

THE CYCLE OF THE LIFE AND PASSION OF CHRIST  
IN THE BIBLE OF AVILA

By

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by

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This thesis is dedicated to my family.

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The *Bible of Avila* is a 12<sup>th</sup> century manuscript whose origins can be traced to the Umbro-Roman region in Italy, from where it traveled to Spain sometime during the third quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Once it reached Spain, it was completed with the texts of Esdras 3-5, and the Psalms. In addition, three folios were incorporated at an unknown date. These folios have made the *Bible of Avila* famous since they depict the largest pictorial cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ in manuscript illumination found in Romanesque Spain. Yet for all its renown, the Bible remains a mystery. Many scholars have cited the Bible of Avila and the Cycle, but none have attempted to study them carefully.

*The Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ in the Bible of Avila* presents some unique qualities that make it an exceptional case study. While there are inscriptions identifying the individual scenes and figures, no text accompanies this cycle. The iconography of some scenes seems to have no precedent in Spain. In addition, the Cycle contains some compositional elements that are full of originality. This presentation deals

with the iconographic and stylistic sources that may help date these folios. To achieve this end, I have made a number of comparisons with manuscript illumination, fresco painting, sculpture, and the sumptuary arts found in the north of Spain from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Through this methodology it is possible to conclude that the artist, the Master of the Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ, was an itinerant artist who was well traveled and was familiar with the works of art produced in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, Navarre, Aragon and even in Catalonia. Thus the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* would appear to date from the second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Another important element that is addressed in my conclusion is the possible function of the folios. Certain aspects of the Cycle suggest that they could have been used as a teaching device or as a model book.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The National Library in Madrid, Spain, holds one of the most interesting illuminated manuscripts produced in Castile and Leon during the Middle Ages: The *Bible of Avila* (Bibl. Nac. Cod. Vit. 15-1).<sup>1</sup> This thesis investigates the three illuminated folios depicting the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* that were inserted into the Bible of Avila at an unknown date. What is unusual about these three folios is that they seem to be unrelated to the other illuminated aspects of the Bible of Avila. The rareness of the folios opens a number of interesting questions regarding the chronology, style and function of these folios. In this chapter, I discuss the general characteristics of the Bible of Avila. In Chapter 2, I discuss the iconography of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* with an emphasis on the uniqueness of the iconography. In Chapter 3, I discuss the style of the artist in rendering the Cycle. Chapter 4 explores the possible sources that the artist, the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Avila Bible*, could have used. Finally, in Chapter 5, I conclude with a new tentative dating and the possible function of the three folios.

The large Avila Bible (630 x 430 x 162 mm—closed) has its origins in the Umbro-Roman region in Italy but it also contains traces of Tuscan influence.<sup>2</sup> The Avila

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<sup>1</sup> The Bible of Avila has a long history of unresolved issues. Some of these issues are addressed in this study, but others will need further investigation.

<sup>2</sup> Garrison, E. B., *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, vol. 4, London: Pindar Press, 1993, pp. 59-60, states “The Avila Bible Master was thought, on the basis

Bible seems to have been designed for exportation, and has been associated with other Bibles of a similar format found in Germany and other sites in Italy.<sup>3</sup> Fulfilling this purpose, the Bible traveled to Spain, but did so before it was completed. The texts of Esdras 3-5 (fols. 168-79) and the Psalms (fols. 204v-217v) were added after it arrived in Spain. Following the Spanish tradition, new illuminations were also incorporated. The Psalms were decorated with initials with author portraits. The genealogical tables have a frontispiece with the illumination of Noah's Ark, and the New Testament was prefaced with three folios depicting scenes of the Life and Passion of Christ. The illuminations depicting the Life and Passion of Christ in the Bible of Avila comprise the largest cycle of illuminations of New Testament scenes in a Spanish manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The general dimensions of all the folios inside the *Bible of Avila* are 585 x 395 mm, since they were cut to uniform size when it was rebound after the additions were made in Castile and Leon.<sup>5</sup> Where these folios were inserted when the *Bible of Avila* arrived in Spain is still unknown, but an inscription, *Istos liber este santi Salbatoris Abulensis*, located in folio CCXCVIII v, could place the Bible in the cathedral of Avila in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup>

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of his geometrical initial style to have begun his career in the Umbro-Roman region, and most probably in Rome.”

<sup>3</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, ed. John P. O'Neill, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, pp. 298-299, John W. Williams states that the original Italian format of the Bible of Avila has been associated with exported Bibles encountered notably in Germany as well as in sites in Italy.

<sup>4</sup> There is one exception to this. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century there was a Bible carried out at Ripoll, but it had Italo-Byzantine sources, unlike the Avila Bible. See Williams, *Art of Medieval Spain*, p. 298.

<sup>5</sup> The dimensions of the Italian section of the Bible of Avila are 587 x 397 mm.

<sup>6</sup> Maria Rodriguez Velasco, “Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” en *Actas del V Simposio Biblico Español. La Biblia en el Arte y en la Literatura*,

Nevertheless, the Bible of Avila was mentioned in an inventory of ecclesiastical cult objects in the cathedral of Avila in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, where it was described as being “very good, large, and written by hand on parchment.”<sup>7</sup> In January 1869 it was moved to its present location in the National Library of Spain, by the decree of seizure issued by Mr. Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla.<sup>8</sup>

The history of the Bible of Avila, as previously explained, is clear and generally accepted. However, problems arise when attempting to place the bible in a chronological frame. There have been a number of attempts by different scholars-who I will discuss in short-to date this manuscript, but their datings have proved to be inconclusive. The main area of dissent regarding the chronological controversy has to do with the three different sections in the Bible of Avila: the Italian, the Spanish, and the three illuminated folios of the Life and Passion of Christ.

One of the first art historians to suggest a date for the Bible of Avila was Samuel Berger in 1893. In his study *Histoire de la Vulgate Pendant les Premiers Siecles du Moyen Age*, he places the origin of the Bible of Avila in Italy in the beginnings of the 13<sup>th</sup>

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Valencia: Universidad de Navarra, 1999, pp. 353. Rodriguez Velasco mentions that the calligraphy of the added inscription relates to other examples found in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>7</sup> “Inventario de los objetos de culto, ornamentos y libros; y de las rentas y censos que posee la fabrica de la Iglesia.” Fol. CXX, Archivo Historico Nacional, Seccion de Codices, 1247, 926-B. Cited by Maria Rodriguez Velasco, “Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” p. 353.

<sup>8</sup> Guillermo Schulz, “Las Miniaturas de la Biblia de Avila,” *Boletin de la Sociedad Española de Excursionistas*, vol. V, 1898, pp. 100, does not identify further who this person is besides his name.



century.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, in his catalogue of the Bibles, he acknowledges the presence of two sets of folios (Noah's Ark and the Life and Passion of Christ) that, on stylistic grounds, he considers to be from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. However, as we will see, this date seems to be too early for the stylistic characteristics represented in these folios.

Another art historian, Dominguez Bordona writing in 1962, originally considered the Italian text of the Bible of Avila to be a product of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but in later works he wisely revised his position, and placed it in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> However, Bordona does not discuss the dating of the Spanish section of the manuscript, nor the independent production and provenance of the three folios with the Life and Passion of Christ.

Garrison, writing from 1953 to 1961, was more precise in his dating of the Italian section of the manuscript, and was also the first scholar to trace the origin of the Bible of Avila. He believed that the initial decoration of the bible could be traced to a master, called the Avila Bible Master, in the Umbro-Roman region of Italy during the last quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> However, in his study, Garrison neglected to mention the Spanish section of the manuscript and the six folios with the Life and Passion of Christ. Maria Rodriguez Velasco, a Spanish art historian, agrees with Garrison's assessment of the dating of the Italian section of the manuscript.<sup>12</sup> However, in contrast to Garrison and

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<sup>9</sup>, Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate Pendant les Premiers Siecles du Moyen Age*, Paris: Hachette et cie, 1893, pp. 23-24.

<sup>10</sup> Dominguez Bordona, J., *Codices miniados españoles*, Catalogo de la Exposicion del XVI Congreso, Barcelona, 1962, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> Garrison, E.B., *History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 1993, pp. 59-60.

<sup>12</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, pp. 353-367. In this essay she agreed with the date provided by Garrison. Based on this assumption she placed the production and addition of the Spanish section of the *Bible*

Rodriguez Velasco, Walter Cahn (1982), considered the Italian section to have reached Spain as early as the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and it was at this time in his opinion that the additions to the Bible of Avila were made.<sup>13</sup>

General consensus places the Bible of Avila sometime in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but views of scholars vary greatly. Considering that the Bible of Avila arrived from Italy at the time that Garrison proposes, Rodriguez Velasco proposed that the Spanish section would have been added to the Bible of Avila sometime in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Regardless, the issue of when the folios were added is only secondary to the time when they were completed.

I accept Garrison's dating to the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century for the Italian section of the manuscript. Thus sometime after the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Bible of Avila was finally completed in Spain, with the addition of the texts of Esdras 3-5 (fols. 168-79) and the Psalms (fols. 204v-217v); and the three folios with the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* were also added at this time.

After the additions in Spain, the Bible of Avila presents four different styles of illumination: the style of the Avila Bible Master, the two different styles present in the Spanish section of the Bible of Avila—labeled here as style A and style B—and the style of the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. The first

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*of Avila* to the beginnings of the thirteenth century. We will see later on that this dating is actually too late.

<sup>13</sup> Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982, p. 208, 285, also concludes that Avila could have been the place where the additions were made, but no scriptoriums have been found in that area.

<sup>14</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 353.

style belongs to the Italian section of the Bible of Avila. An Italian master who Garrison called the Avila Bible Master produced the illuminated initials. The Italian initials are characterized by framed panels that are finely ornamented. There is a tendency towards a geometric composition, especially in the decorative patterns and there is also an unmistakable linear quality to them. These illuminations are polished and very stylized. The preferred hues are red, blue and yellow, and to a lesser degree green. Many initials contain author portraits with the figures depicted in three-quarter or full length with their hands gesturing or holding scrolls. An example of one of the Italian initials is King Asuerus (*Esther*) in the Avila Bible (fol. 181v.) (Fig. 1). The king is set inside a framed panel with a blue background. He is depicted in full length. He wears royal attire in yellow, and a beautiful red cape falls behind him and gently covers half of his upper body. He wears a golden crown. The style is polished and linear, just as the rest of the examples from the Italian section of the Bible of Avila. An important observation that needs to be made is the style of the calligraphy of the Italian section. The text appears to be written in Carolingian Minuscule. The letters are well proportioned with controlled ascenders and descenders to minims. The words are clearly separated and comprehensible, and in turn, each letter is instantly recognizable. These characteristics create an overall effect that is pleasing to the eye.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast to the Italian section of the Bible of Avila, the style of the illuminations of the Spanish section reveals that there are three hands at work. The illuminated initials with author portraits in the Psalms within the Bible of Avila present

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<sup>15</sup> Marc Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: History and Technique*, Montclair: Allaheld & Schram, 1980, pp. 50-51. According to Drogin this type of script is also responsible for the transformation from the majuscule N into a minuscule letter, a characteristic that is present in the Italian Section of the manuscript.

two different styles, Style A and Style B., and the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* presents a third style that seems to be unrelated to the illuminated initials with author portraits in the Psalms.<sup>16</sup>

There are some similarities between Style A and Style B that I will consider first. The initials in this section are also located inside framed panels but they have been produced in a controlled freehanded way. The decorations are wild and busy and there is a wide use of interlacing. The illuminated initials are decorated with animal forms and plant leaves. There are also author portraits with three-quarter length figures that gesture with their hands and hold unfurled rotuli and musical instruments.

Style A is found in the initial letters of the Psalms and it is characterized by the way the gigantic hands are portrayed, the use of vermillion and mustard yellow, and the patterned hair. An example of Style A can be seen in the initial “B” (fol. CXC VII v) (Fig. 2). Inside the initial there is a depiction of King David playing the harp. The initial “B” is placed against a framed panel with a mustard background with red stars. The interior of the “B” is vermillion. The actual initial is done in a column-shape with interlacing at the top and bottom, connecting them to the plant motifs that complete the shape of the initial. The interior of the initial is decorated with a curved pattern—a detail also present in other illuminations of Style A. King David occupies the space in the lower opening of the initial “B.” He is dressed with a blue tunic with an undecorated yellow cuff, and his head is covered with a yellow turban. His hair and beard are white and are patterned showing every single strand of hair perfectly combed. The triangular harp is being caressed gently

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<sup>16</sup> The third style present in the Bible of Avila, which could be called Style C, is the hand of the artist who created the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*, but since this Cycle is the center of my research it will not be called Style C.

by the hands of King David, and the hands are rendered in the most characteristic way of Style A. The visible hand has long fingers and they almost appear to be boneless. The palm of the hand and the back of the hand are rendered in a similar way, making it difficult to assess which side of the hand we are viewing.

Style B is present at least in one of the initial letters of the Psalms (fol. CLXIV v) (Fig. 3). In this example of Style B we find the initial “A” with the prophet Ezra holding a scroll. The initial is placed on a framed panel and against a pale yellow background. From the top of the initial there are highly ornamented cascading plants intertwined with animals and human figures on a red-orange background—not vermilion. The interior of the initial is decorated with dots, and not the curved pattern so characteristic of Style A. The lower part of the initial is occupied by the figure of the prophet Ezra against a dark green ground. The prophet’s attire is a red-orange garment and the uncolored cuff is decorated with dots, similar to those that appeared in the interior of the initial. The prophet has brown hair and beard but they are not patterned, furthermore the hair has stylish curls on the back and there are strands of hair on the beard out of their proper order. The hands of the figure are smaller in comparison with those of Style A. There is a sense of sadness and resignation as the prophet points at himself. The style of calligraphy of the Spanish section is different from the Italian section. The script appears to be written in an Early Gothic style. The letters are more uniformly written, and they are also more angular since the space between the letters and the words has been reduced for the sake of speed and space.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Drogin, M., *Medieval Calligraphy*, 1980, p. 53.

Style B is also present in the frontispiece dedicated to the genealogical tables, which is decorated with an illumination of Noah's Ark (fol. I r).<sup>18</sup> The episode of Noah's Ark (Genesis 6:12 to 8:22) narrates how God punished the wickedness of humanity by flooding the earth. But God did not destroy all humanity; instead He favored Noah and his family, since God believed that they were righteous and blameless. Then God instructed Noah to build an ark where his entire household and a pair of every animal and bird on earth would survive the flood until the waters receded. After forty days, Noah sent a dove to see if the waters had subsided from the earth, and when the dove came back it had an olive leaf in its beak. Then Noah knew the waters had subsided. After the waters were gone, Noah built an altar to the Lord where he placed the clean animals and birds and then offered burnt offerings.

In the Bible of Avila, Noah's Ark (fol. I r) depicts the conflation of several episodes of the story (Fig. 4, 5, 6). Taking half the length from the top of the folio is the ark itself, which looks more like a building than an ark, even though it was created following God's directions.<sup>19</sup> The ark is divided into three sections. On the top, underneath the roof, there are two rows with twelve cubicles—five on the upper row, and

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<sup>18</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 1993, pp. 298-299. John W. Williams mentions in his presentation to this manuscript that the frontispiece with the genealogical tables was an addition made to the *Bible of Avila* so it would comply with the type found in earlier Spanish Bibles and Beatus Commentaries. Williams believed that the genealogical tables where the illumination of Noah's Ark appears are only a fragment of a complete set, since the biblical and Beatus versions begin with Adam and Eve and cover fourteen folios.

<sup>19</sup> In Genesis 6:14 God said to Noah "Make yourself an ark of cypress wood; make rooms in the ark, and cover it inside and out with pitch. This is how you are to make it: the length of the ark three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. Make a roof for the ark, and finish it to a cubit above; and put the door of the ark in its side; make it with lower, second and third decks." It seems like the artist visually translated this passage literary.

seven on the lower row—with pairs of birds placed face to face. On the middle section of the ark, there are three cubicula with the members of Noah's family; and on the lower section there are ten cubicula with pairs of animals also facing each other. At either side of the cubicula there are two towers—two in the upper sections and two in the lower sections. Coming out of the two highest towers are two men looking and pointing to the sky. On the left side of the roof of the ark, the dove stands with a gigantic olive leaf in its beak. On the right of the ark, a human head is being devoured by a raven.<sup>20</sup> Underneath the ark, on the left, Noah stands in front of an altar where he has placed a number of live animals and birds. Next to the altar in the center, there is a roundel with the image of Sem, Cam and Jafet, Noah's three sons.<sup>21</sup> Other smaller roundels with names written in their interiors are link to the central one, completing the genealogical tables.

Noah's Ark shares a number of similarities with the initials of style B [Plate 5, 6, 7]. Stylistically, the hair of Noah has the same stylish curls than the figure of the prophet inside the initial "A." Furthermore, Noah has the same type of facial characteristics—especially the mouth, which is rendered in a similar way. Another similarity resides in the garments. Noah's robe has decorative dots on the cuff similar to those on the attire of the prophet of the initial "A". The garment of the figure that comes out of one of the towers

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<sup>20</sup> Schulz, G., "Las Miniaturas de la Biblia de Avila," 1898, pp. 102, identifies the black bird as the raven. The image of the severed head and the raven might seem very strange since there is nothing describing the incident in the story of Noah's Ark. In the story, after the forty days, Noah sent first a raven that went to and fro until the waters were dried up from the earth. I believe that the dark bird that is eating the eyes of the human head is the raven, and the severed head is what remains of the wickedness and evilness of humanity. Another 12<sup>th</sup> century manuscript, the *Roderici Eximenide Rada Breviarium Historiae Catholicae*, that depicts Noah's Ark (fol. 49) shows a similar happening with a raven feasting on the body of a man. See Dominguez Bordona, J. *La Miniatura Española*. Tomo I. Ed. Gustavo Gili. Barcelona: Pathon-Casa Editrice-Firenze, 1930, Plate 57.

<sup>21</sup> Schulz, G., "Las Miniaturas de la Biblia de Avila," 1898, p. 101.

of the ark—the left—also shows a similarity with that of the prophet. The drapery is rendered linearly in horizontal bands and the sleeves seem to be floating with the same shape as the left sleeve of the prophet. The colors used in both images are similar in range and tone, especially the greens and oranges. As already noted, the treatment of the garments on Noah's Ark has a greater analogy to Style B, while the treatment of the architecture is too geometric and symmetrical when compared to the architectural examples provided in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. These are very powerful reasons why the two sections are always discussed separately, and why I consider them to be from different hands. It is more important to acknowledge that Noah's Ark was the frontispiece to the genealogical tables much preferred in early Spanish Bibles and Beatus Commentaries. This frontispiece might have been a part of a complete set of genealogical tables that have been lost to us now.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, the third hand at work in the Spanish section of the *Bible of Avila* is that of the artist who created the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. There seems to be a great reluctance from art historians to discuss the folio of Noah's Ark in relationship with the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. There are some obvious reasons for that reluctance. On a chronological level, the story of Noah's Ark comes before the Life and Passion of Christ, hence there is already a natural tendency to discuss them separately. More importantly on a stylistic grounds, as we will see, Noah's Ark is slightly different from the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*, which leads me to believe that Noah's Ark was done by a different hand.

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<sup>22</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 1993, pp. 298-299. John W. Williams mentions that other biblical and Beatus versions begin with Adam and Eve and cover fourteen folios, therefore Noah's Ark is the only remaining fragment.



The *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is depicted on three folios that are illuminated on the recto and the verso. There are twenty illuminations narrating some of the episodes of the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ. The cycle starts with the Baptism of Christ, Wedding Feast at Cana, Presentation in the Temple, the Temptations of Christ, the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, The Last Supper, The Washing of the Disciples' Feet, the Kiss of Judas, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, The Three Maries at the Tomb, The Descent of Christ into Hell (Anastasis), The Resurrection (Noli me Tangere), Road to Emmaus, Supper at Emmaus, Doubting Thomas, The Ascension, and concludes with the Pentecost, or the Second Coming of Christ.

There are a number of elements in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* that make it unique, exceptional and a perfect study case. Among the peculiarities found in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the introduction of scenes that are unusual for the time period. There is also an independent use of iconography with no obvious connections to previous or contemporary examples, and there is an unfinished quality to a number of the illuminations. The exceptional quality of the Cycle presents a number of problems that need to be resolved.

## CHAPTER 2 ICONOGRAPHY

The iconography of the *Bible of Avila* contains a cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ narrated on three parchment folios (585 x 395 mm).<sup>23</sup> The three folios are illuminated on the recto and the verso and are ruled to create registers that are framed usually on the top, bottom, left and right with geometric borders and curvilinear patterns. Each register contains one or more scenes relating to the Life and the Passion of Christ. Some of the figures overlap or spill out of the frames. The drawn figures are filled in with tempera paint with reds, greens, light blues, blues, yellows and browns dominating the color range. Some figures have not been finished. All representations of the face of the devil and the faces of the hellish creatures have been subsequently scratched out. Finally, each illumination is accompanied by one or more inscriptions written in the Vulgate with a different calligraphic style to the script than in either the Italian or the Spanish sections of the Bible. The inscriptions are located in awkward places, such as the outside of the frame, or crowded together fitting the space between the figures, and thus they appear to have been added after the illuminations were completed. There is not a true parallelism between the written text and the image. Some of these inscriptions are descriptions of the

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<sup>23</sup> Very few scholars have done an iconographic analysis of the *Cycle of the Live and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. The article written by Maria Rodriguez Velasco, "Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," en *Actas del V Simposio Bíblico Español. La Biblia en el Arte y en la Literatura*, Valencia: Universidad de Navarra, 1999, is the only one known to me that has attempted to describe the iconography of the Cycle, her analysis is short and I believe it needs further explanation, especially in the dubious interpretation of one of the scenes.

event that is being depicted; others have been copied literally from the actual passages found in the *Bible of Avila*.

Folio CCCXXIII r is composed of three registers that depicts six scenes: Baptism of Christ, Wedding Feast at Cana, Presentation of Christ at the Temple, First Temptation of Christ, Second Temptation of Christ and the Third Temptation of Christ (Fig. 7).

The first register of folio CCCXXIII r contains two scenes. The register has only one decorative border on the bottom that functions as a ground line. The first scene on the register is the Baptism of Christ. This story was narrated in all of the Gospels (Matthew 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22; John 1:31-34), where we find the traditional iconography of John the Baptist submerging Christ in the River Jordan. Schiller identified two parts in the story of the Baptism of Christ. First, John the Baptist baptizes Jesus. Then a voice from heaven revealing Christ as the Son of God “came” as Jesus went up out of the water.<sup>24</sup> The act of baptism and the descent of the Holy Spirit are seen as two separate stories. The absence of several key elements, like the angels or the dove representing the Holy Spirit, suggest that the event being depicted in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* is only the act of baptism. John the Baptist is rendered as a mature man wearing a hair shirt. Beneath the garment, John the Baptist appears to be nude. Christ is depicted as a bearded mature man with long hair and a golden cross halo. He is nude and He stands over a whirlpool of water that symbolizes the Jordan River. The scene is identified with one inscription, *hic baptizat iohes ihm* (here John baptizes Christ), which is located over the head of John the Baptist. According to

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<sup>24</sup> Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art: Passion of Jesus Christ*, trans. Janet Seligman, vol. 2 Connecticut: NY Graphic Society, LTD, 1972, p. 127.

Joaquin Yarza Luaces, the *Bible of Avila* is the earliest manuscript in Castile and Leon in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries to include a scene of the Baptism of Christ.<sup>25</sup>

The second scene on the first register of folio CCCXXIII r is the Wedding Feast at Canaa (John 2:1-12). This was the first miracle accomplished by Christ at the beginning of His public life.<sup>26</sup> Jesus and the Virgin Mary were invited to a wedding in Canaa. When the supper was approaching the end, all the wine had been depleted. It was the Virgin Mary who saw this and said, “They have no wine.”<sup>27</sup> Then Jesus ordered the servants to refill six waterpots with water, and He transformed the water into wine.<sup>28</sup>

The Wedding Feast at Canaa includes a total of eight figures. The wedding couple and the guests, including the Virgin Mary and Christ, are located behind the banquet table, while the cupbearer is in front of the table. The table is tilted to show the objects that are placed on top of it: wine cups, knives and loafs of bread.<sup>29</sup> Behind the table we can see one guest right beside the bride and groom, who are in loving embrace; then there are two more guests, a woman and a man, contemplating the newly weds. The Virgin Mary and Christ are located to the right with their backs turned to the other guests. Christ is making the gesture of benediction over a goblet that a young boy holds. This is the

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<sup>25</sup> Joaquin Yarza Luaces, *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa de los Siglos XI y XII*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1973, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> Louis Reau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, Tome Second. “Iconographie de la Bible: Nouveau Testament (II),” Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957, p. 362-363.

<sup>27</sup> John 2:3.

<sup>28</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, 1957, p. 363.

<sup>29</sup> The shape of the bread and the marks over it appear to be similar to a type of bread called *candial* bread that is still being made in Spain today.

moment when He turns the water into wine. In this representation of the story, Christ does not perform the miracle with the thaumaturgical wand that was used in the early iconography of the miracle.<sup>30</sup> Instead, Christ uses the gesture of benediction. In front of the table there are six vases. These six vases found their way into the iconography of the wedding feast at Cana probably as a literal interpretation of the Gospel of John.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, these vases have also been identified as representing the six ages of man before the coming of Christ (Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Jacob, and John the Baptist), or as the six ages of life (infancy, childhood, adolescence, youth, adulthood, and old age).<sup>32</sup> The scene is accompanied by three sets of inscriptions. The first inscription, *Hic nuptie architriclini* (here the wedding of the cupbearer), is located over the guests and the bride and groom. The second inscription, *hic ihs conuertit aquam in vinum* (here Christ transforms the water into wine), is located above the Virgin Mary and Christ. Both inscriptions are written on top of the pencil rulings. The third inscription, *hic ydrie sex posite* (here he puts six water pots), is located at the right of the scene, next to the left leg of the cupbearer and it is written rather freehandedly. However, the inscriptions identified the scenes erroneously.<sup>33</sup> The first inscription points out that this was the wedding of Architriclinus, when in fact, the actual Latin word “architriclinus” means cupbearer. This

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<sup>30</sup> Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, p. 162.

<sup>31</sup> John 2:6 “And there were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins a piece.” So it seems that the six waterpots have more to do with the ceremonial rites of purification than with any metaphorical representation, as other scholars have suggested.

<sup>32</sup> Maria Rodriguez Velasco, “Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” 1999, p. 356.

<sup>33</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., “Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” 1999, p. 355.

error was due probably to a misinterpretation of the Gospel of John. This story, like that of the Baptism Christ, was not widely represented on the Peninsula. This is just one of two examples found in Spanish medieval manuscripts of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, and even the identification of the second example, in the Epulon in the Homilias of San Isidoro of Leon, is dubious.<sup>34</sup>

The second register of folio CCCXXIII r contains two scenes. Three borders frame both scenes: top, right and bottom. There is no border on the left, except for the pencil ruling used to divide the parchment. The first scene on the register is the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Luke 2:22-40). According to Law of Moses, tradition demanded that any child that was born ought to be purified and consecrated to the Lord at the temple, and the parents had to offer a couple of turtledoves as sacrifice for the ceremony.<sup>35</sup> At the time when Christ was to be presented at the temple, there was a man in Jerusalem called Simeon, who had been promised by the Holy Spirit that he would not die before he saw the Messiah. He went to the temple guided by the Holy Spirit, and when he saw Mary and Joseph holding Jesus, he took the baby in his arms and said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."<sup>36</sup> Then he spoke to Mary alluding to the death of Christ saying, "A sword would pierce thy own soul also."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 16-17.

<sup>35</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 261.

<sup>36</sup> Luke 2:29-30.

<sup>37</sup> Luke 2:35.

The Presentation of Christ in the Temple in folio CCCXXIII r is out of sequence and should have been the first scene in this cycle. This scene contains four figures. The first figure can be identified as Joseph who holds four turtledoves in his arms, which were required by the law of the Lord to be sacrificed in order for Jesus to be released from services in the Temple.<sup>38</sup> The next figure is the seated Virgin Mary, who from her lap, offers the Christ child to the waiting arms of Simeon. Christ has a cross halo and He points towards Simeon with a gesture of benediction.<sup>39</sup> Simeon takes the Christ child from His mother's arms with covered hands, holding the head of the child by the halo.<sup>40</sup> The raised altar is located behind Simeon as a reminder of the sacrifice that Jesus would make for all mankind. Two inscriptions identify this scene. The first inscription, *hic symeon offert puerum ihm in templum* (here Simeon offers the child Christ in the temple), is located above the scene, and underneath the border. The second inscription, *altare templi* (the altar of the temple), is located above the altar. In Castile and Leon there are several representations of this theme. The earliest one appears in the tenth century Antiphonary of Leon (Fol. 79).<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, p. 90.

<sup>39</sup> Joaquin Yarza Luaces, "La Virgen en la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa de los Siglos XI y XII," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, vol. 42, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1976, p. 25, mentions that only Christ wears a halo. This was done as a way to highlight His presence and to show a kind of egalitarianism between the remaining characters of the Gospels, including the Virgin Mary.

<sup>40</sup> Rodríguez Velasco, M., "Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, pp. 357. Rodríguez Velasco mentions that the hands of Simeon are covered as a symbol of respect.

<sup>41</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 17.

The second scene on the second register of folio CCCXXIII r and the next two scenes on the third register depict the Temptations of Christ as described in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 4:1-13). After the Baptism of Christ, Jesus was “led up of the spirit into the wilderness.”<sup>42</sup> After forty days of fasting Christ was tempted by the devil three times in three different places: in the wilderness, the mountain and on a pinnacle of the temple. In the First Temptation, the devil said to Christ that if he was truly the Son of God, he should command a stone to be made bread, but Christ answered to him, “. . . man shall not live by bread alone.”<sup>43</sup> In the Second Temptation, the devil took Christ into a high mountain and offered Christ all the kingdoms in the world if Christ would only worship him, but Christ refused. Finally, in the Third Temptation, the devil took Christ to Jerusalem and placed Him on the pinnacle of the temple, and said, “If you are the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence.”<sup>44</sup> Christ answered that he shall not tempt the Lord his God. After the devil left, angels came and ministered to Christ.

The next scene on the second register of folio CCCXXIII r depicts the First Temptation of Christ described in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 4:1-4).<sup>45</sup> In this scene, Christ is seated in a similar position to that of the Virgin on the previous scene. His right arm is raised with his index finger pointing at the words that are over his head, or at the devil himself. His left hand is positioned over his chest. Christ is shown as a bearded, mature

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<sup>42</sup> Luke 4:1.

<sup>43</sup> Luke 4:4.

<sup>44</sup> Luke 4:9.

<sup>45</sup> This is the order given by the Gospel of Luke, and this is the order that appears in the folios of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. The Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 4:1-11) also mentions the temptations but Matthew described them in a different order.



man with a cross halo. There are four floating disembodied rocks in front of Christ. The devil hovers over a leafless dry tree that indicates that the setting of the scene is the desert or in the wilderness. The devil is depicted with brown horns; his feet and hands have white claws. The devil is blue, an indication of darkness, or the absence of light. The devil points at the rocks and urges Christ to transform them into bread. The scene is identified by an inscription, *hic temptat diabol ihm dicens: Dic ut lapides isti pane fiant* (here the devil tempts Christ saying: Speak so that these stones may be made bread), which fills the space between Christ and the devil.<sup>46</sup> The imagery of the devil frequently appears in the Peninsula. It appears in almost every Beatus, with similar characteristics. This image of the devil is very traditional and it is found widely in the manuscripts of Castile during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>47</sup>

The third and last register of folio CCCXXIII r completes the Temptations of Christ. Just like the second register, this one has three decorative borders, on the top, bottom and right. There is no border on the left. The register contains two scenes. The first scene is the Second Temptation of Christ as described by the sequence of the Gospel of Luke (Luke 4:5-8). The standing figure of Christ is that of a mature man with a cross halo. His left hand points at the devil, while His right hand, with an open palm, faces outward. The devil is perching on a geometric rock that symbolizes the mountain from where he showed Christ “all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time.”<sup>48</sup> Unlike

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<sup>46</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., “La Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” 1999, p. 357, mentions that even though the artist has followed the account given by the Gospel of Luke, the inscriptions are quoting the passage from Gospel of Matthew as it appears in the folio CCCXXX v in the *Bible of Avila*.

<sup>47</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, p. 143.

other figures of the devil, this figure is clothed and holds a red mantle to the length of the arm that falls on to the top of the mountain. There is one inscription, *iterum temptat diabolus ihm sup monte excelsum dicens:hec omnia tibi dabo si cadens adoraueris me* (again the devil tempts Christ over the highest mountain saying: I will give you all this if you shall fall and adore me), located over the head of Christ and it occupies the space between the head of Christ and the devil. The temptations of Christ were not as uncommon as other scenes in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>49</sup>

The second scene refers to the Third Temptation of Christ as described again by the Gospel of Luke (Luke 4:9-13). A nude devil points towards Christ with his right hand, and towards the temple with his left hand. Christ is being carried over the pinnacle of a temple by two angels. Christ looks at the devil, and his right hand is open with the palm facing outward. The scene seems to be the conflation of two different moments in the last temptation: the actual temptation and the end of the story, when angels came and ministered to Jesus immediately after the devil has left. Here we see how the angels take Jesus from the presence of the devil in a triumphal way. There are two inscriptions identifying this scene. The first inscription, *Iterum assumpsit diabolus ihm sup pinaclm templi dicens si filius dei es mitte te deorsum* (again, the devil ascends with Christ over the pinnacle of the temple saying if you are the Son of God, throw yourself down), is located above the head of the devil. The second inscription, *Te angli ministrabant ei sup pinaclm templi* (The angels were ministering you on behalf of Him, over the pinnacle of the temple), is located between the right hand of the devil, the temple and Christ.

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<sup>49</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 29-30.

Folio CCCXXIII v is divided into three ruled registers, each one containing one single scene. The registers are framed by a decorative border on the top, left, right and bottom. The first register depicts the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem; the second register depicts the Last Supper; and finally, the third register depicts the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples (Fig. 8).

The first register depicts the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem (Matthew 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-10; Luke 19:29-40; John 12:12-19). Christ descended from the Mount of Olives riding a white ass, and escorted by the Apostles who go on foot.<sup>50</sup> As Christ enters to Jerusalem, the people recognized Him as the Lord's Anointed, and they cheer Him. John mentioned that as Christ passed by, the people threw branches of palm at His feet and they also spread garments in His way.<sup>51</sup>

The Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem begins on the left with five figures overlapping one another, and carrying tree branches with leaves. Then comes Christ riding a sky blue ass. Christ wears a cross halo and a dark blue tunic. Both of His hands are raised with the gesture of speech. At the feet of Christ there is a baby colt of the same color as its mother.<sup>52</sup> Two men perching over a tree are throwing branches of palm at Christ's feet. At the right is the city of Jerusalem depicted with two towers, crenellations, and an arched entrance. A figure inside the tower holds one branch of palm in his left

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<sup>50</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 398, mentions that the fact that the donkey was white was a symbol of triumph.

<sup>51</sup> Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, p. 18, mentions that the branches of palm were symbols of victory as well as of peace in antiquity, and that the gesture of spreading garments was a way to honor the anointed king.

<sup>52</sup> This follows the account of the Gospel of Matthew 21:2, "Saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me."

hand while he throws a red mantle with his right hand. Underneath this figure are six people coming out of the gates of Jerusalem. The foremost figure is unfinished and he throws a blue garment onto the ground so that Christ could walk over it. There are four sets of inscriptions identifying the scene. The first inscription, *hic uenit ihs in ihrlm super asinam et pullum* (here Christ comes into Jerusalem on an ass and colt), is located right above the head of Christ. The second inscription, *hic exeunt pueri ebreort cum ramis palmarum obuiam Christo* (here the boys clearly coming out with branches of palm to meet Christ), is located between the tree and the city. The third inscription reads, *hic rami palmarum et uestimenta sternuntur* (here branches of palm and garments are extended), is located between the falling branches and the branches held by the man in the tower. The fourth and last inscription, *ciuitas ihrlm* (the city of Jerusalem), is located above the city. As Yarza Luaces points out, there are not many examples of the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem in Spanish manuscript illumination of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. It only appears in this bible, and in the *Missale Vetus Oxomense* (fol. 23 v) in the interior of a small O.<sup>53</sup>

The second register of folio CCCXXIII v depicts the Last Supper (Matthew 26:17-26; Mark 14:12-22; Luke 22:7-14; John 13:21-30). The farewell supper that Christ shared with his disciples is part of the Passion that started with the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. During the Last Supper Christ told His disciples that his time of death was near, and that it would be one of them who would betray Him. When the Apostles heard this they were sorrowful and they began to ask Christ who it would be, to which Christ

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<sup>53</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 30.

answered, “He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it.”<sup>54</sup> A moment later He gave it to Judas Iscariote who took the dipped bread into his mouth. According to Reau, the Last Supper had two aspects to it that were very different from one another: the Last Supper was at the same time a commemoration of the actual event that took place, and it was also a symbol of the institution of the Eucharist.<sup>55</sup>

A border on the right, top and left, frames the second register on folio CCCXXIII v. Eleven apostles and Christ are seated at the far side of a table that is set with cups of fish and loafs of unleavened bread. From left to right, there are four apostles looking and gesturing towards Christ. The first apostle is an elderly bearded man with gray hair and he is partly bald on the top.<sup>56</sup> He has a golden halo with radiating light that overlaps the frame above him. The next apostle is a mature man with brown hair and beard. His halo is green with red radiant light and it also overlaps the frame. The third apostle is younger and has brown hair and his golden halo goes underneath the frame. The fourth apostle is an elderly man with silvery hair and a long beard. He is also the only figure that seems to notice the thievery of the fish by Judas since he is pointing directly at this action.<sup>57</sup> Christ is the largest figure and is located at the center of the scene. He is depicted as a mature

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<sup>54</sup> John 13: 26.

<sup>55</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, 1957, p. 409-417.

<sup>56</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., “Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” 1999, p. 358-359, identifies this figure as Paul, since he is bald and has a pointed beard. The insertion of Paul in the Last Supper in this scene might seem to be out of place, but according to Rodriguez Velasco this is not the case since it has an iconographical counterpart in the mural painting in the church of San Justo in Segovia. Since the figure of Peter, the Apostles of the Jews, is already present in the Last Supper, it is possible that the artist added the figure of Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, to emphasize the idea of the Universal Church established by Christ.

<sup>57</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, 1957, p. 414.

man and has a golden cross halo with radiating light. The apostle John is reclined over the heart of Christ, as if sleeping. John is very small and he does not have a halo. Christ embraces John with His right hand, while with His left hand Christ gives a piece of bread to Judas, who is kneeling at the other side of the table in an awkward position. Judas does not have a halo. There are six more apostles to the right. All of them have golden halos with radiating light, and all of them have individualized characteristics just like the other apostles already described. There is one inscription identifying the scene. The inscription, *hic est cena dni et discipuli eius duodecim* (here is the supper of the Lord and His twelve disciples), is located inside the decorative border accompanying the scene. After careful examination it appears that the original decoration of the frame has been scraped off to allow for the insertion of the inscription. In the tradition of Spanish illumination of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century, this scene is the most complex and complete in Castile and Leon. There are not many examples of the Last Supper in the miniatures of the time. There is one depiction of the consecration of the wine and bread in an illuminated initial of the Sermons of Saint Martino of Leon.<sup>58</sup> Another example of the actual dinner in the same manuscript can be found in an initial D (I, second part, fol. 110v).<sup>59</sup>

The last register of folio CCCXXIII v depicts the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples (John 13:1-20). John is the only Evangelist to mention this event. In the Orient it was customary to wash the feet of the guests before supper.<sup>60</sup> Slaves usually performed the washing of the feet, but if the host was to perform this courtesy to his guests, it meant

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<sup>58</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., "La Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa," 1973, p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Schiller, g., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, pp. 40-41.

that he wished to show special respect.<sup>61</sup> When Christ began to wash Peter's feet, Peter complained saying that it was not the place of the master to lower himself. But Christ told him, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me."<sup>62</sup> By washing the feet of His Disciples, Christ was trying to teach them a lesson of brotherly love and humility.<sup>63</sup>

The third register of folio CCCXXIII v is framed by three decorative borders—right, bottom, and left—and by the edge of the room above their heads. The Washing of the Feet of the Disciples appears out of chronological sequence.<sup>64</sup> From left to right is an Apostle who stands over the frame and he is leaning towards Christ. Then comes Christ, who is the only figure in this scene who has a halo. He seems to be kneeling over the frame and He holds Peter's left foot by the ankle over a basin. With His right hand, Christ points towards the seated figure of Peter. Behind Peter are three more seated apostles and seven standing apostles. All of them are leaning towards Christ and the ritual that He is performing on Peter and that soon enough would be performed on all of them. The inscription identifying the scene, *hic surgit dns a cena et discipuli eius posuitque uestimenta sua et lauit pedes eorum, uenit g ad symonem petrum et dicit ei petrus: Dne tu m lauas pdes. Nom lauabis m pedes in eternum. Respondit ei his: Si non lauero te non habebis partem mecum* (here the Lord arises away from the supper and His disciples, and he puts his garments, and he washes their feet, he comes to Simeon Peter and Peter says

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> John 13: 8.

<sup>63</sup> Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, pp. 40-41.

<sup>64</sup> If we take in consideration the fact that the washing of the feet took place before the Last Supper, and that in John 13:1-20 Christ washes the feet before the announcement of the betrayer and the consecration of the bread and wine, it is possible to infer that this scene is out of chronological order.

to him: Master, you are going to wash my feet? You would not wash my feet ever. Christ answers to him: If I do not wash (your feet), you will not have part with me), is located above Christ with the last two words located above Christ's right arm. According to Yarza Luaces, this iconography is unique to the *Bible of Avila* and is not found in other manuscripts in the kingdom of Castile and Leon during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>65</sup>

The next folio in the series, folio CCCXXIII r, is divided into three registers framed by a border with different decorative patterns. The first register depicts the Kiss of Judas; the second register depicts the Crucifixion of Christ; and finally, the third register depicts the Deposition of Christ (Fig. 9).

The first register depicts the Kiss of Judas and the Seizure of Christ (Matthew 26:47-56; Mark 14:13-53; Luke 22:47-53; John 18:1-11). This narrative is a complex one, since there is more than one episode to the story. The first episode has to do with the kiss that would identify Christ as the man sought by the Temple Guard that Judas, the Betrayer, administers. The second episode in the story is the seizure of Christ. The third episode recounts how Peter, trying to protect Christ, cuts off Malchus' ear, which Christ then healed. And finally, the last episode in the narrative is Christ being led away by the guards, and the disciples fleeing.

The Kiss of Judas in folio CCCXXIII r actually shows the conflation of some of the different events in the narrative. Peter cutting off Malchus' ear appears first at the left. Peter pulls back the head of Malchus making Malchus' ear more available to his sword. Malchus is kneeling, and he seems to be pushing his body away from Peter, but with no success. These two figures overlap one of the temple guards who has a club in his hand

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<sup>65</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 30-31.



and hurries to take part in the arrest of Christ. Then there are three more guards carrying different weapons looking and gesturing towards Christ. Some of the guards are struggling to seize the right arm of Christ while two Apostles seize Christ's left arm and pull Him in the opposite direction.<sup>66</sup> This creates tension and drama and enriches the iconography of the event. In the center of the scene, two more guards seize Christ by holding onto his elongated right arm. Towards the right, Judas is embracing a monumental Christ from behind, sealing Christ's fate with the kiss.<sup>67</sup> There are three inscriptions identifying this scene. The first inscription is unclear, *marco?*, and is located on the left, outside the frame, at the level of Peter's head. The second inscription, *hic abscidit petrus auriculam malco* (here Peter cuts the ear of Malchus), is located above Peter's head, inside the frame. The last inscription, *hic tradit iudas ihm osculo* (here Judas betrays Christ with a kiss), is located over the frame above Christ. Once again, the *Bible of Avila* is the only manuscript mentioned by Yarza Luaces where the iconography of the

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<sup>66</sup> The figures of the Apostles can be identified as such since for the most part the artist depicts them barefoot. The second Apostle, the one further away from Christ on right, has shoes, but because of its proximity to the other Apostle and the direction of his body, completely aligned with the barefoot Apostle, leads me to believe that this is also an Apostle.

<sup>67</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31, stated: "La figura de Cristo es gigantesca. Tanto como para marcar la jerarquía como tal vez para recordar alguna tradición o creencia como la de la visión de santa Brigida de Suecia, que hablando con la Virgen recibió de ella esta pintoresca comunicación: "Mi hijo, al aproximarse el traidor se inclinó hacia él, porque Judas era de pequeña estatura." However, the possibility that the size of Christ had something to do with the vision of St. Birgitta of Sweden in this cycle is very unlikely, since the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* was created before the time when Birgitta of Sweden (ca. 1303-1373) had her visions.

Kiss of Judas appears in the illuminations of Castile and Leon during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>68</sup>

The second register of folio CCCXXIII r depicts the Crucifixion of Christ (Matthew 27:32-44; Mark 15:21-39; Luke 23:33-46; John 19:16-30). This is the best-established fact of the life of Christ and also one of the most depicted. The essential episodes and those that are common to all four Gospels are these: Christ is crucified between two thieves who had also been condemned. The inscription “Jesus of Nazareth, King of Jews” is fastened to the cross. The soldiers entrusted with the execution divide Christ’s clothes and cast lots for them. All the Synoptic Gospels record that after Christ was dead, the soldiers’ leader, the centurion Longinus, acknowledged Christ’s divinity with the words: “Truly this was the Son of God.”<sup>69</sup> Women from Galilee who had followed Christ stood by the Cross. The Gospel of John names “three Maries”: Christ’s mother, Mary her sister and Mary Magdalene; it also names Christ’s favorite disciple, John the Apostle. Christ spoke seven times when he was on the cross, and his words were collected separately in the four Gospels. At one point he said that he was thirsty and a soldier put a sponge steeped in vinegar into his mouth. John relates that the soldiers then came to break the legs of the crucified men, but Christ was already dead. Nevertheless a soldier pierced His side with a spear and blood and water ran from the wound. The synoptic gospels further describe how those beneath the cross reviled Him and the high priests mocked Him. As Christ died there was an eclipse of the sun and an earthquake. The dead rose from their graves. The Acts of Pilate adds that Christ was given a loincloth

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<sup>68</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31.

<sup>69</sup> Matthew 27:54.

before he was crucified and the Crown of Thorns was placed on his head. And a few of the characters are named: the repentant thief is called Dysmas and the other Gestas. It is still a mystery when the soldier who handed Christ the sponge came to be known as Stephanon.<sup>70</sup>

There are a number of these elements in the second register of folio CCCXXIII r. Christ is presented crucified on a Latin cross with a rhomboidal top.<sup>71</sup> Christ is not centered, but is placed slightly to the right, directly below the Christ in the Kiss of Judas in the first register. His head is slightly tilted to His right. His eyes are closed and He has a cross halo but there is no Crown of Thorns. A blue-red loincloth covers his body. There is no blood flowing from his hands or his feet since there is no indication of the nails that attached him to the cross. Christ is flanked by two soldiers: to His right is Longinus who pierces the side of Christ, and to His left is Stefanon, who holds a stick with the vinegar sponge. Next to Longinus stands the Virgin Mary tilted towards Christ. The Virgin makes a gesture with her hands, which are open in front of her showing us her palms. This position is reminiscent of the Orant figure in Early Christian art. In the opposite side, next to Stefanon, we find the Apostle John in the same position. At either side of them are the crucified figures of the two thieves on Tau crosses.<sup>72</sup> At the base of the crosses of the thieves there are soldiers with clubs, preparing to break the legs of the thieves. There is one inscription identifying this scene, and five more identifying the characters. The first

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<sup>70</sup> Schiller, G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1972, pp. 88-89.

<sup>71</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31, mentions that the iconographical formula used in Castile and Leon for the image of the Crucifixion is the Syrian formula.

<sup>72</sup> Joaquin Yarza Luaces, "Iconografía de la Crucifixion en la Miniatura Española. Siglos X al XII," *Archivo Español de Arte*, n. 185, 1974, p. 30.

inscription reads *Latro iohatras* (the thief Iohatras) and it is located on the top right corner above the first thief.<sup>73</sup> The next inscription is *Maria* and is located to the right side of the head of the Virgin Mary. In the same position but next to Longinus we find the inscription *Longi*. The next inscription, *hic crucifixus dns*, (here the Lord was crucified), is located above the cross where Christ has been crucified. The next inscription *Johs* is located on the right side of the head of John the Apostle. Finally, the last inscription, *camatras latro* (the thief Camatras), is located on the top left of the register above the head of the second thief.<sup>74</sup> The Crucifixion is, as already mentioned, one of the most widely represented episodes of the Life of Christ. According to Yarza Luaces this scene has been depicted in the Beatus of Gerona, *Missale Vetus Oxomense* (fol. 42v), Misal of San Facundo de Sahagun, Beato of San Millan de la Cogolla, and the Misal of the Academy of History (ms. 35) during the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>75</sup>

The third register on folio CCCXXIII r depicts the pairing of the Deposition (Luke 23:53; John 19:38-41) and the Suicide of Judas (Matthew 27:3-10). The Evangelists only briefly narrated the Deposition from the Cross since it was not considered to be important for the liturgy.<sup>76</sup> The Gospels narrate how Joseph of Arimathea, who had previously asked permission from Pontius Pilate to bury the body of

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<sup>73</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 360, mentions that the names of the thieves do not correspond to the traditional names of Dysmas and Gestas.

<sup>74</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 360-361, claims that Stefanon is the only figure that is not identified by an inscription due to his unpopular character during the Middle Ages. She claims that he has been considered to be a symbol of the Jews.

<sup>75</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31.

<sup>76</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'art Chretiene*, 1957, p. 513.

Christ, removed the body of Jesus from the cross with the help of Nicodemus. Since the Virgin Mary and St. John were present during the Crucifixion, one can infer that they were still present when the body of Christ was deposited from the cross.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, the suicide of Judas was a very popular theme. Matthew narrated that after Judas betrayed Christ, Judas felt such remorse that he went back to the temple to return the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders. He then went to the nearest tree and hanged himself. The pairing of these two episodes is not a very common one.<sup>78</sup>

In the third register of folio CCCXXVIII r, the deposition of Christ is also placed slightly to the right of center, and is hence aligned with the images of Christ in the Crucifixion and in the Kiss of Judas in the middle and upper registers. Christ has a cross halo and his eyes are closed. Joseph, who is standing on a stool on Christ's right, holds the dead body of Christ, while at his side the Virgin Mary gently hugs the lifeless arm of her son. There is still no indication of nail wounds, or the spear wound, and there is no indication of blood.<sup>79</sup> On Christ's left, John the Apostle leans towards Christ, and behind John, Nicodemus uses tongs to remove the nail from Christ's left hand. One inscription identifies the scene, and three inscriptions also identify the people in this episode. The first inscription, *hic deponunt ihm de cruce* (here they depose Him from the cross), is located above the cross. The next inscription, *Maria Joseph*, is located towards the right

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> The earliest example comes from an ivory panel depicting the Crucifixion and the suicide of Judas from Rome or southern Gaul from 420-430. This piece is currently located in the British Museum, London. See F.W. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, London, 1961, Plate 98.

<sup>79</sup> As with the Crucifixion of Christ there is no indication that the hands or feet of Christ have been nailed to the Cross, the nails are lacking—with the exception of the single nail on Christ's left hand.

top of Mary's head and underneath the arm of the cross. The next inscription, *Johs*, is between the body of Christ and the head of St. John. The last inscription, *Nicodem*, is located above the head of Nicodemus.

On the far left of the register, there is a leafless tree from which the dead body of Judas hangs.<sup>80</sup> The inscription, *iudas laqueo se suspendit* (Judas hangs himself with a noose), is located between the top branch of the tree and the body of Judas. According to Yarza Luaces, the *Bible of Avila* offers the only example of the Deposition of Christ in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, he does not mention the episode of the Suicide of Judas at all.

Folio CCCXXIII v is divided into three registers. Each register is framed with a decorative border with different geometric patterns. The first two registers contain one single scene each. The third register contains two scenes that are separated by a decorative frame. In the first register we have the Three Maries at the Sepulchre; in the second register we have the Anastasis or Harrowing of Hell; and in the last register we have the Noli me Tangere, and the Pilgrims of Emmaus (Fig. 10).

The first register on folio CCCXXIII v depicts the Three Maries at the Sepulchre (Matthew 28:1-10; Mark 16:1-8; Luke 24:1-11; John 20:1-18). In this episode the Virgin Mary, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, took ointments to care for the body of Jesus. When they arrived at the tomb they found that the stone had been removed from the door of the sepulchre and that the body of Jesus was gone. Seated over the place

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<sup>80</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 460, states that the Suicide of Judas became more popular towards the end of the Middle Ages because of the influence of the Theater of the Mysteries.

<sup>81</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31.

where the body of Jesus had been, there were two men in dazzling clothes. One of them spoke and told the women: “Do not be afraid; I know that you are looking for Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for he has been raised, as he said...”<sup>82</sup> According to Reau, up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Visitation of the Three Maries to the Sepulchre was used as an indirect allusion to the Resurrection of Christ.<sup>83</sup> Another element that needs further discussion is the presence of the soldiers in front of the Sepulchre. The soldiers are ignored by every Evangelist, except Matthew who wrote: “for fear of him (an angel) the guards shook and became like dead men.”<sup>84</sup> The introduction of the guards into the legend and the iconography of the Three Maries at the Tomb has an apologetic function. Their presence was used to refute the accusation made by the Jews who insinuated that the cadaver of Christ had been removed from the tomb by His disciples in secrecy.<sup>85</sup>

In the first register of folio CCCXXIII v, the three Maries are approaching the sepulchre carrying ointment jars. All of them point in amazement at the entrance of the sepulchre. Instead of a cave, the sepulchre is identified by two turrets and three horseshoe arches. Underneath the first arch there are four Roman soldiers, who wear conical helmets and are holding swords and shields in their hands. According to Rodriguez Velasco, the uniform and the weapons used by the soldiers are anachronistic. The uniform is not that of a Roman Legionary, but that of the men-at-arms of the Crusades.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Matthew 28:5.

<sup>83</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, pp. 540-542.

<sup>84</sup> Matthew 28:4.

<sup>85</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 549.

<sup>86</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., “Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila,” 1999, pp. 362.

Three of them are standing up, but one of them is lying on the ground. They appear to be sleeping, their eyes closed. Underneath the second arch there is an angel with crossed-legs seated over the tomb where the head of Christ should have been. He holds the cross of the Resurrection in his right hand and he points towards the second angel with his left.<sup>87</sup> Hanging from the central arch, there are two incense burners with little red flames coming out of them. The second angel is located underneath the third arch, seated over the tomb where the feet of Christ should have been. He also holds the cross of the Resurrection and he points towards the empty tomb. Both angels are represented with bare feet as a symbol of beatitud.<sup>88</sup> Four inscriptions identify this scene. The first inscription, *hic tres marie ueniunt uidere sepulcru* (here three Maries come to see the sepulchre), is located above the heads of the three Maries. The second inscription, *custodientes sepulcru* (The custodians of the sepulchre), is located over the heads of the sleeping soldiers. The third inscription, *angls ad capud* (angels near to the head), is located between the first angle and the first incense burner. The fourth inscription, *angls ad pedes* (angels near to the feet), is located between the cord from the second incense burner and the second angel. According to Yarza Luaces this episode was widely reproduced as a substitute for the Resurrection, which was not depicted until the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, pp. 361-362.

<sup>88</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 362.

<sup>89</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 31-32. Yarza Luaces also mentions that the Three Maries at the Tomb could also be found in the Antiphonary of Leon (Fol. 187), and a Lectionary of Silos, currently in Paris.



The second register of folio CCCXXIII v depicts the Anastasis or Harrowing of Hell, an episode of the Passion of Christ narrated in the Gospel of Nicomedus (Acts of Pilate, Part 2) in the Apocrypha.<sup>90</sup> The episode is presented as the otherworldly vision of Karinus and Leucius, who were resurrected on the day of Christ's death, when their tombs were opened. In their vision, Christ descended upon the edge of Hell, or Limbo and shouted, "Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in." Hell sent forward Satan who was overcome by Christ and sent back to Hell.<sup>91</sup> Then the Gates of Hell flew open, and Christ stretching out his hand said, "Come unto me, all ye my saints which bear mine image and my likeness. Ye that by the tree and the devil and death were condemned, behold now the devil and death condemned by the tree. And forthwith all the saints were gathered in one under the hand of the Lord. And the Lord holding the right hand of Adam, said unto him, "Peace be unto thee with all thy children that are my righteous ones."<sup>92</sup> With these words Christ delivered Adam and the Just from Hell. According to Reau, this legend appeared for the first time in the Gospel of Nicodemus, and then it spread out in the West through the writings of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum*, and Jacques de Voragine's the *Golden Legend*.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> A. Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apocrifos*, Madrid, 1956, Actas de Pilato, pp. 449-465.

<sup>91</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, p. 531, "Par Limbes, il faut entendre non l'Enfer, proprement dit, mais le bord, la lisiere de l'Enfer, sorte de "Marche" intermediaire entre l'Enfer et le Paradis ou attendent les Justes non baptizes."

<sup>92</sup> Santos Otero, A., *Los Evangelios Apocrifos*, 1956, Acts of Pilate, p. 462.

<sup>93</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, 1957, p. 532.

In the second register of folio CCCXXIII v, Christ, His head framed by a cross halo, is presented wrapped in a red and blue garment that flows behind Him.<sup>94</sup> He is located on the left of the register grasping Adam's right arm with His left hand while He holds the cross of the Resurrection in His right hand. Adam and the Old Testament prophets emerge completely nude from the fauces of a terrifying Leviathan,<sup>95</sup> or the Mouth of Hell.<sup>96</sup> Serpentine tongues of fire wrap the bodies of the Prophets pulling them back, while a number of dark devils are trying to restrain the rest of the figures and send them back to hell through the mouth of the Leviathan. The face of the leviathan occupies the right side of the register. Out from its red eyes flow tears of fire. One inscription identifies this scene. The inscription, *hic dns frang portas inferni* (here the Lord breaks in pieces the gate of hell), is located outside the frame, on top of the cross of the Resurrection that Christ holds.<sup>97</sup> According to Yarza Luaces, the *Bible of Avila* represents the traditional Castilian interpretation of the Harrowing of Hell, with the 12<sup>th</sup> century formula of Christ opening the fauces of the leviathan and pulling the Just from Hell. This

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<sup>94</sup> This is the first and only instance in which the background of a scene has been painted with an intense red. According to Rodriguez Velasco, "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento de la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 362, the red is employed as a reminder of the most horrible punishment that Hell had to offer: fire.

<sup>95</sup> Just as Jonah emerged from the Leviathan after three days. (Jonah 2:1-11).

<sup>96</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, pp. 362-263.

<sup>97</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," p. 362, mentions that even though the inscription points to the destruction of the Gates of Hell (*portas inferni*), the illumination does not depict them.

theme had already been represented in the Beatus of Gerona (975), and it was considered to be surprisingly original and independent from Byzantine sources.<sup>98</sup>

The third register of folio CCCXXIII v is divided into two vignettes representing two different themes: the Noli me Tangere, and the Pilgrims of Emmaus. The first scene on the left is the Noli me Tangere (Mark 16:9-11; John 20:11-18). As Mary Magdalene lay weeping outside the empty tomb of Christ, Jesus came to her and asked her why was she crying. Mary Magdalene did not recognize Him, and she confused Him with a gardener, but when she realized who He was she set forth to touch Him.<sup>99</sup> Then Christ told her: “Do not hold unto me, because I have not yet ascended to the Father.”

According to Reau, there is a contradiction in this statement, since later on He allows the Holy Women and Saint Thomas to touch Him. Reau explains the discrepancy by alluding to a mistranslation of the Greek Bible. The Greek text was *Me aptou mou*, and it was wrongly translated into Latin as Noli me Tangere. The Greek verb *apto*, indicates a prolonged contact, and it should have been understood not as “Do not touch me!” but as “Do not adhere to me!”<sup>100</sup> This episode is the first one in a series of appearances of Christ. Reau argues that the introduction of the appearances of Christ was apologetic, and they were used as a way to reiterate the reality of the Resurrection of Christ. Besides the story of His life, the appearances are the best proof of the divinity of Jesus Christ.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>99</sup> Mary Magdalene only confuses Christ with a gardener in the Gospel according to John. Mark does not mention anything about mistaken identities, just the fact that she did not recognize Him.

<sup>100</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, pp. 556-557.

<sup>101</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 551.

In the third register of folio CCCXXIII v, inside the first vignette, Christ is depicted standing on the left wearing a red tunic, and a dark blue and light blue mantle, and He has a cross halo. He holds on his left hand a small ax, while He seems to reproach Mary Magdalene with his right. Mary Magdalene wears red and blue attire as well, and she is in a proskinesis attitude, holding unto the foot of Christ as if ready to kiss it. Floating over her is the conceptualized image of a garden. Two inscriptions identify this scene. The first inscription, *hic dns apparuit pmo marie Magdalene in orto* (here the Lord appears first to Mary Magdalene in the garden), is located above the small ax and the garden. The second inscription, *Tunc maria putabat eum ortolanum ee, conuersa illa adorauit eum* (then Maria was thinking that He was a gardener, but having turned around she adored him), is located between Mary Magdalene and the garden. According to Yarza Luaces, the iconography of the *Bible of Avila* on this theme is rather extraordinary and unique, since Christ was not to be represented as a gardener again until the beginnings of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Another example of the Noli me Tangere can be found in the Homilies of San Isidoro of Leon that is dated by Yarza Luaces to the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>102</sup>

The second vignette on the third register of folio CCCXXIII v represents the Pilgrims of Emmaus (Luke 24, 13-29). In this episode, two Disciples of Christ's were going to a village called Emmaus on the same day of the Resurrection, and while they were talking to each other about the things that had happened in Jerusalem, Jesus came near and went with them. The two men did not recognized Him and thought that He was yet another pilgrim. Christ asks them what they were talking about, and one of them answered, "Are you the only stranger in Jerusalem who does not know the things that

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<sup>102</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

have taken place there in these days?” To which Christ answered, “What things?” And they replied, “The things about Jesus of Nazareth.” They talked to each other until they reached Emmaus, where the disciples invited Him to dine with them.

The second vignette of folio CCCXXIII v depicts Christ on the right wearing the clothes made out of horse’s hair, characteristic of a pilgrim, a leather bag hanging across his chest, and wooden pole where a pilgrim’s bell hangs.<sup>103</sup> The leather bag carries an equal-armed cross, which is identified as the cross of the Crusaders, and it may identify the scene with Jerusalem.<sup>104</sup> He has been represented with unrecognizable facial features, with a longer beard, but He still has the cross halo framing His head. On the left of the vignette there are the two disciples. The one closer to Christ is shorter and he has a beard. He wears a red tunic, and a blue mantle. Behind him, stands the other disciple, who looks younger without a beard, and he wears a red and blue tunic, and a brownish mantle. By the position of their hands, they seem to be inquiring. But Christ arm is extended as if ready to touch something, His eyes looking forward. Christ does not acknowledge the presence of the disciples. One inscription identifies this scene. The inscription, *hic dns apparuit duobus discipulis euntibus in emaus in figura peregrini* (here the Lord appears to two disciples going into Emmaus in the figure of a stranger), is located above the heads of the disciples and between the left frame, and the halo of Christ. According to Yarza

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<sup>103</sup> Reau, L., *L’Iconographie de l’Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 562, mentions that “l’aspect du Christ est d’un pelerin vetu d’un sayon de poils de chevre, avec le bourdon et la pannetiere: c’est l’origine des representations du Christ pelegrin.”

<sup>104</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, Ed. John P. O’Neill. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, p. 251. John W. Williams mentions that the floral terminations of the cross do not belong to the traditional cross of the Crusaders.

Luaces, this is the only example of the Disciples at Emmaus found in the illuminated manuscripts in Castile and Leon from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>105</sup>

Folio CCCXXV r is divided into three registers. Each register is framed by a decorative border with different geometric patterns. The three registers continue the Biblical narrative in a chronological sequence containing one scene in each register. The first register represents Supper at Emmaus; the second register depicts the Doubting Thomas; and the third register concludes with the Ascension (Fig. 11).

The first register of folio CCCXXV r depicts Supper at Emmaus (Luke 24: 30-32). When the two Apostles and Christ reached Emmaus, night was upon the travelers and the two Apostles invited Christ to dine with them. When they were ready to eat, Christ took the bread, blessed it, and gave it to them. Then the Apostles recognized Him, and Christ disappeared. This was one of the most represented passages of the apparitions of Christ, and it still has a very strong apologetic character. The purpose of this story is once more to remind His disciples that Christ was not a ghost: He was resurrected in flesh and bones, since He was able to cut the bread and give it to the Apostles.<sup>106</sup>

The first register of folio CCCXXV r depicts the moment when Christ gave the bread to the Apostles and they recognized Him for who He was. Christ is at the center of the composition flanked by the two Apostles. In this scene, Christ does not look like a pilgrim. He has long hair and a long beard. He also has a cross halo and He wears a red and blue tunic and a red mantle. Christ is looking to His right, His eyes making eye contact with the Apostle, as He hands a piece of bread to each one of them. The two

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<sup>105</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>106</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, pp. 563-564.

Apostles wear similar garments, a red tunic and a blue mantle. Both Apostles have halos, and they are making the same type of gesture of surprise, but with opposite hands. The Apostle on the left has long hair and a long beard, unlike the Apostle on the right who is beardless, and has short hair. The three figures are placed behind a table with a diamond shape pattern, and falling drapery. On top of the table there are a number of items that are reminiscent of the Last Supper: four breads with cruciform shapes drawn in their interior, a knife, and two stem cups. The crosses make obvious reference to the Resurrection of Christ. One inscription identifies this scene. The inscription, *Sedet dns ad cenam emaus cum duous discipulis iohe et cleophas* (the Lord sits to dine in Emmaus with the two disciples John and Cleophas), is located above the border, over the heads of Christ and the two Apostles, John and Cleophas. According to Yarza Luaces, this scene is unique to the *Bible of Avila*. There are no other representations of Supper at Emmaus in the manuscripts of Castile and Leon from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>107</sup>

The second register of folio CCCXXV r depicts the Doubting Thomas (John 20:26-31). In a previous passage (John 20:19-25), Thomas said to the other Apostles that he would not believe in the Resurrection of Christ until he could see the wounds of the nails in His hands and place his hand into the wound in His side. Consequently, after eight days, when the twelve Apostles were reunited—Thomas among them—and Christ appeared to them, He told Thomas to reach his finger into His nail wounds, and to reach his hand into His side. He then told him to believe and not be faithless. Thomas then recognized his error, and Christ said, “Thomas, because you have seen me, you have believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.” The importance of

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<sup>107</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

this appearance of Christ resides in that this is the first appearance that occurred after eight days since Christ's Resurrection.<sup>108</sup> According to Reau, this event supports the belief that Christ was tangible and corporeal after the Resurrection, and that the only thing that was different between His life and the "post-mortem" life is that the second was brief since He had to ascend to the Father.<sup>109</sup>

The second register of folio CCCXXV r, depicts the moment when Thomas introduces his finger into the side wound of Christ. A large figure of Christ is depicted to the right of center and He leans toward the left, with His bare chest and right arm overextended, and His head tilted towards it. He wears a cross halo and two thirds of His body is covered by a red, yellow and blue tunic and mantle. His left hand is facing forward. Twelve Apostles—four on His left, and eight on His right—flank Christ. Two Apostles are underneath Christ's outstretched arm. The one closest to him is Thomas, who is thrusting his finger in Christ's wound while holding Christ's gigantic arm with his left hand. The second Apostle that is beneath Christ's arm, points with his left hand towards Christ's halo, while he presents the palm of his right hand forward. One inscription identifies this scene. The inscription, *hic ostendit dns thome manus et latus* (here the Lord exhibits to Thomas his hands and side), is located above Christ's left shoulder, between His head and the closest Apostle. According to Yarza Luaces, this scene is unique to the *Bible of Avila*. There are no other representations of the Doubting Thomas in the manuscripts of Castile and Leon from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Reau, J., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, pp. 568-569. The previous appearances took place on the same day of the Resurrection.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.



The third register on folio CCCXXV r depicts the Ascension of Christ (Mark 16: 19; Luke 24: 50-53, Acts of the Apostles 1: 9-12).<sup>111</sup> After Christ led the Apostles as far as Bethany, He lifted His hands and blessed them, moments before Christ was carried up into heaven. According to Reau the Ascension is the last appearance of Christ after his Resurrection. If the belief that Christ ascended to heaven the same day of Easter is to be admitted universally, the Ascension will sometimes be combined with the Resurrection. Still, since there is a strong desire to prove the miracles of the appearance of Christ, there seemed to be a necessity for a second Exaltation of Christ that would take place on a later date from the Resurrection. And from this belief that transformed into dogma, the Ascension was represented separately from the Resurrection.<sup>112</sup> Luke's interpretation was the main source of inspiration for the iconography of the theme to which the Acts of the Apostles contributed in two additional details: a cloud received Christ out of the sight of the Apostles, and while they looked toward heaven as Christ went up, two men stood by them in white apparel and announced the Second Coming of Christ.<sup>113</sup>

The third register of folio CCCXXV r depicts the moment before Christ is lifted towards the heavens and is received by the Hand of the Father.<sup>114</sup> On the right, Christ

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<sup>111</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 583, according to Reau, the only account of the episode of the Ascension of Christ is narrated in the Gospel of Luke. Reau believes that the laconic account of St. Mark (*Dominus assumptus est in coelum*) is not authentic to that Gospel, and has been added after its compilation.

<sup>112</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, pp. 582-583.

<sup>113</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 583.

<sup>114</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografia del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 364, emphasizes the fact that this formula is used five times in the historiated and author initials of the Italian section of the *Bible of Avila*. Regardless, this iconography is very traditional and it does not imply that the artist copied the iconography from the Italian section.

stands on a rock thrusting Him forward and upward. He has a cross halo, and he wears a blue tunic and a red mantle. Christ is looking towards the heavens. His hands are in front of Him and reaching up towards the Hand of God, which is framed by a cross halo.<sup>115</sup> On the left the twelve Apostles look in amazement at this event. They wear tunics and mantles of several different colors, and most of them have the palms of their hands facing outwards.<sup>116</sup> One inscription identifies this scene. The inscription, *hic uidentibus omnibus discipulis dns ascendit in celum* (here with all the disciples looking, the Lord ascends into Heaven), is located above the head of the four Apostles closest to Christ and over the head of Christ as well. According to Yarza Luaces, in the miniatures of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries of Castile and Leon, the theme of the Ascension is very popular.<sup>117</sup>

Folio CCCXXV v unlike the other folios, is illuminated with only one unframed scene (Fig. 12). The illumination depicts Christ enthroned over an architectural setting composed of two towers and two arches that frame the twelve Apostles. Christ is presented fully frontally for the first time and he is seated on a red and yellow double mandorla, and He is elevated on a dais. He wears a cross halo, a red tunic, and a green and yellow mantle. His hands are at His sides with their palms up and pointing down as

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<sup>115</sup> Reau, L., *L'Iconographie de l'Art Chretiene*, 1957, p. 584. According to Reau, the Ascension through the Hand of God, which emerges from a cloud, is the earliest iconographical version of this theme. There is a strong typological reference to the apotheosis of the pagan heroes of antiquity where a god offers his or her hand to lift the hero to Olympus. The extended Hand of God in the Ascension proves the divine relationship between God, the Father, and Christ, the Son.

<sup>116</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32, mentions that the iconographical formula employed by this artist is the Hellenistic formula, which was not common in Castile and Leon, since Castilian artist preferred to use the Syrian Formula to represent the Ascension.

<sup>117</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

He speaks to the Apostles below. Flanking Christ are two angels coming out of the clouds and each holds a large censor. The twelve standing Apostles beneath the two arches have either their eyes or their face tilted up, staring at Christ. With one exception, the Apostles are beardless. They all wear tunics and mantles of different colors. All the figures are placed in front of a patterned background with small squares fill with X's and contoured with a red line that resembles a rose. One inscription identifies this scene. The inscription, *In die pentecostes sps scs super discipulos uenit* (here the day of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit comes above the disciples), is located above the illumination, over the head of Christ and the angels. According to Yarza Luaces, there are only three versions of Pentecost in the miniatures of Castile and Leon of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The *Bible of Avila* is one of them, and the others are in the *Missale Vetus Oxomense* and in the *Homilies of Saint Isidore of Leon*.<sup>118</sup> However, there is the possibility of an alternative interpretation. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the awkward placement of the inscriptions, and their crowded character between the figures would seem to indicate that the inscriptions were added at an uncertain time after the illuminations of the Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ were completed. Thus, the scribe that wrote the inscriptions for these illuminations may have misinterpreted the iconography of the scene. Rodriguez Velasco challenged the identification of this scene as the Pentecost since some of the most significant elements, like the Virgin Mary or the Holy Spirit, are not present. It is her belief that this scene represents the Mission to the

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<sup>118</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., "Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellana-Leonesa," 1973, pp. 32-33, also mentions the fact that these three examples of the Pentecost are similar in the fact that they place little or no importance to the image of the Virgin Mary.

Apostles.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, her argument is not entirely convincing since she lacks a proper explanation of why she identified the scene as the Mission to the Apostles.

However, it is equally possible that the elements represented in this scene are those of the Second Coming of Christ or the Last Judgment (Acts of the Apostles 1:9-11; Revelations 1:7), which is a part of the cycle of the Glorification of Christ. The frontal iconic figure of Christ seated on a double mandorla and flanked by angels is also an aspect of the Second Coming or the Last Judgment of Christ, when Christ shall return in all His glory at the end of the time to judge the living and the dead.

In conclusion, the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* presents a mixture of standard iconography that relates to other examples of manuscript illuminations that were produced in Castile and Leon in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, and a number of extraordinary iconographical scenes that have no relation nor equivalents in the illuminated manuscripts of Castile and Leon in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. After careful examination of the iconography, let us turn to a discussion of the stylistic characteristics of the Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ.

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<sup>119</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 364.

### CHAPTER 3 STYLE

Having described in detail the iconography of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*, it is necessary to investigate the specific style of the artist. From a formal perspective the first thing that needs to be considered is the distribution of the scenes in parallel registers, which are reminiscent of other early and contemporary examples found in manuscript illuminations, sculpture and mural paintings. In contrast to the initials with prophet figures in the Italian and Spanish sections of the *Bible of Avila*, which are carefully structured, the folios of the Life and Passion of Christ have a less structured and more free flowing approach to its subjects and objects in the illuminations. The following are general stylistic characteristics of the illuminations of the Life and Passion of Christ in the *Bible of Avila*. Most of the scenes are framed with borders that are decorated with a variety of motifs such as curvilinear decorations, fretwork decorations, triangular patterns, braid patterns, diamond patterns and flower patterns. The artist has not fully integrated the figures in the diegetic space. The artist has no regard for the spatial limitations of the frame. Many figures overlap the frames on a number of occasions and they even project outside the frame. Among the examples for this trait are the Presentation of Christ at the Temple, where the feet of the Virgin Mary overlaps the frame, the Crucifixion of Christ, where the soldier on the right is depicted on top of the frame, or the Deposition of Christ, where the legs of the Virgin Mary are outside the lower frame. To separate two scenes found in the same register, the artist uses two different methods. The first method is achieved by turning the bodies of the figures way

from each other creating self-contained images that are distinct from one another. An example of this can be found in the Baptism of Christ and Wedding Feast at Cana where the body of Christ is larger and it turns away from the Wedding Feast at Cana where the guests also have their backs and heads turned away from the previous scene. This device is also employed in the Presentation of Christ at the Temple and in the First Temptation of Christ. Nevertheless, the altar divides these two scenes further. Another example of this trait can be seen in the Second Temptation of Christ and the Third Temptation of Christ. The second method that the artist employs to separate two scenes is a decorative frame similar to the one enclosing the register. The only example of this can be found in the register of the *Noli me Tangere* and the Pilgrims of Emmaus. In general, the figures are depicted according to a hierarchy of size, in which Christ is the largest figure in many of the scenes of the Cycle, but not all. For example, Christ is the largest figure in the Baptism of Christ, and in the Temptations of Christ. The Wedding Feast at Cana is the only exception, where Christ appears to be smaller than the rest of the figures. However, here He is distinguished as the only figure that has a halo.

The treatment of the color in the entirety of the cycle is one of the main unifying elements. The hues used are vermillion, dark red, grayish blue, yellow and dark green. The hues are saturated and strongly contrasted against the blank parchment. The only two instances in which figures are not set on the bare parchment are the red background on the Anastasis and the patterned background of the Second Coming of Christ which is composed of squares with horizontal crosses outlined with a red line making the design look like a flower. Sometimes, differentiation of figures in scenes containing groups is achieved by alternating the figure's clothing with what seems to be a pattern, for example

in the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples, or the Kiss of Judas among others. Within the scenes, the architecture appears as arches and horseshoe arches flanked by towers indicating interior or exterior space. The architectural settings are created with a more free flowing approach. There appears to be none or little ruling to create the architecture. In many instances the architecture has decorative designs in the façade. The most typical decorations are squares with crosses inscribed in their interior, diamond patterns with crosses, triangular patterns on a horseshoe arch, and arches with consecutive dots. Finally, there are also squares with flowers drawn in their interior. There are also yellow roof-tiles with red curvilinear lines delineating them and crossing them in the center. The architecture seems to have been inspired by mozarabic sources. The artist has a tendency to mix oriental with occidental iconographical typologies into his own particular style. Examples of this can be found in the Three Maries at the Tomb, which would be fully described below.

There is inverted perspective in many scenes containing architecture, with the exception of the altar in the Presentation of Christ at the Temple, which appears to be in perspective. When the artist represents objects such as tables or cups or food he uses the same type of conventions. The tables are inverted, almost parallel to the picture plane. The tables are decorated with a rhomboidal pattern—the table in Wedding Feast at Cana, unlike the one in the Last Supper, also has crosses in the interior of the rhomboidal patterns—and drapery covers the front of the table. The most common object that appears in both scenes is a cup with a stem. The cups use the edge of the table as their base, and they more or less appear to be in perspective. In a number of occasions the cups have a fish over them—but this trait can only be seen in the Last Supper. All the loaves of bread

are seen from above. They are of elliptic shape and they are usually cut above in the shape of a cross. There are also a number of knives represented—but only in Wedding Feast at Cana—which are very naturalistic. The cycle does not present full symmetry in the composition of the scenes, even when the composition demands symmetry, for example in the Last Judgment or Second Coming of Christ. The vegetation is scarce and it is more conceptual than naturalistic. The examples of vegetation can be found in the First Temptation of Christ, and in the *Noli me Tangere*.

Let us now focus on the figurative style. The figures are vigorously linear. The artist was able to convey the flexibility and movement of draperies that attach to the body of the figures. However, the artist was not able to convey three-dimensional figures since they lack full modeling and hence volume. In general the figures are elongated and they are more or less proportional. However, in some instances the figure of Christ has been grotesquely deformed to fit the space, such as in the Doubting Thomas, where Christ's legs do not seem to be attached to His body, and His overextended arm has been elongated to impossible proportions. Most of the figures in the Cycle show their faces in profile or in a three quarter view, only Christ in the Last Judgment presents Himself fully frontal. The figures have rather unexpressive features, but the artist is at his best representing emotion through the figures' expressive hands. Most of the time the color of the skin of the figures is the same as the color of the parchment. In other instances, the face, arms and feet are painted with pinkish pen lines delineating all the muscles and tendons of the body. For example, in the Crucifixion, Christ's anatomy is carefully described; every muscle on his ribcage has been delineated. His stomach, arms, legs and face have also been emphasized with the same pinkish hue. Finally, some figures are



strangely unfinished. For example, in contrast to the Crucifixion of Christ, in the Deposition, Christ's anatomy is not described at all. But more extraordinary is the figure of Judas, in the Suicide of Judas, who is primarily outlined and only his hair has been colored. In the Cycle, Christ always wears a cross halo, unlike the Virgin Mary who is never depicted with a halo. However, there is some inconsistency with the Apostles, who at times wear halos, and at other times are represented without them. Even the colors on the halos vary. The angels in the Cycle always appear with halos. An unusual characteristic of the angels' halos is that the wings spread out from their halos instead of their backs.

The next scenes that I will analyze in detail exemplify the most characteristic elements of the artist's style: the Presentation of Christ at the Temple and the First Temptation of Christ, the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples, and the Three Maries at the Tomb.

The first example is the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Here the figures are presented against a bare background. They occupy a space delimited by the frames above and underneath them, as well as by the altar on the right. The figures overlap the frame using it as the ground on which they stand. Inside this space the figures do not appear completely naturalistic. There is hierarchy of size, but uncommonly it is the Virgin Mary and not Christ who is the largest figure, although she is seated on a chair or a stool. The figures are covered by tunics and mantles done in a linear fashion. Part of the Virgin Mary's garment is tucked underneath her, stretching the fabric to reveal part of her anatomy. Even her arms appear from underneath her dress offering the Child to the rabbi. On the other hand, the figures of Joseph and the rabbi, which are covered by tunics and

mantles, do not show any part of the anatomy of the figures, not even the arms are visible from behind their garments. Joseph holds the four doves precariously with what appears to be a knotted mantle, and the rabbi's left hand is covered by his red mantle. Only the right hand of the rabbi is visible, yet he does not hold the head of the baby Jesus as it would be expected, on the contrary, he holds Jesus by the green and red cross halo. All the figures are wearing shoes. The Virgin Mary is represented abstracted to a certain degree. The details of her face have been drawn into an almost geometric shape framed by the veil. The figures of Joseph and the rabbi are somewhat similar. The hair of the figures is done geometrically; the curls in the back are tightly held together, and even their beards are represented smoothly. The figures of Joseph and Mary gaze in the direction of the rabbi, while the rabbi looks back at Mary. None of them look directly at the figure of the baby Jesus who looks at the rabbi blessing him. This scene presents a characteristic that could be considered to be puzzlingly when considering the time when it was made. The altar and the steps to climb to it are made in accurate perspective, seen from the side. Even the drapery falling from the altar appears to be folding naturalistically.

It is interesting to see how the artist uses the body of the figure of Christ to separate the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the First Temptation of Christ, which is the next scene on the register. Christ's body is oriented towards the left, while raising his right arm above his head pointing towards the devil. His arm is almost in the same plane to the mantle falling from his shoulders and the tunic covering His leg. This makes a visual separation between the two scenes. The head of Christ and the hand act as pointers, which direct the action towards the floating stones and the devil. The devil's

body makes a diagonal line, pointing towards the stones with his right arm, the claws almost touching the stones. The faceless devil is floating above the tree, which occupies the rest of the space between Christ and the frame on the right. The tree has an organic appearance, with the branches having a life of their own. Christ appears seated and the artist has used the same device to convey this as with the Virgin Mary in the previous scene. Christ is barefoot and he overlaps the frame, just as the devil does with the upper and right frame. The artist was able to convey movement with the figure of the devil. The devil extends the right arm, but he flexes the left. The same way, the left leg is flexed and bent backwards, and the right is bent forward. This gives the devil a certain type of dynamism that adds to the dramatic moment that is being depicted. The devil urges Christ to take the stones, and Christ turns down the offer making a rejecting gesture with His left hand. The same conventions can be seen in the Second Temptation of Christ and the Third Temptation of Christ.

The episode of the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples is an excellent example of how the artist treated groups. In this and other groups, the artist has attempted rather successfully to give each figure a specific individuality. Some figures are represented with short or long hair, others have a short or a long beard, and some are beardless. Other features have been penned in with pink hue such as wrinkles, or the natural shadows of the face. The figures have small ears that are almost unnoticeable. The artist seems to be more comfortable representing male figures than female figures, as we will see shortly. The scene is visually divided in two. On the left, one of the Apostles leans towards Christ, pointing with his right hand, and almost pushing Christ with the left. The tunic wraps around the legs of the figure, and the mantle covers the upper half of the figure's

body. The anatomy of the figure is not accurate, but the artist hides the imperfections underneath the tunic and the mantle. This trait is not only common to this figure but it is a general trait that the artist uses to convey a sense of correct anatomy. Even though, the Apostle points towards Christ, his eyes are addressing the group of Apostles that are in front of Christ. The artist uses the body, the head and the hands of every figure to point towards the place where the main action is concentrated. All the figures lean towards Christ. Their heads are tilted towards Christ, but not all the eyes are focused on Him. Christ is half kneeling, half leaning towards Peter. His position might be considered awkward and even risky. Christ's left leg is bent at the knee, and it is bare up to the thigh. Christ holds Peter's leg by the ankle, while He points with His right hand towards the Apostles. The remaining Apostles are located in three ascending rows. In the first row there are four seated Apostles. Peter is seated sideways on a green stool. His garment is tucked underneath him. From underneath his mantle his huge hands are presented palms up. The other three Apostles are seated frontally, with slightly parted legs. The artist uses the garments once again to create convincing seated positions for the Apostles. In some instances it appears as if the garment is resting on the lap of the figures. The artist creates this optical illusion by using horizontal organic lines over the lap, and vertical lines for the lower half of the legs. The illusion is carried deeper with the position of the feet, which are placed on a forty-five degree angle from the center pointing outwards. The seated Apostles overlap the four Apostles standing behind them, and they in turn overlap the remaining three Apostles standing in the back. This scene presents a great example of how the artist alternates the hues of the garments so that no two same hues would be next

to each other. Other groups that are treated in a similar fashion are in the Last Supper, Doubting Thomas, the Ascension, and the Second Coming of Christ.

The episode of the Three Maries at the Tomb also presents some of the most characteristic elements of the artist. The three women stand over the frame. Two of them wear white veils, and the one at the center wears a blue veil. The artist uses the same convention as with the other scenes where the alternation of hues is used. The first woman wears a red undergarment with a blue garment, while the next woman wears an undergarment with a blue mantle over her shoulders. Finally the next woman wears the red mantle over the blue tunic. The hues are placed so that none of them are next to the same hue. The figures' dresses are done in the same linear fashion as the rest of the garments in the Cycle. The veils frame the facial characteristics of the women. The faces of the three Maries are generic, unlike the male figures which are drawn with more individualized features. The artist has a tendency to draw women with prominent chins, small lips and long strait noses. Their features are not very favorable. The artist repeatedly uses the hands as pointer, or direction arrows, to indicate where the viewer should concentrate his attention. The hands are also the way for the artist to express emotion. In this instance the three women hold libation urns in their right hands, and they point with their left hands. The artist tries to show space by overlapping the figures. The central woman overlaps the one on the left, but she is in turn overlapped by the woman on the right. The woman in the center has her left arm behind the woman on the right, while her left foot is visible between the feet of the woman on the right. This creates a sense of movement and of space that directs the action towards the architectural structure and what is happening inside of it. The soldiers sleeping underneath the antechamber to

the tomb of Christ are small in comparison with the women or the angels. Again, hierarchy of size continues to be present. The way that the artist conveys the sleeping state of the soldiers is by drawing an eyebrow with a curved thin line, and by using the same thin line to define the closed eyelids, but drawn in the opposite direction. Only one soldier appears to be lying down on the ground with his legs hanging over the frame, his shield over him and his sword sticking upwards.

The architecture of the tomb is composed of three horseshoe arches flanked by two towers. The towers are blue just as the smaller arches, while the big arch is red. The architecture is decorated with a number of designs. In this case the decoration is composed of consecutive squares with crosses inscribed in the interior. The blue towers, which are also decorated with the same design than the arches, are crowned with yellow and red pinnacles. The architecture represented in other scene such as in the Third Temptation of Christ, the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the Second Coming of Christ, have similar characteristics. Inside the tomb, there are two angels. The first angel appears to be seated over the tomb with crossed legs. The artist is able to convey this pose by placing the right leg over the left, with the feet pointing in different directions. A careful examination would reveal the outlines of the legs of the angel, which appear to be unnaturalistic, but the drapery that covers his body hides them. The second angel sits on the edge of the tomb with the right leg extended and the left bent towards the back. The halo of the first angel is yellow and it has concentric and waving lines drawn in its interior. The other angel has a green halo that follows a similar design. The wings of both angels sprang out of their radiant halos. The halos of most of the figures in the cycle resemble one or the other type just described, with the only exception being the cross

halo of Christ. The wings of the first angel are filling the space that separates the antechamber from the tomb of Christ. His left wing falls down, while his right wing points upward. The right wing appears to act as another pointer. Following the line of the outer edge of the wing the first thing encountered is the edge of the halo and the martyred cross of the staff that the angel holds, which in turn directs the eye towards the hand of the angel. The angel then points towards the other angel who in turn points towards the tomb of Christ.

As described in the introduction of this preliminary study, the Italian and the Spanish Initials have different styles that do not correspond to the stylistic elements described in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. These characteristics also set the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* apart from other manuscripts created at the time. There are a number of coarse elements to the Cycle but the style is full of verve. The artist's use of different iconographical formulas, such as the Syrian and Hellenistic, the more traditional or archaic elements and the original elements, would indicate that the artist was aware of the artistic tendencies of his time and the traditions from which they came as we will see in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4 SOURCES

The inquiry into the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* continues by investigating the possible iconographic and stylistic sources that the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* could have seen and that might have inspired him to produce the cycle. In this preliminary study, iconographic and stylistic sources have been found from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century coming from Spain. A great number of sources can be found in Spain along the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela, along the territorial boundaries of the kingdom of Castile and Leon with the Muslim territories, and possibly along the ivory trade routes (see map Fig. 13). Throughout these areas there are a number of religious buildings—churches, monasteries, hermitages, etc.—that contain either sculpture in the form of historiated capitals or tympana, mural paintings, manuscripts, or small scale objects, such as ivory shrines, reliquaries, caskets, metalwork or arks, that resemble certain iconographic and stylistic aspects found in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*, and that could have been a source of inspiration for the artist.

The present study will begin by suggesting possible sources starting with the general iconographic characteristics and the surviving cycles of the Life and Passion of Christ that might contain one or more scenes that are similar to the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. This discussion will be followed by a description of the possible sources for the style of the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. Finally, this chapter will consider the many motifs that could have inspired the



artist to produce some of the most original aspects of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. However, it is important to point out that a source might have existed at the time, but has since been lost to us, casting a shadow of mystery on the origin of certain aspects of the cycle. Also one must acknowledge the originality of certain elements that could have been the product of the artist's imagination.

From a formal perspective the first thing that needs to be considered is the distribution of the scenes in parallel registers, which are reminiscent of other early and contemporary examples found in manuscript illuminations, sculpture and mural paintings. There are many examples of the distribution of scenes in registers such as in a Visigothic pier with scenes from the Life of Christ from the 7<sup>th</sup> century in San Salvador, Toledo, where scenes with the miracles of Christ are divided into four registers containing one scene each (Fig. 14). A second example is found in the Hermitage in San Baudelio of Berlanga from the 12<sup>th</sup> century where the entire hermitage is decorated with scenes of the Life and Passion of Christ and other genre scenes, that are disposed in horizontal bands along the interior of the building (Fig. 15). A third example can be found in an ivory plaque from a reliquary in Leon (1115-1120) where two scenes are located one above the other (Fig. 16) creating two registers that divide the space and the scenes. It has been suggested that the artist's arrangement of the scenes into registers demonstrates an efficient use of the space.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, despite the obviousness of this statement, the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* seems to have been following a tradition that had been long established in early medieval Spain.

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<sup>120</sup> Maria Rodriguez Velasco, "Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," en *Actas del V Simposio Bíblico Español. La Biblia en el Arte y en la Literatura*, Valencia: Universidad de Navarra, 1999, p. 365.

Full cycles of the Life and Passion of Christ are rarely found in manuscript illumination.<sup>121</sup> The *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* is the most complete extant example of this type of cycle created during the Romanesque period in Spain. Nevertheless, there are a number of examples of certain parts of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* that can be found in other mediums.

The first scene on folio CCCXXIII r is the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 17). In the history of manuscript illumination in 12<sup>th</sup> century Spain this is the only surviving example of the Early Christian traditional iconography of the Baptism of Christ, which depicts the mature Christ and John the Baptist. The iconography found in the *Bible of Avila* was already established in Italy in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>122</sup> This tradition of iconography is an example of the survival or the revival of a type of Early Christian iconography.<sup>123</sup> One of the surviving examples of a Baptism of Christ comes from a capital that shows an acute Italian influence from the church of Santa Maria de l'Estany (Barcelona) dated to

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<sup>121</sup> Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa de los Siglos XI y XII*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1973, pp. 28-29.

<sup>122</sup> Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 118-119, mentions the mosaic dome medallion in the Orthodox Baptistry in Ravenna dated to the mid-sixth century, as one of the earliest examples of the Baptism of Christ where Christ appears as a mature man, inside the river Jordan.

<sup>123</sup> Another tradition of the Baptism of Christ in Spanish manuscript illumination was very different from this early Christian type of iconography. In the *Beatus of Gerona*, for example, in fol. 189 (see Mireille, *Mentre Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, London, 1996, Fig. 40, *Beatus of Gerona* fol. 189) the Baptism of Christ takes place in the juncture of the river Jordan, but Christ is being baptized inside a baptismal font, and John the Baptist is submerging a young Christ inside. In this example, and others of a later time, the dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit is depicted above Christ.

the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 18).<sup>124</sup> In terms of iconography, the *Bible of Avila* presents a simplified version of the Early Christian type of iconography of the Baptism of Christ, while the capital of Santa Maria de l'Estany presents a more complex narrative. Still, there are some basic similarities between both examples. The capital shows Christ, who is represented as a mature man, standing over a rising pool of water and John the Baptist who is wearing a hair shirt stands beside Him in both examples. But in the capital, John the Baptist, who wears a halo, is on the right of Christ, while in the *Bible of Avila*, he is on the left, and he wears no halo. In addition to these two figures, the capital also has a third figure, and the dove of the Holy Spirit descending upon Christ, which are not present in the *Bible of Avila*. In terms of style the only comparison that can be made is the fact that both have a strong linear quality, with every lock of hair being carefully traced, as well as the detailed hair shirt that John the Baptist wears in both examples where each section of hair is divided in the form of arrowheads superimposed over each other. Even though there are few stylistic similarities between the illumination and the capital, both are using the same type of Early Christian iconography for the Baptism of Christ.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII r is the Wedding Feast at Cana (Fig. 19). Unlike the Baptism of Christ, it seems that the Feast at Cana was more widely depicted. Its importance as the first manifestation of Christ's divinity would merit this widespread representation.<sup>125</sup> In manuscript illumination, there may be one example of the Wedding Feast at Cana in a late Epulon in the Homilies of Saint Isidore from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but

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<sup>124</sup> Pedro De Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1967, p. 160.

<sup>125</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 29-30.

its identification has been “widely disputed.”<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, there are several examples in other mediums that represent different moments of the Wedding Feast at Cana, but for the purpose of this paper only those that have as their main theme the transformation of the water into wine will be considered.<sup>127</sup> An example of the Wedding Feast at Cana comes from a fragment of an ivory plaque from the reliquary of San Felices, Northern Spain (ca. 1090) (Fig. 20).<sup>128</sup> The plaque is divided in two fragments and the central part is missing. In terms of iconography there are some similarities between the plaque and the illumination of the Wedding Feast at Cana in the *Bible of Avila*. From the parts that are still visible in the ivory plaque we can suggest that the moment that is being depicted is the transformation of the water into wine. The scene is divided in two registers. On the first register is Christ making the gesture of benediction with His right hand in a similar fashion to that of His counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. To the left, next to Christ, there is a woman who is probably the Virgin Mary. This grouping of the Virgin Mary and Christ looking towards the right is similar in both examples as is the fact that Christ wears a cross halo, but no other figure does, not even the Virgin Mary. The long rectangular table, decorated with draperies and a number of the objects, such as

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<sup>126</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 29, mentions that the iconography of the Epulon has been questioned, but he does not explain nor cite the source of this dispute or the scholars involved in it.

<sup>127</sup> Luis A. Grau Lobo, *Pintura Romanica en Castilla y Leon*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1996, p. 110. In the hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria) there is a series of scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ done in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century and one of the frescos represents the Wedding Feast at Cana, but the moment that is being depicted is not the transformation of the wine, but the blessing of the couple.

<sup>128</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*. Ed. John P. O'Neill. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, p. 267. Julie E. Harris mentions that the relics of Felices of Bilibium were translated to the monastery of San Millan de la Cogolla in 1090, and it was then that the ivories of the reliquary of San Felices were done.

a loaf of bread, a knife and a bowl with fish inside have similar counterparts to the ones in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. Stylistically, the inverted perspective of the table in the ivory plaque of the reliquary of San Felices is similar to the one in the *Bible of Avila*. The Virgin Mary in both examples presents one hand towards the viewer that is larger than the other hand. The drapery in both examples is marked with double incised lines in the ivory plaque, or double delineated lines in the case of the illumination. From this analysis, it is possible to conclude that even if the iconography of both examples is not exact, in terms of style the ivory plaque and the illumination are slightly similar.

The next scene in folio CCCXXIII r is the Presentation of Christ at the Temple (Fig. 21). There is one instance in manuscript illumination, besides in the *Bible of Avila*, where there is a representation of the Presentation of Christ at the Temple: the Antiphonal of Leon, fol. 79 (Fig. 22).<sup>129</sup> The example in the Antiphonal depicts the priest Simeon and the Virgin Mary holding the baby Jesus in her arms, but that is where the similarities end. The three figures have halos, and there is no pictogram of the temple anywhere—in the *Bible of Avila* the altar is present. Both examples depart drastically when we consider the stylistic characteristics. The Antiphonal of Leon has an abstract quality and simplicity that is far from the more realistic quality and complexity of the Presentation of Christ at

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<sup>129</sup> Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Las Miniaturas del Antifonario de León,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, Vol. 42, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1976, p. 190.

the Temple in the *Bible of Avila*. I have been unable to identify any example of this scene in other mediums that resemble the iconography that is present in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>130</sup>

The next scenes in folio CCCXXIII r are the Temptations of Christ (Fig. 23). The image of the devil was widely depicted in Castile and Leon.<sup>131</sup> It appears in many different manuscripts, especially the Beatus, but not many of them represent the Temptations of Christ. The Temptations are represented in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.<sup>132</sup> The left tympanum of *La Puerta de las Platerias*, in the south transept of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (c. 1060-1120) shows two Temptations: the First Temptation and the Third Temptation (Fig. 24).<sup>133</sup> The First Temptation exhibited in the tympanum is similar to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The tympanum has Christ and the devil separated by a dry tree, a motif that is also present in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ is on the left of the tympanum gesturing towards the right where the devil is located. Christ wears a cross halo and he wears a tunic and *pallium* similar to Christ's clothes in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. Unlike in the *Bible of Avila*, the devil is winged, but he still displays his clawed feet and hands, which are similar to the way they are depicted in the *Bible of Avila*. The second devil is located above the first

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<sup>130</sup> See bibliographical references for the extent of my visual research. In addition, I have visited Spain in a number of occasions and its more illustrious museums and libraries, and I have been unable to find any reference to this episode of the Life of Christ.

<sup>131</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 18.

<sup>132</sup> *Guía del Peregrino Medieval ("Codex Calixtinus")*, Trans. Millan Bravo Lozano, Sahagun: Centro Estudios Camino Santiago, 1997, pp. 74-75, mentions that the Three Temptations of Christ are being represented, but only two of them are visible in what remains of the tympanum.

<sup>133</sup> Marcel Durliat, *Espagne Romane*, Saint-Leger-Vauban: Yonne, 1993, p. 93.

one over a temple.<sup>134</sup> In terms of its iconography the Third Temptation is further removed from its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*, yet there is a similarity between the way Christ stands on a pedestal gesturing towards the right in the tympanum of *La Puerta de las Platerias* and in the Second Temptation of Christ in the *Bible of Avila*. A second example of the Temptations of Christ comes from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria) that contains a number of wall frescos depicting moments of the Life and Passion of Christ.<sup>135</sup> One of the frescos depicts two of the three Temptations of Christ in continuous narrative that slightly resembles their analogous in the *Bible of Avila* (Fig. 25). In the First Temptation of Christ, the devil is blue, it has horns and its feet are depicted with claws, similar to the one in the *Bible of Avila*. In this First Temptation the rocks are floating between the devil and Christ in a similar fashion to those floating in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. The Second Temptation is not represented in San Baudelio, but the Third Temptation is. Just as in the *Bible of Avila*, Christ stands on the temple resisting the devil.

In terms of style, the First Temptation on the tympanum of *La Puerta de las Platerias* shows a closer compositional design to the *Bible of Avila*. From above the tree an angel comes out of a cloud in a similar fashion to the way in which the devil shows himself to Christ in the *Bible of Avila*. The compositional similarities are striking, regardless of the fact that the angel is located in the place where the devil should be. The mural painting in San Baudelio de Berlanga is slightly similar to its counterpart in the

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<sup>134</sup> *Guia del Peregrino Medieval ("Codex Calixtinus")*, 1997, p. 74.

<sup>135</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*. Ed. John P. O'Neill. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, pp. 223-228. Jerrilynn D. Dodds mentions that the hermitage was constructed in the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the heart of the frontier between the Christian lands and the Islamic lands.

*Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* in various aspects. The way the *pallium* wraps around the body of Christ in both examples is similar, yet it is important to see the way in which the figures in the mural painting are stiff and solemn in contrast to the figures in the manuscript which are flowing and defiant. Another similarity is that the brown devil standing on the right of the angel has no wings, just as the devil in the *Bible of Avila*—the other two devils in the mural painting have wings. At the same time, the devils in San Baudelio are clothed, just as the devil on the Second Temptation of Christ in the *Bible of Avila*.

The mozarabic-influenced temple in Third Temptation of Christ in the *Bible of Avila* is not without its source, not only in its general form but also in the patterns that are displayed on the façade. The horseshoe arch was a common motif used by the artists of the peninsula having previously been used in architecture, in manuscript illumination, such as the Beatus of Gerona (975) (Fig. 26),<sup>136</sup> or in ivory relief sculpture, such as the reliquary of Saint Pelagius (1059) in San Isidoro of Leon (Fig. 27).<sup>137</sup> The rose pattern motif on the façade of the temple has an interesting counterpart on the façade of another temple in folio 202r in the Beatus of Santo Domingo de Silos (Leon, 1109) (Fig. 28), where the flower motif is present in the columns of the temple.<sup>138</sup> The rose pattern motif is also present in mural painting at the Pantheon of the Kings in San Isidoro of Leon (ca.

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<sup>136</sup> Jose Camon Aznar, "El Beato de Gerona," *Goya*, no. 128, September-October, 1975, pp. 70-81.

<sup>137</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 236-238. John W. Williams mentions that the reliquary had a lost system of arcades visible in engraved lines that indicated the positions of columns and arches enclosing the apostles. In addition, I would like to suggest that the figurative style is also similar to the figurative style in the *Bible of Avila*.

<sup>138</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 130.



1063-1101) (Fig. 29).<sup>139</sup> The “X” pattern found on the façade of the temple in the *Bible of Avila*, is also present in the 12<sup>th</sup> century church of San Clemente in Segovia on the now blocked portal of the west façade (Fig. 30),<sup>140</sup> and it is also used as a decorative pattern in the silver gilt reliquary of San Isidoro in Leon (ca. 1063) (Fig. 31).<sup>141</sup>

The conclusion derived from this iconographic and stylistic analysis of the Temptations of Christ is that the artist was aware of the tradition of the devil in the peninsula as exemplified by the Temptations in San Baudelio de Berlanga and in Santiago de Compostela. It is hard to assess how closely related these two examples are to the *Bible of Avila*, since both of them differ in very important ways from what the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* depicted. However, there are still some resemblances not only in its iconography, but in its style as well, especially with regards to the tympanum of *La Puerta de las Platerias*.

The first scene on folio CCCXXIII v is the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (Fig. 32). This scene was only represented twice in the history of manuscript illumination in Spain in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Yarza Luaces besides the *Bible of Avila*,

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<sup>139</sup> Antonio Viñayo Gonzalez, *San Isidoro de Leon Panteon de los Reyes*, Leon: Edilesa, 1995, pp. 33-34.

<sup>140</sup> This “X” pattern is also used as the decorative design for the table in the Wedding Feast at Cana.

<sup>141</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 239. John W. Williams mentions that this was the first reliquary to house the relics of Saint Isidore after they arrived from Seville in December of 1063 as a result of the victory of the Christian king Ferdinand I over the Muslim city. It contains scenes from the Book of Genesis. The order has been altered due to restoration, but each scene was also accompanied by an inscription. The surviving inscriptions identified the scenes as followed: the Creation of Adam, the Temptation of Adam, the Accusation of Adam, the Robbing of Adam and Eve, and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve. In addition there are two inscriptions that allowed the identification of two lost scenes: the Naming of the Animals and the Creation of Eve.

there was a depiction of the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem in the *Missale Vetus Oxomense* (fol. 23 v) in the interior of a small O.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem was also depicted in other mediums, such as in historiated capitals, mural painting or ivory relief sculpture. In ivory relief sculpture, there is an example of the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem in the shrine for the relics of Saint Aemelius (1053-1067) from the abbey of San Millan de la Cogolla, Rioja (Logroño) (Fig. 33).<sup>143</sup> This plaque represents a more simplified version of the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem than the one that appears in the *Bible of Avila*, but there are still a number of similarities among which is Christ entering Jerusalem on a donkey making the gesture of benediction with his right hand. He wears a cross halo and a tunic and *pallium*. He is followed by two Apostles, and in front of Him there are people coming out of the city throwing palm branches and garments at the feet of Christ as he passes by. A second example comes from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century fresco the hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria) (Fig. 34).<sup>144</sup> In terms of iconography there are a number of similarities. Christ is seated on a donkey, but the colt is also present at the side of its mother. Behind Christ come the twelve Apostles. Christ is making a blessing gesture, and the people of Jerusalem come out throwing palm tree branches. These are the iconographical similarities between the fresco and the illumination in the *Bible of Avila*. A third and closer example of the iconography of the Entry into Jerusalem can be found on a capital from the church of Santa Maria l'Estany

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<sup>142</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 30, does not offer an visual example of this manuscript and I have been unable to find a copy of this image to compare to the Bible of Avila.

<sup>143</sup> Durliat, M., *Espagne Romane*, 1993, p. 84.

<sup>144</sup> Marques de Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispanico*, Tomo I, Barcelona: Salvat Editorer, S.A., 1931, p. 462.

(Barcelona) dated to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 35).<sup>145</sup> The similarities between this Entry of Christ into Jerusalem with its correlating scene in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* are Christ seated over a donkey with its baby colt moving alongside them. The Apostles are standing in line behind Christ following Him. In front of Christ, a young man perching on a tree throws palm branches at Christ's feet, and another man coming out of the city of Jerusalem spreads garments on the ground for Christ. The city of Jerusalem is also depicted with towers and the face of a man appears in one of the windows.

In terms of style the mural painting in San Baudelio de Berlanga is the example that differs the most in terms of style with the *Bible of Avila*. The only similarity is in the way the mantle of the figures wrap around the figures. A second example that is slightly closer in style is the historiated capital of the church of Santa Maria l'Estany. The capital has been carved in a higher relief than the ivory relief sculpture. The lines seem to be thicker and more roughly done. Still, the branches of the tree that separate Christ from the city of Jerusalem are essentially similar. Even the donkey and the colt have been depicted in a similar fashion, with pointed ears and a very clear and beautiful profile. The third example that more closely resembles the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem is the ivory shrine for the relics of Saint Aemelius. The figures are done with very thin lines that appear to be delicate. The way in which the drapery falls over the body of the figures is similar since it is done with a curvilinear style that creates a nice rhythm between the figures. Christ's beard and hair are long in both examples and their hair strands are depicted individually with crisp clearness. The way in which the branches of the palm trees are

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<sup>145</sup> De Palol, P., *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 1967, p. 160.

depicted is very similar. The branches that the figures throw at Christ's feet in both examples appear to be single leaves in the form of a club, and the figures that are inside the city of Jerusalem, coming out of a window in the tower, hold a three branch cluster. Worth noting is the way in which the towers in each example end in a conical roof.

There are some interesting conclusions derived from the iconographic and stylistic analysis of this theme, the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. The iconography of the Entry in the *Bible of Avila* seems to be more closely related to the iconography on sculpted capital, yet the stylistic analysis relates it to the ivory relief. Contrary to logic, mural painting displays the least comparable characteristics on iconographic and stylistic grounds.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII v is the Last Supper (Fig. 36). This scene of the Passion of Christ was rarely depicted in manuscript illumination in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but it was widely depicted in other mediums.<sup>146</sup> An example of the Last Supper that slightly resembles its counterpart to the *Bible of Avila* comes from an early 12<sup>th</sup> century historiated capital from the Romanesque cathedral of Burgo de Osma (Fig. 37).<sup>147</sup> Here Christ and the eleven Apostles are located behind a table and Judas is on the other side of the table. The capital represents Christ feeding Judas the bread, while Judas tries to steal the fish. The Apostle John reclines his head against the heart of Christ. The Apostles present different types of facial characteristics. These iconographical

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<sup>146</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 30, mentions that the other surviving example of the actual dinner can be found in a manuscript of the *Sermons of Saint Martino of Leon* in an initial D (I, second part, fol. 110v), but it does not have the same quality of the example in the *Bible of Avila*.

<sup>147</sup> Ines Ruiz Montejo. *El Romanico de Villas y Tierras de Segovia*. Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, S.A., 1988, p. 148.

characteristics can be found in the *Bible of Avila* as well. A second example of a Last Supper comes from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century frescos of the hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria) (Fig. 38).<sup>148</sup> The action takes place behind the table containing a number of stem cups with fish. The eleven Apostles alongside Christ are located behind the table, and Judas is located in front. Most of the Apostles wear a halo—Judas does not have halo, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ wears a cross halo. The Apostle John reclines his head against Christ's heart, and he is not wearing a halo as in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ is feeding Judas the piece of bread, while Judas points towards the fish. These characteristics can find their counterpart in the depiction of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>149</sup> A final example comes from an ivory plaque from the shrine for the relics of St. Aemelius (1053-1067) in the abbey of San Millan de la Cogolla, Rioja (Logroño) (Fig. 39).<sup>150</sup> There are many similarities between the representation of the Last Supper in this plaque and the representation of the same subject in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. In both depictions the action takes place behind a table where Christ and the Apostles are located. Just as in the *Bible of Avila*, there are more figures located on the right than on the left. Only Judas kneels on the other side of the table, as in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ is feeding Judas the piece of bread, while Judas seems to be reaching towards the fish, making a reference to the theft of the fish, which is also present in the Cycle of the Life and the

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<sup>148</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 223-228.

<sup>149</sup> Another example in mural painting comes from the Pantheon of the Kings in the church of San Isidoro of Leon (ca. 1063-1101), but the iconographic and stylistic similarities are very general. See Antonio Viñayo Gonzalez, *San Isidoro de Leon Panteon de los Reyes*, Leon: Edilesa, 1995, for more information.

<sup>150</sup> Durliat, M., *Espagne Romane*, 1993, p. 84.

Passion of Christ in the *Bible of Avila*. All the Apostles with the exception of Judas wear a halo, and only Christ wears the cross halo. It is important to note that He is not facing to the front, but that His head is turned towards His right in a similar fashion to the way that Christ is represented in the *Bible of Avila*.

In terms of style the example that least resembles to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* is the high relief sculpted capital from Burgo de Osma. The figures are more compact and less proportional. The drapery seems to have a pattern of vertical stripes that do not correspond to its analogous in the *Bible of Avila*. A second example that is slightly similar to the *Bible of Avila* comes from San Baudelio de Berlanga. The Apostles are represented with different physical characteristics, especially their facial characteristics. Each one is slightly individualized. Some of them look young and are beardless, and others look old and have a beard. The drapery of the figures is also similar but stiff. A third example that more closely resembles the Last Supper in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the ivory shrine for the relics of Saint Aemelius. The table is parallel to the picture plane. The stem cups with fish located on the table stand on the lower edge of the table, while the bread is positioned parallel to the picture plane as well. The table is dressed with a tablecloth whose falling drapery in half circles is similar to that found in the *Bible of Avila*. The artist also uses the convention of hierarchy of size when he represents Christ, since He is the largest figure. The way in which the drapery of the garments of the figures falls and clings to the body is very similar in both examples even though both were done in different mediums. In this ivory relief sculpture of the Last Supper, there is an attempt by the artist to give each figure his own individuality: some figures have a beard, and others are beardless, while some have long hair and others have

it short. The effort from the artist to give each figure individualized features can be found in the *Bible of Avila* as well.

There appears to be a pattern in the iconographic and stylistic analysis done so far. The Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* seems to be aware of the ivory relief sculpture tradition found in the north of Spain. The closeness of the iconography and style of the shrine for the relics of Saint Aemelius is but one more example that ratifies this connection. There is an important, but controversial, example to compare to the Last Supper in the *Bible of Avila* that comes from the church of San Justo and Pastor in Segovia. This Christological cycle found in the church of San Justo and Pastor in Segovia has been associated on a number of occasions with the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>151</sup> This church has been dated to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>152</sup> In terms of iconography the Last Supper in San Justo is similar to its analogous in the *Bible of Avila* (Fig. 40). The Last Supper takes place behind a rectangular table with stem-cups located over the edge of the table. Behind the table we

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<sup>151</sup> Some of the most important, yet brief, discussions have been written by S. Moralejo, “Ars sacra et sculpture romane monumentale: le tresor et le chantier de Compostelle,” *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, vol. XI, 1980, p. 207, where he states “les rares auteurs qui ont traite de cet important cycle castillan [dans l’église de Saint Just de Segovie]—don’t le style, a mon avis, doit etre rapproche de celui de la Bible d’Avila—...” Also Yarza Luaces, *La Edad Media*, col. *Historia del Arte Hispanico*, vol. II, Ed. Alhambra, Madrid, 1980, p. 172, believes that the styles of the cycle of the Passion of Christ and the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* are similar.

<sup>152</sup> Marques de Lozoya, *Las Pinturas Romanicas en la Iglesia de San Justo*, Segovia, 1970, p. 10, believed that the second phase was created on the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century when the Christ of the Gascons found a permanent home in the church of San Justo and Pastor, but Gloria Fernandez Somoza, “El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo,” p. 228, mentions that there is a discrepancy between scholars on the dating of the frescos. According to Fernandez Somoza, the general consensus would place the frescos to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

find twelve Apostles leaning towards Christ and gesturing.<sup>153</sup> Just as in the *Bible of Avila*, there are more figures on the right, than on the left. Christ is the center of attention even if He is slightly off-center towards the left. Christ's arm is extended towards the front of the table and to the left where Judas is located—unlike in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*, where Judas is located directly in front of Christ and the Apostle John on the other side of the table.<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately the only remains visible on the fresco are the sides of the robe of Judas.<sup>155</sup> The Apostle John reclines his head over the heart of Christ, but this position, leaning over the heart of Christ, and the fact that he wears no halo is similar to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. Besides the twelve Apostles and Christ, there is one more figure without a halo, which makes a total of fourteen figures in the Last Supper including Christ, although the *Bible of Avila* has thirteen figures.<sup>156</sup> This idiosyncrasy can be related to the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*, since this additional figure is the Apostle Paul, who is known to have been added to images of the Resurrection—as in the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos—but this is a rare instance in which Saint Paul is added to the Last Supper, even though it is anachronistic to place

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<sup>153</sup> The Last Supper in the church of San Justo and Pastor is located on the north wall of the apse.

<sup>154</sup> Gloria Fernandez Somoza, "El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo," en *Actas del V Simposio Biblico Español. La Biblia en el Arte y la Literatura*, Valencia, 1999p. 230, states that Christ does not have the usual piece of bread given to Judas nor Judas is trying to steal the fish, nevertheless, the moment that is being depicted has to be when Christ announces the soon to be betrayer.

<sup>155</sup> Fernandez Somoza, G., "El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo," 1999, p. 230, mentions that "al otro lado de la mesa podemos ver, aunque no esta completo por el ya mencionado deterioro, otro personaje mas, que en este caso seria Judas." According to my own observations I am inclined to concord with Fernandez Somoza's assessment that identifies the figure as Judas.

<sup>156</sup> Fernandez Somoza, G., "El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo," 1999, p. 230.



Saint Paul at a time that was not his.<sup>157</sup> But what is very interesting is the fact that the Last Supper in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* also has thirteen figures, and Rodriguez Velasco has identified the extra figure here as Saint Paul.<sup>158</sup> Although there are some iconographical similarities on close examination the styles are not as comparable. Contrary to popular belief, to this author's eyes the stylistic similarities are few. Among the similarities between the mural painting in the church of San Justo and Pastor and the *Bible of Avila* is the use of inverted perspective to represent the table where the Last Supper takes place. The overall composition is also similar. The artist uses the heads of the figures as pointers. The Apostles are either inclined or look towards the center of attention that is Christ. Hierarchy of size is not as pronounced here as it is in the *Bible of Avila*. The outlines of the face on every figure in San Justo seem to differ to those in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. The treatment of the hair and the drapery are different as well.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII v is the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples (Fig. 41). The iconography found in the *Bible of Avila* is unique to this manuscript and has no other counterparts in the history of manuscript illumination from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>159</sup> It has been difficult to find another example of the scene of the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples. Nevertheless, there is one example coming from a historiated capital from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century from Barcelona (Fig. 42). In terms of iconography this capital represents Christ kneeling in front of Peter, who has his feet inside a stem basin

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 359.

<sup>159</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 30-31.

and the rest of the Apostles surround them. The only figure wearing a halo is Christ. The iconographic resemblance of the capital to the manuscript is very general, even the composition of the scene is different, with the only exception that Christ kneels in front of Peter. In terms of style, the capital has nothing in common with the manuscript illumination from the *Bible of Avila*. Even though the iconography is similar, this is not an exact source for the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the fact that this theme was also present in the peninsula.

The first scene in folio CCCXXIII r is the Kiss of Judas (Fig. 43). The Kiss of Judas is original to the *Bible of Avila*, since it is the only manuscript where this episode appears in the manuscripts of Spain of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>160</sup> There are examples of this scene in other mediums. In terms of iconography, the example that slightly resembles its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* comes from the Pantheon of Kings in San Isidoro of Leon (Leon) from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 44).<sup>161</sup> The Kiss of Judas in the Pantheon is divided into several of the episodes as in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. The first episode on the left is Saint Peter cutting Malcho's ear. Saint Peter has a knife and he slices the ear of Malcho while holding his head, as in the *Bible of Avila*. The next scene is Judas reaching up and kissing Christ on the mouth from the left, while the soldiers pull Christ in the opposite direction towards the right. Only Christ wears a cross halo, but Peter, unlike in the *Bible of Avila*, wears a halo in this depiction. A second example that more closely resembles its analogous in the *Bible of*

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<sup>160</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31.

<sup>161</sup> Viñayo Gonzalez, A., *San Isidoro de Leon: Panteon de los Reyes*, 1995, pp. 33-34, mentions that there is a problem of chronology, with a number of scholars placing the pictorial decoration from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, nevertheless, more and more scholars are dating the frescos of the Pantheon of Kings to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

*Avila* comes from a capital in the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona (c. 1145) (Fig. 45).<sup>162</sup> The iconography in this capital is very expressive and similar to the one in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* even though the only episode represented is the actual Kiss of Judas. In this capital Judas is shorter than Christ, who is the only figure wearing a cross halo, and the betrayer embraces Christ from behind. The moment of betrayal is depicted with an *osculum*—Judas kisses Christ on the mouth, their faces joined, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. One can find the same type of tension between the soldiers and the Apostle that seems to pull Christ in different directions just as in the *Bible of Avila*.

In terms of style the example of the Kiss of Judas that is slightly similar to its analogous in the *Bible of Avila* is the one found in the Pantheon of Kings in San Isidoro of Leon. The composition of Peter cutting the ear of Malcho is very similar, including the way in which *pallium* wraps around Peter. The artist of the Pantheon is using hierarchy of size: Christ is the largest figure and His head inclines towards Judas, who holds Him down with his embrace. Another stylistic similarity is the way in which the artist of the Pantheon has used a darker skin tone to delineate the facial features of the figures, as well as the muscles on the legs and arms. The style of the drapery is not as close to the *Bible of Avila* but it still retains some of the soft curving lines on the garments covering the figures. A second example that more closely resembles the Kiss of Judas in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* is the capital in the cloister of the

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<sup>162</sup> De Palol, P., *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 1967, pp. 156-158, mentions that there were five surviving capitals that came from the cloister that adjoined the cathedral. De Palol believed that the capitals depicting the Old and New Testament scenes on these capitals, one of which is the Kiss of Judas, are unsurpassed since they appear to be independent of any French model.

cathedral of Pamplona. The capital has been done in bas-relief sculpture and the artist is using hierarchy of size, where Christ is the largest figure. The double incised lines of the drapery of the garment of the figures and the soft curving of the edges are similar to the garments in the *Bible of Avila*. The way the artist of the relief has done the eyes and the way the lips of Judas and Christ fuse, can also find their counterparts in the *Bible of Avila*. From these iconographic and stylistic observations it is possible to infer that the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is also familiar with the Romanesque sculpted capitals in the north of Spain.

Another iconographic example of the Kiss of Judas comes from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century pictoric cycle of the Passion of Christ in the church of San Justo and Pastor in Segovia (Fig. 46a, 46b).<sup>163</sup> The Arrest of Christ in San Justo shows a conflation of several episodes of the main narrative that have some similarities to their counterparts found in the *Bible of Avila*. The episodes are Peter Cutting Malcho's Ear, the actual the Kiss of Judas, and a third episode that could depict a moment between Judas and Christ either before or after the Kiss.<sup>164</sup> From left to right, the first thing that appears in the composition is Peter cutting Malcho's ear. The position of these two figures in San Justo in the overall composition is similar to its analogous in the *Bible of Avila*. But the moment depicted is different. In San Justo, Peter raises his sword above his head ready to strike, while holding onto the hair of Malcho, who tries to run away over the lower frame. The moment depicted in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the moment before

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<sup>163</sup> The scene of the Kiss of Christ is located in the south wall opposite to the Last Supper.

<sup>164</sup> Fernandez Somoza, G., "El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo," 1999, p. 232.

Peter cuts Malcho's ear, with the sword barely slicing through the ear. Even the position of Malcho is different. In the fresco of San Justo, Malcho is standing up, with his right leg in front of his left, and both of his hands are down in a pathetic attempt to run away from Peter. On the other hand, in the *Bible of Avila*, Malcho is kneeling unexpressive, his body twisted, and only one hand is visible. The next episode in San Justo is the Kiss of Judas. Christ is on the left and Judas reaches up to Christ from the right and dastardly kisses him on the cheek. Two Apostles are located behind Christ on the left, while a group of soldiers come to arrest Christ from the right. When comparing this Kiss of Judas with the one that appears on the *Bible of Avila*, there are some obvious differences. The relative position of Judas to Christ is the opposite with Judas on the left and Christ on the right. The kiss that Judas gives Christ in the *Bible of Avila* is an *osculum*—Judas's kisses Christ on the mouth. In the depiction of San Justo, Judas embraces Christ from the side, while in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* Judas embraces Christ from behind. In terms of style the Kiss of Judas in San Justo and Pastor slightly resembles its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. On stylistic grounds the draperies are less organic in this example with the addition of swirls on the robes—this characteristic has no counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The hair patterns in both examples are different. They appear to be more natural in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* than in the Kiss of Judas of San Justo, where the patterning is flatter and very linear. The hands, which are one of the most characteristic aspects of the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*, are very different. In San Justo, the hands are characterized with long fingers and a short palm, the opposite of the hands of the Cycle. Even the toes are depicted differently when

the figures are barefoot.<sup>165</sup> The toes of the figures in San Justo are long and thin, without any detail, while the toes depicted in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* are similar to slightly curved claws with nails. Once again it is evident that even if the iconography of the scene is slightly similar, on close examination the style is very different.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII r is the Crucifixion (Fig. 47). There are a number of examples not only in the form of illuminations but they also appear in other mediums.<sup>166</sup> Nevertheless, it is more common to find examples of the crucified Christ by himself or in a reduced form of the episode than in a more complex narrative—which is what we have in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>167</sup> In terms of iconography the example that slightly resembles its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* comes from the Pantheon of Kings from San Isidoro of Leon (Leon) from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century where Christ is at the center

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<sup>165</sup> The Cycle of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ in San Justo has a definite unfinished characteristic, but even comparing the unfinished elements of this cycle with the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* it is obvious that they are different.

<sup>166</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31. According to Yarza Luaces this scene has been depicted in the *Beatus of Gerona*, *Missale Vetus Oxomense* (fol. 42v), *Misal of San Facundo* de Sahagun, *Beato of San Millan de la Cogolla*, and the *Misal of the Academy of History* (ms. 35) during the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>167</sup> Louis Reau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, Tome Second, "Iconographie de la Bible: Nouveau Testament (II)," Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957, p. 493, classified the different types of the Crucifixion into four: the Crucifixion with Christ by himself, the Crucifixion with Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John, the Crucifixion with Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John, and Mary Magdalene, and finally the Crucifixion with all the actors that appear in the Bible. There are multiple examples in Spain of the first two types in ivory relief sculpture or in silver such as in a reliquary crucifix of the 10<sup>th</sup> century from Asturias or two book covers from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century found in the monastery of Santa Cruz de la Seros, Jaca (Spain) (see *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, pp. 271, 268-269, figs. 130, 128a and 128b).

crucified (Fig. 48).<sup>168</sup> Unlike in the *Bible of Avila*, Christ is alive on the cross, but He still wears a cross halo and a loincloth and He has been attached to the cross with four nails just as in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. He stands on the *supedaneum* analogous in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>169</sup> On the left are Longinus and the Virgin Mary, and on the right are the Stephanon and St. John. The garments that the Virgin Mary and St. John wear are similar to those worn by their counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. A second example that reproduces a complex narrative, but without the Virgin Mary and St. John is in the Beatus of Gerona, a 10<sup>th</sup> century manuscript (Fig. 49). When compared to the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* the similar elements are Christ wearing a cross halo and crucified with four nails—two for the hands and two for the feet, just as in the *Bible of Avila*—and wearing a loincloth, with the Stephanon on the right, and Longinus on the left. Also similar is the presence of the two thieves, whose arms are wrapped around the cross, and the two soldiers that stand by the cross of the thieves ready to break their legs. It differs from the Crucifixion in the *Bible of Avila* in the addition of representations of the Sun and the Moon and angels. A third example that more closely resembles the correlating scene in the *Bible of Avila* is the cover of the reliquary of the *Arca Santa* from Oviedo (Oviedo) from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 50).<sup>170</sup> The cover depicts

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<sup>168</sup> Viñayo Gonzalez, A., *San Isidoro de Leon Panteon de los Reyes*, 1995, pp. 33-34.

<sup>169</sup> Viñayo Gonzalez, A., *San Isidoro de Leon Panteon de los Reyes*, 1995, pp. 43-44, mentions that the artist of the mural painting depicted a *supedaneum* under the feet of Christ, so that in the conception of the episode, the artist thought of Christ as being nailed by both feet. Similarly, Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* used the *supendaneum* in a similar fashion.

<sup>170</sup> Durlat, M., *Espagne Romane*, 1993, p. 85, mentions that the king Alfonso VI and his sister Doña Urraca were responsible for the commission of the Sacred Ark, which make reference to the Ark of the Alliance from Jerusalem. But in *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-120*, p. 259, Julie E. Harries mentions that according to the *Liber Testamentorum* the

the complex narrative of the Crucifixion of Christ, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. Among the similarities with its corresponding scene in the *Bible of Avila* are a dead Christ crucified with a cross halo at the center—He has been nailed by the hands and both feet, which are over the *supedaneum*, and He wears a loincloth. Longinus and the Virgin Mary are on the left with Stephanon and St. John on the right. At either side of the Crucifixion of Christ, stand the Latin crosses with the thieves with their arms wrapped around the cross while two soldiers swinging their weapons from behind making ready to break their legs. In the *Bible of Avila* the thieves are crucified in a Tau cross and there is only one soldier at either side. The cover also has some elements that are not present in the *Bible of Avila* such as the representations of the Sun and the Moon, and the presence of angels.

In terms of style the example that slightly resembles to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* is the mural painting found in the Pantheon of Kings in San Isidoro of Leon. The figure of Christ has His arms extended on the cross in a similar fashion to its analogous in the *Bible of Avila*, and in a similar way His locks of hair rest on His shoulders. The contours and muscles of Christ have been traced with a darker color just as in the illumination. A second example that more closely resembles the Crucifixion in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the *Arca Santa*.<sup>171</sup> The Crucifixion as already mentioned was located on the lid of the casket and it features nielloed engraving. The

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original *Arca* was carried from Jerusalem (where it was constructed by the disciples of the apostles) to Oviedo. According to this version the *Arca* was brought to Oviedo in the 8<sup>th</sup> century escaping the invading Muslims. But modern scholars have dated the *Arca* to the late 11<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>171</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-120*, pp. 259-260. In addition to the style of the engraving, I would also like to mention in the section of style the silver relief sculpture done in *repousse* on the other panels that comprise the *Arca* since the stylistic similarities are very keen to the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*.



composition of the figures is similar to the one in the *Bible of Avila*. The Virgin Mary, Longinus, Stephanus and St. John are located underneath the cross. The figures of Longinus and Stephanus are smaller than the figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John. The figure of Christ has every muscle in his body articulated with incised lines reproducing the muscles of the body. This is similar to the way the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* depicts the muscles with a darker color. Christ also has his long hair hanging in locks to the sides of his shoulders. The loincloths that cover Christ and the thieves are knee-long and done in a similar fashion to those in the *Bible of Avila*. The drapery in the *Arca Santa* is not only linear with double, or triple, incised lines that create the texture of the clothes, but it also represents the central semicircular design mimicking the way in which the drapery falls. These characteristics are also present in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>172</sup> It is also similar in the way the drapery clings to the body of the figures with a soft curving on the edges, and in the way the veil covers the Virgin Mary is similar to the design in the *Bible of Avila*. It appears that the Master of the Life and Passion of Christ in the *Bible of Avila* has been inspired by the minor arts that flourished in the north of Spain in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Still, there is a final example of the Crucifixion that comes from the church of San Justo and Pastor in Segovia from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century that needs to be considered (Fig. 51). The Crucifixion of Christ is located on the left wall of the chancel area. The scene has Christ crucified on a Latin cross. His head hangs towards the right, but He is still alive with eyes wide open. His hands are tilted downwards at approximately sixty-degree angle, a loincloth covers Him and He wears a bare halo.

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<sup>172</sup> This design appears more often in relief sculptures from minor arts of Spain, than in manuscript illumination.

Above the cross there are representations of the Sun and the Moon depicted in their interior. There is an angel holding a incense burner on the left of Christ, and there should be another one on the right but the damage to the fresco is too extensive. Flanking Christ at either side is Longinus piercing Christ's side and Stephanus, the sponge bearer. The Virgin Mary is located on the right of Christ and Saint John is located on the left, both of them wearing halos. The main iconographical differences between this cycle and the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* are the presence of the angels, the Sun and the Moon, and the halos on the Virgin Mary and Saint John, elements that are not present on the Crucifixion of the *Bible of Avila*. In addition, the *Bible of Avila* also has the good thief and the bad thief with the two soldiers making ready to break their legs. In terms of composition, Longinus and Stephanon are underneath the cross and are smaller than the Virgin Mary and St. John. On the other hand, the latter are not underneath the cross, like they are in the *Bible of Avila*. The cross in both examples has been outlined. Christ also has the locks of hair resting on His shoulders, but there is no hierarchy of size since the Virgin Mary and John are larger than Christ on the cross. Therefore, it is evident that there is some iconographic connection, but the style is different on close examination of both works.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII r is the Deposition (Fig. 52).<sup>173</sup> In the history of manuscript illumination the *Bible of Avila* offers the only example of the Deposition of

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<sup>173</sup> As pointed out in Chapter 2, there is a conflation of two episodes in the registers representing the Deposition of Christ. The Suicide of Judas is being represented alongside the Deposition. Nevertheless, besides the example already mentioned in Chapter 2 (an ivory panel depicting the Crucifixion and the suicide of Judas from Rome or southern Gaul from 420-430, currently located in the British Museum, London. See F.W. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, London, 1961, Plate 98) there are no other iconographical sources known to this author.

Christ in the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless, there are many examples of the Deposition in other mediums. An example of the Deposition that has some similarities with its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* is the tympanum of the south transept portal in San Isidoro of Leon from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 53).<sup>175</sup> Joseph deposes Christ holding His body in a strong embrace, while the Virgin Mary hugs the arm of her Son. Christ wears a cross halo and a loincloth, and His hair falls in parted locks over His shoulders. On the right Nicodemus takes out the nail from Christ's hand with a pair of tongs. The garments of the figures are very similar to those represented in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. A second example comes from a capital in the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona (Navarre) dated to circa 1145 (Fig. 54).<sup>176</sup> The main similarities are the way in which Joseph holds Christ, His body curving to the left with His head hanging, while the Virgin Mary softly holds her Son's arm. Christ wears a cross halo and a loincloth. A third example comes from an ivory plaque from Leon dated circa 1115-20 (Fig. 55).<sup>177</sup> The similarities between the Deposition of the ivory plaque and its analogous in the *Bible of Avila* are the way in which Joseph holds the curving body of Christ with his right hand on the abdominal area, and the left hand holding the opposite arm of Christ going behind Christ's body.<sup>178</sup> The Virgin Mary lovingly holds the arm of her Son. Christ wears a cross

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<sup>174</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 31.

<sup>175</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 169.

<sup>176</sup> De Palol, P., *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 1967, p. 156.

<sup>177</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 250-251.

<sup>178</sup> It is noteworthy that for the most part Nicodemus and St. John's position are exchanged, with Nicodemus being closer to Christ trying to pull out the nail of Christ's hand, and St. John further away either holding the other arm of Christ or reflecting on the moment.

halo and a loincloth. Yet there are other elements that are different. Nicodemus is pulling off the nail from the foot of Christ, not the hand. And finally, in the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, an artist coming from the tradition of the sculptures of Moissac and Souillac created a number of relief sculptures in the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos among which is the Deposition of Christ (Fig. 56).<sup>179</sup> In terms of iconography there are many similarities between this scene, and the Deposition of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. Christ is wearing a cross halo and a loincloth and He is deposited by Joseph holding His body while Nicodemus removes the nail from the left hand of Christ. The positions of St. John and Nicodemus, who are on the right of Christ, have been reversed in the *Bible of Avila*. St. John is now farther away from Christ and Nicodemus closer. On the left, the Virgin Mary gently hugs the arm of Christ. The Virgin Mary covers her hair with a veil, while the three men have long hair with a beard, similar to those in the *Bible of Avila*. In the sculpture in Santo Domingo de Silos there are additional figures above the cross, namely angels holding shrouds.

In terms of style the example that has a small likeness to the *Bible of Avila's* Deposition is the ivory relief panel from a reliquary in San Isidoro of Leon. This example only shows Christ as the largest figure, and the Virgin Mary holds Christ's arm downward. A second example is the relief sculpture of the Deposition in the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos that has a number of similarities to the correlating scene of the Deposition in the *Bible of Avila*. This example has the same linear quality, but the soft round edges are now gone. Nevertheless, the figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary have been elongated as in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ's ribcage has also been carefully incised.

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<sup>179</sup> Palacios, Mariano, Joaquin Yarza Luaces, y Rafael Torres, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 7a Ed., Madrid: Editorial Everest, S.A., 1989, p. 19.

There is a striking similarity in the way in which the separate locks of hair of Christ rest on the arms and chest of Christ. The Virgin Mary is also holding Christ's hand downward, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. A third example that also resembles the style in the *Bible of Avila* is the historiated capital of the cathedral of Pamplona.<sup>180</sup> The way the drapery falls is also very similar to the *Bible of Avila*. The loincloth covering Christ is of the same length and it also has soft curving edges with a marked linear quality. The ribs of Christ have been incised in the capital but Christ in the *Bible of Avila* has not been completed, but it is possible to still see the ribcage. In terms of composition, the Virgin Mary holds the arm of Christ downwards, as in the *Bible of Avila*. The final example that more closely resembles the Deposition in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the tympanum in the portal of the south transept of San Isidoro of Leon. The head of Christ is turned sideways towards the left in a similar position to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The position of the arms is also similar, as are the locks of hair resting softly on His shoulders. The drapery clings to the body of the figures and it has a linear quality but with a soft curving edge that is similar to the drapery in the *Bible of Avila*.

Another example of the Deposition comes from the church of San Justo and Pastor in Segovia dated to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 57). In this scene Christ is deposited from the cross. The Virgin Mary holds tightly the right arm of Christ, while Nicodemus unnails the left hand of Christ from the Cross and Joseph of Arimathea holds His body. Above the cross the Sun and the Moon appear again, along with the two angels, who now do not carry the incense burners—figures that do not appear in the *Bible of Avila*. On the left of Christ, Saint John and someone, possibly one of the holy women

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<sup>180</sup> De Palol, P., *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, 1967, p. 156.

that was present during the Deposition, accompanies wearing a halo.<sup>181</sup> Comparing this iconography with that of the *Bible of Avila*, there are some obvious differences similar to those in the Crucifixion. The angels and the Sun and the Moon are present in San Justo, but not in the *Bible of Avila*. It is worth noting that the position of Nicodemus is different from his analogous in the *Bible of Avila*. In San Justo Nicodemus is located underneath the left arm of the cross, pulling out the nail from the hand of Christ with more realistic tongs, while in the *Bible of Avila* Saint John occupies the space that Nicodemus has in San Justo, and on the other side, towards the left, Nicodemus reaches out with a tong curving unrealistically. In terms of style the similarities are scarce. The cross has a double border. The ribs, hands and face of the figures have been outlined, but many of them, including the one of Christ have not been completed.<sup>182</sup> The figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary are the largest ones, and this is similar to the hierarchy of size present in the *Bible of Avila*, but unlike in the *Bible of Avila* Mary holds Christ's arm upward. It is interesting to note that if this was the preliminary drawing before the artist applied the paint, both examples then differ in their approach to draftsmanship. In conclusion, although many scholars suggest that the artist who produced the cycle at San Justo and Pastor may have been stylistically related to the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*, after the stylistic analysis on every single scene of

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<sup>181</sup> Fernandez Somoza, G., "El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo," 1999, p. 234.

<sup>182</sup> Fernandez Somoza, G., "El Ciclo de la Pasion en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo," 1999, p. 235, mentions that the artist was unable to finish the painting, since there is an inscription next to the angel located on the right of Christ stating NON POTERO FACERE PINTURAS (I cannot do the painting).

the cycle in San Justo as compared to the cycle in the *Bible of Avila*, it is evident that they do not have many similarities.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII v is the Three Maries at the Tomb (Fig. 58). This episode can also be found in the Antiphonary of Leon (Fol. 187).<sup>183</sup> However there are scarcely any similarities between the representation as envisioned by the artist in the Antiphonary of Leon and that of the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. In terms of iconography I have not found a good example that the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* could have used as his source. Yet there are some conceptual examples of the Three Maries at the Tomb that have some of the most important iconographic and stylistic elements found in the *Bible of Avila*. In terms of iconography the example that has some iconographic similarity is the relief sculpture in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), dated to the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 59).<sup>184</sup> The relief panel in Santo Domingo represents the conflation of the Entombment and the Three Maries at the Tomb.<sup>185</sup> The composition has been divided into three registers. The lid of the sarcophagus divides the first and second registers, and the upper register represents the Three Maries. The action takes place underneath an arch with decorative capitals—in the *Bible of Avila* there are three arches instead of one. The Three Maries have ointment jars in their covered hands. The first Mary points towards

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<sup>183</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 31-32. Yarza Luaces also mentions that this scene was widely reproduced as a substitute for the Resurrection, which was not depicted until the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>184</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, p. 17.

<sup>185</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, p. 23.

the angel, in a similar fashion to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*, but unlike in the manuscript, the Maries are coming from the opposite direction and wear halos. Another similarity is the angel, who sits on the lid of the sarcophagus with his legs crossed, and his wings seem to come out of his halo. On the lowermost register are the soldiers sleeping next to their shield.<sup>186</sup> A second example of the Three Maries at the Tomb comes from the tympanum of the south transept of the church of San Isidoro of Leon from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 60).<sup>187</sup> This scene is located to the right of the Descent of Christ from the Cross. The three Maries approach the sepulcher with ointment jars in their hands, although the only visible part of the last Mary is her head. The sepulcher is represented with an arch over columns, and underneath is an angel that opens the empty sarcophagus—this is different from the sitting angel found in the *Bible of Avila*. The third example that resembles slightly its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* comes from an ivory plaque from a reliquary in Leon (Leon), which has been dated between 1115-1120 (Fig. 61).<sup>188</sup> The plaque has several elements in common with the iconography of its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The three Maries carry ointment jars and their heads are covered. They meet one angel who carries the cross of the Resurrection and its wings seem to emanate from his halo, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. The fourth example is the 12<sup>th</sup> century Lectionary of Silos, from the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos that

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<sup>186</sup> There is another example of the Three Maries at the Tomb in the church of San Justo and Pastor in Segovia, but it is heavily damaged. The identification of the Three Maries at the Tomb was done by Gloria Fernandez Somoza, “El Ciclo de la Pasión en las Pinturas Murales de la Iglesia de San Justo (Segovia),” 1999, p. 229.

<sup>187</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 169.

<sup>188</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 250-251, stated that it is possible that the plaques of this reliquary (three in total) could have been part of a complete cycle dealing with the Passion of Christ.



contains in folio 265 the Holy Women at the Sepulcher (Fig. 62).<sup>189</sup> The architectural setting is similar since the sepulcher has a three-arch covering—although the arches are more uniform and symmetrical in this example than in the *Bible of Avila*. There is one angel sitting over the tomb of Christ, and from above the ceiling hangs a censor. The three Maries are located inside the tomb, unlike in the *Bible of Avila*, yet their garments and the fact that they bring the ointment jars are similar. And finally the closest example is the fresco located in the Hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria) from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 63).<sup>190</sup> In San Baudelio the women approach the tomb carrying ointment jars, and all of them have their heads covered. The tomb itself has two chambers; each one of them is represented with an arch and separated by columns. The antechamber is filled with soldiers, and inside the chamber an angel with a halo sits over the tomb of Christ.

There are a number of motifs in this scene that also have other sources that are worth mentioning. The angels who have their wings attached to their halos have several iconographical sources. Among them is the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana in the monastery of Saints Facundo and Primitivo in Sahagun (Leon) dated to 1086 (Fig. 64).<sup>191</sup> Saint John's Vision of Christ (Apoc. 8: 2-5) in the verso of folio 102 contains the image of an angel. A pair of wings projects from the sides of its brilliant blue halo. There is an attempt to depict every feather individually, just as the Master of the

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<sup>189</sup> J. Dominguez Bordona, *La Miniatura Española*, Tomo I, Ed. Gustavo Gili, Barcelona: Pathon-Casa Editrice-Firenze, 1930, Fig. 46.

<sup>190</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 223-228.

<sup>191</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 158.

*Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* has tried to do with the wings of every angel depicted in the cycle. A second example comes from the monastery of San Millan de la Cogolla (Logroño) in the form of the ivory reliquary of Saint Aemelian dated between 1060 and 1080 (Fig. 65).<sup>192</sup> In this example an angel whose wings spring from his halo is coming out of a cloud. The halo also presents the curvilinear pattern that decorates the halo of some figures in the *Bible of Avila*. A third example is a column shaft that is decorated with putti gardening grapes now in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (La Coruña) dated between 1105-1110 (Fig. 66).<sup>193</sup> The putti have their wings on their head instead of their back.

In terms of style the next example resembles slightly its counterpart in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. In the mural painting of San Baudelio de Berlanga the similarities are few. Among them are the shapes of the helmet of the soldiers, which are pointed, and they have a protective mask on their faces. The soldier's chainmail is also done in a similar fashion, but the figures are stiff, and the drapery is different. A second example that is similar in style is the Three Maries at the Tomb in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos. The position of the angel is very similar and the wings come out of his halo with the left wing pointing down, and the right wing pointing up, and the angel is sitting down in the same position as the angel sitting at the head of the sarcophagus in the *Bible of Avila*. The soldier's chainmails are similar as are their helmets and their protection for their face, which covers everything but the eyes. A third example that is also similar in style is the Lectionary of Silos. The drapery pattern

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<sup>192</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 264-265.

<sup>193</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 212.

on the garment of the Maries is similar to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The drapery falls at the center with semicircular patterns. The garment of the angel is also similar. There appears to be the same soft curving edges in the drapery of the angel. The most similar example would be the ivory relief plaque from a reliquary in San Isidoro of Leon. The drapery of the figures has a linear quality and it falls in semicircles at the center, as in the *Bible of Avila*. The way in which the veils cover the women is also similar. And finally the Three Maries at the Tomb in the tympanum of San Isidoro has a number of stylistic similarities with its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. Among these similarities are the way the artist seems to use the wings of the angel to fill the empty space above him, just as the first angel in the *Bible of Avila*, the mantle that covers the shoulders of the angel and the fact that the arch is semicircular, like the three arches found in the *Bible of Avila*.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII v depicts the Anastasis or Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 67). According to Yarza Luaces, the *Bible of Avila* represents the traditional Castilian interpretation of the Harrowing of Hell, with the 12<sup>th</sup> century formula of Christ opening the fauces of the leviathan and pulling the Just from Hell.<sup>194</sup> Yet the way of representing this theme seems to vary. In manuscript illumination this theme had already been represented in the Beatus of Gerona (975), and it was considered to be surprisingly original and independent from Byzantine sources (Fig. 68).<sup>195</sup> Nevertheless, the visions of Hell in the Beatus of Gerona seem to be different in iconography and composition from

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<sup>194</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

the vision represented in the *Bible of Avila*.<sup>196</sup> Yet this is still a conceptual source for the Harrowing of Hell, where Christ pulls Adam and the Just from the mouth of the Leviathan, which is the theme that is being represented in the *Bible of Avila*. There are in addition a number of motifs that could have inspired the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*, especially the fantastic head of the Leviathan seen from above. An example that slightly resembles the head of the Leviathan in the *Bible of Avila* is the high relief sculpture of the lion guardian head under the tympanum of the south transept portal in the church of San Isidoro of Leon dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 69).<sup>197</sup> The head of the lion has every strand of hair individually depicted, and they curl at the tips. The eyebrows are protuberant and they shadow the fierce gaze just as in the *Bible of Avila*. The lion has a short and flat snout, and the corner of the lips arch downwards. The only difference lies in the fact that the ears are rounded and not pointed, as they appear in the *Bible of Avila*. A second example that could have been used as a conceptual source for the leviathan is an ivory casket from Pamplona dated between 1004 and 1005 (Fig. 70).<sup>198</sup> The casket depicts a bas relief of a hunter and two lions. The lion that bites the shield of the hunter is seen from above. The lion has pointed ears, and the eyebrows are very prominent. Each lock of hair has been delineated to create the

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<sup>196</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, pp. 298-299, John W. Williams mentions that the large Hell Mouth of the Descend into Hell recalls the English popularity of this theme, and that there was knowledge of the English manuscript tradition in Spain as exemplified by the figure styles displayed in the Cardeña Beatus. Despite this stylistic analogy, there are no iconographic examples that would relate to the Harrowing of Hell in the *Bible of Avila*.

<sup>197</sup> Viñayo Gonzalez, A. *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro: Historia, Arte y Vida*, 1998, p. 51.

<sup>198</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 124.

beautiful mane, but the tips do not curl. Unlike in the *Bible of Avila*, the snout is longer but the corner of the lips curve downwards like in the *Bible of Avila*. A third example is from pair of capitals from the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos) that have a number of bass relief motifs of lion heads with vegetation coming out from their open mouths (Fig. 71).<sup>199</sup> The lions appear to have a short snout, very defined eyebrows, and big round eyes. Their ears are pointed and their mane is done in a similar fashion to that of the *Bible of Avila*, with curls at the tips. Other important motifs are the devils that try to pull the Just back to Hell.

The figurative style of the Harrowing of Hell is similar to the rest of the cycle. Adam and the Old Testament Prophets are nude and their proportions and gender characteristics are clumsy, but they are continuing a tradition that was already present in early manuscript illumination such as in the Beatus of Gerona (975). In the Beatus the nude figures are unproportional with their arms being longer, two semicircles representing the pectoral and breasts, but their gender is undistinguishable—similar to the body types found in the *Bible of Avila*. An interesting motif that has an immediate similar antecessor is the way the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* has done the hair of the figures. In the copy of the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana found in the monastery of Saints Facundo and Primitivo, Sahagun (Leon) dated to 1086, the hair of the figures is compartmentalized in kidney-shape bundles that diminish in size as they reach the neck area. Each bundle then has a linear quality with every hair being depicted. This hair styling is similar to the hairstyle in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*.

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<sup>199</sup> Marques de Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispanico*, 1931, p. 416.

Another motif that is repeated in a number of occasions in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*, also present in the Harrowing of Hell, is the way the artist did the collar of some of the garments. An example of this can be found in the shrine of Saints Adrian and Natalia from the monastery of San Adrian de Boñar (Leon) dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 72).<sup>200</sup> The silver and oak shrine was decorated with *repoussé* reliefs depicting the dismembering of Adrian at Nicomedia.<sup>201</sup> The collar of the garments of the figures is done with a double rectangular shape that curves at the edges, and is open at the center with a longer but narrow curving rectangle, which is done in a similar way to its correlating motif in the *Bible of Avila*. In addition to this motif, the drapery of the garments of the figures is similar, with the bodice incised with semicircular almost parallel lines that go across their bodies. Other examples that also resemble slightly the collar motif in the *Bible of Avila* are the ivory panels from a reliquary in Leon dated between 1115 and 1120 (Fig. 73).<sup>202</sup> In the Journey to Emmaus, and the Noli me Tangere, Christ wears a similar garment with the same type of collar, although in the ivory example the collar is dotted. Another example that more closely resembles the motif of the collar comes from the large relief sculptures from the cloister panels of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), dated to the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 257.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 250-251.

<sup>203</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, p. 17.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII v is the *Noli me Tangere* (Fig. 74). The iconography of the *Bible of Avila* on this theme is rather extraordinary and unique. Christ was not to be represented as a gardener again until the beginnings of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>204</sup> According to Yarza Luaces an example of the *Noli me Tangere* can be found in the Homilies of San Isidoro of Leon that is dated by him to the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>205</sup> The tradition of the *Noli me Tangere* in Castile and Leon has Christ and Mary Magdalene positioned next to each other, with Christ moving away from Mary Magdalene when she attempts to hold on to Him. An example of this type of iconography can be found in the ivory reliquary of Leon dated between 1115 and 1120 (Fig. 75).<sup>206</sup> Even though this example has no iconographical similarities to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*, in terms of style there are some similarities. The garment of Christ has the same type of collar, as already mentioned above. The drapery falls at the front with semicircular pleats, and the fabric on the left outlines a rather straight leg, with a number of small folds that have been double incised, as in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ seems to wear an undergarment in the ivory that wrinkles between His legs. In the *Bible of Avila* we have a similar happening.

The next scene on folio CCCXXIII v represents the Pilgrims of Emmaus (Fig. 76). According to Yarza Luaces, this is the only example of the Pilgrims of Emmaus found in the illuminated manuscripts in Castile and Leon from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, p. 557.

<sup>205</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografia de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>206</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 250-251.

centuries.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, there are other examples found in relief sculpture. In terms of iconography the one that slightly resembles the iconography in the *Bible of Avila* is the relief panel found at the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos) dated to the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 77).<sup>208</sup> Christ is located on the right followed by the two disciples. This is also the arrangement in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ seems to carry a staff and a pouch, although the bottle is missing, and the pouch has a shell instead of a cross.<sup>209</sup> Unlike in the *Bible of Avila* Christ looks back at His disciples who in turn look up at Him. A second example that highly resembles its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila* is the Journey to Emmaus found in an ivory reliquary in Leon dated between 1115 and 1120 (Fig. 78).<sup>210</sup> In the ivory relief Christ is located on the left and He gestures towards the two disciples, placing His hand over the right shoulder of the one closer to Him—in the *Bible of Avila* their position is reversed. Christ is being represented as a pilgrim with the accoutrements that this implies. He wears a simple tunic, no longer does the *pallium* wrap Him, and He holds a staff with a bottle and a pouch, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. The pouch is decorated with an equal-armed cross, which is the form that identifies Crusaders.<sup>211</sup> The pouch that Christ carries in the Pilgrims at Emmaus in the

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<sup>207</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>208</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, p. 17.

<sup>209</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 251, John W. Williams mentions that the shell is the traditional symbol for the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

<sup>210</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, pp. 250-251.

<sup>211</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 251, John W. Williams mentions that this may be meant to identify the scene with Jerusalem, but that the floral terminations of the arms do not belong to the traditional cross of the Crusaders—which is the cross that appears in the Pilgrims at Emmaus in the *Bible of Avila*.



*Bible of Avila* shows the same type of cross. In both examples the figures of the disciples gesture with their hands presenting the palm to the viewer. In terms of composition Christ holds the staff with His right hand and with His left hand he touches the disciple. In the *Bible of Avila* this composition is reversed; Christ holds the staff with His left hand, and with His right hand, which is cupped as if He is touching someone's arm, is extended.

In terms of style the example that slightly resembles its analogous in the *Bible of Avila* is the relief panel in the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos. The similarities lie in the way the mantle wraps around the figures; the collar motif on the garment of one of the disciples is the same as in the *Bible of Avila* where only one of the disciples has it; and the way the upper section of the garment is done in parallel curving lines that are perpendicular to the falling drapery covering the legs of the figures. The ivory relief sculpture shows a more acute similarity to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The hands of the disciples are larger in proportion, which is a characteristic that is repeated in the *Bible of Avila*. Only one disciple has the collar motif, just as in the *Bible of Avila*. Christ's garment is similar in both examples, with the falling drapery and the front part of it lifted almost to the knee from the motion of walking. The garment of the disciple located on the right clinches to his legs creating a strong vertical focus, which is similar to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. Still, the garments have the same type of soft curving edges as in the *Bible of Avila*.

The next scene on folio CCCXXV r depicts the Supper at Emmaus (Fig. 79). According to Yarza Luaces, this scene is unique to the *Bible of Avila*. There are no other representations of the Supper at Emmaus in the manuscripts of Castile and Leon from the

11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>212</sup> In terms of iconography, this theme is a repetition of the Last Supper but reduced in numbers. Instead of having thirteen retainers, the Last Supper has three: Christ and the two disciples.<sup>213</sup>

The next scene on folio CCCXXV r represents the Doubting Thomas (Fig. 80). According to Yarza Luaces, this scene is unique to the *Bible of Avila*. There are no other representations of the Doubting Thomas in the manuscripts of Castile and Leon from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>214</sup> Yet there is one in a relief panel of the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos) dated to the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 81).<sup>215</sup> In terms of iconography there are some similarities. The event takes place in the presence of all the disciples, but the position of the disciples is different in both examples since the relief sculpture has a vertical composition and the *Bible of Avila* has a more horizontal composition. Christ raises His right arm straight up, allowing Thomas, who is located on the left underneath Christ's arm, to touch the open wound. This is similar in both examples. Christ has a cross halo and his hair and beard are long. In both examples Christ is semi-covered by His garment, and in both examples Christ has his left hand raised up to his chest.

In terms of style there are some similarities between the relief on the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos and its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*. The drapery of the garment of the figures is similar in so far as it falls in a linear fashion and it clinches to

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<sup>212</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>213</sup> Reau, L., *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien*, 1957, pp. 563-565, mentions the Bible of Avila as one of the earliest representations of this theme.

<sup>214</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

<sup>215</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, p. 17.

the legs of the figures creating a rather vertical quality. In addition, the shoulders of the figures curve down in a similar fashion and the way in which the *pallium* wraps around some of the figures is very similar. Most of the figures in the relief panel have the collar motif on their garments, which is similar to its correlating motif in the *Bible of Avila*.

The next scene on folio CCCXXV r depicts the Ascension of Christ (Fig. 82). According to Yarza Luaces, in the miniatures of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries of Castile and Leon, the theme of the Ascension is very popular (Fig. 83).<sup>216</sup> An example of the Ascension can be found in the already mentioned Antiphonary of Leon (folio 240) (Fig. 84), in the south transept tympanum of the church of San Isidoro of Leon from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 85). But the tradition in the north of Spain seems to be somewhat different to what we have in the *Bible of Avila*, which seems to follow Hellenistic counterparts. The iconography on the examples mentioned has Christ being carried to Heaven by angels. In the Antiphonary of Leon and in the relief panel of Santo Domingo de Silos some of the Apostles are located underneath Christ and their heads are looking upwards. The example from San Isidoro does not have the Apostles.

In terms of style, the Ascension in the Antiphonary of Leon has no similarities with the *Bible of Avila*. The style is more geometric, and less natural. On the other hand, the second example that comes from the tympanum at San Isidoro of Leon has a number of similarities with the *Bible of Avila*. The stronger similarities are the linear and soft curving style of the drapery; the figurative style, where the proportions of the figures are similar, and the linear pattering of the hairstyle.

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<sup>216</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellano-Leonesa*, 1973, p. 32.

The last scene of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* on folio CCCXXV v represents the Pentecost, the Mission to the Apostles, or Second Coming of Christ or the Last Judgment (Fig. 86). According to Yarza Luaces, there are only three versions of Pentecost in the miniatures of Castile and Leon of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The *Bible of Avila* is one of them, and the others are in the *Missale Vetus Oxomense* and in the *Homilies of Saint Isidore of Leon*.<sup>217</sup> A traditional example of the Pentecost comes from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos) dated to the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 87).<sup>218</sup> In terms of iconography there are very few similarities. The twelve Apostles are located on the bottom of the composition, with six of them in front, and the other remaining six are placed behind them. On the top appears the head of the Virgin Mary staring at the hand of God that comes out from a cloud, flanked by two angels. The only similarity is that the twelve Apostles are looking towards heaven. The cross-position of the feet of the Apostles seem to indicate that they are seated, and not standing.<sup>219</sup> In terms of style both works are similar in their linear quality on the treatment of the drapery. From this iconographic and stylistic analysis of a traditional

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<sup>217</sup> Yarza Luaces, J., *Iconografía de la Miniatura Castellana-Leonesa*, 1973, pp. 32-33, also mentions the fact that these three examples of the Pentecost are similar in the fact that they place little or no importance to the image of the Virgin Mary.

<sup>218</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, p. 17.

<sup>219</sup> Palacios, M., Yarza Luaces, J., y Torres, R., *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1989, pp. 22-23, mention that the position of the feet of the figures is related to dancing. Nevertheless, through observation and a careful reading of the literature of the Pentecost (Acts 2:1-5) where it is stated, "And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty with, and it filled all the house where they were sitting." It would seem logical to conclude that the position of the feet of the Apostles is that of sitting, but because of the limited space of a vertical slab, the artist has minimized the position that is now being indicated in the position of the feet.

image of the Pentecost in Spain, we can infer that the iconography that is present in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* is different.

Yet, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, the iconography of the Pentecost has been questioned by Maria Rodriguez Velasco who believes that the iconography in the *Bible of Avila* could also relate to the Mission to the Apostles because there is no indication of the Descend of the Holy Spirit, and the Virgin Mary is absent.<sup>220</sup> Rodriguez Velasco does not go into any more detail or explanation of why the folio in the *Bible of Avila* would represent the Mission to the Apostles, but if this identification is accepted, then two questions remain: why are there twelve figures, if in the Mission to the Apostles only eleven were present, and why the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* did not place it before the Ascension, and then make the Ascension of Christ into Heaven the final scene in the Cycle.

I would like to suggest that the iconography of the last folio in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the Second Coming of Christ. In Acts of the Apostles (Acts 1: 9-11) two men in white apparel told Christ's disciples that "[...] why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." The "in like manner" would translate into pictorial terms as Christ coming in an Ascension type of iconography. There are a number of examples of the Second Coming of Christ in the Commentary to the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana. An example of the Second Coming of Christ comes from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century *Beatus* of San Millan de la Cogolla, Rioja (Logroño) (Fig.

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<sup>220</sup> Rodriguez Velasco, M., "Iconografía del Nuevo Testamento en la Biblia de Avila," 1999, p. 364.

88).<sup>221</sup> In terms of iconography both represent Christ, who is flanked by two angels, and underneath them stand the Apostles—although there are only nine in the example from San Millan. It is interesting that neither example shows Christ holding the Book of the Just in His hand. Another similarity is the fact that none of the figures wear halos with the only exception of Christ who wears a cross halo. In terms of style, both examples are clearly divided into two levels, even though the example of San Millan uses a cloud to achieve this division, while the example in the *Bible of Avila* uses architecture, and both span the width of the figures underneath. In addition there are other examples where an enthroned Christ on a *mandorla* is found in the same context with the twelve Apostles standing under architecture. An example can be found in the gilt-copper alloy with cabochons casket of Saint Demetrius found in the church of San Esteban, Loarre (Huesca) in circa 1100 (Fig. 89).<sup>222</sup> The four sides of the casket represent the twelve Apostles, who are depicted under arcades, and they are gazing upward with ecstatic attitudes. One side of the lid depicts Christ enthroned in a *mandorla* surrounded by the Tetramorphs, and the other side depicts a triumphal Christ flanked by four angels.<sup>223</sup> In terms of style the similarities are very close. The drapery of the figures has the same linear quality, with soft curving edges. In addition the folds on the front of some of the garments fall with semicircular convex shapes, and the top garments of some figures have

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<sup>221</sup> Mentre, M., *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, p. 210, mentions that illustration of the Vision of the Second Coming of Christ is generally arranged in two different levels that are clearly separated “by means of a cloud barring the width of the horizon above the humans.”

<sup>222</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, pp. 257-258. Charles T. Little has argued that the body and the lid of the casket are iconographically linked to the theme of the Second Coming of Christ.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

semicircular concave shapes. Another similarity comes from the way the nose and the upper lip of the figures are united by a straight line, and this is evident in both examples. A second example that comes from the sumptuary arts is the black oak and gilded silver *Arca Santa* of Ovideo dated to the late 11<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 90).<sup>224</sup> In one of the side panels of the *Arca*, Christ is enthroned in a mandorla that is being held by angels—which is similar to its counterpart in the *Bible of Avila*—and at either side, arranged in two registers, are the twelve Apostles who are located underneath individual arcades. An important observation needs to be made, in both examples Christ does not carry the Book of the Just in His hand. The *Arca Santa* also presents a number of inscriptions identifying the scenes and the events that are taking place in the iconography. In terms of style the similarities are numerous. The drapery is similar in the way it wraps around the figures, in the patterns of semicircular folds on the front of their garments, and in the way the legs are very clearly outlined underneath their garments. Christ's *pallium* wraps symmetrically over His shoulders, allowing a view of the tunic underneath. After this iconographic and stylistic analysis it is possible to conclude that the iconography of the Second Coming of Christ was well established in the Peninsula from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, and even though the examples from the sumptuary arts are not exact, they can be used as a conceptual source for the type of imagery necessary to depict this theme.

I will further argue that the architecture present in the Second Coming of Christ in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* stands for the Church. The head-down composition of the angels will indicate a descending movement and they are holding the double mandorla, on which Christ sits, and is coming back “in like manner.” Christ is

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<sup>224</sup> *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, pp. 259-260.

descending to take possession of the *Hetoimasia*, the throne that has been prepared for Him from where He would pass judgment at the end of time. This assumption seems to be supported by the fact that the event is taking place in front of a background of star-patterns that would place the scene on a heavenly setting.<sup>225</sup>

In this chapter, the conclusions drawn from this comparative iconographic and stylistic analysis of the *Bible of Avila* and the examples found around the north of Spain are many. The Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* seems to have been aware of the traditions of iconography from the minor arts and mural painting, as well as the tradition of Romanesque sculpture in the Peninsula. Yet there are a number of iconographic examples, such as Christ as the Gardener or Supper at Emmaus, that apparently do not have any evident sources in the pictorial arts of the north of Spain during the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is possible that some of this iconography relates to an example that has been lost long ago. On the other hand, there are also a number of characteristics that would indicate that some elements have been the product of the artist's imagination, such as the mouth of Hell in the Harrowing of Hell. Finally, in terms of style the Master seems to rely heavily on the minor arts, especially the sumptuary arts and ivory relief sculpture.

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<sup>225</sup> The star pattern that appears in the Bible of Avila has been abstracted or minimized to its essential components: a cross that has been surrounded by a red outline that creates a flower pattern. The abstracted flower pattern can be found in examples such as the ivory panel in Leon of Christ in Majesty with Saints Peter and Paul dated to circa 1063 (see *The Art of Medieval Spain, ad 500-1200*, 1993, p. 246, Fig. 112), or in the mural paintings of the Pantheon of the Kings in San Isidoro of Leon (see Viñayo Gonzalez, *San Isidoro de Leon Panteon de los Reyes*, 1995, Fig. 14), where both versions of the flower pattern and the abstraction of it can be found.



## CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

This thesis attempts focuses on the problems posed by the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. In Chapter 1 a number of problems were identified concerning the *Bible of Avila* in general, and the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in particular. Scholars have traced the origins of the *Bible of Avila* (Bibl. Nac. Cod. Vit. 15-1) to the Umbro-Roman region in Italy, from where it was exported to Spain. Yet, for all the sumptuousness of the Italian section it remained inexplicably unfinished. Later, at an unknown location in Spain, the Bible was completed with the insertion of the texts of Esdras 3-5 (fols. 168-79), the Psalms (fols. 204v-217v) and the genealogical tables. In addition, at an unknown time, three folios were incorporated depicting the most extensive and independent cycle of New Testament scenes of the Life and Passion of Christ found in Spanish manuscript illumination. The three parts of the *Bible of Avila* were obviously done by different hands, and problems arise when trying to place them in a chronological frame. Although there is no consensus among the few scholars that have tried to date this manuscript, the general accepted date places the Italian section of the manuscript in the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and this has set a date of reference for the Spanish section of the Bible. Several scholars have dated the Spanish section as a whole to the late 12<sup>th</sup> century or early 13<sup>th</sup> century. No scholars have taken into consideration the possibility that the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* could have been created separately and later added to the *Bible of Avila*. There are a number of elements in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* that make it unique,

and exceptional and that set it apart from the Italian and the Spanish sections of the *Bible of Avila*. Among the peculiarities found in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* is the introduction of scenes that are unusual for the time period. There is also an independent use of iconography with no obvious connections to previous or contemporary examples, and there is an unfinished quality to a number of the illuminations. This thesis attempts to clarify the iconography and the stylistic sources of the Master of the Life and Passion of Christ in the *Bible of Avila* in order to suggest a firmer dating for these unique folios and their possible function.

Chapter 2 identified the traditional and less traditional iconographical forms in order to establish a parallel between the iconography found in Spanish Romanesque manuscripts from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century with the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. A number of scenes in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* follow traditional iconography. Among the traditional iconography are the scenes depicting the Passion of Christ, such as the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Three Maries at the Tomb, the Harrowing of Hell, and Ascension, and the Second Coming of Christ. However, there are also a great number of scenes in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* for which there are no iconographical parallels from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century in Spanish Romanesque manuscripts. Among the less traditional iconography are all the scenes depicting the Life of Christ and some episodes of the Passion of Christ, such as the Baptism of Christ, the Wedding Feast at Cana, the Presentation of Christ at the Temple, the Temptations of Christ, the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples, the Deposition and Suicide of Judas, the *Noli me Tangere*, the Road to Emmaus, the Supper at Emmaus, and the Doubting

Thomas. An iconographic peculiarity that repeats through out the Cycle is the way the Master of the Life and Passion of Christ uses halos in an indiscriminate way. The Virgin Mary never wears a halo, but it varies on the Apostles since sometimes they wear them and others they do not. From this analysis it is possible to infer that the Master of the Life and Passion of Christ was aware to a certain degree of the tradition of manuscript illumination in Romanesque Spain, or it is possible that he had a source that no longer exists, from where he copied every single scene. In addition, an inscription accompanies every scene in the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. The inscriptions have been written in the Vulgate with a different calligraphy than the script found in the Italian or in the Spanish sections of the *Bible of Avila*. The inscriptions are located in awkward places, such as the outside of the frame as in the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, or they are crowded together filling the open spaces between the figures as in the Temptations of Christ or the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples. There is one instance in which the inscription has been added to the interior of one of the decorative borders over the Last Supper, but the decoration of the border was previously scraped, since there was insufficient space within the scene to add the inscription. There is no true parallelism between the scenes and the inscriptions since in some instances the inscriptions are descriptions of the event that is depicted, such as the Baptism of Christ or the Last Supper, and in other instances the inscriptions have been copied literally from the actual passage found in the *Bible of Avila* including the dialogues, such as the Temptations of Christ or the Washing of the Feet of the Disciples. In addition, some of the inscriptions that identified the scenes are erroneous, such as the inscription that appears in the Wedding Feast at Cana or the inscription in the Second Coming of Christ.

In the former, the inscription identifies the scene as the wedding of the cupbearer, and in the latter, the inscription identifies the scene as the Pentecost, which does not match the iconography of the scene. This evidence would indicate that the inscriptions were added after the illuminations were completed, and probably by a different hand from that of the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*, or that of the scribe who copied the Spanish section of the bible. In conclusion, the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* was vaguely familiar with the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century tradition of manuscript illumination in Romanesque Spain, and he created the cycle of illuminations before they were incorporated into the *Bible of Avila*. When the inscriptions were written and what their relationship is to the *Bible of Avila*, if any, is a matter that needs further attention.

Chapter 3 analyzed the style of the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. With regard to style, the artist exhibits a number of unusual and extraordinary aspects. The artist used a wide variety of motifs for the decoration of the borders that were carried with different degrees of intricacy. In terms of composition, the figures were not integrated in the diegetic space, since many figures overlap the frame and certain elements are even positioned outside the frame. The artist still uses the convention of hierarchy of size, where Christ is the largest figure in most cases. In addition the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* employs color as the main unifier between the scenes with predominating vermilion, dark red, grayish blue, yellow and dark green hues. The artist approaches architecture in a free flowing manner not differentiating exterior from interior architectural space. In addition, the artist has a less than constant approach to perspective since in a few occasions the

artist achieves a certain degree of natural or rudimentary perspective, and in other occasions the artist continues the tradition of using inverted perspective. None of the compositions have full symmetry, not even when the theme requires such conventions, as in the Last Supper or the Second Coming of Christ. The figurative style is vigorously linear with no, or little, modeling to show volume. The figures are elongated and more or less proportional with a couple of exceptions, as in the Doubting Thomas where Christ's figure has been grotesquely deformed. The figures are rendered in a profile or three-quarter view, and only Christ in the Second Coming presents a complete frontal stance. In a number of instances the artist has carefully delineated the muscles and shadows of the body and the face, but in other cases he has left the figures strangely unfinished. For example, the interior of the anatomical structure of Christ in the Crucifixion has been completed, but it is incomplete in the next scene. Furthermore, a number of figures were partially painted, increasing the unfinished feeling of the Cycle. The style then presents itself as coarse but full of verve. From the stylistic analysis it is possible to conclude that a single artist, who for some unknown reason left certain elements unfinished, created the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ*. That one single artist did the cycle is evidenced by the use of the same compositional and figurative style through out the cycle. In addition, there are some elements that appear to be experimental such as the coloring of the drapery—done in different styles but unified nevertheless—or the application of color to the faces and bodies of certain figures in the middle of the cycle, but not done so at the beginning nor at the end. In addition, the artist's use of different iconographical formulas, such as the Syrian, Hellenistic and Early Christian, the more traditional or archaic

elements and the original elements, would indicate that the artist was aware of the artistic tendencies of his time and the traditions from which they came.

Chapter 4 investigated the possible sources for the iconography and style that influenced the Master of the Life and Passion of Christ. A great number of sources can be found in Spain along the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela, along the territorial boundaries of the kingdom of Castile and Leon with the Muslim territories, and possibly along the ivory trade routes. To this author's eye, it appears that the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* saw or was familiar with a number of the comparative works described. The strongest comparisons in terms of iconography can be found in the *Arca Santa* (Oviedo) from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos) from the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the ivory plaques of the abbey of San Millan de la Cogolla (Rioja) dated to 1060-1080, or the Beatus of San Millan de la Cogolla dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century. In terms of style, the closer comparisons identified by this author are the *Arca Santa* (Oviedo) from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the ivory plaque of San Felices, from the North of Spain dated to circa 1090, or the tympanum in San Isidoro of Leon (Leon) from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. An important issue is the connection of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* with the cycle of mural paintings in the church of San Justo and Pastor (Segovia) from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century or early 13<sup>th</sup> century. Two authors, S. Moralejo and Joaquin Yarza Luaces, have maintained that the Cycle of the Passion of Christ in San Justo and Pastor is stylistically related to the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila*. However after careful examination of the iconography and style of both cycles, the present study indicates that their assumptions are partially right. Both

cycles appear to be connected, but that connection is closer in terms of iconography than style. There is an unmistakable similarity between the two cycles on the surface, but that similarity ends when a closer analysis is performed. I would like to suggest that it was the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* that the artist of San Justo and Pastor used as his model for his cycle. At this moment it is necessary to remember that the whereabouts of the *Bible of Avila* are unknown from its arrival in Spain, sometime in the last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when an inscription on folio CCXCVIII v places it at the cathedral of Avila.

In summary, the three folios depicting the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* were inserted into the bible after its completion in Spain. The Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* seems to have been aware of the traditions of iconography from the minor arts and mural painting as well as the tradition of Romanesque sculpture in the Peninsula. Yet there are a number of iconographic examples, such as Christ as the Gardener or Supper at Emmaus, that apparently do not have any sources in the pictorial arts of the north of Spain during the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is possible that some of this iconography relates to an example that has been lost long ago. On the other hand, there are also a number of characteristics that would indicate that some elements have been the product of the artist's imagination, such as the mouth of Hell in the Harrowing of Hell. Once again in terms of style the Master seems to rely heavily on the minor arts (sumptuary arts and ivory relief sculpture). In conclusion, the Master of the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* was an itinerant artist who was personally familiar with the major examples of

sculpture, painting and the minor arts found in the northern regions of Spain. He seems to have been active during the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the comparative material, which is dated to the late 11<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup> century and that was used in this preliminary study, greatly resembles the iconography and style of the cycle. From this analysis it is logical to conclude that the *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* in the *Bible of Avila* was created sometime in the second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The question of the function of the cycle still remains. If the three folios were produced separately and then incorporated into a major *oeuvre*, then it would explain some of the most extraordinary aspects of the cycle. Aside from the small inscriptions that accompanied the scenes in the cycle, there is no text. Therefore the folios were not intended to be read. These illuminations may have served as a visual guide either as a model book or as a teaching device. The *Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ* could be a surviving copy of an Early Christian picture book.<sup>226</sup> On the other hand, the folios have been placed immediately preceding the Gospels, and therefore they could function as a teaching device in the main context of the *Bible of Avila*. However, if they were originally independent, then the three folios depicting the Life and Passion of Christ would stand as a separate work of art.

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<sup>226</sup> Jonathan J. G. Alexandre, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 4.



## CHAPTER 6 FIGURES



Figure 1. Initial I with King Asuerus (Esther), detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Italy, Rome (?), ca. 1150-1160. A) Tempera on parchment, 587 x 397 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. 181v.



Figure 2. Initial B with King David Playing the Harp, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. 197 v.



Figure 3. Initial A with Prophet Ezra, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Cod, Vit.15-1, fol. 164 v.

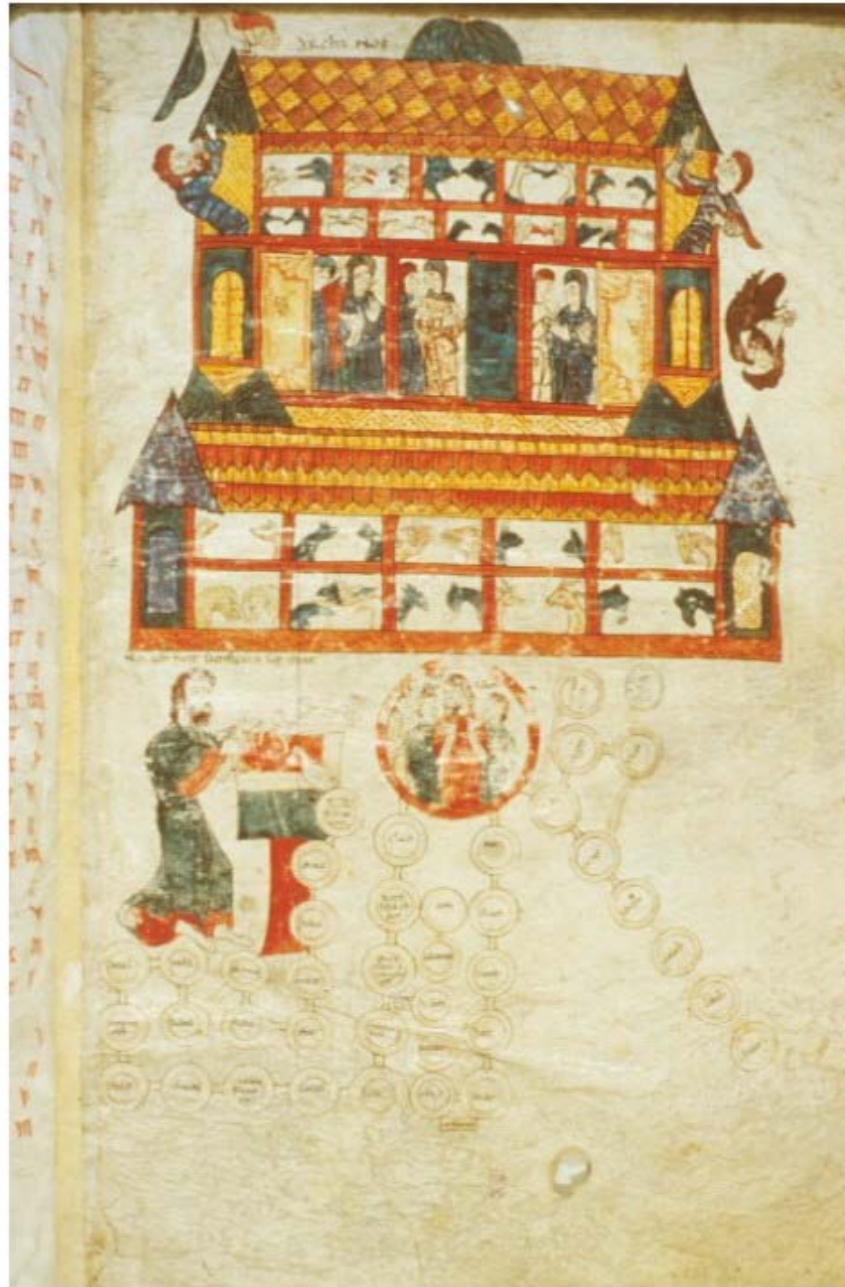


Figure 4. Noah's Ark, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. 1 r.





Figure 5. Noah's Ark, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. 1 r.



Figure 6. Noah making a sacrifice, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. 1 r.



Figure 7. The Baptism of Christ, The Wedding Feast at Cana, The Presentation of Christ at the Temple, The Three Temptations of Christ, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII r.





Figure 8. The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, The Last Supper, The Last Supper, The Washing of the Feet of the Disciples, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 9. The Kiss of Judas, The Crucifixion, and The Deposition and Suicide of Judas, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.





Figure 10. The Three Maries at the Tomb, The Harrowing of Hell, The Noli me Tangere, and The Pilgrims of Emmaus, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.





Figure 11. The Supper at Emmaus, The Doubting Thomas, and The Ascension, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXV r.



Figure 12. Second Coming of Christ, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Tempera on parchment, 585 x 385 mm. B) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXV v.



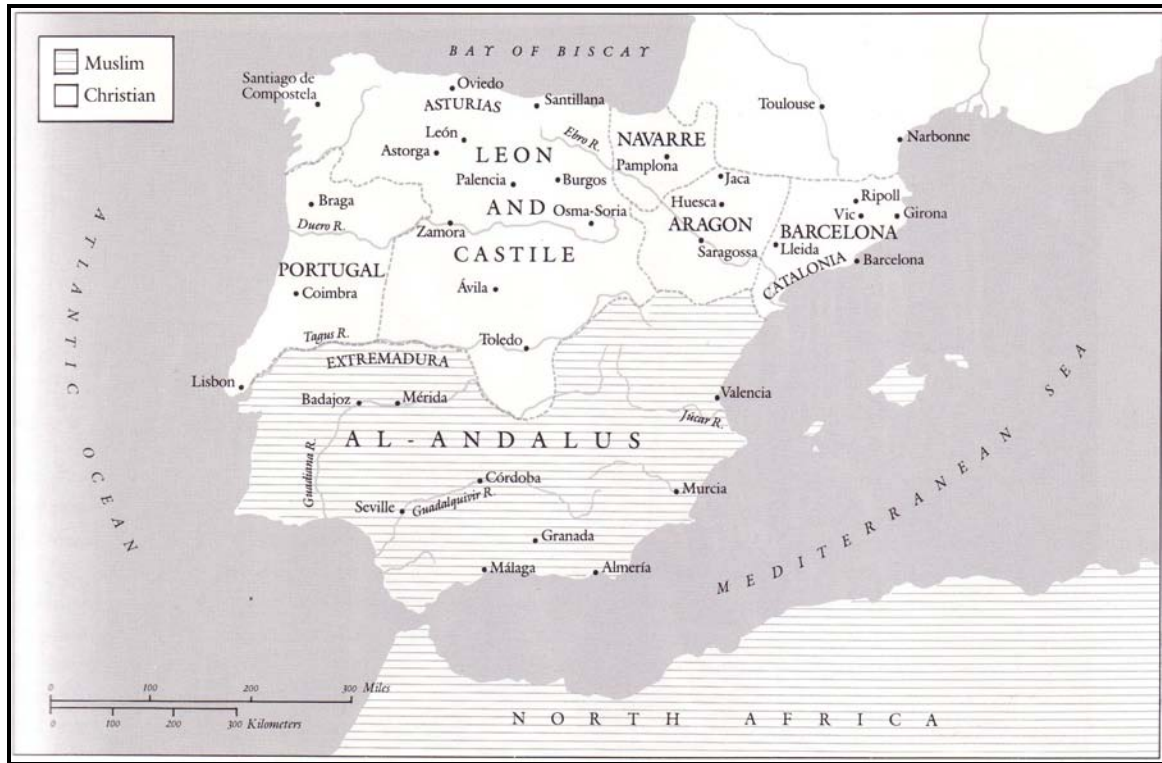


Figure 13. Romanesque Spain A) (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pg. 11).

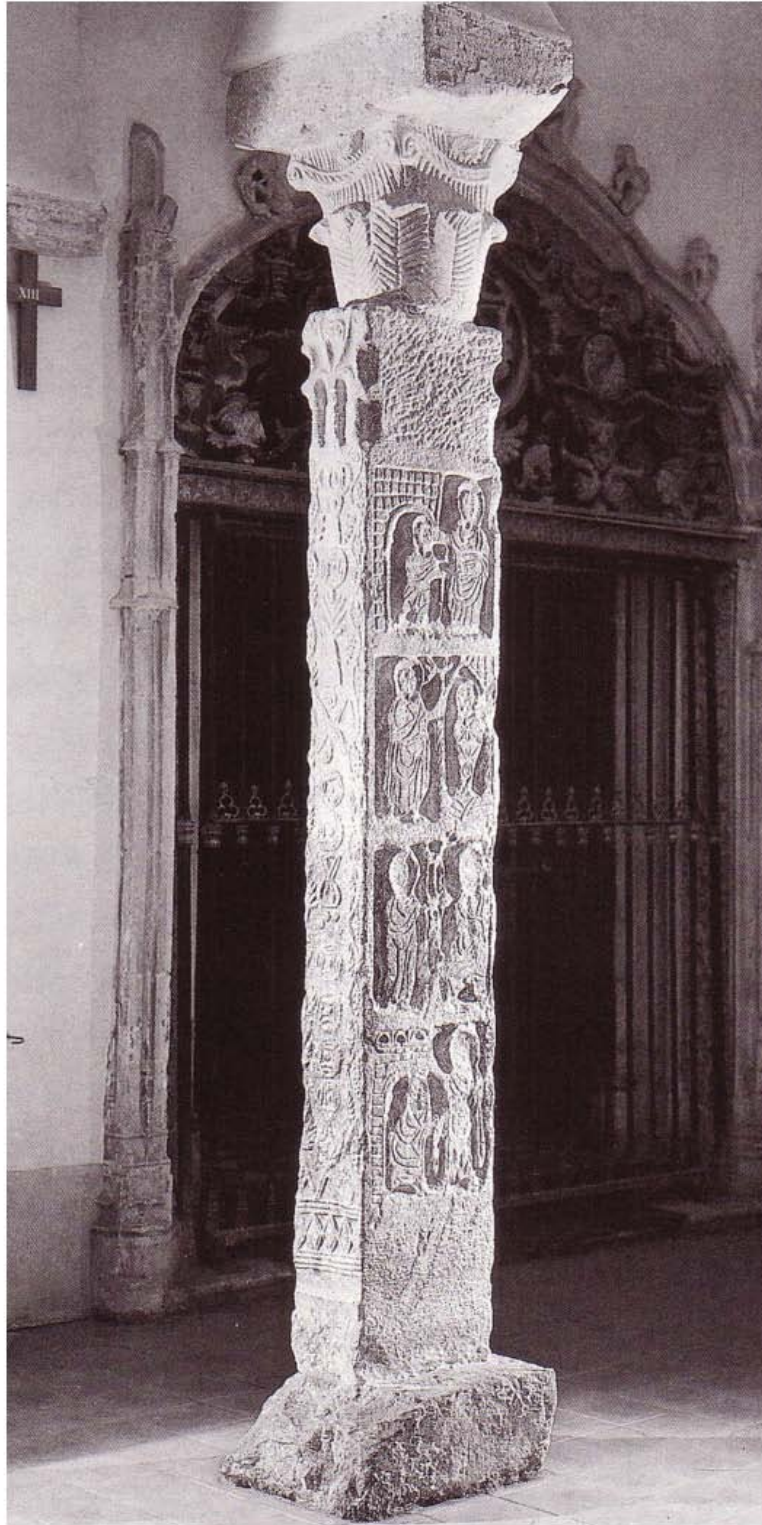


Figure 14. Visigothic pier with scenes from the life of Christ, San Salvador, Toledo A)  
(*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 16).





Figure 15. Hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria), mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Fresco transferred to canvas (Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispanico*, Fig. 565).

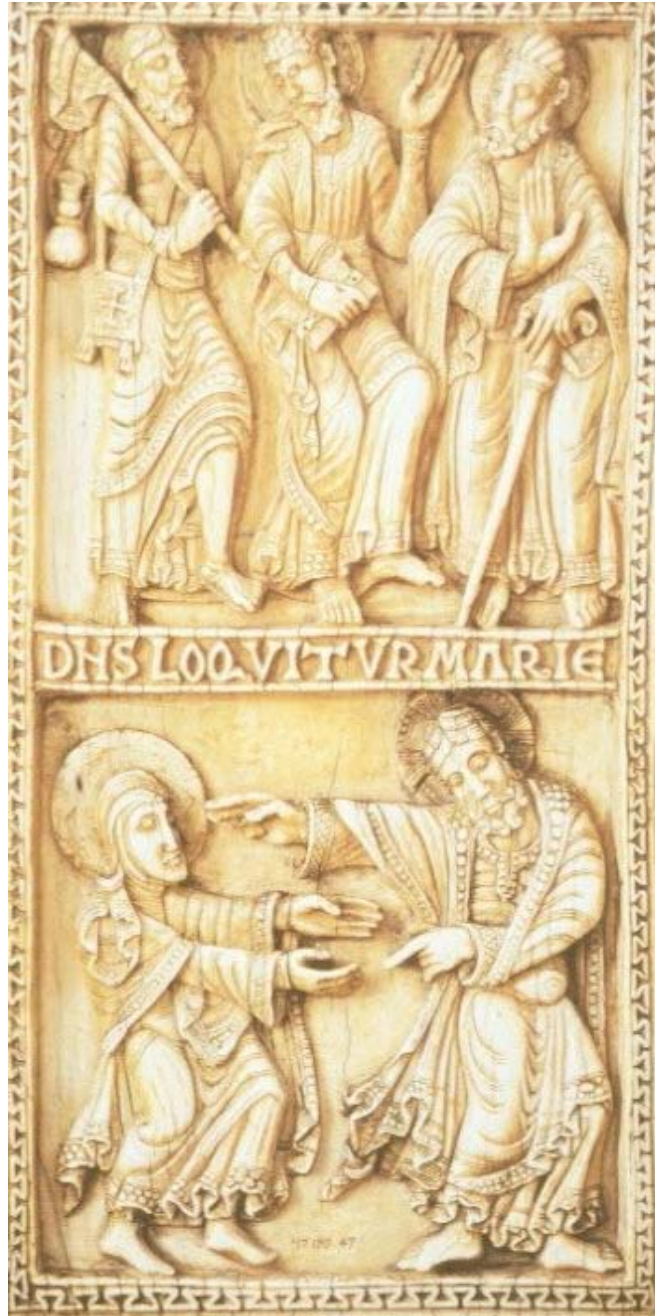


Figure 16. The Journey to Emmaus and Noli me Tangere, plaque from a reliquary from León (León), ca. 1115-1120. A) Ivory, 27x13.2 cm. B) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 115c).

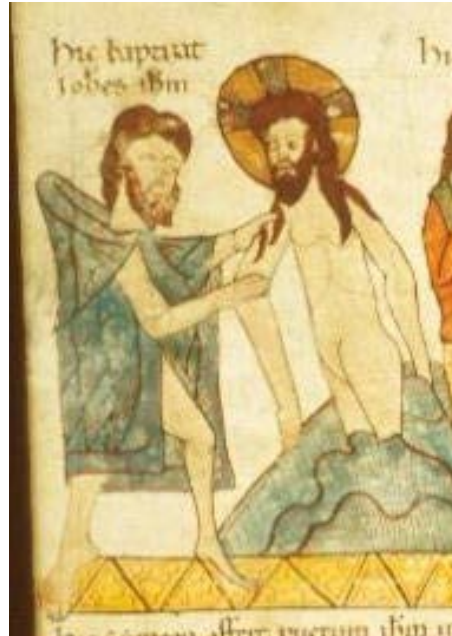


Figure 17. The Baptism of Christ, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII r.





Figure 18. Baptism of Christ, Santa Maria de l'Estany (province of Barcelona), first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Capital from the north wing of the cloister (Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pg. 168).



Figure 19. The Wedding Feast at Cana, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII r.





Figure 20. Marriage at Cana, fragments of plaque from reliquary of San Felices, Northern Spain, ca.1090. A) Ivory, 15.7x7 cm and 15.6x4.6 cm. B) Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 127).



Figure 21. The Presentation of Christ at the Temple, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII r.



Figure 22. The Presentation at the Temple, *Antiphonal of León*. A) León Cathedral, 8, fol. 79 (Mentre, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, fig. 13).



Figure 23. The Temptations of Christ, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII r.





Figure 24. The Temptation of Christ, *Puerta de las Platerias*, Santiago de Compostela (La Coruña), ca. 1060-1120 A) (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, p. 22).



Figure 25. The Temptations of Christ, Hermitage of San Bauelio de Berlanga (Soria), mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Fresco transferred to canvas. B) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 103b).



Figure 26. Elijah and Enoch dressed as monks, from the *Gerona Beatus*, 975. A) Tempera on parchment, 40x26 cm. B) Museu de la Catedral de Girona (7[II]), fol. 164r (Mentre, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, pl. 55).





Figure 27. Reliquary of Saint Pelagius (detail), from León (León), 1059 or earlier. A) Wood, ivory gold, and silk, 30.5x48x26.3 cm. B) Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León (Viñayo, *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro: Historia, Arte y Vida*, p. 88).



Figure 28. The Antichrist's forces attack the City of God, detail from the Silos *Beatus*, Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (León), 1109. A) Tempera on parchment, 38x23.5 cm. B) The British Library, London, Add. MS. 11695, fol. 202r (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, p. 130).

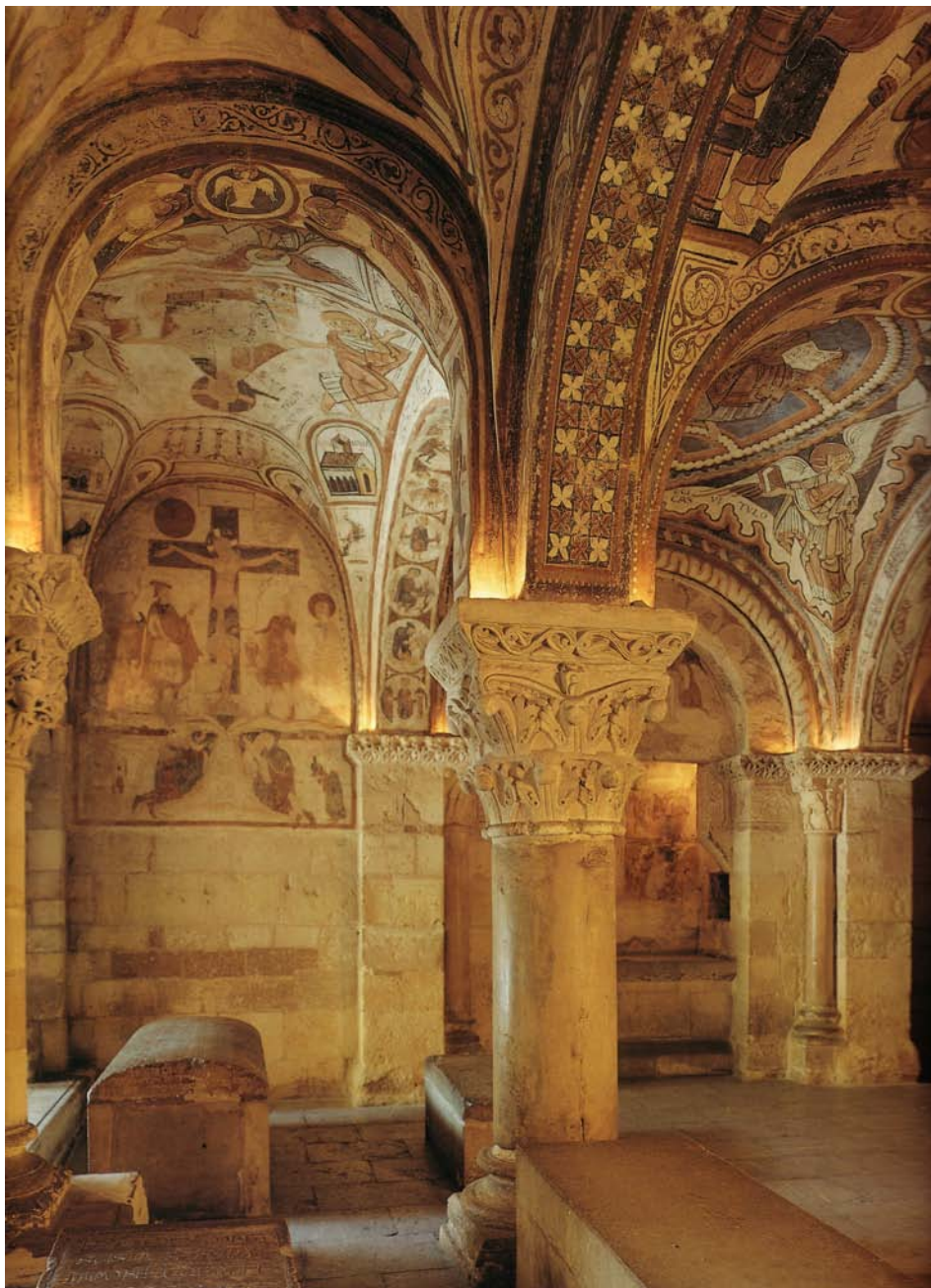


Figure 29. The Pantheon of the Kings, San Isidoro (León), ca. 1063-1101 A) (Viñayo, *San Isidoro de Leon, Panteon de Reyes, Albores romanicos:arquitectura, escultura, pintura*, pl. 1)





Figure 30. Church of San Clemente, west façade, Segovia, 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 31. Reliquary of Saint Isidore, from León (León), ca. 1063 or earlier. A) Silver gilt, wood, niello, silk (chest), and silk and metallic threads (lid), 33x81.5x44.5 cm. B) Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 110).



Figure 32. The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.





Figure 33. The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, from the shrine for the relics of Saint Aemelius, ca. 1053-1067. A) Ivory. B) Abbey of San Millán de la Cogolla, Rioja (Durlat, *Espagne Romane*, pl. 16).



Figure 34. The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, Hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria), mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Fresco transferred to canvas (Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispanico*, Fig. 564).



Figure 35. Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, church of Santa Maria l'Estany (province of Barcelona), A) capital from the north wing of the cloister, first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pg. 168).



Figure 36. The Last Supper, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.





Figure 37. The Last Supper, from the Cathedral of Burgo de Osma, Soria, early 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Capital (Ruiz, *El Romanico de Villas y Tierras de Segovia*, p.148).



Figure 38. The Last Supper, Hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria), mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Fresco transferred to canvas, 179.1x380 cm. B) The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 103d).



Figure 39. The Last Supper, from the shrine for the relics of Saint Aemelius, ca. 1053-1067. A) Ivory. B) Abbey of San Millán de la Cogolla, Rioja (Durliat, *Espagne Romane*, pl. 15).



Figure 40. The Last Supper, from the church of San Justo y Pastor, Segovia, late 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.





Figure 41. The Washing of the Feet of the Disciples, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.

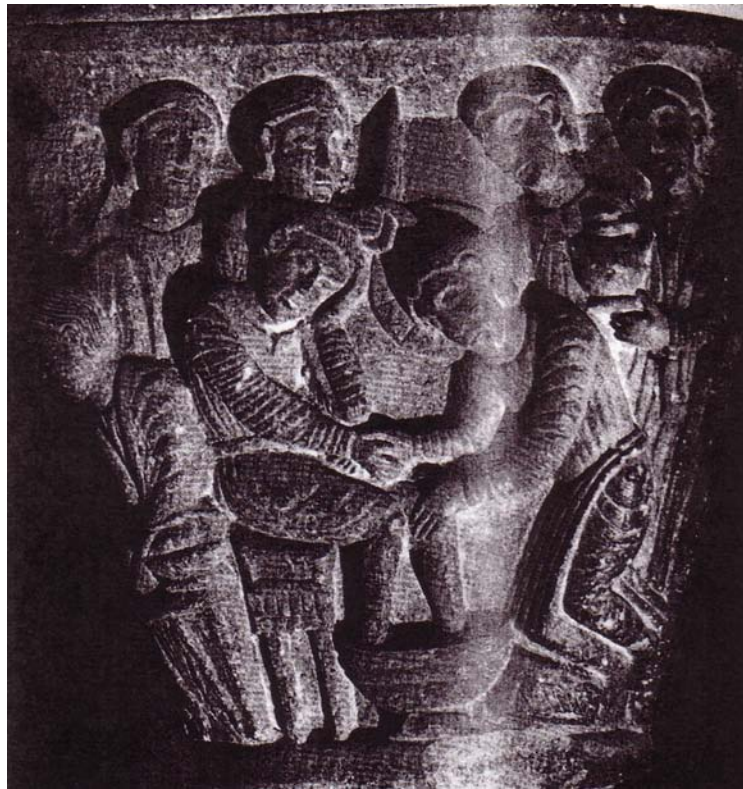


Figure 42. The Washing of the Feet of the Disciples, from Barcelona, mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Stone relief capital (Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pl. 136).



Figure 43. The Kiss of Judas, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 44. The Kiss of Judas and Arrest of Christ, The Pantheon of the Kings, San Isidoro (León), ca. 1063-1101 A) (Viñayo, *San Isidoro de Leon, Panteon de Reyes, Albores románicos:arquitectura, escultura, pintura*, pl. 14).





Figure 45. The Kiss of Judas, from the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona, c. 1145. A) Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pl. 140).



Figure 46a. The Kiss of Judas, church of San Justo y Pastor, Segovia, late 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 46b. Kiss of Judas, detail, church of San Justo y Pastor, Segovia, late 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 47. The Crucifixion, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.





Figure 48. The Crucifixion, from the Pantheon of the Kings, San Isidoro (León), ca. 1063-1101. A) Fresco (Viñayo, *Real Colegiata de San Isidoro: Historia, Arte y Vida*, p. 17).

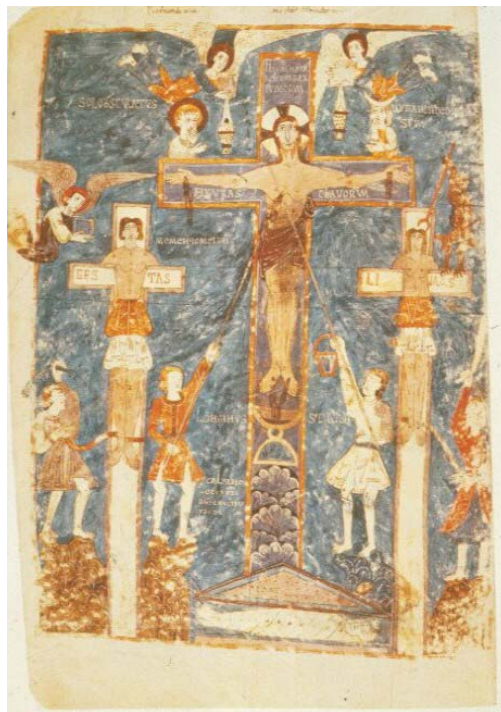


Figure 49. The Crucifixion, from the *Gerona Beatus*, 975. A) Tempera on parchment, 40x26 cm. B) Museo de la Catedral de Girona (7[II]), fol. 16v (Yarza, "Iconografía de la Crucifixion en la Miniatura Española," fig. 1).



Figure 50. The Crucifixion, from the *Arca Santa* of Oviedo (Oviedo), late 11<sup>th</sup> century or early 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Black oak and gilded silver, 73x119x93 cm. B) Camara Santa, Oviedo Cathedral (Durliat, *Espagne Romane*, pl. 18).



Figure 51. The Crucifixion, from the church of San Justo y Pastor, Segovia, late 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.





Figure 52. The Deposition of Christ, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 53. The Deposition, from the tympanum of the south transept of the church of San Isidoro, León (León), 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vellido.



Figure 54. The Deposition, from the cloister of the cathedral of Pamplona, c. 1145. A) Pamplona, Museo de Navarra (Palol, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, p.141).



Figure 55. The Deposition, plaque from a reliquary, León (León), ca. 1115-1120. A) Ivory, 13.2x13.2 cm. B) Masaveu Collection, Oviedo (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 115a).



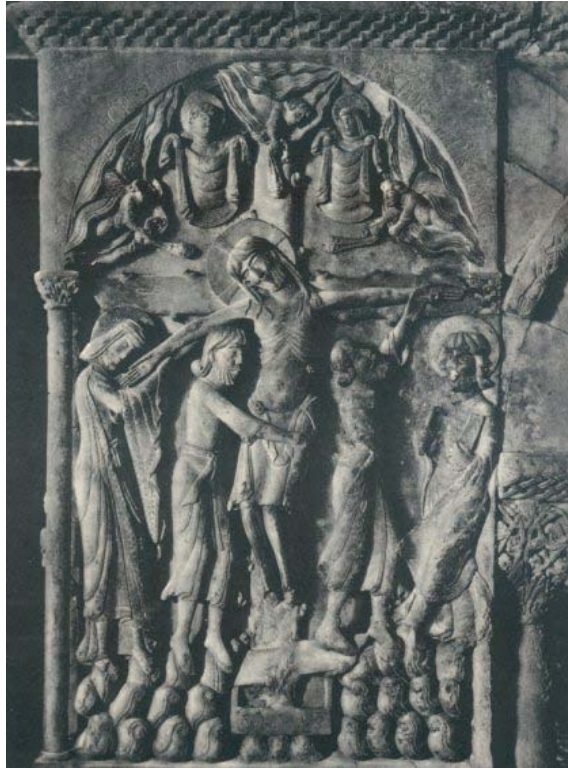


Figure 56. The Deposition, from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. A) (Palacios, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, fig. 19).



Figure 57. The Deposition, church of San Justo y Pastor, Segovia, late 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 58. The Three Marys at the Tomb, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 59. Entombment and the Three Marys at the Tomb from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. A) (Palacios, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, fig. 18).





Figure 60. The Three Marys at the Tomb, tympanum of the south transept of the church of San Isidoro, León (León), 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 61. The Three Marys at the Tomb, plaque from a reliquary, León (León), ca. 1115-1120. A) Ivory, 13.5x13.2 cm. B) State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 115b).

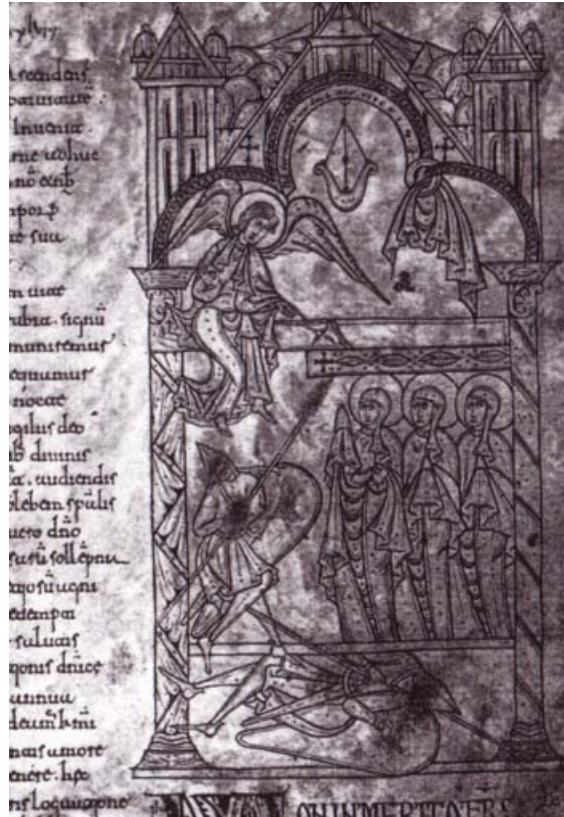


Figure 62. Holy Women at the Sepulchre, from the *Lectionary of Santo Domingo de Silos*. A) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2176, fol. 265 (Dominguez, *La Miniatura Española*, fig. 46)



Figure 63. The Three Maries at the Tomb, Hermitage of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria), mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Fresco transferred to canvas, 195x387.3 cm. B) The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 103c).





Figure 64. Saint John's Vision of Christ (Apoc. 8:2-5), *Beatus* of the Monastery of Santos Facundo y Primitivo, Sahagún (León), 1086. A) Tempera on parchment, 36x22.4 cm. B) Cathedral Archive, Burgo de Osma, Cod. I, fol. 102v (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 82).



Figure 65. Death of Saint Aemilian, from a plaque from reliquary of Saint Aemilian, Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla (Logroño), 1060-80. A) Ivory, 17.5x6.6 cm. B) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 125f).



Figure 66. Column shaft decorated with putti gathering grapes, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (La Coruña), 1105-10. A) Marble, 183 x 25cm. B) Museo de la Catedral, Santiago de Compostela (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 92).

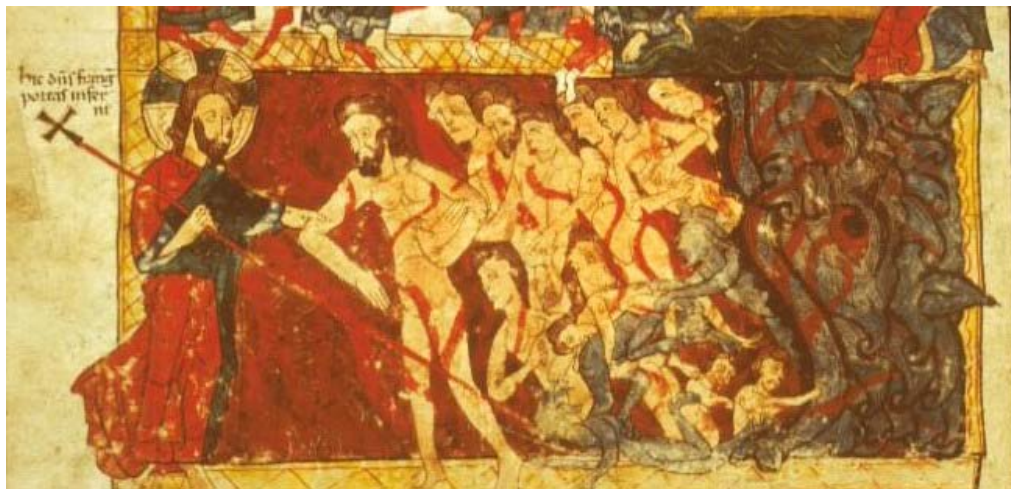


Figure 67. The Harrowing of Hell, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 68. The Harrowing of Hell, from the *Gerona Beatus*, 975. A) Tempera on parchment, 40x26 cm. B) Museo de la Catedral de Girona, 7 [II] (Yarza, *Arte y Arquitectura en España 500-1250*, p. 119).





Figure 69. Lion head from the south transept of the church of San Isidoro, León (León), 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 70. Detail of Pamplona Casquet showing a hunter fighting off two lions, Caliphal Period, 1004-5. A) Ivory. B) Museo de Navarra, Comunidad Foral de Navarra, Pamplona (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, p.124)



Figure 71. Capitals with animal and vegetation motifs from the cloister of the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), 11<sup>th</sup> century A) (Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispanico*, fig. 508).



Figure 72. Shrine of Saints Adrian and Natalia, Monastery of San Adrian de Boñar (?), (León), 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Silver and oak, 15.9x25.x14.5 cm. B) The Art Institute of Chicago; Buckingham Gothic Room Fund (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 122).



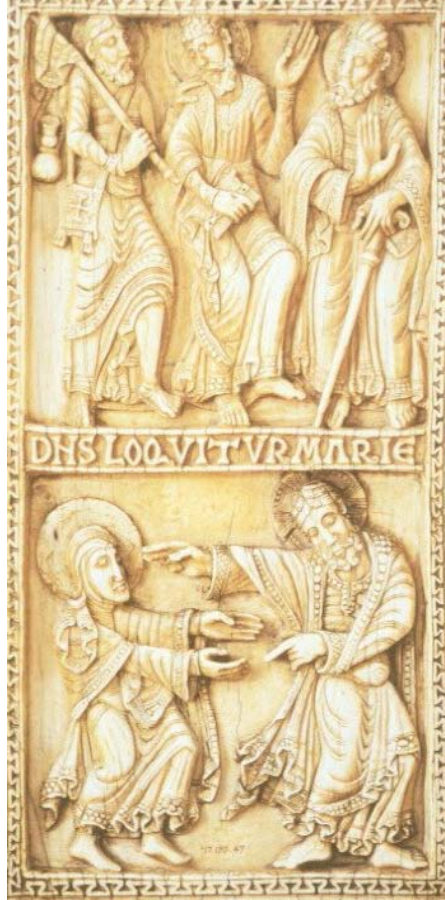


Figure 73. The Journey to Emmaus and the Noli me Tangere, from a plaque from a reliquary, León (León), ca. 1115-1120. A) Ivory, 27x13.2, cm. B) The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 115c).

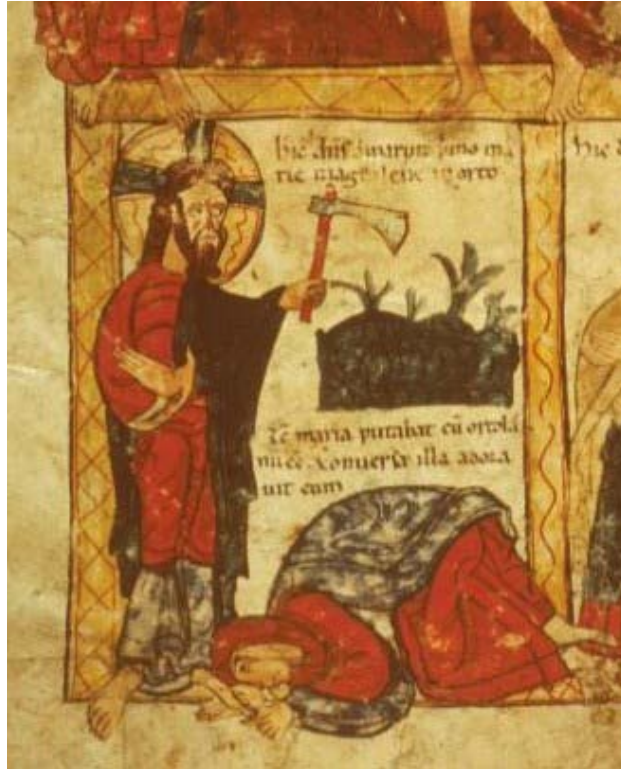


Figure 74. *Noli me Tangere*, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 75. *Noli me Tangere*, plaque from a reliquary, León (León), ca. 1115-1120. A) The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (*The Art of Medieval Spain*, ad. 500-1200, pl. 115c).



Figure 76. Pilgrims of Emmaus, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXIII v.



Figure 77. Pilgrims of Emmaus, from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century A) (Palacios, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, fig. 20).





Figure 78. The Journey to Emmaus, plaque from a reliquary, León (León), ca. 1115-1120. A) The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 115c).



Figure 79. Supper at Emmaus, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXV r.



Figure 80. Doubting Thomas, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXV r.



Figure 81. Doubting Thomas, from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century A) (Palacios, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, fig. 21).





Figure 82. The Ascension of Christ, from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXV r.



Figure 83. The Ascension, *Antiphonal of León*. A) Copy after an original made in 662 for king Wamba. B) León Cathedral Archives, Ad. 1069, fol. 240 (Mentre, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, pl. 72).



Figure 84. The Ascension, tympanum of the south transept of the church of San Isidoro, León (León), 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Photo: Monica A. Walker Vadillo.



Figure 85. Detail of the Second Coming of Christ, detail from the *Biblia de Avila*, Spain, second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Vit.15-1, fol. CCCXXV v



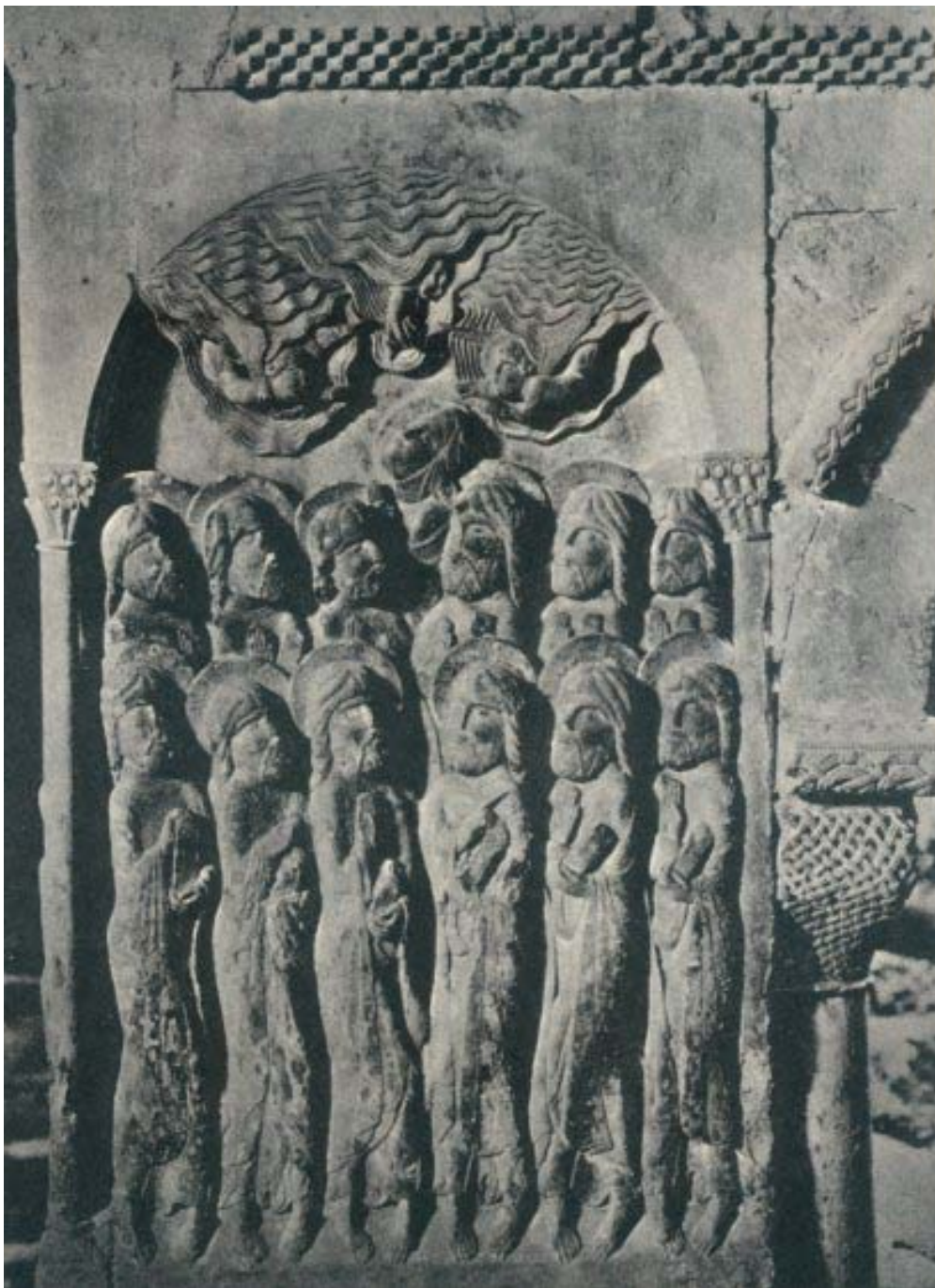


Figure 86. Pentecost, from the cloister of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century A) (Palacios, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, fig. 17).



Figure 87. Second Coming of Christ, *Beatus* of San Millán de la Cogolla. A) Madrid, R.A.H., 33, fol. 17v (Mentre, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, pl. 119).



Figure 88. Casket of Saint Demetrius, Aragon, ca.1100. A) Gilt-copper alloy with cabochons, on wood core, 35x60x40 cm. B) Church of San Esteban, Loarre (Huesca) (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 123).





Figure 89. Christ in Majesty, *Arca Santa* of Oviedo (Oviedo), late 11<sup>th</sup> century or early 12<sup>th</sup> century. A) Black oak and gilded silver, 73x119x93 cm. B) Cámara Santa, Oviedo Cathedral (*The Art of Medieval Spain, ad. 500-1200*, pl. 124).

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My name is Monica Ann Walker Vadillo, and I was born May 4, 1977, in the city of Torrejon de Ardoz in Madrid (Spain). I grew up traveling around the world with my parents, Gary D. Walker and Victoria Vadillo Montes; and my sister, Veronica Walker Vadillo. I lived in Madrid and in the island of Menorca (Spain); Marrakech (Morocco); Seattle, WA; and Azel, TX (USA). I studied high school in the Instituto de Bachillerato Arquitecto Pedro Gumiel in Alcala de Henares, Madrid (Spain). After I graduated from high school I transferred to Lake City Community College, in Lake City, Florida. In 1999, I graduated *Summa Cum Laude* with an Associate of Arts Degree from Lake City Community College. In that same year, I was accepted at the College of Fine Arts at the University of Florida, Gainesville. I graduated with Honors, in 2001, obtaining my bachelor's degree in art history. After this I applied to the graduate program at the University of Florida to continue my education. For three years, I worked on my thesis, *The Cycle of the Life and Passion of Christ in the Bible of Avila*. I graduated in may 2004.