions drawn between various types of traditio scenes in art historical literature, but this subject is too complex to go into in this paper.

42. Other examples where Christ is seen giving the books are cited in Dalton, op. cit., p. 604, on Egyptian grave wrappings. One fragment, in the Kunsthistorische Museum, shows Christ giving a psalter to Daniel; and another in Berlin shows Christ giving a psalter to Peter. These are reproduced in Orient oder Rom, Pls. IV and V, according to Dalton. He also notes that Strzygowski indicates the same subject hung on a curtain suspended from the ciborium of Saint Sophia in Constantinople, as described by Paulus Silentiarius in Salzenberg's Alchristliche Baudenkmale, xviii, and Orient oder Rom, pp. 100, 101.

43. The authors of the Gerona facsimile seem to be in accord that Beatus had a hand in designing his own pictures: Burckhardt in the preface indicates that the manuscripts had the pictures from the beginning, and on p. 65, Casanovas notes that "It may be concluded from the great similarity between the existing manuscripts, in which the miniatures are largely identical in composition, that the original was illuminated in accordance with the author's own plan and that both the copyists and the painters faithfully reproduced the same original, allowing themselves only certain liberties in graphic and coloristic style following their own inspiration or the general taste of the time." He also notes that Beatus himself refers to illustrations in the Prologue to Book II and the chapter concerning the antichrist. In the St. Sever manuscript there are references to the "above pictured story" on at least folios 61v, 69, 87, and 153. James Snyder, "The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation, The Trier Apocalypse", Vigilae Christianae, XVIII (1964), p. 155; and Williams, op. cit., p. 79, both indicate the
position of scholarship today to be that of Beatus' having
designed the illuminations himself. Williams includes a discus-
sion of the Magius controversy, that is, the position of some
scholars that the cycle was not illuminated until long after
Beatus' time, and that the illuminator of the Morgan 644 was,
in fact, responsible for the design as well as the execution of
the artwork in the cycle. This controversy is too much to un-
dertake in this paper. One thing which complicates the issue
so much is the question of whether Beatus designed all the imag-
ery in the cycle, a question very little discussed. Sanders,
op. cit., p. xviii notes that there is a whole family of Beatus
manuscripts which follows an edition with combinations of the
second and third editions which Beatus did in his own lifetime.
He does not explain when this edition was done, or whether this
is a family which developed following Beatus' last (third edition)
during or after his lifetime. As the iconography in the two manu-
scripts from the third edition family, the Morgan 644, and the
Madrid B. N., 331 does not include the apostle or life of Christ
pages, we are left wondering whether these pages were simply not
included in that edition, or whether they were just not included
in those two manuscripts. The question is rather important, for
it could mean that these two themes, the life of Christ, and the
apostles, were added to only the very last edition identified by
Sanders, the recension of three with elements of two included; or
it could mean that this iconography was a later, Reconquista,
addition. It also holds interesting implications for the St. Sever
Beatus, which has the life of Christ pages, but not the apostles
page (cf. above, Chapter II). A study of the date of the present
era, coupled with other iconographical and textual material would
be in order here. Cid, Compostellaneum, has touched upon some
elements of the problem.

44. Sanders, op. cit., p. xi. Cf. p. 66 ff. below for discussion of
Beatus' editions.

45. Cf. Gomez-Moreno, "Arte Mozarabe", Ars Hispaniae, III, Madrid,
1951, p. 355 ff. Gonzalo Menendez-Pidal, op. cit., p. 140 ff,
as well as the especially finely drafted historical and cultural
background sections in the Gerona facsimile, Dubler, p. 9ff, and
Casanovas, p. 31 ff. Also cf. W. Neuss, Das Buch Ezechiel in
Theologie und Kunst, Münster, 1912, hereinafter called Neuss I;
also Neuss II and Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende
des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei, Bonn-
Leipzig, 1922, hereinafter called Neuss III; the Cook series:
W. S. Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia" I, in the
pp. 31 ff; III, Art Bulletin, VIII (1925-26), pp. 57-104; IV,
(1927), p. 153 ff; VI, Art Bulletin, X (1927), p. 305 ff; and
"Stucco Altar Frontal of Catalonia", Art Studies, 1324, p. 4ff;
Marcel Durliat, "Un Groupe de Sculpture Wisigothiques à Narbonne",
Études Mérovingiennes, 1953, p. 93 ff; Marion Lawrence, "City
Gate Sarcofagi", Art Bulletin, X (1927), pp. 1-65; "Columnar
Sarcophagi in the Latin West", Art Bulletin, XIV (1932), pp. 103-
183; Edmond LeBlant, Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule, Paris,
1886; G. Gaillard, Études Mérovingiennes, p. 135ff.; Baldwin
Smith, op. cit., p. 85 ff.; Snyder, op. cit., p. 159 ff; Helmut
pp. 247-307, p. 327, figs. 313, 314 and 316; "Observaciones en
torno al problema de la miniatura visigoda", Archivo Español de
Arte, XVII (1945), pp. 241-265; Jacques Guilmain, "Observations
on Some Early Interlace Initials and Frame Ornaments in Mozara-
bic Manuscripts of Leon-Castile", Scriptorium, XV (1961), p. 23
ff. and p. 34.

46. Neuss II, p. 237 ff. as noted above (p. 2) suggests this con-
nection, Guilmain, "Interlace Decoration and the Influence of the
211, notes that the Ashburnham Pentatuch should not really be
placed with probability in seventh century Spain. Snyder, op.
cit., p. 159, agrees that the origin of this manuscript is not
conclusive. Neuss in his answer to Miner's critique of his
book (Neuss II) which appeared in Art Bulletin, p. 392, following
the critique (Miner, op. cit.), still clings to his view.

47. Carl Nordenfalk, (Grabar and Nordenfalk), op. cit., p. 162,
notes a Spanish-north French connection in the Ghent Gospels
and the Beatus cycle manuscripts. Guilmain, Art Bulletin,
loc. cit., p. 217, notes similarities in letters between French
and the Morgan 644 Beatus. Cf. his article in Scriptorium,
loc. cit., as well. The relationship of Spain with particularly
the south of France, as Cook, Art Bulletin, X, p. 280, and Rene
Crozet, Actes XIXe Congrès International Histoire d'Art, Paris
1958, Vol I, pp. 62-72, was such that it is possible quite often
to consider them in almost one breath. Williams, op. cit., p. 79,
puts forth the case for Italy, indicating that the prototype for
the Beatus group was a Roman book. He follows Koehler, B. K.,
p. 23, in this. Miner, op. cit., p. 369, also notes character-
istics which point to late Latin origins for the prototype.
For the African theory, cf. Neuss II, p. 237 ff. He bases some of
this theory on inscriptions on the illustrations to the Apoca-
lypse. Miner, op. cit., p. 369, however, takes issue with him,
and suggests early Italian products, as we noted above. Dalton,
op. cit., notes Egyption grave wrappings with a traditio theme
(cf. note 38). Weitzmann-Fiedler, op. cit., p. 33, not only notes
a connection with the Beatus manuscripts on the part of the Vati-
can gospels, but in addition notes a Byzantine influence on them.
Guilmain, Art Bulletin, op. cit., p. 216, notes Spanish manu-
script decorative forms in many ways similar to Coptic forms,
such as the Q initials which are found in Coptic textile designs.
While he notes a possibility that the Spanish artists in question
were familiar with such Coptic designs, he cautiously indicates
that "it must be emphasized that the Coptic style itself is an
elaboration of the Classical". The resemblance between the Span-
ish and Coptic, he therefore concludes, is probably the result of
similar development toward complexity. But note the Article "On
the Illumination of the Glazier Codex", by Harry Bober in Homage
to a Bookman, 1967, pp. 31-49, where he points out interlace in
an Early Coptic manuscript which leads to new possibilities relative to Coptic-Hibern-Saxon interrelationships. Pijoan, in his remarks following Neuss' answer to Miner's critique (Miner, op. cit., p. 398), comments on Spanish-African similarities in religious soul, and notes that the heirs to the early Jewish Apocalyptic iconography were very probably the Alexandrians and the Copts. This establishes ball park associations, but does not deal directly with the problem of the evangelist portraits.

48. Friend II, p. 133, implies the "presentation" type to be from the east. Baumstark, traditio legis, passim notes the eastern origin of the traditio legis.

49. Eastern influence in the west is not only noted by Baumstark, traditio legis, but by Smith, op. cit., pp. 143-144, where he notes Syriac artists worked on mosaics at Ravenna and the Baptistery of Naples, where the traditio legis was employed. Friend I notes eastern influence on early evangelist iconography; Bruce-Mitford, op. cit., p. 163, notes the Perugia Gospels to have a format made up of an "oriental accompanied evangelist blended with a western symbol." Caleca, op. cit., notes eastern influences on the Perugia gospels. Eastern influences may be seen in the architectural format of the Ghent Gospels evangelist pages, and in the Beatus pages in the form of the Byzantine bench thrones, as well as other details. Eastern influence in many areas of western culture have been pointed out by scholars such as J. M. Neale and G. M. Forbes, who note in The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church, 1855, p. v ff, that the origin of the liturgy which prevailed in France and longer in Spain, was eastern, the Ephesian liturgy. Smith, op. cit., p. 85 ff, notes the presence of eastern merchants, monks and ecclesiastics who swarmed into Gaul, as does Lawrence, City Gate, op. cit. Furthermore, as Dubler points out in the Gerona facsimile, p. 11 ff, many of the Spanish Bishops, and church fathers, including St. Isidore, were Eastern educated. King, op. cit., p. 16, notes the existence of a Byzantine monastery in Spain until quite late. This eastern influence included Egypt and the rest of northern Africa, as Smith, loc. cit., indicates, and Pijoan, op. cit., p. 398, points out.


51. Koehler, B. K., p. 23. Williams, op. cit., pp. 75-81, follows Koehler in this, but his suggested intermediaries, are Carolingian, and thus too late for consideration in this paper. He, therefore, feels that the evangelist portrait pages, along with genealogies, come from other Spanish bibles. The Italian model could well have been even earlier than the fifth century due to the lack
of cruciform nimbus on both the Ghent Gospels and Beatus evangelist pages. Other early motifs in the Ghent Gospels are the evangelist symbols. Cf. Rosenbaum, Art Bulletin, 1956, op. cit., p. 82, note 7, where she notes the late antique type of Matthew symbol with a cross. As she relates the symbols of the Godesalc Gospels to those of St. Vitale (cf. note 50 above), she might have noted the similarity between the eagle of the Ghent and that of St. Vitale at the same time. She also notes the Angel with scepter in the Godesalc and "several manuscripts" of the Beatus group. This early type of symbol merely supports an early origin or the reliance on early tradition for the model for the Beatus cycle. Morey in Medieval Art, New York, 1942, pp. 196-97, notes that the unwinged ox and lion of St. Vitale are unusual. As this sort of symbol also appears in the Beatus group, including the St. Sever, more work should be done here.

52. The political and theological indications would not rule out the possibility of transmission of manuscripts from Rome to Spain, as there were connections between Rome and the north of Spain before and during Beatus' time. (Cf. Evans, Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period, Cambridge (Engl.), 1950, passim.) Rome showed direct interest in heretics such as Migneius who was operating in Spain during the eighth century, as is pointed out by Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, IV, New York, 1908, p. 513 ff. It was very much to Rome's interest to keep in touch with free Spain, as it evidently was to Charlemagne's. The western emperor's spiritual advisor, the great Alcuin, was one of the supporters of Beatus' stand in his battle against the Archbishop of Toledo, as both Schaff, and Émile Amann in Histoire de L'Église, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, Vol. VI, Paris, 1947, p. 131, indicate. Not only had Benedictine monasteries been in the general area from the earliest period of activity of the order, but the very fact that Elipandus was called to the Frankfort Council indicates the direct connection Beatus and his friend Bishop Etherius enjoyed with Alcuin and Rome. (Note Domenico Mausi Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova and Anplissima Collectio, Paris 1901-27, Vol. XII, pp. 857; 858; 859-50; 863-64; 865-66, for the Frankfort council.

53. Neuss II, p. 237 ff, suggests the arcade format, and Miner, op. cit., p. 389 picks up the suggestion. It would have been a Gospel Book, and not an apocalypse cycle. H. Omont, "Manuscrits illustrés de l'Apocalypse aux IXe-Xe siecles," Bulletin de la Société française de Reproduction des Manuscrits à Peintures, 1922, discusses early apocalypse cycles and their illustrations. His folios, p. 63, 64, 65, 76, and 87, do not include evangelist portrait pages and genealogy pages. But note p. 65, that in the Paris B. N. Latin Nouv. Acq. 1132, the John at the beginning of the Apocalypse, fol. 1, is receiving the "rouleau" of the Apocalypse from the "divine hand". This is the case in the Valenciennes as well as is noted on p. 76. In the Cambrai, St. John is below and in front of Christ who is giving John the roll. These are traditiones, as Schumacher, "Dominius Legem Dat", op. cit., p. 39, notes, but with different implications than those with which we are dealing in this
paper.


56. The order is: Matthew: folio 1r; Mark: folio 1v; Luke: folio 2r; John: 2v; and the Majestas Domini: 3r (cf. above p. 35). These are reproduced and studied in Rosenbaum, Art Bulletin, 1955, pp. 81-90 (cf. note 1 above).

57. McGurk, loc. cit., pp. 45-46, indicates a great deal of uncertainty regarding the chronology of the folios in this manuscript. Evidently the initial pages opposite both the remaining evangelist pages are later inserts, the originals having been erased.

58. This is a complex problem well worth a separate study. Carlos Cid Priego and Isabel Vigil, "El rastro de un 'Beato' en el Museo Diocesano de Gerona", Revista de Gerona, IX (1963), pp. 7-21, hereinafter termed Cid, Revista, note the problem of establishing models for the evangelist double-paged format in the Beatus group, as does Williams, op. cit., p. 82. There is always the possibility that the model may have had the same sort of double-paged format as that from which the mid-ninth century Carolingian Evangelary of Francis II, (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 257), pages (reproduced in Boinet, op. cit., Plates XC VIII and XC IX, were copied.

59. Williams, op. cit., p. 81. In the search for angel prototypes on the Beatus angel pages, one must not overlook the fact that, even if they do not appear in the St. Sever Beatus, the angels of some of the Beatus group have staves. These are seen at least on the John pages of the Morgan 544, the Gerona, the Rylands, (cf. p. 13 of Cid Revista), and a fragment of a Beatus, Museo Diocesano n° 47, discovered in Gerona and discussed first by Carlos Cid Priego in "Fragmenti de un Beato inédito en el Museo Diocesano de Gerona", Archivos Leoneses, IX (1955), pp. 71-104, (cf. p. 76 for reproduction of the page). Why the staves should occur only on the John pages is a fascinating question, and one for another paper, but it probably has something to do with the model, which Cid notes is more than likely ultimately Byzantine. He offers in Revista, p. 7, an example of such angels in a mosaic from the Church of the Dormition at Nicea. However, an interesting example for a source of the angel page iconography may be seen in Neuss I, Plate IV, fig. 13. (His label reads: Die Bundeslade mit Cherub - Tetraromorphen in der Vatikanischen Kosmas-Handschrift.), where two figures (prophets ?) without wings stand on either side of an ark which has little cherubim on either side of it. These two standing figures have their inner hands on the ark and hold staves in their outer ones. Even though they may not be angels, one can see a general similarity to the iconography in the mosaic at St.
Germigny-des-Prés (cf. p. 43 and note 61). Goldschmidt, German Illumination, New York, 1928, Vol. I, p. 6, suggests a Byzantine model for the Angel Incipit page in the Trier Gospels, thus hinting, as does Cid, at Eastern sources for this iconography.

60. Cf. Chapter II, note 25. Beatus would have borrowed the apocalyptic imagery for his commentary from an Apocalypse cycle and not another commentary. Cf. Neuss II, p. 237 ff., and Miner, op. cit., p. 389, who indicates that she knows of no other illustrated commentary on the Apocalypse other than the Beatus group earlier than the twelfth century. W. Bousset, "Nachrichten über eine Kopenhagener Handschrift (Arnamagnaeanske Legat 1927 A.M. 795 4º) des Kommentars des Apringius zur Apocalypse", Konigl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1895, Heft II, pp. 187-203, does not mention illustrations being in the Apringius commentary. An ark with the same sort of simplicity may be seen in the representation of David bringing the Ark to Jerusalem, Vatican Greek 333, folios 45v and 46r, reproduced by A. Helmann, "A Twelfth-Century Manuscript from Winchester and Its Illustrations", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXVIII (1965), Plate 16, figs. a and b. F. van der Meer, Majestas Domini, Théophanies de L'Apocalypse dans L'Art Chrétien, Paris, 1938, reproduces (fig. 60, p. 270) a theophany with an enthroned Christ who has a book on his knee. This book has a shape very similar to the ark seen throughout the Beatus cycle manuscripts. Here, however, the shape of the object is more elongated than the Beatus arks, and thin lines across it seem to indicate that in this fresco, which is in the Grotto of Latmos, the object represented is an open book, the perspective of which has been poorly executed by the artist.


62. A. Freeman "Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini", Speculum, XXXII (1957), pp. 663-705, discusses the importance of the Ark for both the Court of Charlemagne and Spain, noting the influence of the large Jewish community in Spain on Spanish liturgy (pp. 676 ff.), Theodulf, a Spaniard, thus carried this influence to the Carolingian Court.


64. Question of book and ark is still to be solved. Neuss II, Vol. II, fig. 13, Gerona, folio 7, describes the ark as a book in his figure list: "Zwei Engel mit dem Evangeliun des Johannes". Cf. note 25, Chapter II, for further confusion on the matter.

65. We cannot get into the question of the prototype manuscript for the St. Sever, but neither can we avoid putting the question in a footnote. Neuss suggested in 1963 in the Gerona facsimile that the St. Sever Beatus follows a high Carolingian prototype, p. 53. But the numerous mistakes in the script of the St. Sever would indicate that it was copied from a Visigothic Beatus instead.
In addition to this, the fact that the artist had difficulty placing the early Christian type symbols in the lunettes of all but the Matthew pages, indicates that these symbols were added from another source, the model Beatus having the more traditional animal headed type, and being frontal in position, as on the Morgan 644. Some have suggested that manuscripts following both the Morgan 644 and the Gerona Beatus were used for the St. Sever Beatus. But these two manuscripts are both third edition copies, and the St. Sever, even if it has the traditio iconography and the genealogy pages in common with third edition types, has a first edition text. This would indicate that the prototype used for the St. Sever was a manuscript of mixed heritage, and because of the limited number of manuscripts which have the evangelist imagery, it is hard to postulate just what this mixed manuscript would have been like. It is even more difficult to tell the stages of modification of this specific iconography between the supposed original of Beatus and its representation in the St. Sever. Therefore, the evangelist iconography in the St. Sever Beatus may not be used at this time to solve problems relative to the "archetype" for the Beatus cycle.
IV. The Meaning of the Traditio

An understanding of the action that takes place on the traditio pages of the Beatus Commentary is inextricably bound up with an understanding of the concept of "tradition" in the church. Karl Morrison defines "tradition" as:

the idea that the true faith exists only within the Church as a community; that the faith and perhaps also the authentic order of the Church was given by Christ to the apostles; and that it has been handed on unimpaired by subsequent generations of believers. 'Tradition' is that 'handing on' in its entirety, that preservation and continuance of the faith, the warrant of the Church's existence, the great wall between believers and the outside world.¹

Tradition, then, was the body of Church doctrine based on the oral teachings of the apostles, and the Scriptures, which included the Old Testament and the New, and especially the Gospels of the four evangelists,

The handing on of this body of teachings to each new generation was accomplished by the traditio or transfer. This transfer could be made either by instruction, such as the catechumens received upon entry into the church or by the handing over of authority of office, as in a church position such as a bishop. The roots of this transfer lay, as did much of Christian ritual and practice, in Roman law. The traditio in Roman legal terms implied a complete transfer of goods or items from one person to another. The Christian traditio was a spiritual act which was "puremente ideale" and had no explicit basis in the scriptures, but it was considered as legal an act as that of the Roman traditio. In fact, it was made more understandable to the people of the late Roman empire by being presented in this light.
These concepts could not only be understood by the people of the Christian community in terms of Roman law, but also in terms of Roman court practice. The people of the late Roman empire were accustomed to the emperor passing down mandates and edicts, and conferring authority to his officials to carry out these mandates and edicts. When the regalia, titles and potestas of the emperor was conceptually transferred to Christ, it became very easy for Christians to understand the authoritative nature of the new doctrine. They thus understood Christ to be the supreme authority who was the traditor of the Christian doctrine. It was His revelation of God which was passed on to the Christian community by the apostles and it was His potestas which was passed on to the bishops of Rome through Peter. Even though it was the priest who instructed the catechumens in the ways of the New Covenant, the Christians understood that it was Christ who had given the first instruction to the apostles.

Just as the deacon was given authority by the bishop before he could read the gospel, the members of the church understood that it was Christ who had given the first authority to preach to the Apostles. And so, though the members of the church were many generations removed from Christ Himself, they had contact with the teacher and King through the apostolic succession of the church.

The Christian traditio thus embodies a conceptual, authoritative act with its roots in Roman law and imperial court practice; the means by which the apostolic teaching, the revelation of Jesus Christ, was handed down to each new generation through succession from Christ to the Apostles, who transferred it to the officials of the church, who
in turn, gave it to the Christian community. This act stood behind every Christian practice since it represented the means by which God's promise to man through His New Covenant with Christ and Christ's covenant with mankind was carried out. It was understood as such each time it was depicted in works of art. It could be seen and recognized in the mosaics of a church apse by the catechumens as they repeated their symbols, and afterwards each time they expressed their faith through worship. In gospel books it gave evidence of the authority of the words contained within. It was such a basic act to Christianity that it did not, in the early times, have to be explained.

One may note that the church fathers did not refer to it by the term most art historians today have come to use for it: the *tradtio legis*. In fact, the name "tradtio legis" is probably an invention of the late nineteenth century and results from the inscription on so many of the monuments: DOMINUS LEGEM DAT.

The phrase *tradtio legis* as it is applied to art monuments gives some problems. It is generally used by art historians in reference to the specific theme of Christ handing a roll to Peter or Paul. But the *tradtio* is also a general term implying an authoritative transfer either in the mode of teaching or giving. The *tradtio legis* implies the transfer of the law, in either the teaching or the giving of the Scriptures manner. The "law" would be, of course, the total doctrine of the New Covenant. Just as in the Roman Baptismal liturgy the *tradtio legis Christianae* is made up of several distinct types of traditiones, the body of *tradtio legis* art monuments is made up of several different types.

Some of these types are fairly general and others quite specific.
For example, in many cases where Christ is seen giving the roll or a scroll to Peter and Paul (fig. 30), the name *traditio legis* may be used in an all-inclusive sense to describe the scene. For here, the total Christian doctrine is given to the major apostles so that they may give it to the church. But in some cases where Peter is the recipient of the roll (cf. fig. 31), it is probably not the "law" in terms of the church doctrine which is being given over in the roll of authority, but the power of Christ, the *plenitudo potestatis* which is transferred. The transfer of *potestas* would be in keeping with the emphasis on the primacy of Rome so eagerly sought by the Roman bishops who were the inheritors of Peter's apostolic office. The *traditio potestatis* would be, then, a type related to the general *traditio legis* but a type which would be more political than theological in concept.

Another expression of the giving of authority may be seen in the two *traditio licentiae* pages of the Beatus group, as well as in the John *traditio* page of the Ghent Gospels, and the *traditio* pages of the Perugia and Vatican Gospels. In these cases, it is not the *plenitudo potestatis* of Christ which is given, but the *licentia*, or license to preach and expound upon the Gospel. It may be that in these representations where Christ is seen blessing the gospel and the evangelist who produced it, he is in fact giving the *potestas ordinis* of the bishop or the power to function as an official of the church, to the evangelist. An expression of this sort of *traditio* is seen in the Roman liturgy, where the deacon who is about to read the gospel must receive the *major benedictio* from the celebrant of the mass, which is the bishop in the case of a cathedral mass.
This, then, would have been the meaning expressed in the Mark and John traditio pages of the Roman Gospel book from which Beatus no doubt drew his iconography. It would also be the meaning expressed in the Mark and John pages of the Ghent Gospels, probably copied from another Roman book, as well as the meaning in the Perugia and Vatican Gospels traditio pages, which were no doubt drawn from still another early source other than those used for the Beatus and Ghent evangelist iconography.

The other two representations in the Beatus group evangelist pages, and the Ghent Gospels Matthew page, then is the traditio legis or traditio evangeliorum, the giving of the New Law, or in this case, the Gospel, which is part of the New Law, and thus synonymous with it. These pages, then, indicate that the Gospel is not only the direct authoritative word of Christ, but is Christ Himself.

According to Duchesne the expression of the traditio legis Christianae, is found in the Roman Baptismal Rite. He notes that in this rite three traditiones take place: the traditio symboli, the traditio evangeliorum, and the traditio orationes domenicae. Thus it is possible to see a connection between this portion of the liturgy and the expression of these concepts by the artist of the Ghent Gospels and the designer of the Beatus evangelist pages. The traditiones on the Matthew page of the Ghent Gospels and on the Matthew and Luke pages in the Beatus manuscripts would derive from the portion of the liturgy which, according to Duchesne’s theory, is the traditio evangeliorum or the "opening of the ears."

But the worshippers are also made aware of the presence of Christ through the reading of the Gospels in the Sunday and feast day
Masses. It is more than likely, then, that the *triditio evangeliorum* in the representations with which we are dealing may be associated with the portion of the Mass where the Gospels are read, not only in the Baptismal Rite, but in the mass each time it is read. This association would be made, then, even if the *triditio evangeliorum* is the first of the two *traditiones* found in the scenes in the Roman Gospel book copied by Beatus, for it must be assumed that this iconography was understood on the conceptual level that has an order and set of relationships different than the sequential order of the Mass: the gift of the Gospel must be made before the permission to use it may be granted.

The presence of these two *traditiones* in the early Gospel books would serve to remind users of the books of the authoritative nature of both the doctrine and offices of the church. It would also remind them that the doctrine and the church itself came from Christ. For only Christ is the giver of the gospels and only He is the giver of authority to preach and expound upon them.

This, then, is the basic theme of the iconography which Beatus must have borrowed for his evangelist pages. But he has obviously expanded and heightened this theme somewhat. To understand what his motive was for modifying and elaborating this theme, we must look at his life and work.

**Beatus' Use of the Traditio**

Sanders, on the basis of examining the dates of the "present era" on folios of the existing Beatus manuscripts, has shown that Beatus
wrote at least three editions of his Commentary on the Apocalypse himself. The first appeared in 776, the second in 784, and the third a full decade later than the first, in 786. The first was finished while Beatus was at the court of King Silo of Asturias. He probably had begun this first edition prior to his coming to court in 774. He undoubtedly had a reputation as a great scholar at this time for he had been made spiritual advisor to Queen Adosinda.

The book of the Apocalypse had been popular in Spain for many years and it was read by canon during the Easter season. It was thus necessary for the clergy to be well acquainted with the content and meaning of this book. Though there were several commentaries already in existence for the instruction of the clergy, notably that of Apringius of Beja, it is likely that Beatus formulated his own Commentary to provide a much needed additional treatise for teaching and theological debate.

He included in this first edition such material as the Prologue to Book II, which deals with the Old Testament prefigurations of the church; and the passage on Elias and Enoch which emphasizes the contrast between the law and the gospel (the Old Law and the New). These topics combined easily and naturally with various Old Testament passages which were included with the Apocalypse as lessons to be read during the spring season of the church year. These were concerned with the story of man's covenant with God and with the promise that God made to man in the form of Christ's sacrifice.

Thus, the history of the Old Covenant was set forth and the promise of the New contrasted with it. This material, frequently used in early
theological discourses, could then be used for teaching or private reading by the monks and clerics of the period.

That the Beatus Commentary was used for study and discussion is indicated by the great amount of repetition found in the text. Beatus often returned to the same theme on different levels of analysis, drawing always upon the early church fathers for his material and thus upon accepted dogma. For example, in the Explanation of the Four Animals in Book IV, he describes the meanings of the evangelist symbols at first in a simple and traditional way, noting that the first animal, the lion, is Mark the evangelist. The second is the ox, who is Luke the doctor. Here, there is an emphasis on the priestly aspect of Christ and the "ox is put in the person of the priest". The third creature is in the form of a man, Matthew, who wrote the first gospel in Hebrew, which emphasizes the genealogy of Christ. And the fourth creature is the eagle, John, who wrote the last Gospel, emphasizing that the Savior was born and suffered for us, that the word of God was before all time and that it (the word) came from heaven and returned to heaven.

Having provided this elementary identification of the animals, Beatus returns to a more elevated and mystical analysis of them:

The first animal is like the lion; the strength of the church is shown in the lion, as it is said: behold the lion of the Tribe of Judah has conquered. But how the church is strong is shown in the second: like, it is said, the ox, that is, the beast of sacrifice. For this is the strength of the Church to be sacrificed. And what the lion and ox are, is described in the third: having, it says, the figure of a man...it is seen that man possesses nothing but humanity, as it was said of the Lord; though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human
form, he humbled himself, being made obedient even unto death. And what are in the three animals is concluded in the fourth: like, it says, the flying eagle. Here in the eagle nothing is spoken of earthly things, except that he who was strong in passion is in the lion; and he who bore himself once to the holocaust, is in the ox; and he who is rational, that is, records the past, orders the present, foresees the future, that he might recognize the father by whom he was made and sent forth to work, is in the man. And nothing would benefit him if, in the manner of the eagle, he had not his eyes always fixed on heaven. 33

In the first edition of Beatus there is no unusual visual emphasis on the authoritative nature of the tradition of the Church. There is no preliminary imagery except for the map, the flood, and the Alpha and Omega. The church doctrine regarding the Apocalypse is presented in a sense commonly expected not only in Spain, but in most of the Christian communities of the day.

In this first edition there is no special concern for political considerations. Politics shows itself only in the Prologue to Book II, where references to St. James of Compostella indicate Beatus' interest in establishing Spain as one of the original apostolic communities. This is an interest quite in keeping with the separatist church position popular in Asturias, which was not under Muslim control, and with the "pan Hispanic" political view which eventually led to the Reconquista.

After the defeat of King Silo in 783, Beatus returned to a monastery, and in the following year wrote the second edition of the Commentary. We do not know why the second edition was written and Sanders cannot state clearly what specific textual or iconographic additions were made at this time. Beatus may simply have been responding to the need for new copies of the Commentary. But it also may be that by 783
he had heard of the Adoptionist doctrines and preaching of Archbishop Eliphandus in Toledo. The appearance of this heresy, then, coupled with the defeat of his king may have weighed upon Beatus enough to put him in a frame of mind to comment on the Apocalypse, a book which from its inception was always popular in times of fear and stress.

In the two following years the problems of the heresy consumed Beatus' energy and he complained angrily against the Archbishop of Toledo who, though the official leader of the Spanish church was entrenched in the heart of Muslim territory. Eliphandus embraced a heresy which claimed that Christ was not born the Son of God but was only "adopted" later as the Son of God at the time of the Ascension. Beatus espoused the orthodox doctrine against the Archbishop and, in 785 collaborated with the orthodox Bishop Etherius in writing the fiery Epistola ad Eliphandum, in which they drew upon material that Beatus had used in earlier editions of his Commentary.

In 786, possibly at the request of Etherius, Beatus wrote a new edition of his Commentary. This edition contained a dedication to Etherius and a number of new revisions and additions to the text, including a chapter on the Antichrist (in Book VI) and the Commentary of Jerome on Daniel. According to Sanders, it also contained new imagery which included the genealogy pages preliminary to the Commentary. The evangelist illustrations were undoubtedly added at this time, for reasons we shall see below. These preliminary pages illustrate and provide a visual reinforcement for Beatus' earlier writings. They also contain references to the orthodox doctrine and arguments that Beatus and Etherius had used in their battle against the
Adoptionist heresy. 42.

We have seen that Beatus borrowed iconography for the evangelist tradition pages from an early Roman Gospel book. The iconography for the angel pages, we noted was a combination of several sources, coming from early manuscripts and monumental art Beatus had seen in early churches. In discussing the iconography of the evangelist pages we briefly associated them with liturgical and theological concepts. We must now repeat some of what was said above in order to explain what Beatus meant to convey in the visual motifs he brought together in the paired tradition and angel pages of the evangelist iconography.

On the evangelist pages the iconography explains to the viewer the close relationship which exists between Christ, the evangelist and the Gospel. Christ is not only the giver of the Gospel but is considered as being present in the Gospels. This may be seen by such practices as the ceremonial entry into the church, when the Gospel was carried in and placed on the altar indicated the entry and presence of Christ in the church. The reading of the Gospel makes His presence understood in a progressively deeper sense and the kissing of the book and the giving of acclamations before the reading would further indicate that the sacred message comes from Christ Himself. The fact that the deacon who reads the Gospels needs a major benedictio given by the bishop or priest indicates the sacred character of the book about to be read as does the fact that the audience must stand and take off hats, crowns and swords while the book is read.

Christ on the tradition evangeliorum pages of the Beatus group is
giving His presence to the evangelist when he gives the Gospel to him. The ark refers to the gift of the New Covenant or Law which was achieved by His life and sacrifice as explained in the Gospel. The ark also conveys a reference to the Church, as Christ is not only the Gospel but the Church. Thus Christ on the traditio evangeliorum pages is presented as the authoritative traditor who gives the Gospels and the Church itself. This traditio is expressed by the reading of the Gospels in the Roman Baptismal ceremony and in the Sunday and feast day Mass. This liturgical act has a legalistic sense as well as a spiritual one, and was understood in Early Medieval times in terms of legal practice in the late Roman empire. The sense of deference paid to Christ who is represented as an authoritative presence in the Gospel during the Mass comes also from the late Roman period, where the emperor was honored in the same way.

A legalistic point of view also pervades the traditio licentiae pages which represent the giving of the license or the qualification of office. Each evangelist on these two pages stands before Christ who blesses him and his book, and declares him to be an authoritative teacher capable of spreading the gospel to the church community. This act is expressed in the major benedictio before the reading of the Gospel in the liturgy. At this point in the service, the deacon or priest asks to read the Gospel gives a petition for blessing and receives it from the celebrant of the Mass in the name of Christ. Jungmann explains this portion of the liturgy as a "proper preparation" for the reading of the Gospel and notes that:

Pure must be the heart and chaste the lips of him who is to set forth the word of God, as the Lord Himself had declared in His message to Isaias when the seraph had touched the seer's lips with the glowing coal (Is.
6:6f); lips that were to pronounce the word of God; and the heart, too, because this pronouncement was not to be a mere mechanical movement but an intellectual and intelligent speech, because the messenger of the glad tidings (and this holds also for one who only reads the message to the assembly) must first take the lesson to heart before he conveys it to the congregation. 48

Christ on the traditio pages, then, is an authoritative figure who is seen not only giving over the tradition of the church in the form of his presence to the evangelists, but as the author of the apostolic succession, giving over the authority of office to the evangelists. The four traditiones in the Beatus evangelist pages proclaim the source of the church, its officials and its doctrine as Christ.

Each of the four evangelist symbols on the traditio pages points out the aspect of Christ's divinity which is revealed in the Gospel of each of the four evangelists. 49 Beatus views these in the traditional way: Christ died like the ox, rose again like the lion, and so forth. Traditional also is the connection between the evangelist symbols on the traditio pages and the Apocalyptic Beasts which appear on the angel pages. Beatus clearly indicates the four Beasts to be the "Gospels in the midst of the church" in his Explanation of the Four Animals. He emphasizes the connection between the Beasts and the Gospels by stating: "That these four are the gospels is witnessed in the beginning of each gospel Book". 51

The synonymous nature of the evangelist symbols and the Apocalyptic Beasts who gaze at each other across the center fold of the manuscript on the traditio and angel pages, helps emphasize the connection between the imagery of the two pages in each set. In our discussion above, we saw that the dialogue acted out on the traditio pages concerns the content of the angel pages. The traditio scenes
represent the "historical" moment of the Christ giving over the Church and its doctrine to mankind. The scenes on the angel pages, however, represent the nature of the Church and the doctrine which man has received in the covenant he has made with Christ.

On the angel pages Christ is seen as the verbum contained within the ark in the Apocalyptic, timeless sense of eternity. The ark is held by two angels very much as described in Psalm 91:11f: "he (the Lord) will put you in his angel's charge to guard you wherever you go. They will support you on their hands in case you hurt your foot against a stone; you will tread on lion and adder, trample on savage lions and dragons...".

The ark held by angels is the throne of glory on which Christ sits as the judge of mankind. In this sense it conveys the same meaning as the Apocalyptic imagery of the Lamb on the throne of glory held by the two angels with the Four Beasts of the Apocalypse surrounding it as the Gospels in the midst of the Church. It is also a reference to the fact that Christ is the Son of God, the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy. In using the Ark of the Covenant Beatus draws upon the contrast between life and promise under the Old Law and the New in the church and the synagogue portions of the Prologue to Book II. He also refers to the necessity of the elect to follow both the Old and New Law in order to know Christ: "per legum et evangelium cognoscere Christum". It is as if in portraying the ark in this second page, Beatus has taken Matthew 5:17-19 as a point of reference:

Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to complete them. I tell you solemnly, till heaven and earth disappear, not one dot, not one little stroke, shall disappear from the law until its purpose is
achieved. Therefore, the man who infringes even one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be considered the least in the kingdom of heaven; but the man who keeps them and teaches them will be considered great in the kingdom of heaven.

Thus, on the evangelist pages in the Beatus manuscript group, the *tradicio* pages represent the historical and authoritative acts of the *tradicio evangeliorum* and the *tradicio licentiae*, or the *tradicio legis Christianae*. What is depicted is the giving of the Gospel, which is God's New Covenant with man made possible through Christ's sacrifice as described in the Gospel book, and giving the evangelists their office to preach and spread the word of the Gospel. These acts are carried out within the arcade of an architectural format, which like the ark, appears to be a reference to a church building. It is possible that this format indicates that the figures stand within the church itself. In the St. Sever Beatus with its curtained background, it seems to be in front of the sanctuary of a church, the holy of holies. The angel pages with their abstract, banded backgrounds represent the doctrine of the church as being outside of time and space.

These paired pages, supplemented by the genealogy pages show schematically and symbolically how firmly Beatus believed that Christ was the true and not the adopted Son of God. They reveal Him not only as divine but as the Word Incarnate, embodied in both the Old Law and the New. They show the Old Testament prophecies fulfilled in Christ, and how each aspect of his revelation of God was passed from Him to the apostles (evangelists) and thence to the church. Taken together, the evangelist pages are a direct answer to Eliphandus and his heresy. They seem to be a visual statement of the Credo of the Mass:
I believe in one God.  
The Father almighty, maker of 
heaven and earth, and of all 
things visible and invisible.  
And I believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, 
the only-begotten Son of God.  
Born of the Father before all ages.  
God of God, Light of Light,  
true God of true God.  
Begotten, not made,  
of one substance with the Father.  
By whom all things were made.  
Who for us men and for our salvation  
came down from heaven.  
And he became flesh by the Holy Spirit  
of the Virgin Mary:  
and was made man.  
He was also crucified for us,  
suffered under Pontius Pilate,  
and was buried.  
And on the third day he rose again,  
according to the Scriptures.  
He ascended into heaven and sits at the  
right hand of the Father.  
He will come again in glory to judge  
the living and the dead.  
And of his kingdom there will be no end.  
And I believe in the Holy Spirit,  
the Lord and Giver of Life,  
who proceeds from the Father  
and the Son.  
Who together with the Father and the Son  
is adored and glorified,  
and who spoke through the prophets.  
And one holy, Catholic, and  
Apostolic Church.  
I confess one baptism for the forgiveness  
of sins.  
And I await the resurrection of the dead.  
And the life of the world to come.  

This fourth century creed (symbol) which is known as the Nicene  
Creed, had been sung in Spanish liturgy since the conversion of the  
sixth century Visigothic King Reccared to the Orthodox Church.  
It had been originally developed in the early Christian liturgy as a  
profession of faith before baptism but it was used in the fight against  
the early Christological heresies as well.  
This was its role in the  
Spain of Beatus' time, where it continued to serve the cause of
orthodoxy. The Credo was sung in the Spanish Mass just before the Pater Noster, so that, as Jungmann notes, "before the body and blood of the Lord were received, the hearts of all might be purified by faith."

The same symbol was added to the French mass at the request of Charlemagne and as a direct result of the Adoptionist heresy. Just as Charlemagne added the Credo to the mass in order to fight against the Adoptionist heresy, so Beatus added the traditio and the genealogy pages to the third edition of his Commentary. These pages give expression to the orthodox doctrine and set forth the central elements of the catholic faith. This, then, is the heightened meaning which Beatus has given to the blend of iconography which he borrowed and fitted together for his own purpose.

The Meaning of the Traditio for Abbot Gregor

The original anti-heretic content of the traditio pages of the Beatus Commentary may have lost its meaning in the successive copies which were made of the third edition manuscript. However, the traditio pages in the St. Sever Beatus, the original meaning of the Beatus iconography is renewed and intensified by the introduction of the curtained background behind the figures of Christ and the evangelist (cf. figs. 1, 3, 5 and 7). As we have seen, this curtain which seems to represent the curtain across the holy of holies, adds a sacred character to the scene. This feature does not occur in any of the other surviving Beatus traditio pages. In addition to the curtain, there are small figures on two of the pages, the Mark angel page, (fig. 4), and the
John traditio page (fig. 7) that can be little else but references to heresy. These figures no doubt refer to problems current at the
time the manuscript was made.

The reason for these additions may be deduced from a consideration of the man whose name appears on the first folio of the manu-
script. Abbot Gregor, to whom the St. Sever Beatus is dedicated, had problems and preoccupations which were parallel to those of Beatus,
though he lived almost a full three centuries later. He was a Span-
iard from Montana, and also was involved in the movement which
fostered the Reconquista. At one point in his life he mounted an army
and went into Spain to fight the infidels. The anti-Christ was
present in the eleventh century in the form of the infidel and also in
the form of the Manichean heresy which was rampant in southern France
during Gregor's life. Abbot Gregor was not only the abbot of a
monastery but the bishop of Dax and Lescar as well. He most certainly
had more than a passing acquaintanceship with the Manichean heresy.
It is not surprising that he knew and possessed a copy of the Beatus
Commentary on the Apocalypse. There is little doubt that he commis-
sioned the copy himself, and that the copy was made for him at his
own abbey.

This history would account for the fact that the script and illu-
minations of the St. Sever Beatus are not Neo-Visigothic in character.
The Abbot's thinking was influenced by the Carolingian and Ottonian
revival. He was evidently a well-educated man. He had been trained at
Cluny and no doubt he had been to other places in Europe. He prob-
ably also had close associations with nearby areas in southern
France. In addition to this, his abbey was situated on one of the
major pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostella and thus he had the privilege and good fortune to have cultural exchange with many of the travelers who journeyed to Spain from other parts of Europe.

No matter what conclusions we draw concerning the style of the illustrations, the message contained in the traditio pages of the St. Sever Beatus, held for Gregor the same orthodox meanings that it held for Beatus, the originator of the iconography some three centuries before.
IV. Footnotes

1. Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, Princeton, 1969, p. 4.

2. P. 609, Cassell's Latin Dictionary: traditio, -onis (f), 1) a giving up, surrender, 2) a giving over by means of words, an instruction...also a verb with the same meaning: tradó -dere, -didi, -ditum, to hand over, give up, surrender. E. T. Lesseman-van Leer in Tradition and Scripture in the Early Church, Assen, 1954, p. 149, notes that according to Tertullian, the traditio was an authoritative act through which the apostolic teaching, i.e., the original revelation of Jesus Christ, came into the church. She further notes that the succession from God to the church is indicated by Tertullian in De praescr. 37: "regula..., quam ecclesiae ab apostolic, apostoli a Christo, Christus a deo tradidit"; and 21: "quod ecclesiae ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a deo accepit."

3. Ullmann, op. cit., p. 20 ff, notes that "Christian doctrine had been clothed in the language of the law. At the cradle of Latin theology stood a jurist - Tertullian - who exercised enduring influence. Religious maxims and principles, in short Christian doctrine, came to be handed out in the form of legal maxims and principles. To the creators of Latin Christianity and Latin dogma the relations between God and man were legal relations, conceived in the framework of rights and duties and moulded into a Roman jurisprudential scheme." He goes on to note that even the Bible was translated into the legal language of the Latins: "whilst the Latin terms of the Vulgate may have been linguistically correct, they nevertheless conveyed Roman-legal overtones and undertones not necessarily in consonance with the original Hebrew or Greek meaning of the term. In any case, the strongly legal complexion of the Bible was presented through the Vulgate in a thoroughly juristic garb."


5. The Italian phrase is from Wilpert, op. cit., p. 174.

6. Grabar, Christian Iconography, Princeton, 1968, p. 39 ff, suggests this. Beskow, op. cit., also notes in his first chapter the many instances of shift from emperor to Christ. Arnold Ehrhardt, "Christian Baptism and Roman Law", Festschrift Guido Kisch, Stuttgart, 1959, p. 147, notes that the Christian baptism includes a repetitive exchange of symbols, in a manner similar to the Roman stipulato or the oath to the emperor that Roman soldiers took each year.


10. Flesseman-van Leer, op. cit., includes a thorough study of the use of the words "tradition" and "traditio". The phrase traditio legis does not occur as such, according to her, even in Tertullian.

11. The act was first described by St. Laurent, op. cit., and was called "le don de Dieu". The words "traditio legis" appear in art historical literature by 1903 in Baumstark, traditio legis. The term was applied to the act somewhere in-between.

12. Note the meaning of the word traditio in Note 2 above.

13. Wilpert, op. cit., p. 174, points this out.


15. Ullmann, op. cit., p. 27, notes that this power was solely that of the Roman Bishop, who as Pope, and the descendant of Peter, possessed it. The term was that of Leo I. This power was concerned only with gubernatio (government) and therefore, the law. It was separate from his powers as Bishop of Rome. (Cf. note 17 below).

16. This term, which is the invention of the author implies the legal or official aspect which is given to each action within the church, even to preaching and reading the gospel.

17. Ullmann, op. cit., p. 27. This would be the power of any bishop to exercise authority in his diocese: the "power to ordain", and hence to control that which went on within his area of the church. Any priest in the Catholic church even to this day must obtain permission or license to preach in a diocese.


19. P. Borella, "La Traditio Legis nell'Archeologia e Liturgia Ambrosiana", Ambrosius, Bollettino Liturgico Ambrosiano, XXX (1954), pp. 69-78, uses this term following the portion of the Baptismal ceremony where the Gospels are read to the catechumens, "the opening of the ears", described by Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 302, 303.


21. Borella, op. cit., pp. 69 and 72, and passim, describes this ceremony, following Duchesne.

22. Borella, loc. cit., p. 79. He chooses the traditio evangeliorum
as the portion of the Mass represented by the traditio legis, particularly in apse representations, such as was suggested by Duchesne, op. cit., p. 303, but the problem does not seem to be quite as clear as one might suppose. The association of Christ with the Gospel would seem to give room for more than one point of the liturgy to be associated with the giving over of the Gospel. In the Mass the worshippers are first made aware of Christ's presence by the carrying in of the Gospels and the placing of the Gospel book on the altar, which occurs before the reading service begins, according to Jungmann, op. cit., p. 445. This bringing in of the Gospels, then, might be an appropriate portion of the liturgy to associate with the representations of Christ giving the Gospels to the evangelists. For the Gospels, or the presence of Christ, are in a sense "given" to the people when they are brought into the church, and the major benedictio or license or permission to read the Gospels comes after the traditio in the representations in the Beatus manuscript traditio pages. If these representations followed the liturgy, one must assume that the traditio legis or evangeliorum occurs earlier in the Mass. The problem is complicated by the fact that the word traditio can mean either transfer by giving or instruction, and the traditio evangeliorum which is part of Duchesne's traditio legis Christianae ceremony would mean "Instruction in the Gospel" or the reading of the Gospel.

23. Ibid., pp. 540-541. He describes early practices of the kissing of the Gospel, and the incensing of the book, giving forth fragrant smoke which everyone wanted to be touched by, "to be blessed by the blessing of this consecrated incense, and therefore, the censer is carried through the crowd." This ceremony heightened the sense of Christ's presence in the church.

24. Unless we consider that the Baptism is when the transfer is made to each Christian, and that worship following Baptism merely expresses the covenant already made with Christ.


26. Sanders, loc. cit., p. XI.

27. Idem.

28. Mansi, op. cit., X, p. 612: (The fourth Toledo Council, Canon XVII): "Apocalypsim librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas & syndica sanctorum praesulm Romanorum decreta Joannis evangeliastae esse perscribunt, & inter divinos libros recipiendum, (b) atque in ecclesia Dei praedicare contemnunt si quis eum delincep aut non recperit, aut a pascha usque ad pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non praedicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.
29. King, op. cit., p. 10, that in the seventh century, the Commentary of Aprigilius was used in Spain. No doubt, she notes, the reason for the first edition of Beatus' Commentary was a scarcity of the Aprigilius Commentary. Force of habit then probably led the book to be labelled with Aprigilius' name. That the book was used for the instruction of the clergy would seem to be borne out by her statement, p. 9, that the inventories of church treasures and pious foundations seldom carried the name Apocalypse, and that it seems to have been copied for abbots and nuns. The Commentary, which was not canon, would not have been read in church. The Apocalypse itself would have been read from, and then the homily, written by the celebrant himself, might explain material similar to that found in the Beatus Commentary, which the cleric would have remembered from his days at the monastery or abbey.

30. Davis-Weyer, op cit., p. 28 ff., notes the popularity among the early church fathers of this sort of contrast. (Cf. also Victor Hasler's very thorough study, Gesetz und Evangelium, Zurich-Frankfort, (1933).

31. Dom Morin, Liber Comicus Mozarabicus, Analecta Maredsoula, Maredsous, 1893, I, p. 458, index listings, includes the readings from the Apocalypse for the Easter season as follows: I, 1-18, 9-10, 7-18; II, 1-7, 8-11, 12-17, 18-29; III, 1-16, 7-13; IV, 1-10, 2-4, 10-11; VII, 2-12, 9-10; X, 8-10; XI, 1, 3, 4, 15; XIV, 1-7; XIX, 5-16; XXI, 9-23; 10, 9; XXII, 1-5. This from a book which was canon, was not really very much, considering the size of the Apocalypse.

32. Freely translated: "Therefore, well did our elders to signify the person of Mark the evangelist as the lion. And the truth is stated most clearly and truly, since his book begins: the beginning of the evangelii (gospel) of Jesus Christ the Son of God, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet; behold, I send my angel, who appears before your face." Sanders, pp. 278-79, St. Sever, Folio 90-91v (Explanatio Quatuor Animalium). (It was possible to use Sanders here, even though his edition follows Beatus' third edition, for the first and third editions both include this particular material.) "The second animal (or creature) said to be like the ox...Luke...who was a doctor...wrote to Bishop Theophilus...with priestly spirit. There was in the days of Herod...the priest Zacharias...that he might show Christ after salvation...to have been the sacrifice for the salvation of the world. He is the priest of whom it was said in the Psalms: you are a priest...for where Christ came, he changed or abolished the priesthood of the Jews, and the law and the prophets ceased. Therefore, Luke is like the ox. The ox is put in person of the priest, as in Isaiah: Blessed are you who saw upon the waters. The seed is the word, and the waters are the people...the foot of the cow and the ox...the Jews and the Gentiles. Hence the beginning: There was in the days of Herod a priest..." Sanders, pp. 279-80, St. Sever, folio 91v. "The third creature, form of a man...Matthew. Wrote the first gospel in Hebrew beginning with the birth of Christ, that Christ is the son of David...that he is descended bodily from the seed of the patriarchs.
Matthew was the first to proclaim the genealogy of the Lord according to the flesh." Sanders, p. 280, St. Sever, folio 91v. "The fourth creature, the eagle, is John. He wrote the last gospel in Asia. It began with the word, that he might show the same Savior...born and suffered for us...that he the word of God was before all time...that it came from heaven and returned to heaven." Sanders, p. 280, St. Sever, folio 91v.

33. "Animal primum simile leoni; fortitudo ecclesiae ostenditur in leone, sicut dicit: eccce vicit leo de tribu Iudae. sed quo modo sit fortis ecclesia in secundo ostendit; simile, ait, vitulino, id est victimae. haec est enim fortitudo ecclesiae victimari. et quid sit leon et vitulus, in tertio declarat; habens, inquit, faciem sicut homo. humilitatem dixit ecclesiae, quae cum habet adoptionem filiorum Dei, videtur ut homo nihil praeter humanitatem possidere, sicut de Domino dicitum est: quum esset in forma Dei, non raninam arbitratus est, esse se aequalem Deo; sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servii accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo; humilitavit se obediens factus usque ad mortem. et quid sint animalia tria, in quarto conclusit dicens: similem, ait, aquilae volatilis, hic in aquila nihil de terrena nominavit, nisi ut qui fortis fuerit in passione, sit in leone; et qui semet ipsum semel obtulerit in holocausto, sit in vitulino; et qui racionalis fuerit, id est, praeterita recordet, praesentia ordinet, futura praevideat, ut eum a quo factus est patrem cognoscat, et in opere emitat, sit in homine..." Sanders, pp. 282-283, St. Sever, folio 92.

34. Cid, Compostellanum, passim.

35. Ibid., p. 233. He notes that: "Política, religión y nacionalismos estaban tan íntimamente mezclados que resultan inseparables." Cf. also the Gerona facsimile where a full discussion of these aspects of Beatus' life is seen on p. 37 ff.

36. Sanders, op. cit., p. XI.

37. The Catholic Encyclopaedia, I, p. 654, notes that the occasion of the original writing of the Apocalypse was religious crisis, and that it was written to encourage Christians. It was particularly popular in North Africa and this popularity, evidently enhanced by the persecutions of the Christians under the Vandals, reached Visigothic Spain. King, op. cit., p. 9, among others notes that the importance of the commentary there was related to the Mozarabic rite. Cf. also Fijoan's comments after the Meuss Critique by Miner (Miner, op. cit., p. 398). He notes the importance of the Apocalypse for both Africa and Spain (cf. note 47, Chap. III, above). For the Book of the Apocalypse, cf. Charles Torrey, Apocalypse of John, New Haven, 1958, which has a helpful introduction; and Stanislas Giet, L'Apocalypse et L'Histoire, Paris, 1957, who analyzes the numerical combinations in the book, and relates them to the various campaigns of the Jewish Wars against the Romans.

513 ff.; Fliche et Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 137 ff.; Frederico Carlos Sainz de Robles, *Eliphando y San Beato de Liebana, Siglo VIII*, Madrid, 1935, passim.; and the Gerona facsimile, pp. 33 ff. From these sources, one can briefly summarize the problem as being one of Christ's divinity and a revival of the Nestorian heresy, one which is often seen in the early church. Eliphandus, using authoritative scriptures his own way, developed the theory that Christ was not the divine Son of God but was only adopted by God later, at the time of His ascension. The situation was evidently made possible by the Spanish tendency to rely upon the earliest of the church fathers, where a double filiation is sometimes implied, but is, however, not really intended. In Spain there was also a tendency to use the word "adoption" for "assumption", which made the problem even more confusing. The history of the confrontation is very involved, and included the great Alcuin, Charlemagne's spiritual advisor. It ended in Eliphandus' being called to a council in Frankfort, which Beatus did not attend. The Archbishop was accused of heresy, recanted, then became heretical again.


41. Idem. He bases this conclusion upon the fact that the St. Sever and the San Millan (his numbers P and H) Beatus' are the only first edition copies having the genealogies and the Daniel Commentary. The evangelist pages appear in only two third edition manuscripts, the Morgan 644 and the Madrid, it is true. However, on the basis of its relationship to the content of the text and Beatus' fight against heresy, one can do more than just assume that this iconography was added at this time. Sanders notes, p. xi, that K. Müller, *op cit.*, shows the influence of *Ad Eliphandum* on the third edition.

42. Migne, *loc. cit.*, col. 898, Such passages as: "...Qui non credit Filio, cujus est Evangelium. Et qui non credit Filio, non credit Patri..." are very revealing. Cf. also Sainz de Robles, *op. cit.*, passim, for an interesting discussion of these two men, their works and ideals. The battle between Beatus and Eliphandus was one of strong words, enhanced by great feeling, which often led to name calling.

43. Jungmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-446. Beskow, *op. cit.*, p. 15, notes that the Gospel was placed on a throne at church councils in order to symbolize the presence of Christ the King.


46. Ibid., pp. 445-446; Beskow, loc. cit., p. 15: "Candles and incense are brought before the Gospel or the Image of Christ as they were once brought before the image of Caesar."


48. Ibid., p. 455.

49. P. Mayeur, "Iconographie Médiévale", Revue de L'Art Chrétien, LII (1909), pp. 102-16, indicates that it is Christ Himself who is the animal, and that in evangelist portraits, the seated evangelist figure is secondary. On p. 106, he says: "Les animaux symbolisent logiquement avant tout, le Christ et les sacrements, alors qu'ils ne représentent les évangelistes que d'une façon secondaire..." He goes on to indicate that despite what appears to be evident when one sees these symbols with the evangelists (that the symbols refer to the evangelists themselves), they actually refer to the various aspects of Christ, and to the sacraments of His life. This would, then, also be the case with the inscriptions from Sedulius which were noted above, note 36, Chapter III, to be on some of the Beatus evangelist portraits, as well as on many other western evangelist pages. And so Williams, op. cit., p. 76, point that the Sedulius inscriptions refer solely to the evangelist is inadvertently taken.

50. Sanders, op. cit., p. 285, St. Sever, folio 93: "ipse enim unigenitus Dei filius veraciter factus est homo. ipse in sacrificio nostrae redemptionis dignatus est mori ut vitulus. ipse per virtutem suae fortitudinis surrexit ut leo. leo vero apertis oculis dormire prohibetur, quia in ipsa morte in qua ex humanitate redemptor noster dormire potuit, ex divinitate sua immortalis permanendo vigilavit." (Book Three)... and so forth. Iraneus was the first church father to make use of the four animals from Ezekiel for the evangelist symbols. The Apocalypse also draws upon these symbols, and so there is a natural association here for Beatus to make. Cf. Gerard de Champeaux and Dom Sebastien Sterckx, Introduction du Monde des Symboles, Paris, 1965, p. 428 ff. for the relationship between the animals of the Apocalypse and those of Ezekiel. Also Ameisenowa, op. cit., p. 35 ff.

51. Freely translated: "This throne is the church upon which Christ is said to sit, and these are the creatures, said to be on the throne and these are the same creatures said to be about the throne, that is, the gospels in the midst of the church, and about it, are shown to be mixed one and all." (Book Three) Sanders, op. cit., pp. 281-282, St. Sever, folio 92.

52. "It is said (here he quotes Ez. 1:10):...That these four are the gospels is witnessed in the beginning of each gospel book." Sanders, loc. cit., p. 285, St. Sever, folio 92v: "esse enim dicitur:...(Ez. 1:10) quod enim quattuor haec pinnata animalis sanctas quattuor evangelistas..." (the last word appears on folio 93 of the St. Sever). Sanders notes that Beatus has taken this from Gregory, in Ezekiel, l.4.1-10.
53. The brief explanation of Christ as the word in the Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, p. 1013, is helpful in understanding this concept: "It is by a word that God the Father fashioned the universe (Heb. 1:3). This came about through the Son (Heb. 1:2) who by His own word sustains it (Heb. 1:3). Jesus is that preexisting Son (Jn. 1:17-18), or word (Jn. 1:14) through whom all things were made (Jn. 1:1-3). This word does not begin when it is heard in time. Still its prior relation to the Father is a reality as far as man is concerned only because it is continued in an earthly utterance where the eternal Word of God is God's historical word to man. If Yahweh's word through the Prophets was at once instructive, transformative, and salvific, so is the Word of God's Word-made-flesh, who has all things in common with the Father (Mt. 9:5-7; Mk. 2:1-12; Lk. 5:18-26; Jn. 6:53, 10:28, 11:25-26, 12:48-50, 14:6-7, 17:10; 1 Jn. 1:1-4)."

54. Old Testament references to Yahweh "enthroned upon the cherubim": 1 S 4:4; 25 6:2; Ps 80:2; according to John L. McKenzie, S. J., Dictionary of the Bible, Milwaukee, 1965, p. 85, "suggest that the ark was the throne upon which Yahwek stood invisibly upon the cherubim." The throne of glory on which God sat in the Old Testament was the throne upon which Christ sat in Judgement (Mt. 19:28) at the time of the second coming. "The throne of God is the great white throne (Apoc. 20:11)." It is also the center of the vision of Apoc. 4. (p. 889.) Christ of the Apocalypse comes in glory in the traditional Israelite sense (Apoc. 15:8), a brilliant light which illuminates the whole earth and the new Jerusalem (Apoc. 18:1, Apoc. 21:11, 23), (p. 315.)

55. Sanders, op. cit., p. 13. At the point where Beatus is explaining the open book of life (Apoc. 20:12), he notes that this book is the law and the Gospel: "Deum liber...hos libros nunc testamenta Dei dicit, id est, legem et evangelium..." (Sanders, p. 615). This is another indication of the importance of both the Law and the Gospel for Beatus. The genealogy pages, with their illustrations of the Old Testament Fathers who had covenants with God, and the diagrammatic references to the prophet also show the continuity of the word. This is in keeping with the emphasis on both the Law and the Gospel found throughout the Commentary.

56. This is the Vatican II translation from the Maryknoll Missal, ed. The Maryknoll Fathers, New York, 1966, p. 10. The Latin is in Jungmann, op. cit., pp. 453-464, where he notes in different type face the portions found in the texts of Epiphanius (c. 375) and Cyril of Jerusalem (c 350).

57. Ibid, p. 469.


59. Ibid, p. 469.

60. Idem. Cf. also Mansi, op. cit., IX, col. 993, where it was
ordered said in Canon 2.

61. Idem. He notes that this practice came into France via the Anglo-Saxons (Alcuin), who got the idea from the Irish, who got it from the Spanish. But this seems to be a rather roundabout way, particularly as there was some sort of contact between Spain and the court of Charlemagne concerning the feared heresy itself, and so one wonders if there was not a direct correspondence between Alcuin and someone in Spain involving the use of the Credo. This problem deserves further attention. For a more complete review of the addition of the Credo to the French mass cf: B. Capelle, "L'Origine anti-adoptioniste de notre texte du symbole de la messe, "Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, I (1929) pp. 7-20; "Alcuin et l'histoire du symbole de la messe, "Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, VI (1934), pp. 249-260. Theodulf, who was prominent at the Carolingian Court, and who may be responsible for the execution of the Libri Carolini, (cf. Freeman, op. cit., passim.) may have suggested it. As he was a Visigoth he may have even been the contact between the Orthodox Spaniards and the Carolingian Court. Charlemagne obtained the permission to use the Credo from Leo III, probably with a later restriction on the Filioque, which was considered a bit suspect (Jungmann, p. 469).


63. Congrès Arch., 102, op. cit., p. 346 (no doubt from du Buisson, op. cit.).

64. Schaff, op. cit., IV, pp. 580 ff., notes that it was first discovered in Aquitania and Orleans in 1022. The same year thirteen were condemned to the stake at Orleans. This Manichaicism was like the eastern Manichaicism, and was dualistic in nature and rejected the whole Catholic church and all material means of grace. By 1047, Wazo, the Bishop of Liège had raised the price for toleration in connection with heretics at Chalons-sur-Marne, so it is evident that the heresy became rather widespread during the course of the century. Ademar, the eleventh century chronicler, in his writings, (Ademar de Chabannes, Chronique, ed. Jules Chavannon, Paris, 1897, p. 185), notes the occurrence of this heresy in France in 1022: "Nihilominus apud Tolosan inventi sunt Manichei, et ipsi destructi, et per diversas occidentia partes nuntii antichristi exorti, per latibula sese occultare curabant et quoscumque poterant viros et mulieres subvertebant." On p. 134 there is a notation of 1027-1028, which reads: "His diebus concilium adgregavit episcoporum et abbatum dux Willelmus apud sanctum carrosum propert extinguendas haereses, quae vulgo a Manichaeis dissiminabantur.


66. He was educated at Cluny during the abbacy of the great Odilo, and he could not have helped but have been caught up in the spirit of the monastery with which he undoubtedly kept contact throughout his abbacy. Even though St. Sever was never actually a Cluniac
institution, it was a Benedictine house and the ties would not
be assumed to be unfriendly. Cf. Gallia Cristiana, op. cit.,
col. 1173: Abbatia haec ordinis S. Benedicti cum urbe adjacente
quae ob celebritatem monasterii videtur accresisse, sita est ad
Aturum (L'Adour) fluvium. Evans, op. cit., in her caption under
a reproduction of an illustration in the St. Sever Beatus notes
that St. Sever was not Cluniac. Also cf. Evans, The Romanesque
40-41, where no references are made to St. Sever in the listings
of the Cluniac houses in the south of France.

67. Miner, op. cit., p. 390, notes a close analogy between St. Sever
and styles of illuminations of Limoges and Poitiers (esp. the "Life
of St. Radegonde" manuscript at Poitiers). And further notes his-
torical proof of such connections as, she says, during the time
in which the St. Sever Beatus was copied for Abbot Gregor, Gas-
cony belonged to the Counts of Poitiers. Their names frequently
are found in the charters of the abbey. Her source for this is
Dom du Buisson, op. cit. There are stylistic affinities between
the monastery building itself, part of which was constructed dur-
ing the time of Gregor (cf. Congres Arch., 102, op. cit., p.
361), and Cluniac churches in the north, particularly Hildesheim
and Cluny II. The architecture and sculpture of St. Sever have
been drawing some attention of late: cf. Jean Cabonat, "Travaux
Universitaires des Chapiteaux de L'Abbaye de Saint-Sever",
L'Information de l'Histoire de L'Art, VIII (1963), pp. 38-43;
"Les Chapiteaux Romans de l'Abbatiale de S. Sever" B. Soc.
Borda., LXXX (1966), pp. 121-140, 221-239; J. Lauffray, "Les
Chevets-Martyrca de Saint-Sever sur L'Adour et de Sordes L'Abbaye
(Landes)"
Cahiers Archéologiques, XVI (1966), pp. 107-34; and
Thomas W. Lyman, "The Pilgrimage Roads Revisited", Gesta, VIII
(1969), pp. 30-44. The old standard article on the abbey is
Brutails, "L'Eglise Abbatiale de Saint-Sever (Landes)", Bulletin
Archéologique, 1900, pp. 5 ff.

68. The map location of St. Sever shows it to be on the Adour River,
about 45 kilometres east of Dax, about 14 kilometres south of
Mont-de-Marsan, about 39 kilometres north of Orthez, and about
90 kilometres west of Auch. It is, of course, in the southern
portion of Landes, at the point where the gentle rise to the
Basse-Pyrénées and the Basque country begins. Route 133 south
to Roncesvalles from St. Sever goes through Hagetmau, Orthez,
Salies-de-Béarn, and a number of smaller points.
V. Conclusions

The evangelist pages of the St. Sever Beatus and of the other manuscripts in the Beatus group deal essentially with the traditio theme and with its inspirational and legal aspects. The traditio pages represent the source and authority of Christian doctrine, and are closely related to the ritual of the church, which is itself a statement and assertion of theological truth. In another vein, the traditio evangeliorum embodies the giving of the law or truth in the form of the Gospels to the evangelists, and the traditio licentiae expresses the authoritative permission to teach that truth. These acts are paralleled in the Roman liturgy when the Gospels are read by the deacon after he received the major benedictio of the bishop. They have their roots in the authoritative acts of the Roman emperor who gave his edicts to his people through his officials and at the same time gave his officials the power and license to interpret and execute them. These two themes are so closely related that in Christian doctrine they may be considered as two phases of the same act, the traditio legis Christianae.

On the traditio pages, therefore, Christ is seen as the authoritative giver of the doctrine of the church, if not the church itself, in the form of his Gospel or presence; and at the same time, He is seen as the authoritative giver of the church offices in the form of the permission given to the evangelist to proceed with the teaching of the Gospel. The angel pages depict the content of the Gospel as the revelation of Christ as verbum, as if seated on the throne of glory and hence the judge of mankind.
The evangelist pages were added by Beatus along with a Chapter on the Anti-Christ, the Commentary of Jerome on Daniel, and the genealogy pages, as an anti-heretical device to the third edition of his Commentary on the Apocalypse. The Catholic doctrine which the evangelist pages supported by these other additions set forth, indicates the depth of Beatus' involvement in the contest against the Adoptionist heresy of Eliphandus of Toledo. The motive for adding the evangelist pages to the Commentary was probably the same as the motive Charlemagne had for adding the Credo to the French Mass. This Credo, the Nicene creed, had been used as a defense against heresy in Spanish liturgy for several centuries before Beatus' time. It served a similar purpose as the iconography found on the evangelist pages.

This iconography was no doubt developed by Beatus himself, drawing upon a mixture of sources. One was more than likely a Roman Gospel book of the fifth or sixth century which contained the traditio pages in the traditio evangeliorum and traditio licentiae forms, and which was similar in type to the book which was used for the model of the Ghent Gospels. This Roman book undoubtedly showed on its traditio pages an arcade format with an evangelist symbol and, perhaps, even an inscription from Sedulius. In other words, the evangelist frontispieces of this early Roman Gospel book already held a mixture of evangelist iconography in the form of evangelist symbols, inscription and general format, and Christ as King iconography in the form of the traditiones.

The angel pages were, however, more than likely developed from several sources, or a source which is not clear to us at this time. Included in the possible prototypes for these pages are angel incipit pages from early manuscripts such as that in the Trier Gospels, and
the iconography of monumental art in churches of the period or earlier, similar to that which influenced the mosaic of the Ark at St. Germigny-des-Prés. Whatever the sources, the blend of iconography on the angel pages conveys a meaning similar in content to the Apocalyptic imagery of the Lamb held between two angels on the Throne of Glory with the Apocalyptic Beasts as the Gospels in the midst of the Church. The angel pages depict, therefore, the nature of the Church and the doctrine which is being given to mankind on the traditio pages.

This was the iconographic mixture which Beatus blended together to suit his purpose of expressing the tenets of the orthodox faith. This blend has resulted in eight pages which speak in a striking way of the content of the Catholic doctrine. The doctrine is shown as being passed through the apostolic succession from Christ to the evangelists, who in turn pass it to the members of the Christian community. These pages reminded the reader and viewer that the tradition of the church had its origins in Christ and was absolutely authoritative in its descent nor could it be altered. For as it says in the Apocalypse itself (22:18-19):

This is my solemn warning to all who hear the prophecies in this book: if anyone adds anything to them, God will add to him every plague mentioned in the book; if anyone cuts anything out of the prophecies in this book, God will cut off his share of the tree of life and of the holy city, which are described in the book.

This anti-heretical statement was meaningful for the Abbot-Bishop of St. Sever, who no doubt commissioned the Beatus of St. Sever for himself. The additions to the iconography of the full curtain across the background of the traditio pages giving a sense of the holy of holies, and the heresy figures which occur on some of the pages,
indicate that Abbot Gregor was concerned, as was Beatus, with heresy problems. The heresy which troubled the Abbot was the Manichean heresy. Though it was a full three centuries after Beatus when it occurred, the fear of it was the same as the fear which was felt in the time of the Adoptionist controversy.

Even though we have come to certain conclusions regarding the evangelist pages in the St. Sever Beatus, it seems that there is much more work to be done. There must be, for example, further comparative study among the Beatus manuscripts having the evangelist pages; as well as further research on the specific themes contained within these pages. The "presentation" type of evangelist iconography must be re-defined, and the problems presented by the ark must be investigated. The Commentary of Beatus itself must be carefully studied in order to understand more completely the meaning of the iconography not only on the evangelist pages but throughout the manuscript.

The problems we have solved are few, but we have in this beginning study suggested a modification of Nordenfalk's statement that:

Like the Sibylline Books, of which in some ways they are a Christian sequel, these Spanish Apocalypses (the Beatus group) still keep their mystery intact and seem likely, as regards the circumstances that gave rise to them, always to remain a baffling problem to researchers.  

These circumstances, as we have seen in this work, are not nearly as obscure as one might think. With further investigation, the meanings of the Beatus illuminations will be clearly explained. We can see already that the reason for the representations of the evangelists at the beginning of the Beatus manuscripts is quite different than the suggestion that "the Apocalypse, rather than the Gospels, was regarded in Spain as the most sacred book of Holy Scripture."
V. Footnotes

1. Nordenfalk (Grabar and Nordenfalk), *op. cit.*, p. 175.

2. Idem.
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