

Morgan Beatus: The Three-Dimensional Cosmos of the Adoration of the Lamb

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Chapter 1

Historical Context

“As part of its adornment I have painted a series of pictures for the wonderful words of its stories so that the wise may fear the coming of the future judgment of the world’s end.”¹ These words are found in the colophon of the Morgan Beatus (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 644), written by the scribe and illuminator Maius in the tenth century.² The Morgan Beatus was created in San Miguel de Escalada in Tábara, Spain, sometime between 940 and 945. This is a copy of an eighth-century illuminated manuscript by Beatus of Liébana, both the text and imagery inspired by previous writers. Beatus of Liébana was a Spanish monk who lived in northern, Christian Spain between 750 and 798 and wrote one of the most influential commentaries on the Book of Revelation of his day. Beatus’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was emulated for several centuries and the illustrations in the surviving manuscripts have come to typify the art of Christian Spain during the medieval period. This chapter will focus on the historical background of the Morgan Beatus in order to illuminate how the Adoration of the Lamb, folio 87 of the Morgan Beatus (Figure 1), existed in and reflected its contemporary context.

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

The history of scholarship of the Morgan Beatus has focused on the manuscript as a whole, rather than the Adoration of the Lamb specifically. One of the major debates is about the date of composition—the three editions of Beatus’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* as well as of the Morgan Beatus. The scholarly consensus for the original commentary by Beatus is 776, with

¹ UT SUPPLETI UIDELICET CODEX HUIUS INDUCTA REDUCTA QUOQ(UE) DUO GEMINA TER TERNA CENTIESE (ET) TER DENA BINA ERA

² For the facsimile of the Morgan Beatus see Maius, active 926-968, *A Spanish Apocalypse: the Morgan Beatus Manuscript*, 1st ed., (New York: G. Braziller in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991), fol. 87

the second edition written in 784 and the third written in 786.³ Henry Sanders suggests that the Morgan Beatus was derived from the third edition of the commentary that Beatus created in 786, nearly twenty years after his initial composition. Sanders suggests that this is the reason for the addition of Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, the Genealogical Tables, and Tyconius and Irenaeus as additional authors.⁴ Scholars have concluded the date to between 940 and 945 for the Morgan Beatus, based upon analyzing the image itself and the iconography.⁵ While there is consensus on the existence of three editions of Beatus's commentary, scholars continue to debate whether these families (composed of the original editions and their subsequent copies) are editions or recensions. This is further complicated because the Morgan Beatus is the first substantial surviving copy, more than one hundred fifty years after the original commentary. Discussions of the nature of the editions include questioning whether the third edition was written by Beatus. Kenneth B. Steinhauser, a scholar of early church history, theology, and manuscript studies, asserts that the majority of the evidence suggests Beatus as the author of all three editions. Steinhauser is convinced of Beatus's authorship by the dedication of the third edition to Etherius, who co-wrote *Adversus Elipandum*, an anti-adoptionistic treatise written in 785, with Beatus.⁶ Beatus also utilized similar language and sources in both the *Adversus*

³ Mireille Mentré, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 7

⁴ John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus : a Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, v. 1, (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 24; For more see Sanders (ed.) *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim*

⁵ For discussions of dating the Morgan Beatus mid-tenth century through analysis of the initials, figure style in Spanish manuscripts, and comparison to the Florentius *Moralia in Iob* of 945 (Madrid, Bibl. Nac. Cod. 80) see Peter Klein *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-2 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid. Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts* and María Elena Gómez-Moreno "Las miniaturas de la biblia visigótica de San Isidoro de León"

⁶ Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Narrative and Illumination in the Beatus Apocalypse," *The Catholic Historical Review* 81 (1995): 190; supported by Sanders (ed.) *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim* and Wilhelm Neuss *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration: Das Problem der Beatus Handsschriften*

Elipandum and his commentary.⁷ The Beatus manuscripts were originally studied as sources for Tyconian and patristic quotes, and Beatus was highlighted as a copyist, not a writer with agency. Steinhauser attributes the creation of a program of literary and artistic elements to Beatus, reasserting his role as the primary agent.

While the text was created during the Muslim conquest of Spain, the text and imagery remained supra-historical—anti-Islamic sentiments are not found in the text. This serves in contrast to the ninth and tenth centuries where anti-Islamic literature and Christian emigration north due to anti-Muslim spirits abounded—due to, for example, the execution of fifty Christians between 850 and 859 in Córdoba for denouncing Muhammad.⁸ Beatus’s Commentary utilized pre-Islamic sources for the exegetical texts, and was also formulated during a time of little anti-Islamic sentiment.⁹ Islamic influences appear in the later copies, but are not the focus. They appear in architectural influences and adoption of Muslim dress in figures such as the Whore of Babylon.¹⁰ Overall, the Islamic influence was light and reflected the cultural shifts and adaptations of the time. The commentary does not primarily act as a medium to show any resentment toward the Muslim occupants.

Other scholarship, such as that of Kenneth Steinhauser, has focused on how rather than displaying resentment for Muslim occupants, Beatus’s third edition displays a trend towards displaying resentment toward heretics.¹¹ The first edition of Beatus’s commentary, issued before

⁷ Ambrosio de Morales re-attributed the work to Beatus in his *Corónica* and *Viage*

⁸ Williams, 131; for more on the Christian martyrs see Edward P. Colbert *Martyrs of Córdoba* and Kenneth Baxter Wolf *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 130, the Commentary was written during a period with little political and military conflict with the Muslims, for more on this see L.G. Valdeavellano *El feudalism hispánico*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 138; for discussions of the Christian adoption of Islamic architectural elements see John Williams *Early Spanish Illumination*, Manuel Gómez-Moreno *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX al XI*, Leopoldo Torres Balbás “Los modillones de lóbulos”

¹¹ For a summary of modern scholarship on the anti-adoptionist nature of Beatus’s commentaries, see John Williams “The Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus Liébana”

the *Adversus Elipandum*, functioned as a *lectio divina*, an educational, monastic piece adhering to western mysticism traditions.¹² Beatus's *Adversus Elipandum* was written in response to adoptionist views held by the archbishop of Toledo, Elipandus. The Adoptionist debate in Spain concerning the nature of Christ peaked in the early 780s. Adoptionism was one of many threats to orthodoxy at the time—heresy was targeted in Beatus's work. This focus on religious heresy was heightened by the replacement of the Christian ruling class with a Muslim ruling class in most of Spain, resulting in increased influence for bishops in those regions.¹³ Religious authorities served as the voice of the Christian nation and church in those regions dominated by Muslims—religious issues became more central. Furthermore, Tyconius, one of Beatus's main sources for his commentary, wrote in a time of sectarian conflict as well—in Tyconius's time the conflict focused around the Donatist faction. This commonality held by Tyconius and Beatus of threats to orthodoxy resulted in a commentary sensitive to the presence of good and evil members within the Church.¹⁴ The third edition, written one year after *Adversus Elipandum*, paints a new picture of the Antichrist. The Antichrist in the third edition of Beatus's commentary is an imminent danger, represented by heretics such as Elipandus. The commentary is no longer a spiritual guide for monks, but a warning against the dangers of heretics in an apocalyptic framework.

The shift of focus from the first to the third edition was not done through removal or revisions of the text, but additions to both the textual and pictorial tradition. Steinhauser argues

¹² Steinhauser, 197; see Jacques Fontaine "Fuentes y tradiciones paleocristianas en el método espiritual de Beato"

¹³ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "The Earliest Spanish Christian Views of Islam," *Church History* 55, no. 3 (1986): 286

¹⁴ John Williams, "Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana," In *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992): 220; for more on Tyconius and the Donatist faction see W.H.C. Frend *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa*

that the pieces Beatus choose to include in the third edition signify his focus on the Antichrist and the devil. In order to heighten the authority of the Book of Revelation, and incidentally his own writings, illuminations of the evangelists and insertions of the Alpha and Omega at the beginning and end of the text respectively were added.¹⁵ Furthermore, illuminated genealogical tables were added, beginning with Adam and Eve, represented figurally, and continuing through the Old Testament. Whereas the more common biblical designation for Christ was as ‘son of David, son of Abraham,’ Beatus chose to refer to him as the ‘son of God’ within these genealogical tables.¹⁶ Stressing Christ’s familial connection to God is anti-adoptionistic in nature, reflecting Beatus’s own viewpoint and insinuating the support of the evangelists and patristic writers by its inclusion in the text.

Another major addition to the third edition was Jerome’s *Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, which deals with the reign of the Antichrist. Jerome interpreted the prophecies of Daniel as references to the Antichrist to come at the end of time.¹⁷ The prophecies of Daniel parallels, and foreshadows, the prophecies of John in the Book of Revelation—a connection strengthened by the prevalence of the Antichrist in both commentaries. Visual contrasts between Babylon and Jerusalem were made in order to unite Jerome’s commentary with Beatus’s commentary. Babylon represents the Antichrist, and Jerusalem represents the Church as the body of Christ.¹⁸ The Antichrist embodies the evil in the world, symbolized in Babylon. The visual and textual additions of Jerome’s commentary both strongly feature the Antichrist. Reviewing these additions made to the third edition by Beatus reveals that they operated to heighten the text’s authority, demonstrate the danger of the Antichrist in contemporary times, or further develop

¹⁵ Steinhauser, 202

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 203

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 201

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 204

theories on the Antichrist. The textual and visual focus on preaching the dangers of heresy to readers places the mundane into the larger Christian framework—Beatus and his readers are operating in an earthly and celestial realm.

Cultural continuity of Roman Hispania resulted in a variation on Western Christological traditions. John C. Cavadini, a scholar of theology and the history of Christianity, argues that Roman civilization uniquely survived in Spain, as opposed to other territories conquered by the Muslim armies, because of the ‘assimilation of conquerors to the conquered.’¹⁹ Beyond survival, this included a continuation of ecclesiastical unity and revitalization of monasticism. Beatus’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was created during a time of frontier monasticism and the movement of monks and texts north. The fourth synod of Toledo in 633 adopted Canon 17, placing a new emphasis on the Apocalypse in Spain. This canon declared the Apocalypse as a canonical book, integrating it into the liturgical year.²⁰ The Book of Revelation served as the primary source of celestial imagery in medieval Europe, providing fertile ground for heavenly images such as the Adoration of the Lamb.²¹ Monasteries expanded into regions including Tábara (where the Morgan Beatus was later created) and Escalada, causing a heightened demand for copies.²² Beatus lived in the Asturian valley of Liébana, which was settled by Mozarabic immigrants from Umayyad southern cities.²³ Escalada was settled in 912 by emigrants from

¹⁹ John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 2

²⁰ Williams, 104; for more see J. Vives *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*

²¹ Saint Beatus, *Apocalipsis*, (Valencia: Scriptorium, 2000), 11

²² Williams, 140

²³ *Ibid.*, 14; See map (Figure 2) including the Spanish cities mentioned here; for more on Alfonso I’s colonization of Liébana by immigrants from Umayyad cities see L. Barrau-Dihigo “Recherche sur l’histoire du royaume asturien,” C. Sánchez-Albornoz *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, and Sánchez Belda *Cartulario*

Cordoba.²⁴ This expansion of monasticism allowed for the development of a *Beatus* tradition—resulting in copies such as the Morgan *Beatus* in 945. This time of monastic renewal and expansion coincided with the expansion of the pictorial tradition of *Beatus*'s *Commentary*—the third edition was distinguished by several pictorial additions.²⁵ The increased number of resources and monastic renewal created an environment for a blossoming apocalyptic manuscript tradition.

Visigothic Councils of Toledo continued through the sixth and seventh centuries despite Muslim occupation, focusing on maintenance of a uniform secular and religious identity. Through this mechanism, the theologians in all territories of Spain remained involved in Western Christological debates and continued the development of theology originating in North Africa. Christians were allowed to practice their religion freely under Muslim rule, in an environment protective of older ecclesial traditions. In opposition to the cultural hegemony under Charlemagne, Christianity in Spain had room for growth and continuation of the Spanish cultural and ecclesiastical identity.²⁶ Mozarabic liturgy was only replaced by Roman liturgy in 1080.²⁷ Debates over Christology and the Trinity thrived in this space, such as the debate between *Beatus* and Elipandus. Spanish adoptionists and anti-adoptionists foundationally belong in the Western Christian world, but are unique in their North African influence and cultural setting for theological developments and reflection. This unique quality resulted in the divergence of both Spanish adoptionist and anti-adoptionist thought from Carolingian and Roman thought.

²⁴ John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus : a Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, v. 2, (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 27 [unless indicated, other Williams citations refer to volume 1]; Maius is identified as a Mozarabe by Millares “Escritura de los ‘Beatos,’” Menéndez Pidal “Mozárabes y asturianos,” and Fontaine *L’art préroman*

²⁵ Williams, 140

²⁶ Cavadini, 3

²⁷ Mentré, 10

Scholarship concerning the third edition of the commentary reveals how this particular edition operated as a unique piece in Beatus's writings—the Morgan Beatus was revolutionary and divergent from other Western Christian societies both in its text and in its images, seen in the Adoration of the Lamb.

BEATUS'S COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE

Although Beatus is credited as the author, the commentary itself is comprised of pieces of his predecessors' works. He compiled and edited the work in 776 at San Martín de Turieno in the Liébana valley of North Spain. Beatus draws upon the following for inspiration (and more often than not, direct extrapolation from their works): Irenaeus, Tyconius, Gregory of Elvira, Bachianus, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Apringius, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville. Beatus lived in Spain during Muslim occupation in the Asturian valley of Liébana. The Asturian Kingdom was a Christian state that ruled northern Spain between the eighth and tenth centuries. With the immigrants fleeing southern Muslim occupation came the texts that Beatus relied on, compiling a library at his monastery to create the commentary. Because the kingdom was heavily populated by immigrants who founded new settlements, it is difficult to find traces of a strong local culture that would have affected Beatus' writing and pictorial style. Beatus' influence is drawn heavily from the writings of Tyconius, a North African writer of the fourth century, who wrote his own commentary. This commentary has survived only in fragments, so its direct influence on Beatus' *Commentary on the Apocalypse* cannot be further explored, but it has been suggested that Beatus' original commentary was in fact a copy of the text and illustrations of an earlier North African Tyconian commentary.²⁸ What can be drawn from Tyconius' writing is the theme of the triumph of the Church under Christ, exemplified by the Book of Revelation. This

²⁸ For discussion of the origin of the Beatus commentary imagery see Klein "La tradición pictórica de los Beatos," Fontaine *L'art préroman*, J.M. Lacara "Península ibérica," and Christe "Traditions littéraires"

theme was carried on by Beatus. Another strong suggestion for a North African influence is that Beatus chose to write his commentary in *Vetus Latina*, pre-Vulgate text, even though the Vulgate was widely used in Spain by this period. This pre-Vulgate text was still utilized in Africa. Furthermore, the valley of Liébana was not as affected by Roman culture when occupied by the Roman Empire, as they were isolated by the Cantabrian mountain range. The other major Apocalypse illuminated text of this time originated in Rome in 500, whose influence is seen in Carolingian and later Northern European copies.²⁹ The Roman influence did not pervade Beatus' environment, as elsewhere. Beatus's use of a North African model (versus Roman model) remains eminent among scholars due to the ongoing contacts between Christian Spain and Africa, proximity, history of academic interaction, and the character of the text (pre-Vulgate Old Latin).³⁰ As a result of this African influence, the Hispanic Apocalypse tradition is unique from the rest of Europe.

The *Commentary on the Apocalypse* is divided into *storiae*, containing the biblical text, an accompanying image, and the exegetical passages (drawn from earlier authors). Each biblical section groups verses together, rather than following every verse by an exegetical discussion. This is a practical solution for an illustrated piece. Beatus adheres to the traditional format of sixty-eight apocalyptic subjects based upon the narrative, although later editions and copies of the commentary include more imagery subjects.³¹ Beatus' commentary is the only known illustrated Apocalypse in Spain at this early period; illuminated manuscripts from sixth and seventh century prototypes utilize the Vulgate text and do not focus on apocalyptic or New

²⁹ The Trier Apocalypse (Stadtbibliothek Trier cod. 31) serves as an example of this Roman tradition.

³⁰ Williams, 34; for discussion of the Old Latin text see Fischer "Das neue Testament"; for discussion of its use by Tyconius see Vogels *Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31; These subjects include seven images based on the commentary text itself, eight Evangelist miniatures, fourteen pages of Christ's Genealogy, eleven images from Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*. The third edition of the commentary is marked as the edition in which these new images are first seen.

Testament scenes. Although the original commentary did not survive, the total uniformity of text and image seen in later copies suggests that it was originally illustrated. The large number of illustrations explains the large number of copies as the integration of illustrations was key to its subsequent popularity.³² The illustrations and texts were created in unison to accompany each other. Within the images are inscriptions which help identify elements and summarize for the viewer.

THE MORGAN BEATUS

The Morgan Beatus, illuminated and written by Maius in 945, as attested in the colophon, serves as the earliest surviving example of the third edition of Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. The Morgan Beatus records the addition to the original Apocalypse images the following: Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, Genealogical Tables of Christ, Evangelist miniatures, the Fox and the Cock, the Cross, amongst others. This makes for a total of one hundred eight canonical images, sixty-eight of these from the Book of Revelation narrative. The enhanced visual character of the Morgan Beatus dedicates more space to the miniatures, at least twenty pages are dedicated to images alone and there are several pictures that spread over two pages, a statement suggesting the importance of the visual content and rare in surviving folios predating the Morgan Beatus. Maius saw the images as a critical medium for understanding the commentary.³³ The Adoration of the Lamb, folio 87 of the Morgan Beatus, is an exemplar for how Maius drew on Western European and Mediterranean influences to create a distinctive style. This image demonstrates how influences from both manuscript and architectural traditions create

³² Ibid., 31, 34; Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* asserts that the original Beatus commentary was illustrated and served as a prototype for later copies; for discussion of these peninsular Vulgate prototypes see B. Fischer "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters"

³³ Ibid., 31, 62

a three-dimensional, cosmological image, changing the experience of the reader into an active worship of the *Agnus Dei* in the heavens.

The Adoration of the Lamb is a pictorial representation of Book of Revelation 5:6-8, which records the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders worshipping the *Agnus Dei*:

Then I saw between the throne and the four living creatures and among the elders a Lamb standing as if it had been slaughtered, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth. He went and took the scroll from the right hand of the one who was seated on the throne. When he had taken the scroll, the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders fell before the Lamb, each holding a harp and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints.³⁴

The apocalyptic iconography of the evangelists is based upon the vision of the four living creatures recorded in Book of Ezekiel 1:4-16:

As I looked, a stormy wind came out of the north: a great cloud with brightness around it and fire flashing forth continually, and in the middle of the fire, something like gleaming amber. In the middle of it was something like four living creatures. This was their appearance: they were of human form. Each had four faces, and each of them had four wings. Their legs were straight, and the soles of their feet were like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like burnished bronze. Under their wings on their four sides they had human hands. And the four had their faces and their wings thus: their wings touched one another; each of them moved straight ahead, without turning as they moved. As for the appearance of their faces: the four had the face of a human being, the face of a lion on the right side, the face of an ox on the left side, and the face of an eagle; such were their faces. Their wings were spread out above; each creature had two wings, each of which touched the wing of another, while two covered their bodies. Each moved straight ahead; wherever the spirit would go, they went, without turning as they went. In the middle of the living creatures there was something that looked like burning coals of fire, like torches moving to and fro among the living creatures; the fire was bright, and lightning issued from the fire. The living creatures darted to and fro, like a flash of lightning.

As I looked at the living creatures, I saw a wheel on the earth beside the living creatures, one for each of the four of them. As for the appearance of the wheels and their construction: their appearance was like the gleaming of beryl; and the four had the same form, their construction being something like a wheel within a wheel.

In this particular depiction of the apocalyptic adoration, four angels carry a series of concentric circles. The outermost circle has twenty-four stars, representing the elders. The next circle has

³⁴ The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible will be used throughout the essay.

figures and the four living creatures in it. The four living creatures, the symbols of the evangelists, are placed cardinally, with two figures in between each creature. The connection between the four living creatures and the evangelists was asserted by Jerome and the Venerable Bede in their writings.³⁵ The two figures placed between the evangelists carry a harp and a bowl of incense. Underneath the living creatures are sleeping or praying figures. Each human figure has a halo. The four living creatures are anthropomorphic (animal heads, human bodies), winged, carrying open books, facing clockwise, and placed on top of wheel-like symbols. The innermost concentric circle is framed by a pearled border and inside is the Lamb, the *Agnus Dei*, holding up with his left foreleg a cross pattée on a pole. The pearled border consists of forty-eight pearls, twice the number of stars in the outer circle. Next to the Lamb is a pentagon-shaped box, referring to a tabernacle. Tabernacles are used to store the reserved sacrament for the Eucharist, but this image is also a reference to the Old Testament tabernacle that God resided in during the Exodus.

MOZARABIC ARTWORK & THEORIES OF COLOR

The Adoration of the Lamb as a Mozarabic piece must be defined before further exploration. Manuel Gómez Moreno coined Mozarabic art as a distinct style in the early twentieth century, a regional style particular to Spain and derived from Andalusian Islamic art.³⁶ The Mozarabic style is characterized by intense colors, geometric shapes and subdivisions, and unusual perspectives. Beginning in the early tenth century, Mozarabic illumination was in its prime between 950 and 1050 throughout the Spanish peninsula, except Catalonia.³⁷ Visigothic and Umayyad antecedents with strong contrasting colors provide an origin for the development

³⁵ Mentré, 215

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 25; see Manuel Gómez Moreno *Iglesias Mozárabes, Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 40, 43

of this style.³⁸ Colors in Mozarabic art are distinctive, gathering scholarly attention and speculation. Yellow in particular is attributed to this artistic period. In the Adoration of the Lamb, yellow is featured prominently in all of the four living creatures and is scattered throughout the rest of the piece—on the arms of the angels, the harps, a sleeping figure’s drapery, and so on. Colors of manuscripts differ widely in tonal value per manuscript—but most importantly, they are always contrasting. There is no modeling in the color; the colors are opaque and flat.³⁹ Medieval painters rendered color both by coloring in spaces and by outlining. Therefore, the varieties of colored outlines in the Adoration of the Lamb add a whole separate layer of coloring to the fabric. The lines that cross the body in various colors represent the edges of fabric folded across the body, an ancient practice continued in medieval liturgical dress.⁴⁰ Polychromy has been highly valued since antique art and poetry, as well as in Byzantine mosaics.⁴¹ The colors provide a pathway for the eye to move around the piece—the banding of colored rings focuses attention on the center medallion. Maius increased polychromy through banding of frames as well as dense figural coloring.

Mosaics specifically may have affected the coloring of Mozarabic art as well. Coloring in mosaics is restricted by their form; they must be laid down in strips rather than blended. As a result, colors are in defined blocks and bound by contours. The block coloring of mosaics can be seen in the contoured coloring of the manuscript, for example, the coloring in the drapery of the Morgan Beatus was all done linearly rather than through blending. As manifested in both

³⁸ Ibid., 201; see discussions of Visigothic and Umayyad antecedents in Palol-Ripoll *Les Goths* and R. Castejón *Medina Azahara*

³⁹ Ibid., 45

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Bolman, "De coloribus: The Meanings of Color in Beatus Manuscripts," *Gesta* 38, no. 1 (1999): 24; as suggested by Barbara Kellum, and seen in L.M. Wilson *The Roman Toga*

⁴¹ Ibid., 28; for more on the variety of colors in antique poetry see Michael Roberts *The Jeweled Style, Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity*, for variety of colors in antique sculpture see Beat Brenk "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne"

Byzantine mosaics and the Adoration of the Lamb, dark outlines are utilized to create the basic form of the image, enhanced by contrasting colors to create a three-dimensional effect. The practice of chrysography, gold highlighting, in mosaic figures may have also influenced the manuscript drapery style. Color and line are closely tied in mosaics. This transfer from the mosaic medium to painting would have been rather seamless, as painters and mosaicists worked together on the mosaics. The painter would sketch, and sometimes fully color, the design before the mosaic was laid. In Byzantium, wall paintings often imitated mosaic.⁴² Dome mosaics provide another source of composition in the Adoration of the Lamb, specifically concerning the concept of light.⁴³ Many domes were illuminated by windows circling the base, as seen most clearly at the Hagia Sophia (Figure 3), as described by Procopios, a sixth-century Byzantine historian: “It was singularly full of light and sunshine; you would declare that the place was not lighted by the sun from without, but that the rays are produced within itself, such an abundance of light is poured into this church.”⁴⁴ In the manuscript, the encircling stars serve the same metaphorical function if viewed as a three-dimensional page. The band of stars and vibrant colors of the Adoration of the Lamb respond to the play of light with the colored glass of Byzantine mosaics. Byzantine styled mosaics served as a model for color-blocking and conceptual plans.

Medieval and ancient theories about light and color reveal that the colors within the Adoration of the Lamb have meaning beyond the aesthetic. Augustine of Hippo, for example, described grace and faith as a rainbow—a diffraction of divine light. The abundance of color in

⁴² For more on the parallels between mosaics and wall-paintings see S.H. Young “Relations between Byzantine Mosaic and Fresco Techniques: A Stylistic Analysis” and J. Elsner “Image and Iconoclasm in Byzantium”

⁴³ Liz James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 2-3, 5, 7, 27

⁴⁴ See Procopios *Buildings* and for a modern account of this Byzantine attitude toward light see P. Friedländer *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*

this heavenly scene reflects this divine diffraction.⁴⁵ In addition, white and red were used to depict sources of light in medieval artwork. Red outlining was a common practice, and is seen in the outlines of the concentric circles of the manuscript. In the Adoration of the Lamb, the colors of the stars, Lamb, and central medallion are red and white. These are strong sources of light—physically as stars, as well as metaphorically as the *Agnus Dei* and the twenty-four elders. Throughout all Beatus manuscripts, white is exclusively used in positive symbolic contexts, especially with the Lamb.⁴⁶

Classical traditions of color and commentaries reveal the philosophical aspect of colors. Plato and Aristotle’s theories were maintained as they were adapted into Christian thinking. Plato’s color theory included that color was a flame emitting from the colored body, and that its interaction with a ray of light emitting from the human eye results in the color humans see. Most ancient optic theorists saw color as a range from black to white. Plato explained that white penetrated deepest into the eye, while black did not interact with the ray of light emitting from the eye at all.⁴⁷ The most sacred being, the Lamb, is painted white—perhaps suggesting that this coloring was chosen for the sacred to have the closest interaction with the human visual field. The primary colors include white and black, envisaged as a linear scale, with red and ‘shining’ as two other primaries. Red and ‘shining’ were perceived as affecting the brilliance of the color, and are placed on the white end of the linear scale.⁴⁸ The red outlines of the Adoration of the

⁴⁵ Mentré, 204; for Augustine’s discussion of a rainbow as faith see *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, and for his writings on the relationship between color and light see *De Duabus animabus*; for more on heavenly space and color see Mentré “Le merveilleux dans la peinture médiévale: la visualisation des temps et espaces inconnus de l’Apocalypse”

⁴⁶ Bolman, 26-27

⁴⁷ For more on his concept of colors, light, and vision see Plato, *Timaeus* and K. Gaiser “Platons Farbenlehre”

⁴⁸ James, 54, 56-57, for more see E.A. James “Colour Perception in Byzantium”

Lamb, in addition to the brightness and sacredness of the white Lamb and the encircling red-outlined, white-filled stars, all add up to an image exuding light and brightness.

Both Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic theories saw light and color as involved with each other. For Aristotle, he believed that color resulted from light. Neo-Platonism supported the theory that light, and color as a form of light, forms a bridge between the terrestrial and celestial. In the Adoration of the Lamb, the Lamb, as the brightest and whitest color, is the vehicle for human transitioning into the celestial sphere. The color blocking of the Adoration of the Lamb, may be related to Plato's connection between color and shapes. He believed that the color rays consisted of geometric shapes. These Classical philosophies were preserved through the Byzantine era, as ancient theories on color and its perception were adapted to the Christian tradition.⁴⁹ These ancient theories on optics and light reveal how color can be utilized to connect the earthly with the sacred.

Islamic scholars also developed theories about optics. Al-Kindi, a ninth-century Arabian philosopher, proposed that the eye emits visual rays that strike objects, much like the sun.⁵⁰ Al-Kindi further developed the ideas of Plato by suggesting that the rays emitting from the observer's eye are in the shape of a cone, with the vertex in the eye.⁵¹ The structuring of dome mosaics in the Islamic lands, such as the dome in front of the mihrab of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (Figure 4), replicates the structure of an eye emanating light. The linear lines created by the placement of figures, drawing up to the central medallion reflect the understanding of optics

⁴⁹ Ibid., 59, 70-71; for more on Neo-Platonic ideas about color and light see Plotinus *Enneads* and E.K. Emilsson *Plotinus on Sense-Perception: A Philosophical Study*; for more on the transmission of Classical writings through the Byzantine era see K. Vogel "Byzantine Science"

⁵⁰ Peter Adamson, *Al-Kindī*, (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 191; see Al-Kindi *On Perspectives* and *On Rays*

⁵¹ Pinella Travaglia, *Magic, Causality and Intentionality: The Doctrine of Rays in al-Kindi*, (Firenze: Ed. del Galluzzo, Società internazionale per lo studio del medioevo latino (SISMEL), 1999), 53

at the time. This configuration is also seen in Ravenna at San Vitale, interpreted in Italian mosaics as diagonal lines dissecting the mosaic into four sections (Figure 5). This division was carried over to the Adoration of the Lamb. Just as the rays of light originate in the human eye, the light of God and the heavens emits from the *Agnus Dei* resting in the central medallion. The concentric circles of the manuscript and the visual focus on the center of the piece harkens contemporary theories about optics.

Returning to the Mozarabic style specifically, it is further characterized by highly schematized figures—figures are divided into subparts by their linear drapery and flourishes within the shapes. The subdivision of images into smaller geometric shapes leads to a flat, two-dimensional depiction of figures. There is a disregard of conventional representational criteria. This geometric treatment of clothes has roots in Visigothic sculpture (Figure 6, 7). The clothing in both the sculpture and the manuscript is characterized by sections of cloth with parallel lines of folds within them that contrast in angle with the next section of cloth. This can be done with increasing effect in the manuscript as coloring heightens the linearity. Furthermore, the wings of the angels in both mediums are subdivided into linear feathers. The linearity and subdivision in these relief sculptures is intensified by contrasting colors in the Adoration of the Lamb.

The image is not about naturalism, it is about symbolism and representation of an imagined celestial world. There is a move away from reality towards the symbolic and spiritual. The invention of a transcendent space not linked to reality is suited to the prophetic element of the Apocalypse. Some of the schematization of figures was drawn from Merovingian and Insular illumination, but it was taken to a new level in Mozarabic art, especially with the addition of strong contrasting colors to intensify the juxtaposition of shapes. Just as the figures were schematized, the overall compositions for Mozarabic painting was typically laid out in diagrams

and explanatory designs. The spaces are symbolic and didactic, not naturalistic depictions. Ancient models were harkened for the designs. This can be seen in the Diagram of the Four Winds, folio 3 of the *Liber orationum* (Cattedrale di Verona, Catalonia, Spain, Ms. 89), where the ancient conception of the universe is laid out (Figure 8).⁵² The four winds are represented—in the same four cardinal directions as the four living creatures. The Adoration of the Lamb is an explanatory diagram of the celestial world—captions and strong colors serve as visual aids, and ancient methods of didactic organizations of the universe are utilized for formatting.

MOZARABIC CONNECTIONS WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN

During the time of Beatus and Maius, some ancient sources were accessible due to efforts during the Visigothic period and Isidore of Seville (560-636) in particular. The intellectual foundation for the blossoming Mozarabic movement in the tenth century had a rich heritage connected to various regions throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. Isidore's texts, especially *Etymologies*, *Sentences*, *Expositions on the Old Testament*, and *De natura rerum*, were profusely copied in Mozarabic Spain and throughout West Europe for several centuries.⁵³ Ancient biblical texts and commentaries were preserved through figures like Jerome, whose text survived through subsequent copies and illustrations.

Ties between Spain and the rest of Christian Europe were maintained in the Visigothic period, allowing for a circulation of knowledge and objects.⁵⁴ Connections between the Iberian Peninsula and the Christian East, including Egypt, were mainly due to monastic and religious relationships. St. Martin of Braga (520–580), for example, adapted the *Sentences* of the Fathers of Egypt to be used by Spanish monks—this text and *Lives of the Fathers* were copied many

⁵² Mentré, 68

⁵³ For more scholarship on Isidore of Seville see M. Díaz y Díaz “Isidoro en la Edad Media Hispana”; on his sources see Jacques Fontaine “Problèmes de méthode dans l'étude des sources isidoriennes”

⁵⁴ For more on the movement of manuscripts and their iconography see M. Díaz y Díaz *Circulacion des mss*

times.⁵⁵ Spain also held connections with the Insular world, demonstrated by the colony of Britonia near Mondoñedo in the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁶ This colony established a route for Insular monastic and episcopal organizational traditions to establish themselves in northern Spain—Christian communities based on the Celtic model were represented in the Toledo councils.⁵⁷ Connections with the Greek Byzantine world are manifested through cultural and religious exchange in both directions—Leandro of Seville and Juan of Buclar, for example, travelled to Constantinople from Spain, and two Greeks became bishops of Mérida in Spain.⁵⁸ Contacts between the Iberian and Italian Peninsulas also existed, as demonstrated by the presence of manuscripts in Visigothic script at Monte Cassino, southeast of Rome.

The existence of Spanish and Christian North African relations is exemplified by St. Ildefonso's record in his *Liber de viris illustribus* of seventy monks who travelled with their books from Africa to Valencia in the sixth century. This history of emigration is emulated in Beatus's commentary, as its text and illustrations were most likely based upon an illustrated Tyconian commentary from North Africa. Tyconian influence on interpretation of the Book of Revelation was greater in the Iberian Peninsula than elsewhere in the Christian world.⁵⁹ The commentaries of Beatus and the Morgan Beatus emerged from this interconnected world—

⁵⁵ Mentré, 47; for more on St. Martin of Braga and communication between the Greek, Egyptian, and Iberian worlds see U. Domínguez del Val "El helnismo de los escritores cristianos españoles en los siete primeros siglos" and B. Fischer "Zur Liturgie der Lateinischen Handschriften vom Sinai"

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 48

⁵⁷ For more on the relations between Spain and Ireland see J.N. Hillgarth "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," P. David *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIIe siècle*, and M. Cocheril *Études sur le monachisme en Espagne et au Portugal*; for discussion of relations between Spain, the British Isles, the Near East, and Lérins see U. Roth "Studien zur Ornamentik frühchristlicher Handschriften des insularen Bereichs, Von den Anfängen bis zum Book of Durrow"

⁵⁸ For more on Byzantine-Spanish relations see P. Goubert "Byzance et l'Espagne wisigothique" and J. Fontaine *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*; this relationship was further fostered by the geographic unity created by the Islamic empire spanning the Mediterranean and the movement of people through these territories

⁵⁹ For more on Spanish and Christian African relations see Alvares Campos *Fuentes Beato*

knowledge from present and past civilizations were accessible and people and art were travelling around the Mediterranean.

CELESTIAL LITURGY & SYMBOLOLOGY

Celestial liturgy in the medieval period was often circular. The heavens were commonly depicted as circles; hence the domes of churches were decorated with celestial imagery. The Adoration of the Lamb highlights how this was carried over to manuscripts from church domes. The only circular composition in the Beatus manuscripts is the Adoration of the Lamb with twenty-four elders and four living creatures. This one depiction is also its own *storiae*.⁶⁰ Visually and organizationally, this picture was set apart from the other images of the Apocalypse as a representation of the celestial realm.

Isidore of Seville, a key source for Beatus, wrote *Etymologies*, which included an analysis of the universe. This analysis included a commentary on the existence of angels. He explained that there are nine orders of angels, from lowest to highest: angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, virtues, principalities, powers, cherubim, and seraphim. Indicated by inscriptions in the Adoration of the Lamb, the angel in the top left corner is a cherubim and the top right angel is a seraph. Angels are messengers for God, declaring his will to the people. They are able to travel to both realms. Cherubim are translated from Hebrew to Latin as the ‘Multitude of Knowledge.’ They reside in heaven and are named so because they are filled with knowledge due to their proximity to God. The seraphim are translated as ‘Ardent/Fiery Ones’ and they are stationed nearest to God. Their role is to veil the face and feet of God with their six wings, so to prevent people seeing the past before the world and future after the world. Therefore, both of

⁶⁰ Mentré, 193; for examples of circular formatting in celestial liturgy see the Insular *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Bibl. Laurent., Amiatinus, I, fol. 796v) and Italian *Exultet* manuscripts (Vatican, Bibl. Apost., lat. 3784); see M. Avery *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*

these angels signal that the Adoration of the Lamb takes place in a celestial realm, with the knowledgeable cherubim, and the seraph that sees all of God and time.

After discussing the angels, Isidore discusses animals. He describes the lamb as translated from Greek as ‘holy,’ but translated from Latin as ‘agnoscere.’ This Latin term means that the lamb recognizes its mother before other animals, even within a herd of sheep. Religiously, not only is Jesus the innocently slain lamb, but he is the lamb who can always find his holy mother, the Virgin Mary. John the Evangelist is represented by the eagle, which Isidore describes as known for its acuity of vision and known for staring directly into the sun. Much like John’s revelation about the end of time received from God, John is known for his vision and being capable of directly receiving and interpreting this fantastical vision from God.⁶¹ Isidore’s commentary on animals reveals the symbolic depth of the animals featured in the Adoration of the Lamb.

The Venerable Bede (672-735) wrote a commentary as well; in his *Commentary on Revelation*, Bede explains that the four living creatures represent the evangelists and the Church as a whole. The lion represents the Church’s fortitude, the calf the Church’s sacrifice, the man the Church’s humility, and the eagle the Church’s sublimity. Through the evangelists’ teaching, the Church was able to reach new heights—in this instance, of celestial heights. Looking at the image’s numerology, Bede explains that six is a special number as it is the first number to be a sum of its factors, as well as the multiplication of six times the sacred number four is equivalent to twenty-four, the number of elders and Old Testament books. The animals in the imagery are testifying and praising to God, while the humans adore lying down beneath them. For Bede, the harps held by the figures represent bodies ready for resurrection, the end of time. The vials are

⁶¹ Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 160-162, 247, 264

filled with the prayers of saints and represent the figures' hearts opened by charity. These worshipping figures are an exemplar for humankind, and the elders and creatures proclaim the Church's reign on Earth.⁶² Bede's commentary connects the figures within the Adoration of the Lamb to the Church as a symbolic being, and how humans should participate in it.

The Morgan Beatus became the basis for the rest of the Beatus copies—the stark contrast of colors, the subdivided drapery, and the emphasis on schema are all manifested in subsequent copies. Maius created a revolutionary new template—the Adoration of the Lamb serves as an example of the innovation of the Morgan Beatus. Mixing influences from a variety of media and knowledge-bases originating in Italy, Byzantium, Northern Europe, Africa, and the Umayyad Caliphate, Maius created a bold, distinct style for the Beatus manuscripts.

⁶² The Venerable Bede, *Bede : Commentary on Revelation*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 135-136, 139

Chapter 2- Comparanda

Christian Architectural Comparanda

The Adoration of the Lamb derives its circular composition from architectural precedents. Christian domes and apses serve as models for representations of the cosmos on a three-dimensional scale. This three-dimensionality is transferred into a two-dimensional illuminated manuscript through maintaining a domical composition in both shape and spacing of figures. To demonstrate how the circular composition of the Adoration of the Lamb draws inspiration from domical precedents, a comparison of Christian domes and apses depicting adorations or majesties will be explored.

After the establishment of Christianity as the state religion under Theodosius in 391, apocalyptic motifs became more prominent in artwork. With the link between the state and the church solidified, God's divine kingly presence was emphasized. Old Christian themes and new motifs depicting theophany were mixed together.⁶³ These motifs developed at the same time as the social and religious establishment of Christianity. The Apocalypse texts, thanks to Tyconius and Augustine, were going through a process of allegorization and dehistoricization.⁶⁴ These processes allowed for the apocalyptic stories to be more applicable to the daily lives of the devotees—the Book of Revelation serving as a microcosm of the battle between good and evil in the world. The motifs are symbolic, rather than telling of impending doom. As these motifs

⁶³ For more on changes to Christian political ideology in the fourth century see François Paschoud *Roma aeterna: Études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions* and “La doctrine chrétienne et l'idéologie impériale romaine”; for more on how this affected art see André Grabar *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* and F. van der Meer *Maiestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien*

⁶⁴ Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), 1992, 161; for more on how Tyconius affected later medieval exegesis see Kenneth B. Steinhauser *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of Its Reception and Influence*

became more established, the iconography of the *Agnus Dei* surrounded by the four living creatures as the evangelists developed.

Old St. Peter's mosaic façade, preserved via a fourth-century drawing, provides an early example of the development of these apocalyptic motifs (Figure 9; Eton College Library, Windsor, United Kingdom, Ms. 124, Folio 122r).⁶⁵ The mosaic façade depicts the haloed *Agnus Dei*, Lamb of God, at the apex of the roof in a ringed circle. Beneath the Lamb are four winged evangelists carrying books, and below these figures are the twenty-four elders divided into six groups of four. By the early third century, the evangelists and the four living creatures of the Book of Revelation had been aligned by Christian scholars, most notably by Jerome. The fourth and fifth century mark the frequent appearance of the winged evangelists in apocalyptic settings.⁶⁶ Decorated birds adorn the top corners of the façade, and two groupings of elders frame the bottom corners of the façade. These framing components are reminiscent of the angels that corner the circular composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. More comparisons can be drawn between the two, including the books carried by the evangelists as well as the hierarchical ordering of the Lamb at the place of prominence bordered by the evangelists and then the elders (represented in the Adoration of the Lamb as the ring of stars). The apex of the image has transformed from the peak of the roof, as at Old St. Peter's, to the middle of the circular compositions. This transition can be traced to Roman mosaic domes. The adoration archetype is derived from the antique courtly practice of *aurum coronarium*, an ancient ceremonial homage to an emperor, now translated into a Christian setting. The heavenly worship of Christ or the *Agnus Dei* by the twenty-four elders of the Book of Revelation 5: 6-14 replaced the emperor in his

⁶⁵ For scholarship on Old St. Peter's see J.H. Jongkees, *Studies on Old St. Peter's* and Rosamond McKitterick, *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*

⁶⁶ Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 81

court. In the Christian interpretation of *aurum coronarium*, the Lamb became the new emperor of the Church and the people.⁶⁷

Mosaics portraying Christ in Majesty also serve as comparison, for the Lamb of God is Christ. The late fourth-century mosaic in the apse of St. Pudenziana, Rome, depicts Christ in Majesty with Church of Golgotha at Jerusalem and Nativity at Bethlehem (Figure 10).⁶⁸ The inclusion of the Church of Golgotha, the site of Christ's crucifixion, and Bethlehem, the site of Christ's birth, spans his lifetime and marks the location of his triumphant return. The architecture behind Christ creates a divide between the heavens, where the winged evangelists reside, and the earthly realm, where his followers praise him. Christ transcends this boundary, and is central in the composition. If looked at as a vertical composition, the winged evangelists are placed above Christ. The evangelists, however, are oriented toward Christ. Each figure, heavenly and earthly, is focused upon Christ, transforming this piece into a circular composition. The transition to a centrally focused piece with four balancing factors—the two groupings each of the evangelists and Christ's followers around him—is emerging in this late fourth-century adoration.

The earliest surviving dome mosaic featuring a circular composition is found in the late fifth-century vault mosaic in the baptistery at Albenga, Italy (Figure 11).⁶⁹ The vault is oriented toward a viewer directly below it, rather than apsidal mosaics that accommodate a viewer from one optimal, frontal angle. By forcing the viewer to look up directly at the mosaic, the piece can be fully oriented as a circular composition, to be rotated around and viewed from multiple

⁶⁷ Emerson, 160; for more on *aurum coronarium* see Theodor Klauser "Aurum Coronarium"

⁶⁸ For scholarship on the Basilica of St. Pudenziana see Basile Vanmaele, *L'église Pudentielle De Rome (Santa Pudenziana) : Contribution à L'histoire De Ce Monument Insigne De La Rome Chrétienne Ancienne Du Iie Au XXe Siècle* and Morghen Raffaello, "Agiografia E Iconografia Nei Mosaici E Nei Reperti Archeologici Di S. Pudenziana in Roma"

⁶⁹ For scholarship on the baptistery at Albenga see Mario Marcenaro, *Il Battistero Paleocristiano Di Albenga : Le Origini Del Cristianesimo Nella Liguria Marittima*, Recco and Valeria Sciarretta, *Il Battistero Di Albenga*

angles. In this case, the vault mosaic portrays the Chi-Rho, evoking Christ and his crucifixion. Like the Lamb of God in the Adoration of the Lamb, Christ is transformed into a symbol in the Albenga baptistery. The Chi-Rho contains three radiating concentric circles, similar to the three main concentric circles radiating out from the Lamb in the Adoration of the Lamb. Twelve doves, referencing the twelve apostles, border the Chi-Rho circle. The rest of the vault mosaic is filled with stars. While the three concentric Chi-Rho circles are reminiscent of the Adoration of the Lamb, the larger composition of the vault mosaic in Albenga also displays a similar composition. The Chi-Rho serves the central role of the Lamb of God in the Adoration of the Lamb, the doves match the circling figures of the musicians and evangelists in the Adoration of the Lamb, and the surrounding stars frame the composition as the ring of fixed stars do in the Adoration of the Lamb.

The placement of this iconography within a vaulted dome further develops the schema into a circular composition, as the architectural space reflects the circular image. The circular composition of Albenga in a dome setting creates a three-dimensional space for the iconography to occupy. The fifth-century mosaic dome at San Giovanni in Laterano, the Lamb of God in Triumphant Wreath, provides an early example of the adoration iconography in a dome context (Figure 12). The location of the mosaic within a dome leads to some natural divisions—the diagonal divisions spreading to the corner pendentives reflect an architectural reality as well as continue the divisions into quadrants seen in early examples of this iconography. Divisions of four permeate this piece—the diagonal pendentives, the four horseshoe-shaped wreaths around the Lamb, and the cross created by a vertical and horizontal dividing line. The subsections are each occupied by two birds (varying in species) around a central vase with overflowing fruit. The Lamb is framed by a circular wreath. The overall circular composition with the Lamb at the

center with pairs of figures placed around the Lamb is reincarnated in the Adoration of the Lamb. Furthermore, unlike previous examples, the figures around the central Lamb are oriented in all cardinal directions, rather than to the viewer. In this piece these figures are the birds, in the Adoration of the Lamb the figures are the winged evangelists and musicians. This orientation forces a circumambulation of the piece, an adoration and ritual circling now including the audience.

This composition is exemplified again, in a more simplified fashion in the dome mosaic of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, constructed between 425 and 450 in Ravenna (Figure 13).⁷⁰ At this time in Ravenna, the elite, such as the Empress Galla Placidia, were constructing buildings such as these to express Christian ideas about death, the afterlife, and their faith within these settings. The marble pinecone on the summit of the roof epitomizes this expression, as pinecones symbolized immortality in Roman and early Christian art, demonstrated in early Christian tradition at Old St. Peter's.⁷¹ While the original intent for the mausoleum is unknown, Gillian Mackie suggests that the burial space was planned for Galla Placidia's infant son Theodosius who died in Spain.⁷² Andreas Agnellus, a ninth-century historian of Ravenna, serves as the main source for information concerning important buildings and figures at this time, like Galla Placidia.⁷³ Galla Placidia was an active patron and promoter of religious orthodoxy, and the adjacent building to the mausoleum, Santa Croce, is also attributed to her patronage. Like

⁷⁰ For scholarship on the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia see Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli *Il Mausoleo Di Galla Placidia a Ravenna*

⁷¹ Deliyannis, 82; for further discussion of the pinecone as a funerary symbol see Roberta Michellini "Pigna marmorea sulla sommità del totta"

⁷² Ibid., 83; for more on Theodosius's burial at the mausoleum see Gillian Mackie "The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia: A Possible Occupant"; For discussions of the association between this mausoleum and the burial of Galla Placidia see Deborah Deliyannis "Bury me in Ravenna?" *Appropriating Galla Placidia's body in the Middle Ages*

⁷³ For more on Agnellus see Deborah M. Deliyannis *Andreas Agnellus, Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*

Beatus of Liébana, she lived in a time of Christological debates regarding the nature of Christ, and heretical diversions from orthodoxy.⁷⁴

The prominence of the cross in the dome mosaic of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia is explained by looking at Santa Croce, whose imagery survives only in Agnellus's records. The church was dedicated by Empress Galla Placidia to the Holy Cross—an appropriate reference to the original Christian empress and mother of Constantine, Helena.⁷⁵ By the time of Galla Placidia, Helena was well known for her discovery of the True Cross in Jerusalem. Galla Placidia's sponsorship of a mosaic with her children at a church in Rome patronized and dedicated to the Cross by Helena suggests this desire to emulate Helena.⁷⁶ Not only does the dedication to the Cross allude to this connection, but the church plan itself is in the form of a Latin cross with an aisle less nave and transepts—unique in Ravenna at this time. It imitates cross-shaped churches of other capital cities at the time, such as Constantinople and Milan, which ultimately were modelled upon Constantine's Church of the Apostle in Constantinople. However, these cross-shaped churches are dedicated to the apostles.⁷⁷ Santa Croce fuses the dedication to the Cross and the form of the cross into one building. This focus on the cross is reflected in the form and mosaic scheme of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia.

Analyzing the dome mosaic of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia itself reveals an apocalyptic and celestial setting. The winged evangelists reside in the pendentives of the dome, squaring off the circular composition as the angels do in the Adoration of the Lamb. The winged

⁷⁴ Deliyannis, 62; for more biography on Galla Placidia see Steward Irvin Oost *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay*

⁷⁵ For discussions of connections between Helena and Byzantine aristocratic women see Leslie Brubaker "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Patronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries"

⁷⁶ Deliyannis, 74

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 70; for further discussion of cross-shaped churches in other capital cities see Suzanne Lewis, "The Latin Iconography of the Single-Naved Cruciform Basilica Apostolorum in Milan" and Clementina Rizzardi "L'architettura del Mausoleo tra Oriente e Occidente: cosmopolitismo e autonomia"

evangelists rest on striped clouds of red and light blue, and are arranged counterclockwise in the order that the living creatures are placed around the throne of God in Revelation 4:7, evoking the appearance of the four living creatures in Ezekiel 1:1-21: "...the first living creature like a lion, the second living creature like an ox, the third living creature with a face like a human face, and the fourth living creature like a flying eagle."⁷⁸ This ordering strengthens the connection between this mosaic dome and specific biblical passages and origin. The mausoleum is shaped like a cross—the setting of a cross-focused mosaic piece in cross-shaped architecture emulates the cross held by the Lamb in the Adoration of the Lamb (mosaic piece) and the cross created by the placement of the evangelists (architectural setting). This dome mosaic is placed in the heart of the cross, transforming the mosaic into the center of the architectural space as well as the center of devotion. Furthermore, it allows the devotion of the cross to transcend the space within the dome into the earthly realm of its devotees.

The central cross is framed by the concentric circle of stars, the evangelists, as well as the larger cross-shaped architectural space. The dome itself is constructed of brick laid in concentric circles—the construction and the decoration both reflect the centrality of concentric circles.⁷⁹ Gold eight-pointed stars are scattered across the entire composition, placing the viewers in the celestial sphere. Stars delineate the celestial space, as in the Adoration of the Lamb. This architectural representation of the stars above the viewer reflects the dome of stars seen outside. The cross occupies the center of this starry celestial space, another symbolized representation of Christ. Other interpretations include that the cross could represent any or all of the following: the Second Coming of Christ from the east, Christ as creator of the world, Christ as redeemer,

⁷⁸ Ibid., 81

⁷⁹ Ibid., 76; for more on the masonry of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia see Barbara Vernia "L'analisi delle strutture murarie degli edifici di culto di Ravenna: il caso del mausoleo di Galla Placidia"

heavenly cross, vision of the cross at Jerusalem in 351, and the city of heaven.⁸⁰ The introduction of the cross into this adoration iconography inserts apocalyptic and heavenly meaning into the arrangement. The cross itself is oriented toward the east side of the structure—imitating the eastern orientation of altars and Christian churches. The stars radiate out from the cross in concentric circles, becoming less delineated as they move away from the cross. Analyzing the stars around the cross reveals that there are seven contained in the cross's arms—these seven stars have been interpreted as the seven stars of the apocalypse, planets, degrees of the soul, days of the Creation, Beatitudes, and gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁸¹ These interpretations reinforce the place of the cross in an apocalyptic, celestial setting. The celestial setting for this apocalyptic adoration scene is new—the vision of the Apocalypse does not include celestial imagery as seen at the mausoleum. A common Roman motif, the blue dome covered with stars is introduced into an apocalyptic Christian setting.⁸² The stars of the heavens shine down upon its viewers—this light acting as a gateway to the heavenly sphere. This dome mosaic combines the circumambulatory effect of the mosaic at San Giovanni in Laterano with a representation of the starry heavens. Domes are transformed into representations of the heavens.

The heavens are again represented in the Archbishop's Chapel at Ravenna, constructed between 494 and 519 (Figure 14).⁸³ The chapel, like the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, is

⁸⁰ Ibid., 82; for more on these interpretations of the cross see Carl Otto Nördstrom *Ravennastudien: ideengeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen über die Mosaiken von Ravenna* and F. W. Deichmann *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, who asserts the Second Coming of Christ as the primary interpretation

⁸¹ Ibid., 80, for more on these interpretations see Clementina Rizzardi (seven stars) “Il Mausoleo nel mondo culturale e artistico di Galla Placidia” and Carl Otto Nordström (seven planets) *Ravennastudien: ideengeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen über die Mosaiken von Ravenna*

⁸² Ibid., 81; for more on the starry sky of Galla Placidia see Ellen Swift and Anne Alwis “The role of late antique art in early Christian worship: a reconsideration of the iconography of the ‘starry sky’ in the ‘Mausoleum’ of Galla Placidia”

⁸³ For scholarship on the Archbishop's Chapel see Giuseppe Gerola, “Il ripristino della capella di S. Andrea nel palazzo vescovile di Ravenna” and Luisa Ottolenghi, “La capella arcivescovile in Ravenna”

constructed as a cruciform. The dome mosaic at the center of this cross features a central Chi-Rho, framed with concentric circles. Emanating from the pendentives are four angels, holding or raising the framed Chi-Rho. Between these winged figures are the winged evangelists holding jeweled books, arranged around the Chi-Rho cardinally (in placement and in orientation toward the Lamb) as in the Adoration of the Lamb. This dome mosaic introduces the composition of the division of the space by important figures—at the Archbishop’s Chapel the composition is divided into quadrants by the angels; in the Adoration of the Lamb this is done by the winged evangelists. The fiery clouds seen underneath the evangelists were previously seen at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, and are similar to the wheels beneath the evangelists in the Adoration of the Lamb. These depictions are drawn from the vision of the four living creatures in the Book of Ezekiel 1:1-21, where they come down from the heavens in a whirlwind. The spirit of the four living creatures was believed to be in their wheels. The fiery dynamic clouds of the dome mosaics at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and Archbishop’s Chapel serve as early depictions of the wheels that become more defined in later evangelist depictions.

The arches framing the dome vault of the Archbishop’s Chapel at Ravenna feature medallions, each containing a figure. The medallions oriented along the same lines as the central Chi-Rho (next to the winged evangelists, dividing the piece into a cross) are two Chi-Rho symbols and two depictions of a beardless Christ. Besides these medallions, there are twenty-four medallions, six in each arch. The figures occupying these medallions are grouped into apostles and martyrs, separated by gender. The figures are placed against blue backgrounds within the medallions, which are set against a gold background. Both the central composition and these figures occupy the same gold, ethereal space.⁸⁴ These twenty-four figures are referencing

⁸⁴ Deliyannis, 194: Apostles (Northeast): Iohannis, Iacobus, Paulus, Beardless Christ, Petrus, Andreas, Filippus; Male Martyrs (Southeast): Chrysanthus, Chrisoconus, Cassianus, Chrismon, Polycarpus,

the twenty-four elders spoken of in the Book of Revelation, represented in the Adoration of the Lamb as the ring of twenty-four fixed stars. In earlier versions of this iconography, such as Old St. Peter's façade, the twenty-four elders are represented as full figures. In the Archbishop's Chapel they are reduced to busts, and they are further simplified in the Adoration of the Lamb as symbolized stars. They are delineated from the main grouping architecturally at the chapel and by rings in the manuscript, but remain in the same celestial space. This is an early example of how the elders are utilized to frame the larger composition. The golden background of the dome mosaic alludes to the otherworldly space the angels and Chi-Rho occupy. Agnellus, quoting an inscription in the narthex, discovered and recreated by modern restorers, reveals how light as a concept plays into the construction of these mosaic domes:

Either light was born here, or captured here it reigns free; it is the law, from which source the current glory of heaven excels. The roofs, deprived (of light), have produced gleaming day, and the enclosed radiance gleams forth as if from secluded Olympus. See, the marble flourishes with bright rays, and all the stones struck in starry purple shine in value, the gifts of the founder Peter.⁸⁵

The light of the Sun is transformed into celestial, divine light emanating in this holy space from the mosaic and the building itself. Agnellus's reference to Olympus provides evidence for the otherworldly connection. Light is holy. The divine light emanated by the golden mosaic tiles of the Archbishop's Chapel or the golden stars of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia are transformed into the stars of the elders in the Adoration of the Lamb—demarcating the celestial realm.

Cosmas, Damianus; Apostles (Southwest): Simon Cananeus, Taddaeus, Iacobus, Beardless Christ, Thomas, Mattheus, Bartholomeus; Female Martyrs (Northwest): Caecilia, Eugenia, Eufimia, Chrismon, Daria, Perpetua, Felicitas

⁸⁵ For more on the restoration of this inscription see Giuseppe Gerola, "Il ripristino della capella di S. Andrea nel palazzo vescovile di Ravenna"

The Lamb of God dome mosaic at San Vitale, Ravenna, created in 547, provides another example of a dome mosaic featuring this iconography (Figure 15).⁸⁶ This mosaic is placed in the dome over the altar, the central place of sanctity and worship. The arch separating the dome from the rest of the church features God in a central medallion with the twelve apostles in medallions radiating down the arms of the arch toward the devotees below. These medallions are similar to the medallions seen at the Archbishop's Chapel. The apostles frame this sacred space. Below the vault there is an apsidal mosaic of Christ in Majesty with Angels, Saint Vitalis, and Bishop Ecclesius with a Model of the Church. The transitional space between this apsidal mosaic and the dome mosaic reveals the transition from an earthly space to a celestial space—mapping the spiritual and geographical pathway for accessing this celestial realm (for the Morgan Beatus, the path are the biblical passages, commentaries, and images). The figures in the apsidal mosaic stand on green land with rivers and plants, above the apse are architectural representations. They are jeweled and gold with open gates which frame two flying angels who hold a medallion containing the IX monogram of Christ imposed on a cross, perhaps a reference to the gates of heavenly Jerusalem. Above this space vases with abstracted, abundant vines fill the space around three windows, occupied by birds and grapes. This is the last transition to the dome mosaic, which is itself filled with vines, birds, animals, and has peacocks in each pendentives. This space transitions from the earthly space occupied by human figures, to the abstract, abundant paradise of the heavens.

Analyzing the dome mosaic itself, as at San Giovanni in Laterano, the pendentives extend toward the central medallion, filled with abundant plant life and dividing the mosaic into quadrants. This central medallion is framed by a wreath as well, as the pearls encircle the Lamb

⁸⁶ For scholarship on the mosaics of San Vitale see Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli, *La Basilica Di San Vitale a Ravenna* and Sergio Bettini, *I Mosaici Di San Vitale a Ravenna*

of the Adoration of the Lamb. The angels supporting the central medallion, first seen at the Archbishop's Chapel, appear again here, standing on globes and raising their hands toward the Lamb. Karl Lehmann asserts that the varying light and dark areas on each of the globes reference the changing cycles of time; this theory was expanded upon by Henry Maguire who suggests that they are representations of the Four Seasons.⁸⁷ These winged angels supporting the central medallion serve as early examples of the orientation and placement of the winged evangelists in the Adoration of the Lamb, but also as early examples of the angels who carry the whole circular composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. The haloed lamb is placed within a dark blue sky filled with stars, reminiscent of the starry celestial vault at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, reminding the audience of the celestial space this dome occupies.

Looking at these dome mosaics generally, the orientation of placing the Lamb, Cross, or Christ at the apex is so that praise is flowing upwards. The adoration transcends the two-dimensional space of the mosaic. The composition draws focus and devotion to the central medallion. The figures in the mosaic and observers of the mosaic are both part of this phenomenon; the devotees look up at the dome, where the four living creatures or angels look up to the central symbol.⁸⁸ The composition serves a didactic purpose—a diagram for adoration. The architectural style of the simple groin vault is transformed into a way of worship. This is especially apparent at San Vitale, whose mosaic program focuses on Offerings to God—the Lamb at the apex of the altar space, where the Eucharist would have been occurred, as the Christological figure to whom all gifts are ultimately presented, to whom all worship is

⁸⁷ Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 15; Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 77

⁸⁸ Emerson, 207; for more on this phenomenon see Josef Engemann "Akklamationsrichtung, Sieger-und Besiegtenrichtung auf dem Galeriusbogen in Saloniki"

ultimately directed.⁸⁹ This scheme creates a ritual of ascending exaltation, which is recreated in the Adoration of the Lamb.

Another type of church building featuring similar iconography is baptisteries, exemplified by the Orthodox Baptistery built in Ravenna in 390, and decorated between 450 and 460 (Figure 16).⁹⁰ Baptisteries become separate spaces as Christian buildings become monumental in the early fourth century; most of these baptisteries were small, with a centralized ground plan and a large font for baptisms in the center.⁹¹ The dome above the Orthodox Baptistery places the center of the dome, depicting the baptism of Christ, directly above the font where new people of the faith would have been baptized.⁹² Beneath the dome are eight windows, whose original window covering is unknown but Deborah Deliyannis argues that it was likely semi-translucent glass.⁹³

As at San Vitale, there is a progression from the earthly to the celestial in the decoration of the varying registers spanning from the ground floor to the apex of the dome. At the apex of the building is a medallion containing three figures—John the Baptist, Christ, and a bearded nude man identified as the river Jordan. A baptismal, rather than adoration, scene is portrayed. The presence of the personification of the river Jordan provides another example of how Greek and Roman motifs were adapted into early Christian art—personifications of rivers as gods and

⁸⁹ Deliyannis, 250; for a further discussion of ties between Biblical iconography and church participants see Sabine MacCormack *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*

⁹⁰ For scholarship on the Orthodox Baptistery see Spiro Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* and Annabel Wharton, “Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna”; for discussions of baptisteries more generally see Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens, *The Visual Culture of Baptism in the Middle Ages : Essays on Medieval Fonts, Settings and Beliefs* and John Gordon Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*

⁹¹ Deliyannis, 88; for how baptisteries developed into differentiated spaces see Gisella Cantino Wataghin et al. “Ledificio battesimale nel tessuto della città tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia”; for a discussion of different baptistery plans see Sebastian Ristow *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*

⁹² While the baptism was reworked in the Renaissance, the original iconography is intact.

⁹³ Deliyannis, 339

goddesses were adapted into biblically important rivers like the Jordan and the Four Rivers of Paradise.⁹⁴ As at the Archbishop's Chapel and San Vitale, the gold background of this medallion removes it from the natural world—the medallion is a view into heaven. The banding around the medallion, meant to replicate a circular marble cornice, gives the effect of this earthly-divine separation.⁹⁵ Outside of this central medallion are the apostles, dressed in broadly striped tunics and carrying jeweled crowns. These crowns are likely being offered to Christ in the central medallion, echoing the apocalyptic scene of the kings offering their crowns and the elders offering crowns to the throne. Carl Otto Nordström interprets the scene as a reference to the imperial ceremony, the *aurum coronarium* first referenced at Old St. Peter's.⁹⁶ This interpretation is fitting to the imperial ceremonial culture found at Ravenna. The apostles are partitioned by vegetation, as are the angels at San Vitale, and walk on narrow green ground space in a dark blue background. They are oriented to encourage circumambulation. The drapery of the central medallion provides the apostles with allusions to halos.⁹⁷ They seem to occupy both an earthly and celestial space, similar to the angels at the Archbishop's Chapel who stand on earthly ground, but occupy a golden, ethereal space.

Moving out of the celestial space of the dome of the Orthodox Baptistery, a blue and red border separates the central domical composition from the next register, functioning similarly to the outer blue and red ring of the Adoration of the Lamb. The architectural band below the apostles includes niches depicting altars, open Gospel books, and empty thrones. These empty

⁹⁴ For discussions of the personified river Jordan in baptismal scenes see Robin Jensen *Understanding Early Christian Art* and Günter Ristow "Sulla personificazione del Giordano nelle rappresentazioni battesimali nell'arte del primo Cristianesimo"

⁹⁵ Spiro Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 105-106

⁹⁶ Carl Otto Nordström, *Ravennastudien: ideengeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen über die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), 41-46

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 36

thrones are interpreted as *etimasia*, ‘preparation of the throne.’⁹⁸ These thrones reference the Second Coming of Christ, according to Carl Otto Nordström, and the sovereignty of Christ, according to F.W. Deichmann—containing veiled doubled meanings as the cross at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia does. This space represents the heavenly kingdom, attainable for the baptized.⁹⁹ While the mosaic scheme at San Vitale stressed the ultimate direction of all worship, the association of a heavenly iconography with a baptistery is utilized to demonstrate to the viewers an attainable world. Below this heavenly kingdom resides the space occupied by the baptismal participants, occupied by shallow stucco reliefs and arches. Eight figures occupy medallions in the spandrels of the ground level arches, and twelve figures occupy the shallow stucco spaces—suggested as prophets, this collection references the twenty-four elders, surrounding the base of the celestial dome as at the Archbishop’s Chapel and abstracted in the Adoration of the Lamb.¹⁰⁰ The figures participating in the baptisms on the ground floor, dressed in white robes, would have seen themselves reflected in the stucco prophets and mosaic apostles, providing a pathway for the figures to travel to the celestial heights previewed in the dome medallion. The Orthodox Baptistery provides another example of how imagery can engage active worship, creating a context of dynamic, three-dimensional worship for the Adoration of the Lamb.

The dome of Hagia Sophia presents this iconography on a monumental scale, as well as fully demonstrating the importance of light for dome iconography (Figure 17).¹⁰¹ Emperor Justinian I tasked Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles to construct the Hagia Sophia in

⁹⁸ This is a common motif in church mosaics of this period, as discussed in Dominic Janes *God and Gold in Late Antiquity*

⁹⁹ Deliyannis, 97

¹⁰⁰ As observed by F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, 22-23

¹⁰¹ For scholarship on the history of Hagia Sophia see İlhan Akşit, *The History and Architecture of the Hagia Sophia* and for discussions of contemporary conceptions of the Hagia Sophia see Nadine Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*

his capital city, completed between 532 and 537. Praised for its monumentality, the dome proudly declares the building in the cityscape and serves as the central focus within the building as well. The ribbing of the dome pulls focus to the pinnacle of the dome. The seraphim in the pendentives lift the dome to the heavens, providing the first surviving example of the framing seraphim outside the central composition as represented in the Adoration of the Lamb. A massive architectural feat, Isidore and Anthemius were not only architects, but also scientists and mathematicians, speaking to the cross-pollination of these subjects. Isidore taught at universities around the Byzantine Empire, and wrote a commentary on an older treatise concerning vaulting. Anthemius was a professor, inventor, and mathematician.¹⁰² Arguably their greatest achievement was the ring of windows below the dome, giving the dome a floating effect as the light from the windows is scattered throughout the church bouncing off of golden mosaics. The whole building glows with the light emanating from the dome. As at the Archbishop's Chapel in Ravenna, light is abstracted for a holy meaning. This is reflected in the Adoration of the Lamb by the transformation of the elders into light-bearing stars, encircling the composition. The windows of light and the elders serve as the outer ring of the celestial sphere, separating the earthly from the divine, but shedding divine light down onto earth. The bases of light found in architectural spaces are ultimately transformed into figures of the Book of Revelation in the Adoration of the Lamb.

Returning to how this iconography is depicted in church apses, the sixth-seventh century fresco apse at the Monastery of St. Apollo in Bawit, Egypt, shows how the development of this

¹⁰² Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed., rev. by Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić. Harmondsworth, (Middlesex, England; New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1986), 206

iconography in domes had shifted the apsidal presentation (Figure 18).¹⁰³ This fresco presents Christ in Majesty and Virgin and Child with Apostles. Rather than bridging the earthly world and the heavenly realm, as in the mosaic at St. Pudenziana, Christ remains in the celestial realm alone. The Virgin Mary, apostles, and medallions on the bordering arch frame the celestial composition. Two angels occupy a blue background scattered with stars which frames the central Christ figure, who sits on a throne holding an open book within a series of concentric circles. Images of the evangelists remain, attached to the concentric circles. In this way they square off the composition as the angels do in the Adoration of the Lamb. The evangelists are depicted with the wheels described in the Book of Ezekiel vision, as well as the more biblically accurate description of their six wings filled with eyes. The transition first seen at St. Pudenziana to a circular format is more fully realized at the Monastery of St. Apollo, as well as a more defined and central celestial space.

Constructed between 118 and 125, and converted to a church in 609 dedicated to St. Mary and the Martyrs, the Pantheon reveals how later Christian dome developments were rooted in ancient, pagan settings (Figure 19).¹⁰⁴ The dome of the Pantheon, unlike other domes examined, was engineered and proportioned to the rest of the building as a sphere, rather than a crowning dome on a rectangular base. The diameter of the interior circle of the dome is equal to the height from the floor to the oculus. In this sense, the dome of the Pantheon was a microcosm of the spherical earth. The oculus, devoid of decoration and open to the exterior, serves as an eye to the heavens outside of the earthly sphere. This view of the heavens was transformed in

¹⁰³ For scholarship on the artwork of Egyptian monasteries see Gawdat Gabra, *Coptic Monasteries : Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture* and Elizabeth S. Bolman, "Depicting the Kingdom of Heaven: Paintings and Monastic Practice in Early Byzantine Egypt"

¹⁰⁴ For scholarship on the construction and architecture of the Pantheon see Gene Waddell, *Creating the Pantheon : Design, Materials and Construction* and William Lloyd MacDonald, *The Pantheon : Design, Meaning, and Progeny*

Christian dome mosaics into starry or golden celestial spaces, and in the Adoration of the Lamb as the Lamb of God. The lamb represents Christ's sacrificial role—providing eternal salvation, and therefore the key to the heavens, for Christians. As the day progresses and the sun passes across the sky, the light entering through the oculus highlights different niches, encircling the Pantheon. The light of the heavens is directly brought into this space. This creates a base of light similar to ring of windows later seen at Hagia Sophia. The dome was originally gilded, with the coffers containing bronze stars. The coffers also provide early evidence for the division and fragmentation of the heavens in domical celestial depictions, as seen in later Christian mosaic domes. This decoration scheme imitates the experience of viewing the night sky—making the celestial implications of this space more concrete. The Pantheon reveals the fundamental cosmological functioning of a dome which is adapted into Christian mosaic work through the development of a complex iconographic scheme.

The first example in this set from Spain, the seventh-century carvings at Iglesia Santa Maria, near Quintanilla de las Viñas, reveals the permeation of these framing compositions into Spanish architecture.¹⁰⁵ The carving presenting Christ between two angels includes a central haloed Christ, framed on each side by an angel (Figure 20). The angel on the left side of the carving places its hands on Christ in a similar way that the angels hold the circular frame in the Adoration of the Lamb. Angels were used to frame and focus the viewer's attention on the central figure. Another carving from the site depicts solar and lunar discs supported by two angels each (Figure 21). The Sun and the Moon each are carved within medallions with ringed borders, as seen in previous central depictions of the Lamb, Chi Rho, or Christ. Like the carving of Christ at this site, the framing angels support and highlight the central figure. In this depiction,

¹⁰⁵ For scholarship on connections between these carvings, Visigothic manuscript style, and the Morgan Beatus see Helmut Schlunk, "Observaciones en torno al problema de la minatura visigoda"

the hands of the angels grip the ring of the discs in a similar manner to how the angels in the Adoration of the Lamb grip the exterior ring of the concentric circles. Tracing the role of the angels through the Archbishop's Chapel and dome at San Vitale to Spain reveals how the angels have shifted from main foci of the composition to framing components—although throughout these examples, the angels' role of holding and raising up the central figure remains. The angels are exalters.

While not related to the composition of the piece, the style of the clothing is treated in a similar manner to the clothing of the figures in the Adoration of the Lamb. The clothing in both the sculpture and the manuscript is characterized by sections of cloth with parallel lines of folds within them that contrast in angle with the next section of cloth. This can be done with increasing effect in the manuscript as coloring heightens the linearity. Furthermore, the wings of the angels in both mediums are subdivided into linear feathers. The linearity and subdivision in these relief sculptures is intensified by contrasting colors in the Adoration of the Lamb. This commonality derives from their shared Mozarabic style, unique to medieval Spain, which was characterized by highly schematized figures. The Mozarabic style is also characterized by intense colors, geometric shapes and subdivisions, and unusual perspectives.¹⁰⁶ It was in its prime between 950 and 1050; therefore, if not participants, these carvings may serve as foundations to the subsequent Mozarabic style.

Tracing comparanda from Italian apsidal mosaics into dome vaults reveals the shift from vertically-oriented compositions to compositions focused around a series of concentric circles, heightening the focus and therefore adoration on the central Christ figure, symbolized in various ways. The angels and evangelists are continually utilized within the composition to formally divide the composition, as well as to fulfill framing and highlighting roles. Domes in architecture

¹⁰⁶ Mentré, 117-119

are typically designed as focal points to the building both architecturally and for worship. As the domical mosaic iconography directs the worship of the viewer, the surrounding content of the Morgan Beatus provides the pathway to the celestial sphere represented by the Adoration of the Lamb. This adaption from architectural to manuscript iconography allows for the transferal of a didactic composition—the adoration acting beyond illustrating a narrative in the Book of Revelation, but as a conduit to the heavens. Furthermore, as architectural domes serve as microcosms of the larger Christian universe, the Adoration of the Lamb serves as a microcosm of the heavens in the larger construction of the Morgan Beatus. Analyzing architectural comparanda is essential to understanding the three-dimensionality, and ultimately celestial setting and cosmological meaning, of the Adoration of the Lamb before turning to manuscript comparanda.

Chapter 2- Comparanda

Christian Manuscript Comparanda

The Adoration of the Lamb was born out of a rich manuscript tradition in Western Europe. The Carolingian Empire enacted much influence over artistic trends, drawing from a Roman heritage. The Adoration of the Lamb, while drawing some elements from Carolingian tradition is an innovative composition pointing to a Roman architectural influence, allowing it to act as a three-dimensional cosmological piece. The development of variations of adoration iconography in the manuscript tradition and the development of a circular adoration iconography in mosaic domes fuse together in the Adoration of the Lamb. Analyzing manuscript folios of Christ in Majesty and the Adoration of the Lamb, reveals a shift from two-dimensional, vertical compositions to a dynamic cosmological composition.

Christ in Majesty, folio 796v of the early eighth-century Codex Amiatinus (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Cod. Ambat. 1), produced in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, demonstrates the presence of circular compositions pre-dating the Adoration of the Lamb (Figure 22).¹⁰⁷ The Codex Amiatinus is the oldest extant complete Vulgate Bible, and was created for the Roman papacy. It was based on an earlier sixth-century manuscript, perhaps the Codex Grandior, and utilizes Mediterranean models. The script itself is an imitation of an Italian script practiced between the fourth and eighth centuries, called uncial script.¹⁰⁸ These components reveal the Mediterranean, especially Roman, influence on this codex. In a similar fashion to the Adoration of the Lamb, the central figure is placed in a ringed circle. This is framed by a larger rectangle,

¹⁰⁷ For the facsimile of the Codex Amiatinus see Jerome, *Codex Amiatinus*, (Florence: La Meta Editore, 2008); for scholarship on the Codex Amiatinus see Rupert Leo Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus* and Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Codex Amiatinus and the Byzantine Element in the Northumbrian Renaissance*

¹⁰⁸ Adam S. Cohen, "Codex Amiatinus," *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T2089214>

occupied by standing human figures, the evangelists in the corners, and their winged animal figures above and below the circle. This Anglo-Saxon manuscript is a testament to inter-regional influences throughout Europe—a conversation between iconography in a manuscript from Anglo-Saxon England and manuscripts in the Carolingian Empire, drawing from the Roman Empire, existed.

To illuminate the commonly used scheme in Western Europe for apocalyptic depictions of Christ, The Second Coming of Christ, folio 267 of the Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall (Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall(en), Switzerland, Cod. Sang. 51), serves as an example. It is an Irish manuscript created between 750 and 760 (Figure 23).¹⁰⁹ The vertical hierarchy of the figures, as well as a hierarchy of scale, is used to show the prominence of Christ in this image. The image is understood to work on multiple planes—Christ and the angels above in the heavenly realm and the twelve apostles below in the earthly realm, heads upturned in adoration. This fragmentation of the image into a heavenly and earthly realm was commonly used for depictions including figures in heaven. Unlike the depiction of the adoration in the Morgan Beatus, the viewer of the Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall is an outsider to this adoration. Created as a two-dimensional image, the reader of the manuscript is placed outside both the heavenly and earthly realms. In the Adoration of the Lamb, the viewer looks upon an image that allows them to participate in the worship. The reader occupies the earthly realm, and gazes upon the heavenly realm organized as a circle. This change in orientation of the viewer of the manuscript echoes the experience of viewer of mosaic domes—having a three-dimensional, dynamic experience with the piece. Furthermore, the influence of Roman domes upon the Morgan Beatus's Adoration of the Lamb

¹⁰⁹ For the facsimile of the Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall see *Irish Evangelary from St. Gall (Quatuor evangelia)*, Facsimile edition, (St. Gall: Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, 2006), <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0051>; for more scholarship on the Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall see Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*

results in a heavier use of symbology. Whereas the human viewers are depicted figurally in the Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall, the twenty-four elders of the adoration scene in the Adoration of the Lamb are represented as stars. Christ in the Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall is represented as *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God, in the Adoration of the Lamb, as Christological symbols such as the Chi-Rho and the Lamb were often utilized in adoration domes. The Second Coming of Christ, as apocalyptic iconography derived from the Book of Revelation, provides a comparative piece to highlight the influences from architecture and deviations from the contemporary manuscript tradition of Western Europe.

Highlighting another contemporary manuscript copied from an ancient text, the Gundohinus Gospels (Bibliothèque municipale d'Autun, France, Ms. 3, Folio 12v) reveals another variation on adoration iconography paralleling Maius's Adoration of the Lamb (Figure 24).¹¹⁰ The organization of the central ringed figure surrounded by the four evangelists is realized in Christ in Majesty, from the Gundohinus Gospels. This manuscript from 754 was created at Abbey Vosevio. While the exact location of this abbey remains disputed, it was within the bounds of the early Carolingian dynasty's lands. The pearl borders echo the ring of pearls and stars in the Adoration of the Lamb. While this represents a movement towards a circular composition, it remains in the hierarchical tradition, for the evangelists (in the bordering medallions) are oriented vertically, rather than toward the central figure as in the Adoration of the Lamb. It is also not a unified composition, several circles inscribe the figures. A unified cosmos is not portrayed. Unlike the Codex Amiatinus where the evangelists are represented both as humans and as animals, the Gundohinus Gospels display the evangelists in this depiction only in their animal form. While they do hold books, as seen in the Adoration of the Lamb, they lack

¹¹⁰ For scholarship on the Gundohinus Gospels see Lawrence Nees (who suggests this ancient text was from Ravenna), *The Gundohinus Gospels*

wings and the spinning wheels beneath them. This representation suggests the transition from realistic to symbolic depictions based upon biblical passages.

The depiction of Christ surrounded by the evangelists inscribed in medallions becomes standard in other manuscripts from the Carolingian Empire. Christ in Majesty with symbols of the Four Evangelists, folio 31r of the Gospel Book of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers (Bibliothèque municipale d'Amiens, France, Ms. 17), is a Carolingian manuscript dated to the late eighth century (Figure 25).¹¹¹ This manuscript again suggests the movement from realistic representations of the evangelists to symbolic depictions. The evangelists are anthropomorphized, animal heads with cloaked, winged human bodies. Their hands are proportionally enlarged to emphasize the books they carry—the message of the Gospels. As in the Adoration of the Lamb, the books lie open, accessible to the reader. They remain in separate medallions around Christ, while maintaining pearled borders. Their eyes are turned toward Christ, and they offer the books to Him. Christ is represented on a throne with a back resembling a mandorla—layered like the other ringed circular representations. The Gospel Book of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers is another link in tracing the origin of the iconography of the Morgan Beatus.

Christ in Majesty, folio 72v of the Codex Aureus of Lorsch (Alba Julia Batthyneum Library, Bucharest, Romania, Ms. R; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Pal. Lat. 50), created in Aachen in 800 is the first existing circular composition of Christ in Majesty (Figure 26).¹¹² This Carolingian manuscript depicts Christ in a medallion within a larger set of rectangular frames. Within a ring around Christ are the evangelists, arranged cardinally, and

¹¹¹ For more scholarship on the Gospel Book of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers see Lynley Anne Herbert, "Le Toucher De L'évêque: Les Actes De Dévotion Dans Les Évangiles De Sainte-Croix De Poitiers," a precursor to her upcoming monograph *LUX VITA: The Majesty and Humanity of Christ in the Gospels of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers*

¹¹² For more scholarship on the Codex Aureus of Lorsch see Wolfgang Braunfels, *Das Lorscher Evangeliar* and Bernard Bischoff, "The Court Library under Louis the Pious"

winged figures dispersed between abstract designs. These winged figures may be angels or saints, and echo the musicians and vial-carriers of the Adoration of the Lamb. Their orientation of these figures is oriented leaning towards Christ, no longer a strict vertical representation. The evangelists lie within inscribed medallions within this ringed border—similarly to the Adoration of the Lamb, they are arranged cardinally (and in the same placement around Christ). They are winged and haloed, but no longer anthropomorphized. The Christ figure dominates the composition. The context for a transition to a domical representation is suggested by the transition toward circular compositions.

While this transition was crystallizing, the vertical hierarchal composition remained as demonstrated by the Adoration of the Lamb in the early ninth-century Gospel Book of St. Medard Soissons (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Lat. 8850, Folio 1v).¹¹³ This composition resembles a photograph of apse mosaics—the figures are in rectangles above an architectural space consisting of columns, draped cloth, and indented architectural spaces (Figure 27). The Lamb of God is at the apex of the manuscript, with the twenty-four elders represented as humans in the box below the medallion of the Lamb of God. Beneath this multi-framed composition is another rectangle containing individual medallions. The winged, haloed evangelists reside in these medallions, offering books to the Lamb of God. While this reveals a persistent attention to vertical, two-dimensional compositions, it also reveals an attention to architectural compositions featuring the Lamb of God. Both the Codex Aureus of Lorsch and the Gospel Book of St. Medard Soissons were created in the Court School of Charlemagne, one of the first scriptoria within the Carolingian Renaissance. This school focused on a return to Roman forms through studying existing ivories, paintings, and mosaics from Italy, attempting to

¹¹³ For more scholarship on the Gospel Book of St. Medard Soissons see Marie Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors Carolingiens: Livres Manuscrits De Charlemagne À Charles Le Chauve*

emulate antique book arts.¹¹⁴ The Gospel Book of St. Medard Soissons's Adoration of the Lamb reveals a path for Roman mosaics and architecture to be translated into manuscript form.

The Vivian Bible (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Lat. 1) provides another example of Carolingian inspiration for the Morgan Beatus.¹¹⁵ These Carolingian manuscripts provide contemporary interpretations of ancient Roman forms, taken further by the Morgan Beatus. The Vivian Bible, unlike the previous Carolingian manuscripts, was created out of the Tours scriptorium, which focused upon late Antique bibles for iconography. The Tours scriptorium holds a special connection within the environment of the Morgan Beatus. The Kingdom of Asturias, where Beatus wrote and illuminated his initial commentaries, maintained connections with the scriptorium of Tours. Furthermore, San Miguel de Escalada, where Maius created the Morgan Beatus, had relics of St. Martin of Tours. These connections were manifested in two direct forms—geometric frames and colored backgrounds. Maius appropriated the geometric frames from Carolingian manuscripts to allow for colorful backgrounds—whereas the Carolingian manuscripts include multi-colored backgrounds, the colored backgrounds in the Morgan Beatus and the Mozarabic tradition tend to be striped and separated into flat areas of color.¹¹⁶ The transition between colors is less fluid. The background coloring of Mozarabic manuscripts is designed around geometric spaces, for the artists were not attempting to reflect a

¹¹⁴ For more scholarship on the Court Schools and scriptoriums of the Carolingian Empire see James A. Harmon, *Codicology of the Court School of Charlemagne: Gospel Book Production, Illumination, and Emphasized Script*, Henry Mayr-Harting, "Charlemagne as a Patron of Art," Rosamond McKitterick, "The Palace School of Charles the Bald"

¹¹⁵ For more scholarship on the Vivian Bible see Paul Edward Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings in the First Bible of Charles the Bald (Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts)* and Eleanor Schiefele, "Patronage and Iconography of the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Latin 1)"

¹¹⁶ Williams, 77, 93; Menéndez Pidal argues that Maius was the inventor of the banded backgrounds in the Beatus tradition see Pidal *Mozarabes y asturianos en la cultura de la alta Edad Media: en relación especial con la historia de los conocimientos geográficos*; for discussion of St. Martin of Tours relics in San Miguel de Escalada see Vincente García Lobo *Las inscripciones de San Miguel de Escalada*

natural, multi-hued world but rather a celestial one. The geometry of the composition and the abstract, celestial setting are becoming more defined within the evolution of this iconography.

Turning toward two folios within the Vivian Bible, *Christ in Majesty*, folio 329v, is another example of the evolution of circular adoration iconography (Figure 28). The evangelists have reverted to full human forms, sitting on chairs in the corner of the entire framed piece. The central focus of the folio is a diamond frame, with circular medallions on each point containing haloed Old Testament figures. Within the diamond Christ resides in a mandorla seated on a globe, surrounded by animal representations of the evangelists. The evangelists are winged, haloed, and carrying books. The books remain closed, except for the eagle. This eagle represents John, the author of the Book of Revelation, revealing his knowledge. Multi-hued backgrounds and earthly elements such as chairs, scrolls, and plants reveal that this manuscript is not yet in a completely celestial realm. While in the hierarchical format the earthly realm was represented below the heavenly realm, the earthly realm is now represented surrounding the separated heavenly realm, oriented around the central figure of Christ. The earthly edges of the manuscript echo the earthly architecture surrounding mosaic domes depicting celestial settings.

King David and musicians, folio 215v of the Vivian Bible, emphasizes the composition focus on a central heavenly realm surrounded by an earthly realm (Figure 29). King David and his retinue reside within a mandorla in a non-delineated space, standing upon clouds. The earthly realm is multi-hued and inhabited by cloaked figures holding feathers; Fortitude occupies the lower left-hand corner. Signaled by the personified figures, the earthly realm is becoming less earthly and more celestial, but it remains outside the heavenly mandorla occupied by King David, from whom Christ is descended. The seated musicians arranged around King David are reminiscent of the seated musicians surround the Lamb of God in the Morgan Beatus. King

David and musicians serves as an example of how this composition is used in a context outside the Book of Revelation.

The Sacramentary of Metz (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Ms. Lat. 1141) provides examples of how the earthly realm is becoming more celestial, and therefore excluded from depictions of the heavens.¹¹⁷ These examples include the folios Christ in Majesty and Christ in Majesty, Master of Heaven and Earth. This evolution from depictions of the heavens including figures in the earthly realm to a separated, isolated celestial realm is manifested in the Morgan Beatus's Adoration of the Lamb. The Sacramentary of Metz was created in 870 under the Carolingian Empire—imagery developed in places like Metz or Reims at this time utilized a late classical vocabulary and was influenced by the scriptorium of Tours. The Carolingian Schools' emphasis on classical texts and imagery help carry these texts and iconography into the modern era. Christ in Majesty, folio 5r of the Sacramentary of Metz depicts Christ in a central mandorla sitting on top of a globe, surrounded by adoring angels and evangelists in their animal forms (Figure 30). The angels and Christ's mandorla rest on multi-hued clouds against a blue sky background. The presence of both adoring angels and evangelists, first seen in the Gundohinus Gospels, are represented here. The multitude of angels includes a six-winged angel, a seraph, described in Isaiah 6: 2: "Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew." Isidore of Seville writes about the hierarchy of angels. There are nine orders of angels, with seraphim at the top of the hierarchy.¹¹⁸ The presence of the seraphim indicates

¹¹⁷ For the facsimile of the Sacramentary of Metz see Catholic Church, and Florentine Mutherich, *Sakramentar von Metz Fragment: Ms. Lat. 1141, Bibliothèque nationale - France, vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe*, (Graz: Akademische Druck- Und Verlagsantalt, 1942); for more scholarship on the Carolingian manuscripts made in Metz see François Avril, *Metz Enluminée : Autour De La Bible De Charles Le Chauve : Trésors Manuscrits Des Églises Messines*

¹¹⁸ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 160-162

that the scene takes place in the celestial realm. This realm, in Carolingian form, remains as a framed and bejeweled rectangle with a central, Christological mandorla figure.

Christ in Majesty, Master of Heaven and Earth, folio 6 of the Sacramentary of Metz, provides further examples of the presence of seraphim and the dominance of the celestial realm (Figure 31). Yet again, the image is framed as a rectangle with Christ in a central position, sitting in a mandorla on a globe. Two seraphim occupy the space to the left and right of Christ, while two personified figures, a man and a woman suckling two children lounge below. The figures rest on clouds, rather than land, continuing the trend seen in the Vivian Bible. While this folio describes Christ as the Master of Heaven and Earth, the heavenly realm dominates the scene. The earthly realm is represented by the two lounging figures—most likely personified versions of seasons, geography, or other earthly things. This is suggested by the presence of Fortitude in King David and musicians, from the Vivian Bible. Earthly elements are represented as personified figures, rather than literally depicted, an adaption from Greek and Roman art. These two folios from the Sacramentary of Metz demonstrate a movement in adoration iconography from a shared depiction of earthly and celestial realms to isolated celestial realms.

The Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany, Ms. Clm. 14000), another product of the Carolingian Court Schools made in 870, contains evidence for cross-pollination of architectural and manuscript iconography.¹¹⁹ The Adoration of the Lamb, folio 6r of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, was a reproduction of a lost Carolingian mosaic in the cupola of the imperial chapel of Aachen (Figure 32). While the composition adheres more so to a vertical hierarchy than a composition oriented around a central medallion, this preservation of a mosaic through a manuscript provides evidence that architectural motifs

¹¹⁹ For more scholarship on the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram see Robert G. Calkins, “The Imperial Gospel Book: The Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram”

affected and were maintained through manuscript iconography. The Lamb of God in St. Emmeram's Adoration of the Lamb resides in a banded medallion which lies within a larger series of concentric bands containing the twenty-four elders offering their crowns to the haloed Lamb of God. Stars and suns are depicted in different bands, suggesting the location of these celestial lights in heaven. The central rosette resembles the stars placed around the circle in the Morgan Beatus's Adoration of the Lamb. Like other Carolingian compositions, this central circle of figures is framed by a larger rectangle, with figures in the bottom corners reminiscent of the personified figures of the Vivian Bible and the Sacramentary of Metz. Two suns frame the upper corners—the presence of the suns outside the central circle, the celestial banded rainbows, and the personified figures resting on clouds below suggests a celestial rather than earthly context. The adoration scene from the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram provides not only another example of the trend within Carolingian adoration scenes towards purely celestial scenes, but also the usage of architectural imagery within manuscripts.

The Trier Apocalypse (Stadtbibliothek Trier, Trier, Germany, Cod. 31), another ninth-century Carolingian manuscript, preserves the late Antique model of apocalyptic imagery.¹²⁰ As depicted in Worship of the Lamb and Opening of the Fifth Seal, the composition was divided into two sections, an upper celestial section and a lower earthly section. Opening of the Fifth Seal, folio 20, contains the sun, the moon, and clouds in the upper section placing it in a cosmological context (Figure 33). The sun and the moon place this adoration scene within humanity's cosmos. Furthermore, the Trier Apocalypse provides an example of evangelist iconography conforming to biblical descriptions—found in the Book of Ezekiel and the Book of

¹²⁰ For the facsimile of the Trier Apocalypse see Peter K. Klein, *Trierer Apokalypse: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausg. Im Originalformat Des Codex 31 Der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974); for more scholarship on the Trier Apocalypse see Thomas J. Renna "The Trier Apocalypse and Its Patristic Origins" and James Snyder, "The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation: The Trier Apocalypse"

Revelation. Worship of the Lamb, folio 23v, depicts the evangelists as haloed animal heads with six wings and no bodies (Figure 34). Opening of the Fifth Seal portrays the evangelists in their full animal form—haloed and winged. The wings contain eyes. These styles adhere to the description from the Book of Revelation of the evangelists, for they are described with six wings and many eyes in Revelation 4: 6-8:

Around the throne, and on each side of the throne, are four living creatures, full of eyes in front and behind: the first living creature like a lion, the second living creature like an ox, the third living creature with a face like a human face, and the fourth living creature like a flying eagle. And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all around and inside.

The Trier Apocalypse, while adhering to a different composition, provides another example of common cosmological objects, stars, suns, and moons, in the celestial context, as well as a further development of the evangelist iconography.

Astronomical tables, while not strictly adhering to biblical texts, provide iconographical comparisons for cosmological pieces such as the Morgan Beatus's Adoration of the Lamb. A ninth-century Octateuch Bible from Constantinople contains not only the biblical text, but also astronomical tables (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1291, Folio 9), including the Signs of the Zodiac with the months of the year and the hours of the day and the night (Figure 35).¹²¹ Similarities between this table and the Adoration of the Lamb include the series of concentric, banded circles containing various figures, and the isolation of this circular composition on the folio. The central image of this manuscript is not the Lamb of God, but Apollo, crowned and holding a globe while being pulled in a chariot pulled by four white horses. Apollo is traditionally believed to carry the sun across the sky with his chariot, so he is appropriately centered in a heliocentric cosmos. Apollo represents the sun, while the Lamb of

¹²¹ For more on Byzantine Octateuch Bibles see John Lowden, *The Octateuchs: a Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*

God in the Adoration of the Lamb represents the Son of God. The next band contains women represented in black and white, symbolizing the stars. Like the Morgan Beatus adoration scene, these concentric circles are banded in red. Beyond the stars lies a ring containing the twelve months of the year, personified in various forms and identified by text in adjacent rings. The final ring beyond the months contains the signs of the zodiac, also identified by text. While the specific cosmological meanings of the Morgan Beatus's Adoration of the Lamb are discussed elsewhere, these astronomical tables provide strong evidence for crossover of not only scientific content, but also how cosmological imagery is portrayed in Christian contexts.

The Bible of 920 (Santa María de Regla, León, Spain, Ms. 6) provides the first Visigothic manuscript comparison—created in Spain, it was engaging in a conversation with Carolingian and North African traditions like the Morgan Beatus (Figure 36).¹²² The Bible of 920 was illuminated in León, Spain, which at the time was part of the northern Christian kingdoms. Like the Morgan Beatus, the Bible of 920 dedicated illuminated pages to the evangelists, in addition to containing other texts including the Gospels and the Book of Revelation. The depiction of St. Luke, folio 211r, in the Bible of 920 contains similarities to the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb, and is reminiscent of earlier models such as the Gundohinus Gospels and the Gospel Book of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers. The central circle dominates the page, and the four attached circles serve as framing mechanisms. Where in the Gundohinus Gospels the attached circles contained the evangelists, the attached circles of the Bible of 920 serve as mostly decorative. The attached circles of the Bible of 920 frame the central circle in a way similar to the angels of the Morgan Beatus's Adoration of the Lamb. The evangelists are moved to a more central position in the Adoration of the Lamb, a move that can be traced from their original iconographic position

¹²² For more information on the Bible of 920 see Gloria Fernández Somoza, "La Biblia De León Del Año 920 En El Contexto De La Miniatura Hispánica" and John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*

displayed in the Gundohinus Gospels to their prominence in the central composition of St. Luke of the Bible of 920. Luke is displayed in a composition and iconography designed around adoration scenes. Instead of a Christological symbol, Luke serves as the central figure bound within a ringed circle. His arms are extended and vertically-oriented wings are placed on his arms and near his waist, covering his lower body. This wing placement is similar to how the seraphim are portrayed in the Sacramentary of Metz, placing St. Luke in a celestial realm. The wings of St. Luke span his body and have feathers differentiated both geometrically and by color, similar to the evangelists and angels in the Adoration of the Lamb. This geometric division of color is common to the Mozarabic tradition—the Bible of 920 serves as a forerunner of this style which emerges strongly later in the tenth century. Other similarities include the rosettes, beaded border, framed concentric circles, and a dramatic polychromy. Evangelists are typically portrayed in their human, animal, or anthropomorphic form—St. Luke is a fusion of these styles as the ox representing Luke emerges from behind the human figure of Luke. The evangelist figures are becoming more unearthly—not only are wings now attached to the human rather than animal figure, but these wings obscure the bottom half of Luke’s body, as the wheels do in the Adoration of the Lamb. Furthermore, the evangelist appears to be both human and animal. The anthropomorphism first seen in the Gospel Book of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers is becoming more developed as the evangelists attain a more celestial and central role to the adoration scene.

The author portrait from the Ladder of Divine Ascent (The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt, Greek Ms. 418, Folio 12v-13r), a mid-tenth-century manuscript from Sinai, Egypt, depicts the continued evolution of this imagery outside an apocalyptic content,

...serving a similar purpose as King David and musicians from the Vivian Bible (Figure 37).¹²³ In a similar manner as Spain, Sinai served as a meeting point for Christians from various lands, as well as a meeting point for Christianity and Islam. John of the Ladder, an abbot of Sinai who lived in the late sixth century and early seventh century, wrote *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. This was a spiritual guide that placed John at the forefront of the Sinaite school of ascetic theology. While this school declined after the seventh century, his writings were preserved in later copies. John of the Ladder utilized classical models of rhetoric, displaying his connection to the larger Mediterranean academic sphere.¹²⁴ His author portrait from a mid-tenth-century copy uses a composition similar to the adoration scenes in Western Europe. John of the Ladder is placed in a ringed medallion, isolated in the central ring like the Lamb of God of the Adoration of the Lamb. The ringed border contains abundant vegetation and half-palmettes. Like St. Luke of the Bible of 920, the author portrait of the Ladder of Divine Ascent includes four bordering, attached medallions. These medallions are mostly decorative, and contain white pearl dots found in both the Bible of 920 and the Morgan Beatus. The composition of a small, isolated central figure surrounded by a larger decorative band is found in both the Ladder of Divine Ascent and the Morgan Beatus. In previous examples, the central Christological symbol has not only been granted the central position of worship, but also has been presented as the largest figures, dominating the composition. The composition of the Morgan Beatus and the Ladder of Divine Ascent resembles in scale the astronomical tables of ninth-century Constantinople. The central lamb of the Morgan Beatus and the author of the Ladder of Divine Ascent are surrounded by a larger ring containing other figures or decorations. This switch in scale of the composition

¹²³ For more on the artwork of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine see Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai : the Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* and Kristen M. Collins, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground : Icons from Sinai*

¹²⁴ Brandie Ratliff and Helen C. Evans, *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition, 7th-9th Century*, New York, (N.Y.: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 51-52

reflects a composition tied to the hierarchy of the cosmos, rather than purely based on the size of the figures. The lamb and the author are praised through isolation and centralization in a larger, complex scheme.

Analyzing the manuscript tradition feeding into the composition and iconography of the Adoration of the Lamb reveals a long evolution of variations on adoration iconography, affecting multiple factors of the folio. The composition of adoration scenes shifted from rectangular, hierarchical orientations through centrally-oriented circles in framing rectangles, to the isolated central composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. Another evolution has been from dual depictions of heavenly and earthly realms in adoration scenes to purely celestial, cosmological scenes—this is evident through an introduction of angels and celestial, planetary objects. Furthermore, figures including Christ and the evangelists have shifted from realistic and human depictions to symbolic and unearthly depictions. The influence of Mediterranean models and architecture is found in several manuscripts throughout this trajectory. While there are examples of cardinal placements of the evangelists, as in the Adoration of the Lamb, the orientation of the evangelists remains unique. The orientation requires movement around the manuscript in order to see the evangelists frontally; this is derived from the architectural tradition and speaks to the three-dimensionality of the Adoration of the Lamb. The examination of both the manuscript and architecture traditions is critical to understanding the fusion of elements from various strands of iconographic evolution, resulting in the three-dimensional and innovative adoration scene.

Chapter 2- Comparanda

Non-Christian Comparanda

The Morgan Beatus did not exist in a vacuum; it is derived from a rich artistic heritage rooted in ancient times. Patterns and compositional trends manifested in the Adoration of the Lamb have early signs of development in the Roman Empire, revealing the roots of Christian mosaic domes and adoration iconography. Artifacts from both the Roman Empire and the Islamic world display that the pattern that gives the Adoration of the Lamb its three-dimensionality and cosmological meaning is applicable in pagan and non-Christian settings and deeply rooted in the consciousness of ancient and medieval peoples. Maius's adoption of this composition gives a new depth to the Christian adoration scene, revitalizing Christian iconography with patterns rooted in the ancient Mediterranean past.

The connection between domes and the heavens was manifested in the tombs of the ancient world. Analyzing the etymology of the modern word 'dome' reveals the original meaning to the ancients—in Middle and Late Latin *doma* was typically interpreted as 'house' or 'roof' rather than 'cupola,' and in the medieval and Renaissance periods 'dome' was used to specify the *Domus Dei*, a sacred house. Domes were originally associated with spaces designated as important, sometimes sacred and only sometimes with a cupola.¹²⁵ The centrality of domes predates its traditional architectural shape. Since the late Stone Age, the cosmos and divinities came to be represented in these round, dome-shaped spaces—domes came to be understood as mortuary, sacred, royal, celestial abodes, representing ancient, god-given shelters.¹²⁶ The association between domes and the realm of the dead, the heavens, is rooted in the ancient past, providing an ancient context for a cosmological setting in the Adoration of the Lamb. The

¹²⁵ Earl Baldwin Smith, *The Dome, a Study in the History of Ideas*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 5

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 51

Treasury of Atreus, a Mycenaean tholos tomb dated to 1250 B.C., reveals this ancient connection (Figure 38).¹²⁷ Square blocks of stone are organized in horizontal, concentric rings to construct a dome within the hillside. These rings of stone contain bronze nail marks, thought to secure rosettes in the ceiling of the tomb.¹²⁸ The celestial sky was thought of as a dome, Cato the Elder, a Roman statesman living during the third and second centuries B.C., was recorded saying, “The mundus gets its name from the ‘sky’ above our heads; indeed its shape resembles the sky.”¹²⁹ The mundus Cato speaks of was an underground, domical structure existing in prehistoric times which pervaded Roman beliefs of the afterlife, as displayed in the Treasury of Atreus.¹³⁰ The shape of the tomb reflects the shape of the heavenly realm of the dead.

The tholos tomb in Kazanlak, Bulgaria created in the Hellenistic period in 300 B.C., shows further development of this ideology (Figure 39).¹³¹ The concentric bands of stone have been elaborated with visual iconography. This tomb is the earliest surviving example of a composition similar to the Adoration of the Lamb—a central medallion surrounded by a thicker band occupied by figures with a slimmer outer band containing decoration. In Kazanlak, the inner medallion is occupied by three celestial chariots, and the thicker ring is occupied by figures attending a funerary banquet, wearing crowns of immortality. As in the Morgan Beatus, the orientation of the figures forces circumambulation of the piece by the viewer. This representation of the realm of the dead reveals the primary focus of ancient thought concerning depictions of the heavens. The chariots depicted in the inner medallion were identified in antiquity as vehicles

¹²⁷ For scholarship on the Treasury of Atreus see A. J. B. Wace, "The Treasury of Atreus"

¹²⁸ See also, Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*

¹²⁹ See also, Cato, *Notes on Cases of Civil Law*, and H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta*

¹³⁰ For further discussion see Cook, *Zeus*

¹³¹ For scholarship on the archaeological dig of this tomb see Rhys Carpenter and Carlo Verdiani, "Original Hellenistic Paintings in a Thracian Tomb"

for transmitting souls to the eternal sphere pictured in the center.¹³² This iconography pervaded ancient society, as seen in an oracular utterance made to the Emperor Julian: “Then when thou hast put off the grievous burden of mortal limbs, the fiery car shall bear thee through the midst of the eddying whirlwinds to Olympus; and thou shall come into that ancestral home of heavenly light, whence thou didst wander to enter the body of man.”¹³³ Tombs are constructed as the celestial, ancestral homes the dead are carried to. The dome, both in construction and visual imagery, signifies the otherworldly sphere of the heavens—accessible through death and appearing to living humans through dome iconography.

Beyond domes, the floor mosaics of the ancient Roman world also reveal the development of iconography found in the Adoration of the Lamb. The Centaur Bath floor mosaic, created at the end of the fifth century B.C. in Corinth, Greece, is the earliest surviving example of a circular composition (Figure 40). The central image depicts a four-spoked wheel, bound by borders of triangles, a meander, and a waveband. As in the Adoration of the Lamb, the circular composition is divided into four, and framed by figures in the corners. At Corinth, the surviving figures include a centaur chasing a spotted feline and a donkey. The circular composition of the Adoration of the Lamb is rooted in not only ancient conceptions of the realm of the dead, but also in ancient iconography. The Villa of Good Fortune, constructed in the first half of the fourth century B.C. in Olynthos, Greece, provides clues to the ancient understandings of circular compositions (Figure 41).¹³⁴ Within the villa, one room is decorated by a floor mosaic portraying a large and small wheel placed near each other above an inscription *Agathe Tyche*, ‘good fortune.’ In the adjacent room there are two additional inscriptions, *Eutychia kale* and

¹³² Smith, 52

¹³³ See also, Strong *Apotheosis and After Life*

¹³⁴ For scholarship on the archaeological dig of this tomb see David M. Robinson, "The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos"

Aphrodite kale ('Success is fair,' 'Aphrodite is fair'). These inscriptions allude to connections between success, the gods, and fortune—suggesting that the wheels, the Wheel of Fortune, served as lucky or apotropaic symbols.¹³⁵ Human-created images had the power to call on luck and fortune, accessing a realm beyond the earthly realm. These celestial images became tools for humanity to access divine powers, realms, and figures—early circular compositions record the ancient connection between circles and the heavenly realm.

As seen in the later manuscript tradition, the composition of a circle in a framing square was also common in the ancient world. The Dionysiac mosaic from the Villa of Good Fortune serves as a model of this composition (Figure 42). In late Classical groupings such as this, animal scenes and friezes were common and while mythological scenes were rarer, when present they occupied the central panel.¹³⁶ In this mosaic Dionysus is driving his chariot, surrounded by a figured frieze of mythological figures. This display of a center godly figure surrounded by adoring lesser celestial figures mirrors the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. The orientation of the figures in the frieze allow for this composition to be viewed from multiple angles, both practical, as well as placing the adoration of the central godly figure above the overall cohesive orientation of the piece. In the early Hellenistic period, this central panel became the central focus, and was conceived as a three-dimensional pictorial scene.¹³⁷ Three-dimensionality provides the ability to produce more realistic scenes—three-dimensionality alludes to the existence of this pictorial space, even if in another time or realm. This three-dimensionality is manifested in circular compositions at Vergina, Greece, where the floor mosaic demonstrates the prominence of elaborate floral designs at the end of the fourth century B.C.

¹³⁵ Katherine M. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 8; for more see Robinson "The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus"

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 14

(Figure 43).¹³⁸ The central design dominates the subordinate bordering concentric rings—the spirals and flower forms give this mosaic a three-dimensional character. Female figures in the corners of the bordering square end in scrolls, morphing into the overall vegetal scheme. These figures mirror the role of the angels in the Adoration of the Lamb—defining the focal three-dimensional scene. The mosaics at the Villa of Good Fortune and Vergina, Greece, suggest the early prominence of the central figures in a three-dimensional depiction.

The surviving floor mosaics at the House of Dolphins in Delos, Greece, and the Roman British complexes at Verulamium and Fishbourne reveal the popularity of dominating geometric compositions. Geometry is utilized in the Adoration of the Lamb as didactic, dividing the composition to reflect the cosmos and focusing attention on worship of the Lamb. At the House of Dolphins, created in second century B.C. Hellenistic Greece, the floor mosaic was organized around a central series of concentric rings (Figure 44). As seen in earlier examples, this circular composition was framed by a large square with figures in the corners; in this mosaic, pairs of dolphins ridden by winged figures carrying emblems of various gods. The center is damaged, but was originally a complex rosette; however, the bands around this central rosette survive and overwhelm the larger composition, as the ring containing the evangelists in the Adoration of the Lamb dominates the composition. These bands' various decorations include streams of waves and meanders—in a similar fashion to the evangelists and musicians of the Adoration of the Lamb, these decorative patterns enhance focus on the central medallion. The mosaics at Verulamium and Fishbourne attest to the dissemination of Roman styles throughout their provinces and the continued development of a geometric and compartmentalized piece, both mosaics created in the second half of the second century (Figure 45, 46). The geometric mosaic

¹³⁸ For scholarship on the palace at Vergina see Manolēs Andronikos, *Vergina : the Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*

at Verulamium shows the early suggestion of the semi-circles seen at Fishbourne—both of these mosaics reveal the division of the composition into geometric forms.¹³⁹ The iconography at Fishbourne is reminiscent of later domical mosaics—vases sprout from fans as the angels sprout from hills at Archbishop’s Chapel in Ravenna. The four semi circles containing sea monsters echo the quarterly division in the Adoration of the Lamb by the evangelist figures. Utilizing figures, rather than patterns of decoration as at House of the Dolphins, allows for the visualization of the viewer into the piece. For the Adoration of the Lamb, the musicians and vial-carriers are depicted as humans—displaying that this realm is accessible to humanity. The wreath around the cupid in the center of the Fishbourne composition is later reproduced around the *Agnus Dei* in the mosaic dome at San Vitale, Ravenna. As circular compositions in floor mosaics start to stress the various geometric forms set within it, the compositional grid is laid out for later Christian adoration iconography—the rosette at Verulamium is replaced by the Lamb, the framing flowers at Verulamium are replaced by angels, the sea monsters and vases of Fishbourne are replaced by evangelists and musicians respectively. Ancient forms provide the outline for later Christian artists to introduce holy figures and iconography into this composition.

North Africa, another Roman province, is another source for floor mosaics—an abundance due both to the survival rate in this climate as well as the prosperity of the province.¹⁴⁰ This is demonstrated at the mid-second century House of the Dionysiac Procession, where much of the house is covered in polychrome mosaics. In a side room, a floor mosaic survives whose design echoes a vaulted ceiling or dome (Figure 47). This cross-fertilization of iconography echoes later patterns of shared iconography demonstrated between manuscript and

¹³⁹ For scholarship on the excavation and city of Verulamium see Rosalind Niblett, *Verulamium : the Roman City of St. Albans* and Sheppard Sunderland Frere, *Verulamium Excavations*

¹⁴⁰ Dunbabin, 101; for inventories of Roman African mosaics see P. Gauckler *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l’Afrique II* and its companion volume F. de Pachtère *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l’Afrique III*

architectural traditions, manuscript and objects such as ivories, and so on. Emulating vaulted ceilings, these floor mosaics gain three-dimensionality on a two-dimensional surface, just as the Adoration of the Lamb operates centuries later. At the House of the Dionysiac Procession, vegetal designs surround a bust depicting the god of the year, crowned with fruit and surrounded by a wreath. This presentation provides an early example of the focus on a solo figure in this central medallion—as a god, receiving worship and adoration. Echoing vault designs, figures balancing baskets on their heads abundant with food emanate from the corners, emulating the spandrel figures seen at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and the Archbishop’s Chapel at Ravenna. The rest of the composition is filled by scrolling vegetation, occasionally including miniature figures or busts along the diagonal divisions created by the corner figures. The busts placed cardinally in the floor mosaic echo the use of crosses to balance the image, as seen in the two crosses of the Adoration of the Lamb—the evangelists create the dominating cross, while the musicians and vial carriers create a subordinate, complementary cross. The abundance of vegetation is later seen at San Vitale, within a Christian setting.

The mid-fourth-century floor mosaic from the Constantinian Villa in Antioch, Roman Syria (Figure 48), further emulates vault designs and heightens the importance of the figures dividing the internal composition (here the seasons, in the Adoration of the Lamb the evangelists). The development of iconography inspired by vault designs seen at the House of the Dionysiac Procession is continued at the Constantinian Villa. The corner figures of the House of the Dionysiac Procession now extend from the spandrels to the central medallion, in Antioch occupied by a fountain rather than imagery. These figures also represent the four seasons and similarly rise out of vegetal clumps. While the figures portray the seasons, they more closely resemble angels as they appear to have wings. These figures closely resemble the angels of

mosaic vault at the Archbishop's Chapel, bound within compartments resembling those of the diagonals at San Vitale. Unlike the angels at the Archbishop's Chapel, the seasons in Antioch do not raise their hands in adoration. The border of the Constantinian Villa mosaic contains personifications of the virtues, a practice borrowed by the ninth-century Vivian Bible and Sacramentary of Metz. This mosaic at the Constantinian Villa marks a step in the development of the figures later seen in Christian iconography, as well as placing the iconography in a celestial realm, occupied by personified virtues and seasons.

The floor mosaic at La Chebba in North Africa reintroduces the chariot iconography as well as the centrality of the inner medallion in the composition (Figure 49). Also created in the mid-second century, this mosaic depicts Neptune and the Seasons.¹⁴¹ Like at the House of Dionysiac Procession and in the Adoration of the Lamb, the composition at La Chebba emulates vault designing in its abandonment of a single viewpoint except in its central figure. The personified seasons are placed in the corners of the composition, with various plant forms and vegetation unifying and connecting the composition to the central medallion. This medallion is occupied by a haloed Neptune, riding a chariot led by horses. Neptune is associated with the chariot for two reasons: he is the god of horses, and traditionally helped create the chariot with the goddess Athena. This iconography reinforces the use of central medallions to depict the heavenly realm, echoing the earlier use of chariots in tombs to allude to the realm of the dead.

The Hinton St. Mary mosaic of Dorset, England, created in Roman Britain during the fourth century represents a transitional piece from pagan to substituted Christian iconography

¹⁴¹ For more discussion of the representation of the Seasons in North African mosaics see D. Parrish *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*

(Figure 50).¹⁴² Organized similarly to the mosaic at Fishbourne, the corner panels at Hinton St. Mary are occupied by four male busts depicted as wind gods emulating the standard depiction of the seasons. The semi-circle panels depict hunting scenes and nature. In a panel above this composition, a central medallion portrays Bellerophon, a Greek mythological hero, killing the Chimaera. This central medallion echoes the central medallion of the lower composition, in which Christ appears. Christ is portrayed in a tunic with a white mantle, bordered by the Chi-Rho monogram and pomegranates and placed within a cross spanning the composition. The combination of the Christian and pagan subjects alludes to the identity of the owner—the introduction of Christianity into Britain resulted in this time of transitioning where people still identified with both religions. As the religion of the court at the time, Christian iconography may have been superficially adopted in this scene. With Christ as the only purely Christian motif and the presence of vegetation and hunting scenes, it suggests that Christ may have been included as a guarantor of worldly felicity.¹⁴³ This repeats earlier developments of circular compositions in the Villa of Good Fortune, the appropriation of certain motifs were used to bring the owners good fortune. The didactic power of these compositions to reveal the pathway to otherworldly elements and spaces remains in the Christian adaptation.

The Centcelles Mausoleum, constructed in Spain in the fourth century, provides another demonstration of a pagan-Christian adaptation (Figure 51).¹⁴⁴ Rather than a floor mosaic, the

¹⁴² For scholarship on the Hinton St. Mary mosaic see Susan Pearce, "The Hinton St Mary Mosaic Pavement: Christ or Emperor?"; K. S. Painter, "The Roman Site at Hinton St. Mary, Dorset"; and J.M.C. Toynbee, "A New Roman Mosaic Pavement Found in Dorset"

¹⁴³ Dunbabin, 96; for more see E.W. Black "Christian and pagan hopes of salvation in Romano-British mosaics," H. Brandenburg "Bellerophon christianus? Zur Deutung des Mosaiks von Hinton St Mary und zum Problem der Mythendarstellung in der kaiserzeitlichen dekorativen Kunst," and J. Huskinson "Some pagan mythological figures and their significance in early Christian art"

¹⁴⁴ For more scholarship on the Centcelles Mausoleum see Javier Arce, *Centcelles : El Monumento Tardorromano : Iconografía y Arquitectura* and A. Arbeiter and D. Korol, "Der Mosaikschmuck des Grabbaues von Centcelles und der Machtwechsel von Constans zu Magnentius"

mosaic iconography is presented on the dome, alluding to the fluidity between these two forms of mosaic (dome to mosaic iconographic influence seen at House of the Dionysiac Procession and the Constantinian Villa). The banded concentric circles seen at the House of the Dolphins and Hinton St. Mary mosaic at Dorset are formulated into ascending rings of the dome, in a similar style to the Tholos Tomb dome mosaic at Kazanlak, Bulgaria. The outermost rings contain hunting scenes, and the middle zone scenes consist of Old and New Testament narrative iconography. Approaching the central medallion, the personified seasons are depicted standing on diagonals, ornamentally framed and differentiated from the other panels. The upper panels and central medallion are adorned with a gold background and enthroned figures. As at the Constantinian Villa in Antioch, the Neptune and the Seasons mosaic at La Chebba, and the Hinton St. Mary mosaic, the seasons are represented at Centcelles serving the same position of highlighting the central medallion. The prominence of the personified seasons continues into the Christian tradition—echoed in the evangelists of the Adoration of the Lamb who divide the medallion into four as the diagonal seasons of floor and dome mosaics do, as well as the framing angels of the Adoration of the Lamb who emulate the bordering function of the personified seasons.

Roman Spanish provinces reveal cosmological references in floor mosaics through the inclusion of planetary deities as organization components. The mid-second century House of the Planetarium includes a mosaic with busts of the planetary deities (Figure 52). Six hexagons containing various deities surround the central hexagon, all circumscribed by a banded circle and set within a square.¹⁴⁵ The organization of the planetary deities in this manner is seen in Orbe, Switzerland—the early third century Mosaic of the Planetary Deities (Figure 53). In both of

¹⁴⁵ This compartmentalization became common in various regions of the Empire including Gaul and northern Italy; for further discussion of Gallic and Italian influence on Spanish mosaics see M. Durán Penedo *Iconografía de los Mosaicos romanos en la Hispania alto-imperial*

these representations, Venus is placed in the middle of the deities rather than Helios, focusing on the power of love in the scheme of the cosmos. The gods of the planets surround Venus, and at Orbe, the mosaics were strongly modelled and designed to replicate coffers in a ceiling. Gazing up at this ceiling would have given the viewer the effect of looking through skylights into the heavens. This coffered ceiling inspiration is a Gallo-Roman style of mosaic which forms in the middle of the second century.¹⁴⁶ The orientation of the gods around Venus at the House of the Planetarium and Orbe reproduced how the planets appeared to swirl around earth in the night sky—this circling of the planets reflects how contemporary cosmological thought on the organization of the planets in the night sky is included in artwork. The scheme centered on a central medallion containing mythological figures has been adapted to imitate the cosmos seen in the night sky.

The House of the Mithraeum, created between the late second and early third century in Mérida, Spain, contains a cosmological mosaic depicting the gods in their heavenly habitat (Figure 54). The mosaic is organized hierarchically and bound within a rectangle; the top of the mosaic curves into a semi-circle imitating the curve of the heavens above earth.¹⁴⁷ Mirroring the parallel evolution of hierarchical and central cosmological compositions in the manuscript tradition, these various methods of presenting the heavens serve the same didactic purpose in floor mosaics. The hierarchical display of celestial figures reflects the order of the universe as

¹⁴⁶ Dunbabin, 79; for further discussion of the compartmentalization of mosaics in northern Europe see V. von Gonzenbach *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz* and K. Parlasca *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*

¹⁴⁷ The figures are identified by their Latin names and beginning from the top of the mosaic are arranged in the following formations: primordial group including the heavens and time, figures of the atmosphere including the sun and moon, earthly beings including the seasons and the zodiac, and finally water deities including the ocean and river-gods. The labels indicate a Greek original, possibly Alexandrian in origin, revealing the popularity of this cosmological subject matter (Dunbabin, 150); for further discussion of the House of the Mithraeum see A. Blanco Freijeiro *Mosaicos romanos de Mérida*, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum “Mérida Revisited: the Cosmological Mosaic in the Light of Discussions since 1979,” and J. Lancha “La mosaïque cosmologique de Mérida, étude technique et stylistique”

well as displaying contemporary interpretations and attraction to this iconography. While this mosaic is not organized in concentric circles, the presence of a strictly organized cosmological mosaic reveals the various zones of the cosmos which medieval thinkers believed the deities to inhabit.

The Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres reveals another cosmological organization present in the Roman Empire in the latter half of the second century (Figure 55). Mithraea were religious shrines dedicated to the Persian god Mithras, a popular cult in the second and third centuries. This floor mosaic spanned the entire shrine, and was created to convey information about the cult's practices. Seven successive semi-circles represent the seven grades of initiation and the seven heavenly gates.¹⁴⁸ Podia beside the mosaic include imagery of the planetary deities and the zodiac. Moving through the shrine symbolizes both one's progression in knowledge of the cult, but also a movement into the inner zones of heaven. This mosaic provides the devotee with an active medium to display their religious progress on, mapping their spiritual progress onto the heavens. Whether it's the compartmentalized circles of the House of the Planetarium, or the hierarchical organization of the House of the Mithraeum, or the linear progression of the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres, these mosaics reveal contemporary understandings of the cosmos as organized, interactive, and ultimately accessible.

While the floor mosaics which survive from Jewish synagogues exist after the development of Christianity, these floor mosaics reveal a developed template which Christian iconography could be placed in. Philo of Alexandria, a first-century B.C. Jewish philosopher, wrote in *The Special Laws*: "The highest, and in the truest sense, the holy temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole universe." In his *Life of Moses*, Philo discussed how the tabernacle,

¹⁴⁸ Dunbabin, 64; for more on Mithraea see U. Bianchi *Mysteria Mithrae*

central to Jewish faith, symbolizes the structure of the universe.¹⁴⁹ These quotes by a Jewish philosopher emphasize the cosmological thought embedded into Jewish holy sites and objects—the synagogue represents the universe. Floor mosaics in these synagogues reflected this cosmological current. The zodiac mosaic with Helios accompanied by the sun, moon, and stars from the Severus Synagogue in Hamat Tiberias, Israel, from the later part of the fourth century is the earliest surviving example of this cosmological mapping (Figure 56).¹⁵⁰ Next to the cosmological representation is a side panel depicting the Ark of the Covenant in the tabernacle, placed next to two seven-branched candelabrum. The cosmos is represented both in the zodiacal circle and the presence of the tabernacle. Symbolizing the structure of the universe, the tabernacle is placed near a representation of that structure. In the zodiacal composition, Helios is represented in the central medallion with a halo, riding a chariot, holding the globe, and raising his right hand—all symbols of his power. This iconography is derived from the imperial cult of Sol Invictus, the unconquered Sun, which was popular during the third and early fourth century, as well as ancient depictions of charioteers.¹⁵¹ Organized around this central medallion are compartments containing the figures of the zodiac, all bound within a circle. In the corners of the enclosing square are busts of the seasons. Inspired by the corner figures documented at Vergina, Greece, and fully fleshed as seasons at La Chebba, the seasons emulate the angels in the Adoration of the Lamb. As the angels of the Adoration of the Lamb carry the circular composition and place the scene in the heavens, the seasons of Hamat Tiberias place this composition as existing eternally through time. These scenes are everlasting representations of the cosmos.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, 85

¹⁵⁰ For more on the synagogue at Hamat Tiberias see M. Dothan *Hammath Tiberias. Early Synagogues and the Hellenistic and Roman Remains*

¹⁵¹ Dunbabin, 189

Synagogue mosaics at Sepphoris and Beth Alpha document the diffusion of this template. The fifth-century zodiac mosaic in Sepphoris, Israel, replicates the template seen at Hamat Tiberias, and includes side panels depicting New Testament biblical scenes (Figure 57).¹⁵² The pagan zodiac is comfortably placed next to Jewish scenes. The zodiac depiction at Beth Alpha in Heftsi Bah, Israel, created between 517 and 518, emulates the template in a lower quality (Figure 58).¹⁵³ This alludes to the knowledge of this template as a desirable model for other mosaicists to copy—this template was attractive and prestigious.¹⁵⁴

While derived from pagan origins, figures of the zodiac and gods such as Helios were not uncommon in synagogues.¹⁵⁵ They begin to appear in synagogue floor mosaics during the late fourth and early fifth century, and remain popular even after they became unpopular in Christian imagery. Interest in the heavens and its occupying figures remained in Judaism for two main reasons, documented in ancient Jewish literature: the zodiac assisted in creating the calendar for the liturgical year and the heavenly realm representing the abode of God and his divine court.¹⁵⁶ An iconography derived from pagan cosmological representations, such as the mosaic of the planetary deities at Orbe, is fused with the circular compositions developed in the Roman world, such as at Verulamium and the House of the Dolphins. The chariot, seen as early as 300 B.C. in the Bulgarian tholos tomb, develops from a signifier of the realm of the dead to an iconographic accessory of a god in a cosmological map. Mythological figures portrayed in friezes such as at

¹⁵² For more scholarship on the synagogue at Sepphoris see E. Meyers, E. Netzer, C. Meyers *Sepphoris*, Z. Weiss and R. Talgam “The Dionysiac mosaic floor of Sepphoris,” and Z. Weiss and E. Netzer *Promise and Redemption. A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*

¹⁵³ For more scholarship on the Synagogue of Beth Alpha see E.L. Sukenik *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*

¹⁵⁴ Dunbabin, 192

¹⁵⁵ For further discussion of the zodiac in Jewish mosaics see M. Avi-Yonah “La mosaïque juive dans ses relations avec la mosaïque classique,” R. Hachlili “The zodiac in ancient Jewish art: representation and significance,” and G. Guidoni Guidi “Le rappresentazioni dello zodiac sui mosaic pavimentali del Vicino Oriente”

¹⁵⁶ Ratliff, 102

the Villa of Good Fortune, have developed into depictions of celestial objects as seen at the House of the Planetarium and Hamat Tiberias. The framing square of the circular composition develops from a decorative meander or wave pattern to representing the edges of the universe. This fusion of various iconographic strands causes the circular composition of floor mosaics to have cosmological connotations, reflecting the developing cosmological iconography of mosaic domes.

While many Islamic domes have not survived, the Dome of the Rock and Qusayr ‘Amra reveal the presence of cosmological thinking and dome iconography in the Islamic lands. The Dome of the Rock, constructed in Jerusalem, Israel, between 687 and 691, provides an example of Islamic domes and cosmological iconography (Figure 59).¹⁵⁷ In the Islamic tradition, the rock enshrined inside the building is the site of the *miraj*, Muhammad’s ascension to heaven. The golden dome rising above the rock symbolizes the space Muhammad moved to—this canopy over the rock provides the visual link for imagining the *miraj*. The Dome of the Rock was operating in a Byzantine context, and was based off of Byzantine church and martyrium models. The mosaic program reflects the fusion of Byzantine and Sasanian iconography through an Islamic lens. This speaks to an iconographic discussion across cultures and geographic spaces. Qusayr ‘Amra, an Umayyad desert palace outside of Amman, Jordan, was constructed in the mid-eighth century (Figure 60). The caldarium of the bath house contains a dome containing zodiacal imagery. Four windows surrounding the base of the dome fill the caldarium with light, similar to the effect of the windows in Hagia Sophia. The circle of the zodiac depicting the various zodiac figures was placed in this dome, imitating the zodiac rotating over the night sky of the surrounding desert. The zodiac was a common feature of bath houses of the Greek East, and the zodiac pictured at Qusayr ‘Amra was based on a model from a Greek astronomical

¹⁵⁷ For scholarship on the Dome of the Rock see Oleg Grabar *The Dome of the Rock*

manuscript.¹⁵⁸ A bath house for the elite, this cosmological dome speaks to the intellectual interchange present within Islamic lands and the consistent depiction of the cosmos in circular, three-dimensionally conceived compositions across regions and religions.

Switching to analyzing specific motifs within the Adoration of the Lamb and roots in non-Christian iconography, the depiction of the musicians and the pearled border reveal an Islamic influence. An ivory casket from Cordoba, the capital of Umayyad Spain, from the early eleventh century, depicts within pearled borders musicians playing various instruments (Figure 61). The elders in the Adoration of the Lamb are portrayed as musicians, iconography borrowed from the princely cycle of the Islam court. Cordobese ivories typically portrayed courtly settings. There are no musicians in primitive Beatus iconography, speaking to the introduction of Islamic motifs with further exposure. Most of the crossover between Christian and Islamic art was derived from their mutual iconography of Paradise and Glorification. The appropriation of musicians as a medium of worship was transferable to the Christian tradition. Northern Spanish Christians would have been exposed to this iconography through trade; there is well documented trade of Islamic ivories, metals, and textiles. These objects were stored in Christian Spanish treasuries and churches, ivory caskets, for instance, were utilized as repositories for relics. Unfortunately, Umayyad paintings have not survived so most of the crossover is cross-media.¹⁵⁹ The pearled border around the lamb in the Adoration of the Lamb also has roots in Islamic artwork. Pearl bordered roundels enclosing animals are seen in textiles continuous from the pre-

¹⁵⁸ Garth Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2004), 44; for more scholarship on Qusayr Amrah see Claude Vibert-Guigue, *Les Peintures De Qusayr 'Amra : Un Bain Omeyyade Dans La Bâdiya Jordanienne*

¹⁵⁹ Williams, 139, 154-155; Spanish Islamic textiles and ivory containers are imported from the south or given as gifts, found in treasuries, charters, and churches. The reliquaries at Saints Pelagius, John the Baptist, and San Isidore at the Palatine Church of San Isidoro in León, for example, are lined with Islamic cloth (see Gomez-Moreno *Ars Hispaniae*); for discussion of Islamic ivory caskets in Christian church treasuries see John Beckwith *Caskets from Córdoba*; for discussion of Spanish Islamic objects and iconography in Spanish Christian lands see Ernst Kühnel *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*

Islamic period, but also characterize Islamic art generally. These pearls are found in multiple media, and would have been seen by the Christian Spanish primarily through metalwork or textiles, as seen in silk textiles from the Samanid Empire and Byzantine Empire (Figure 62). Within Umayyad Spain, there is also evidence of Byzantine and Umayyad textiles and workshops, such as at Madinat al-Zahra, a palace suburb of the Umayyad capital Cordoba.¹⁶⁰ These motifs included in the Christian Adoration of the Lamb speaks to the cross-cultural iconographic conversation across frontier lines, and how motifs incorporated into Islamic court pieces were appropriated in a Christian setting to emphasize the glorification of the lamb. A difference in religion did not dissuade artists from utilizing iconography derived from other civilizations.

Tracing the roots of the iconography and composition of the Adoration of the Lamb through non-Christian examples provides a new level of depth to the analysis of this folio. Domes were associated by ancient times with the realm of the afterlife and the heavens, providing the foundation for graphing a cosmological scheme onto that space. The prevalence of circular compositions in floor mosaics of the ancient world and the crossover between vaulting and floor mosaic iconography reveals the deep roots of the composition present in the Adoration of the Lamb. The development of a composition centered on an important mythological figure with surrounding personified figures, such as the seasons or planetary deities, lays the groundwork for the composition of the lamb surrounded by the adoring, celestial evangelists and angels, the rotating figures of the Christian heavenly realm.

¹⁶⁰ Melanie Michailidis, "Samanid Silver and Trade along the Fur Route," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 18 (2012): 319

Chapter 3

Through a Cosmological Lens

The Adoration of the Lamb serves as a reflection not only of contemporary art historical trends within the spheres of manuscripts and architecture, but also a reflection of contemporary thoughts on cosmology rooted in ancient philosophies. The composition of the Adoration of the Lamb represents a Christian transformation of their cosmos into an adoration iconography. The image of the Lamb in heaven provides the foundation for a cosmological presentation of the spiritual heavens. The iconography of this image is suited to this transformation, for this image does not stress naturalism but symbolism and abstraction instead to depict the imagined, celestial world. The invention of a transcendent space not linked to reality suits the prophetic element of the Apocalypse—the adoration scene is a diagram of Christian cosmology. Tracing the history of astronomy back to ancient Greece up through Islamic, Jewish, and Christian adaptations and innovations reveals that the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb operates as a symbol for the universe as a whole.

These ancient cosmological texts were accessible in early medieval Spain thanks to efforts made during the Visigothic period to reproduce and expand upon ancient texts, exemplified by Isidore of Seville (560-636). Isidore of Seville was a man of his time—by the time the barbarians invaded Spain they had converted from Arian to orthodox Christianity, resulting in a revival of classical learning under the Visigothic monarchs.¹⁶¹ Isidore of Seville asserted his interpretation of Christian cosmology in *De natura rerum*, which was widely disseminated throughout Europe for multiple centuries, attesting to the continued knowledge and

¹⁶¹ Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space : How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World*, (London: British Library, 1997), 37; For information on Isidore's library see Jacques Fontaine chapter focusing on it in his book *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique*

awareness of a general Christian cosmological scheme.¹⁶² Isidore adhered to the standard Aristotelian cosmological scheme of a geocentric universe nested in concentric spheres, manifested in the organization of his work. His opening statement begins with discussing time and cosmos before moving into the four elements of creation in descending order, moving from discussion of the stars and planets into discussions of earth.¹⁶³ The introduction to *De natura rerum* is organized to reflect the celestial hierarchy. The larger structure of *De natura rerum* also reflects this hierarchy, but in the opposite direction. The first seven chapters describe earthly matters such as time in the context of a day as well as annually and seasonally—these seven chapters representing a microcosm of the seven planetary, celestial spheres. After these chapters, Isidore discusses the universe as a whole, again changing the direction of his discourse—moving from discussion of the heavens through the planets, elements, and finally earth.¹⁶⁴ His structuring reflects the cosmology he discusses.

The cosmology of Isidore of Seville was further expanded in his *Etymologies*, with a whole chapter devoted to astronomy. He divided the earth into four cardinal directional zones, providing a comparison to the cardinal divisions of the central medallion of the Adoration of the Lamb made by the evangelist figures. In reference to the stars, Isidore viewed the stars as pressed into heaven like impressions in a vessel, a spherical heaven whose edges he called the edges of the sky vaults.¹⁶⁵ Viewed as a vessel, the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb is expanded into the three-dimensional bowl of a dome, secured by the encircling stars. The concept of ‘sky vaults’ emphasizes the finite nature of the cosmos as well as its domical shape.

¹⁶² For more on the dissemination of *De natura rerum*, see Jacques Fontaine “La diffusion carolingienne du *De natura rerum* d’Isidore de Seville d’après des manuscrits conservés en Italie”

¹⁶³ For more see Bruce S. Eastwood “The Astronomies of Pliny, Martianus Capella and Isidore of Seville”

¹⁶⁴ Edson, 38-39

¹⁶⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 271-272

Isidore's work is also noticeable for its diagrams, reproduced in later copies and commentaries—*De natura rerum* was known throughout the medieval period as the *Liber rotarum*, Book of Circles. Circular diagrams served as a mechanism to represent cycles of time was a convention based in antiquity and used throughout the medieval period.¹⁶⁶ The *Annus* diagram (Figure 63), reproduced in a tenth or early-eleventh-century manuscript (BL Cotton MS Vitellius A.XII, Folio 50r), utilized a pattern of overlapping circles to display the relationships between the four seasons, cardinal direction, and qualities. Space and time become linked in one diagram, speaking to the interconnectivity of the universe. This diagram was further elaborated in the *Annus-Mundus-Homo* diagram (Figure 64, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A.XII, Folio 52r), adding the four elements and humours, reintroducing the concept of man as microcosm and the interaction between man and other elements of the universe.¹⁶⁷ With Isidore as the means of access to pre-Christian texts, these ancient philosophies may now be explored.

PRE-CHRISTIAN TRANSMISSION

Since prehistoric times, the heavens served as a means of orientation for humanity. The sun, stars, and celestial objects were used by prehistoric navigators and farmers to guide them whether that was on the high seas or in the fields. Astronomy as an investigation of the composition of the heavens has existed since ancient times. The ancient Greek society transformed observational astronomy inherited from civilizations like the Babylonians into a philosophical field. Cosmology as a scientific study of the universe was developed from astronomical and philosophical evidence. Due to the nature of this field as philosophy, there were many ideas in the Greek world about cosmology, shaped through direct opposition and

¹⁶⁶ Edson, 40-41; for more on their roots in antiquity, see Jurgis Baltrusaitis “L’Image du monde celeste du IXe au XIe siècle”

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 42-43

competition—arguments which are carried over into the Christian era.¹⁶⁸ The study of cosmology was not just a scientific study—the study of the heavens was believed to be a mechanism to reach the realm of the gods. In his writings, Ptolemy (90-168) discusses how the study of astronomy affects humanity:

...of all studies this one [astronomy] especially would prepare men to be perceptive of nobility both of action and of character: when the sameness, good order, proportion and freedom from arrogance of divine things are being contemplated, this study makes those who follow it lovers of this divine beauty, and instils, and as it were makes natural, the same condition in their soul.¹⁶⁹

Not only can the study of astronomy improve the state of one's soul, but it can also transport the scientist to the heavens: "I know that I am mortal, a creature of a day: but when I search with my mind into the multitudinous revolving spirals of the stars, my feet no longer touch the earth, but beside Zeus himself, I take my fill of ambrosia the food of the gods."¹⁷⁰ Visions of the heavens as seen in the Adoration of the Lamb lift the souls of its viewer to that space—the study of cosmology is both an exploration of the realm of God and a mechanism to access that transcendent space.

The idea of the universe as a unity permeates cosmology from early on, an important qualification for being able to discuss its various parts and present it in one image, as seen in diagrams from the ancient world and also the Adoration of the Lamb. Out of the pluralism of cosmological ideas in ancient Greek society emerged three major themes—the cosmos was understood as an artifact, living organism, and/or a political entity. Plato, a Greek philosopher of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., proposed the idea of the world as a product of design by a transcendent figure, the Craftsman.¹⁷¹ This story of creation both asserts the universe as a

¹⁶⁸ Carmen Blacker, *Ancient Cosmologies*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975), 209

¹⁶⁹ Ptolemy, *Syntaxis*, Book I, Chapter I

¹⁷⁰ An epigram attributed to Ptolemy, *Greek Anthology*, Book IX

¹⁷¹ Blacker, 206

delineated unity, but also a forerunner of Christian ideas about creation by a divine being.¹⁷²

From this foundational idea, Plato created a geometric model of the universe: a set of geocentric, interlocking spheres encompassing the stars and planets. A sphere was used because it represented the unification and harmony of the eternal universe—like a circle, the universe has no end.¹⁷³ This allowed a cosmological scheme that was both defined as a singular unified product as well as eternal and infinite.

The conception that the cosmos was a dynamic and living organism was deeply rooted in Greek philosophy: “This world is in truth a living creature, endowed with soul/life and reason.”¹⁷⁴ The cosmos as a political entity was also folded into this, in which the cosmos was understood to be conceived of equal opposed forces. Legal terms rather than terms of physicality were utilized, but both asserted the same underlying thought: the universe is in motion and governed by natural laws. Unlike personal, pagan gods, depersonalized factors such as the earth, elements, and qualities were seen as divine but having no will other than the capacity for self-movement.¹⁷⁵ Celestial movements by stars, planets, elements, and so forth were not seen as random but obeying laws. In the complexity of the universe lies an ordered whole. These laws form the basis for the study of astronomy and the application of geometry into cosmology.¹⁷⁶ Eudoxus (400-347 B.C.), a pupil of Plato, proposed a doctrine of concentric spheres. Geometrical models were seen as the solution to the presence of celestial motion.¹⁷⁷ Celestial motion unites the system, placing the mundane earth and elements into a larger dynamic, divine scheme.

¹⁷² For more, see Plato *Timaeus*

¹⁷³ Marc Lachièze-Rey, Jean-Pierre Luminet, and Joe Laredo, *Celestial Treasury: From the Music of the Spheres to the Conquest of Space*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 24

¹⁷⁴ Plato, *Timaeus*

¹⁷⁵ Blacker, 204

¹⁷⁶ Lachièze-Rey, 24

¹⁷⁷ Blacker, 210, 212

The dynamism of the Adoration of the Lamb speaks to these larger celestial workings, demonstrated by the captions and evangelists. The text above and below the entire circular composition reads, “Angels holding the throne (ANGELI TRONUM TENENTES).” The angels in the corners are actively holding up the medallion, flapping their wings and grasping the circle with their hands. The captions for the evangelists are placed to the left of each creature, forcing the eye to rotate clockwise around the figures and central medallion. The heads of the evangelists are all turned clockwise, suggesting motion in that direction. The dynamism of the anthropomorphic evangelists on their spinning wheels is enforced by the caption placement and the orientation of the figures themselves—forcing the reader to circumambulate the piece, uniting the viewer with the motion of the heavens. The Adoration of the Lamb serves as a snapshot of the eternal worship and motion of the heavens. This dynamism echoes early Greek concepts about the unity and motion of the universe.

Other overarching ideas about the cosmos from Greek thought include the sphericity of earth, the organization of the four elements, the geocentric nature of the universe, and the location of the stars—all manifested in the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. The belief in the sphericity of the earth is attested by the presence since ancient times of celestial spheres as instruments for viewing the constellations and earth’s geography.¹⁷⁸ The universe was divided into sublunary and superlunary sections by Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) in accordance to Eudoxus’s nested spheres, the sublunary region composed of the four elements first proposed by Empedocles of Acragas in the fifth century B.C. These elements are organized concentrically, earth as the heaviest elements sinks to the center of the cosmos forming a sphere.¹⁷⁹ This

¹⁷⁸ Nancy Marie Brown, *The Abacus and the Cross: the Story of the Pope Who Brought the Light of Science to the Dark Ages*, (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 117

¹⁷⁹ While geocentricity dominated, cosmologies without earth at the center of the universe did occur in Greek philosophy. Aristarchus of Samos (310-230 B.C.) proposed a heliocentric universe, and

hierarchy of stratified elements extends to the whole universe, creating nested spheres of the planets in the superlunary system. Ptolemy arranged these planetary spheres through calculating the length of time in which it takes each planet to orbit the heavens, those with shorter orbit times were placed closer to earth creating the following planetary arrangement moving from earth outwards: Earth, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.¹⁸⁰ This arrangement becomes standard in later medieval depictions, and maintains the superlunary organization of concentric circles.¹⁸¹ This superlunary region was asserted by Aristotle to be composed of a transparent, crystalline substance (ether), much larger than the sublunary region, and also circular motion in opposition to the linear motion of the sublunary elements.¹⁸² While on a cosmological level the elements and crystalline substance of the superlunary spheres were separate, the unity of the universe determines that each substance is present in all spaces, just in deteriorating forms. This speaks to the interactions and transmission of influence between all spheres, uniting the system. The location of the stars was represented in this cosmology as attached to the outer shell of the universe.¹⁸³ Explained by Aristotle, the rotation of these fixed stars explained the motion of the planetary spheres, known as wandering stars, within this shell.¹⁸⁴ Beyond the stars was the dwelling place of God, who imparted motion onto this system.

Placing these cosmological theories into a visual diagram reveals similarities to the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. The Lamb lies at the center of the diagram—the

Pythagoreans of the late fifth century B.C. proposed a scheme in which an invisible central fire called the “Hearth of the Universe” or the “Throne of Zeus” occupied the center of the universe.

¹⁸⁰ The names of the planets allude to the fact that in pagan antiquity, the stars and planets were gifted with the name of divine gods, such as Mars the god of war. People of antiquity placed their most divine beings in the heavens, visible and therefore accessible to observers of the sky.

¹⁸¹ Michael A. Hoskin, *The History of Astronomy: a Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9

¹⁸² Lachièze-Rey, 24

¹⁸³ Brown, 119

¹⁸⁴ Hoskin, 21

Lamb representing Jesus, the *Agnus Dei*, who was manifested in human form on earth. The focus on the human narrative of God in this adoration scene appropriately echoes the anthropocentric and geocentric cosmology of Greek philosophy—its medallion shape resonating with the asserted sphericity of earth. This Aristotelian scheme dominated cosmological thought for two centuries through Greek, Islamic, and Latin developments. The division of the cosmos into stratified, nested spheres is displayed in the Adoration of the Lamb through a set of concentric circles, its figures becoming increasingly abstracted and spiritual towards the edges. The evangelists, musicians, and vial-carriers could variously represent the swirling planetary spheres—which dominate the cosmological scheme in size just as the figural ring does in the composition—or as the sublunary elements, mixing together and circling the earth (the Lamb).¹⁸⁵ The elders of Revelation, abstracted into a ring of twenty-four stars, form the border of this composition, just as the ring of fixed stars serves as the border of the cosmos. Non-differentiated, these stars assert the eternal turning of the cosmos, specifying the elders are not the focus of this piece. The abstraction of these figures into stars and symbolically as the spiritual light which borders God's realm signifies the movement towards a more divine space moving away from the center of the piece. The Lamb of God ties the whole composition together by placing the divine in the earthly realm. The angels holding the medallion represent the realm of God outside of the universe, their flapping wings alluding to the role of God as the mover of this system. The Adoration of the Lamb serves as a diagram of cosmological thinking, the adoration iconography as a microcosm of the human relationship of worship with the divine.

During the time of the Roman Empire, many of the Greek astronomical texts were not translated into Latin because Greek was the primary language of scholars. With the collapse of

¹⁸⁵ As asserted and discussed by Aristotle in *De Caeolo* and *Meteorologica*, the idea that the earth is miniscule in comparison to the size of the heavens pervades subsequent cosmological thought.

the empire, this astronomical knowledge was in danger of being lost to time. Fortunately, several treatises were copied and commented on, illustrating how ancient Greek philosophy was adapted to their contemporary times. Ancius Manilius Severinus Boethius (480-524/5) served in the Roman Gothic kingdom as a high official, and translated several treatises of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek works. Calcidius, a fourth-century philosopher, translated the majority of Plato's *Timaeus* from Greek to Latin. Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, a Roman African who lived in the early fifth century, wrote a commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*. Martianus Capella of Carthage (365-440) wrote *The Nuptials of Philology and Mercury*.¹⁸⁶ Both the *Dream of Scipio* and *The Nuptials of Philology and Mercury* present the organization of the cosmos through a narrative lens.¹⁸⁷

Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* presents a young man named Scipio who dreams of the heavens, where his future is foretold and where he views the organization of the cosmos.¹⁸⁸ In addition to revealing the continued use of the Aristotelian model, this dream story illuminates contemporary understandings of the unity of the universe—time does not exist at the higher levels, and the future can be perceived as well as the past or present. The organization echoes Greek cosmology—it consists of nine circling spheres of which the ninth surrounds all the others, represents the ultimate divine mover, and contains the fixed stars. The subsequent seven spheres consisting of ether, occupied by planets, the sun, and moon; the final sphere being earth, the transient dwelling of humanity.¹⁸⁹

Capella's *The Nuptials of Philology and Mercury* is an allegorical work depicting the marriage of Mercury to his bride Philology in the heavens. As Philology travels to her wedding,

¹⁸⁶ For more on fifth-century astronomical writings and their writers, see Stahl *Dominant Traditions*

¹⁸⁷ Hoskin, 30

¹⁸⁸ For more see Macrobius *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* and Stahl's translation *Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*

¹⁸⁹ Blacker, 233-234

ascending the heavens, she brings along her companions, the seven liberal arts. These liberal arts serve as tools to describe the seven planetary spheres of the heavens—Martianus Capella derived his geographical material from Solinus and Pliny, and his astronomical information from Varro.¹⁹⁰ The travels these personified studies suggest the accessibility of various spheres of heaven—more pointedly through philology, the study of languages in written historical sources. Capella’s recounting both attests to the survival of the nested spheres of Greek cosmology, as well as the celebration of translating ancient sources through the centrality of the figure Philology. Due to these efforts, the sphericity of the earth and organization of concentric circles were maintained into the early medieval period. This knowledge is demonstrated by the continued use of the orb and the cross as symbols of royalty. Describing an equestrian state of the Byzantine emperor Justinian, Procopius (500-565) describes the orb as representing the world and the cross as representing the divine authority the emperor held over earth.¹⁹¹ Linguistically, in England *mound* is used to designate the royal orb, derived from the French word *monde*, meaning world.¹⁹² The continued knowledge of the sphericity of earth and the cosmological organization of concentric shells is manifested in the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb.

JEWISH COSMOLOGY

While Judaism did not have a distinct cosmology of its own, its adaptation of cosmologies from previous civilizations, such as the Babylonians, into a religious setting provides the initial framework for a similar transition in Christianity. While the words ‘universe’ and ‘cosmos’ do not appear in the Bible, the Rabbinic period (0-500 A.D.) saw the development of a uniform cosmological picture based on the Biblical writings—God is described as *melekh*

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 233

¹⁹¹ Procopius *De aedificiis*

¹⁹² Blacker, 236

ha-olam, ‘King of the Universe.’¹⁹³ Discussions in Rabbinic literature include details of the various celestial realms, broadening the creation story into a full-fledged cosmology.¹⁹⁴ The earth was described as a flat disc, references to the ‘ends of the earth’ understood as the *kanefot*, the ‘corners’ or ‘wings,’ of the earth or the four cardinal directions. The earth and the sky hold several commonalities; they rest on pillars, are conceived of a solid substance, and are finite.¹⁹⁵ These descriptions provide comparisons to the Adoration of the Lamb—the ‘wings’ of the earth evoke the placement of the angels on the four corners of the circular composition, as well as the common use of a circle in a square composition to portray the heavens seen in ancient floor mosaics and preceding manuscript tradition. Furthermore, the concept of the spherical earth and sky resting on pillars renders the composition of a dome resting on pillars—as discussed, mosaic domes develop a celestial iconography which is translated into the manuscript tradition through the Adoration of the Lamb. The word used for sky and heaven, *shamayim*, is also used to denote the abode of God, ‘the heaven of heavens,’ asserting the sky as the divine dwelling of God.¹⁹⁶ The finite nature of the heavens is described in Genesis 1:6-8 as a dome, further supporting the association between architectural domes and the celestial realm:

And God said, ‘Let there be a dome in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters.’ So God made the dome and separated the waters that were under the dome from the waters that were above the dome. And it was so. God called the dome Sky. And there was evening and there was morning, the second day.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ *Olam* meaning ‘world’ or ‘universe’ is used in the Bible to mean ‘eternity,’ speaking to an understanding of the eternal nature of the cosmos, controlled by a divine being as seen as early as Plato’s *Timaeus*.

¹⁹⁴ Blacker, 67, 72

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 68

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 70

¹⁹⁷ See also Deuteronomy 4:32: “For ask now about former ages, long before your own, ever since the day that God created human beings on the earth; ask from one end of heaven to the other: has anything so great as this ever happened or has its like ever been heard of?”

In accordance with Greek philosophy, the moving celestial objects of the sun, planets, and stars are placed in or just beneath the outermost heavens.¹⁹⁸ The domical, architectural connotations continue in Psalms 19:5: “In the heavens he has set a tent for the sun, which comes out like a bridegroom from his wedding canopy, and like a strong man runs its course with joy.” The idea of a cosmic tent was introduced into Judaic cosmology after their return from Babylonian captivity; the Persian presentation of a universal ruler in his audience tent was translated onto a cosmic scale.¹⁹⁹

As presented in Greek cosmology and transmitted in Cicero’s *Dream of Scipio*, the space beyond the nested spheres is also occupied by God and heavenly creatures in Jewish cosmology. While this space is signified in the Adoration of the Lamb by angels, excerpts from the Book of Ezekiel place the four living creatures, the evangelists, in this divine space, Ezekiel 1:22-23: “Over the heads of the living creatures there was something like a dome, shining like crystal, spread out above their heads. Under the dome their wings were stretched out straight, one toward another; and each of the creatures had two wings covering its body.” The imagery of the creatures spreading their wings around this dome echoes the way the angels’ wings extend in the Adoration of the Lamb to frame the composition; furthermore, these linear wings form the traditional composition of a circle (the dome) framed by a square (the wings). In addition, the living creatures in Ezekiel are described with four wings, two covering their body—this is similar to the description of seraphim, whose six wings shield its body. The top right angel of the Adoration of the Lamb is identified as a seraph by a caption, although it lacks the correct amount of wings. The composition of the framing angels of the Adoration of the Lamb are derived from this passage from Ezekiel. The crystal of the dome alluded to in this passage reflects the

¹⁹⁸ For a discussion of the numerical importance of the seven planetary spheres, see Ginzberg *Legends of the Jews*

¹⁹⁹ Smith, 84

crystalline substance of the higher planetary and divine spheres purported by Aristotle—the dome of Ezekiel equal the spheres of heaven. This passage continues to describe God on his throne, Ezekiel 1:26: “And above the dome above their heads there was something like a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was something that seemed like a human form.” Analyzing this composition architecturally, the living creatures function as spandrels and the throne of God lies at the apex of the dome—echoing the placement of the angels and Lamb in the Adoration of the Lamb.²⁰⁰ If the Adoration of the Lamb is analyzed as a presentation of the geocentric universe, the angels signal the beginning of the divine realm extending beyond the circular medallion. If the composition is viewed as a vision of heaven, then the framing angels signal that the central medallion is the divine realm. This ability to view the composition from an earthly and heavenly perspective speaks to the unity of the universe, and the functioning of earth as a microcosm of the universe. Using Ezekiel 1:22-23 and Ezekiel 1:26 to illuminate the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb exhibit how biblical passages are morphed with Jewish and Old Testament cosmology to form a cohesive picture.

ISLAMIC COSMOLOGY

Many ancient astronomical texts were transmitted through and improved by Islamic scholars before being reintroduced into the European academic world through Spain around the end of the tenth century, making it essential to analyze Islamic cosmology in conjunction with the tenth-century Adoration of the Lamb.²⁰¹ Astrology was present in nearly every level of Muslim society, and the study of astronomy was preserved through the creation of the office of *muwaqqit*, the mosque timekeeper who used astronomy to determine the appropriate time for

²⁰⁰ In previous architectural examples, the living creatures appear in the spandrels of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, and angels appear in the spandrels at the Archbishop’s Chapel and Hagia Sophia.

²⁰¹ Hoskin, 31

prayer, the lunar calendar, and the determination of the *qibla*.²⁰² Expanded in the early ninth century, the House of Wisdom, based in Baghdad and hosting translators, scribes, and intellectuals of all sorts, supported an atmosphere of astronomical preservation and innovation. Greek versions of ancient thinkers such as Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy were preserved through the efforts of scholars who sought out old books in Syriac, Greek, Persian, and Sanskrit to discover and discuss these ancient sources of knowledge.

Arabic became the new language of science in the Mediterranean, and it was in tenth-century Spain where mathematical, medicinal, philosophical, astronomical texts and more were translated into Latin.²⁰³ Masters in bookbinding and paper-making, books and treatises were abundant, travelling around the Islamic Empire via extensive trade routes. The Royal Library in Cordoba was purported to have four hundred thousand books in 976, which even if an exaggerated number still vastly exceeds any other European library. Travel between Cordoba in Muslim Spain and Barcelona in Christian Spain was common starting in 940. Hrosvit of Gandersheim, a German nun living in the mid-tenth century, applauded Cordoba for its ‘seven streams of wisdom,’ referencing the presence of various sciences and liberal arts.²⁰⁴ This vibrant, accessible, and intellectual community in southern Spain accounts for the revitalization of astronomy in Western Europe after the tenth century, and the cosmological thoughts swirling around the Adoration of the Lamb.²⁰⁵

Like Jewish cosmology, Islamic cosmology is mostly derived from a previous civilization (in this case Greek) and adapted to Islamic doctrine to create a distinct cosmology. The Muslim

²⁰² Ibid., 23-24

²⁰³ Brown, 45-46

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 49-50

²⁰⁵ For more information on transmission of scientific sources from Greek into Arabic and hence into Latin see R. Walzer “Greek into Arabic, Essays on Islamic Philosophy,” F.E. Peters “Aristotle and the Arabs; the Aristotelian Tradition in Islam,” and L. Gardet “Le Problème de la ‘philosophie musulmane’”

proclamation of faith, ‘there is no god but God,’ serves as the core of Islamic cosmology. The uniqueness and oneness of God and the unity of all beings through this one creator, *wahda*, pervades the Islamic religion.²⁰⁶ An idea also found in ancient texts, this distinctly Islamic stress on unity through a common creation source manifests itself in a universe in agreement with Greek cosmology.²⁰⁷ While descriptions of the cosmos are sparse, several details can be derived from Koranic verses the *miraj* (Muhammad’s ascent to heaven through ten stages), including the presence of seven earths and seven heavens.²⁰⁸ The seven earths are described as climatic zones, dividing the body of the world horizontally. While these seven divisions stress geography, they emulate the four stratified elements of Greek cosmology in how the divisions function as a microcosm of the universe. The seven heavens more closely parallel Greek cosmology for they are described as seven heavenly spheres (the planets). At the gates of each planetary sphere in the *miraj* is a guardian angel, and each sphere is occupied by one or two prophets.²⁰⁹ This emulates the literary convention the liberal arts of Capella’s *The Nuptials of Philology and Mercury* serve, as mechanisms to describe the planetary spheres. Islamic cosmology includes more detailed realms beyond the seven planetary spheres, further describing the dwelling of God. Between the planetary spheres and the spheres of the divine realm is the gateway to Paradise demarcated by the Lotus-tree of the Boundary.²¹⁰ This framing mechanism parallels the angels of the Adoration of the Lamb and the four living creatures of Ezekiel 1:22-23, 26. These heavenly spheres and landscapes are occupied by angels, present in Islamic tradition early on and further

²⁰⁶ Blacker, 145

²⁰⁷ For God as creator of all, see Koran: 11, 7

²⁰⁸ Koran: 65,12; Koran: 78,12; for discussions of the main versions of *mi’radj* see Miguel Asin Palacios *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*

²⁰⁹ Blacker, 149

²¹⁰ Koran: 53,14

expanded in the *miraj*.²¹¹ Beyond the tree lies the pedestal and throne of God, the divine realm outside and above the planetary spheres in both Christian and Muslim faiths is seen as the abode of God. As in Christian cosmology, the number seven pervades Islamic cosmology—seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven gates of hell, and seven mansions of Paradise.²¹² Furthermore, the cosmology of *miraj* is used to explain other intellectual experiences; the hierarchy of the universe alludes to the emanation of creation, ultimately returning to the central doctrinal stress on unity.²¹³

In most ways Islamic astronomical science parallels that of the Greek world, but there are several developments which expand this cosmology. As the Greeks purported, Islamic astronomers believed the sublunary region was composed of the four elements. They were referred to as *ummahat*, ‘mothers,’ by Muslim cosmologists.²¹⁴ This imagery evokes the four angelic female figures around the circular composition of the Adoration of the Lamb—the number four is repeated throughout the sublunary sphere of cosmology in the humours, seasons, elements, cardinal directions, winds, and qualities. While many scholars including al-Kindi, al-Biruni (Figure 65), and Ibn Rushd followed Aristotelian doctrines, some Islamic scholars such as Suhrawardi of Aleppo believed that the superlunary and sublunary regions were both composed of the same four elements, rather than the superlunary region consisting of a distinct ether substance.²¹⁵ This created a new boundary, rather than a sublunary and superlunary distinction, the main division in the cosmos is between the sphere of the fixed stars and the other nested spheres. At this boundary the distinction is not of substance, but of the form of light. The sphere

²¹¹ Blacker, 147-148

²¹² Koran: 65,12

²¹³ Blacker, 150; For an example of this application of *mi'radj*, see H. Corbin's discussion of Ibn Sina (980-1037) *Avicenna and the Visionary Recitals*

²¹⁴ Ibid., 151

²¹⁵ For more on al-Biruni see his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*

of the fixed stars is consisted of pure light. The other spheres are composed of varying degrees of light mixed with darkness.²¹⁶ This distinction can be seen in the Adoration of the Lamb in the distribution of figures—the inner two rings consist of the Lamb, evangelists, vial-carriers, musicians, and praying figures. These figures represent various parts of Revelation and function in different ways—the evangelists for example echo the four living creatures of the Book of Ezekiel, the musicians celebrate and worship the Lamb, and the Lamb serves as a signifier for the centrality of God in heaven. They are a mixture of elements, some figures more earthly like the musicians and others more heavenly like the anthropomorphic evangelists. The ring of stars signifies a shift in focus—the abstracted twenty-four elders symbolize the shift to a purely celestial realm, as represented by the angels, specifically the seraph, from the order of angels stationed nearest to God. Analyzing the Adoration of the Lamb’s composition in this light reveals a transition from a mixture of earthly and heavenly elements into purely heavenly elements—replicating the hierarchy of the universe.

Because of the ultimate unity of the universe, a discussion about influence amongst the heavenly spheres appears in Islamic cosmology. This concept first introduced by Aristotle is explained in his cosmology by the presence of ether—this substance allows for the transmission of influences amongst spheres. Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201-1274), a Persian astronomer, discusses how the act of creation itself explains the energy which can pass between spheres:

...the force of the creative act which, through the process of creation, reached the Throne of God, from the Throne reached the Pedestal...it descended further, from one sphere to the other, until it reached the sphere of the Moon. Then the exhalations and rays of the stars, by the force of that energy and through the mediation of the sphere of the Moon, fell upon the elements. This was certainly the cause which stirred the elements (that they would begin to mix with each other).²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Blacker, 151; for more on Suhrawardi of Aleppo see S.H. Nasr *Science and Civilization in Islam*

²¹⁷ Nasir al-Din Tusi *al-Tasawwurat*

While in this example the energy moves from the outer concentric shells inward toward earth, the Adoration of the Lamb serves as an example of the sending of energy from earth to the heavens. The folio serves as a diagram to promote worship, emulating the same practice held in mosaic domes. The Lamb of God dome mosaic of San Vitale, Ravenna, is located over the altar—the focus of human prayer is funneled up through increasingly celestial mosaic imagery until it stretches up the diagonal spandrels to the Lamb of God. The Eucharist on the altar is culminated in the physical image of the Lamb, representative of Jesus as a sacrificial figure. The transition of dome mosaic iconography into the manuscript tradition in the Adoration of the Lamb continued this focusing of worship. The concentric circles of the Adoration of the Lamb serve to highlight the central worshipped figure, moving energy from the viewer to the symbolic representation of Christ on vellum.

The Universal Man of Islamic cosmology represents the overarching theme of Islam to connect to Christian cosmology—the idea of man as microcosm of the universe as a demonstration of the ultimate unity in multiplicity. Represented in the center of the cosmos, earth and humanity, are the last stage in the ontological chain of being. Humanity represents both the level of greatest multiplicity, and also the lowest stage of existence.²¹⁸ In this way, humanity exhibits the unity and relationships between all of the cosmos—representations of the universe are representations of this emanation of God’s creation down to his last and final project, humanity. The Lamb of the Adoration of the Lamb exemplifies this anthropocentric view of the cosmos—the incarnation of man is center stage.

TRANSMISSION INTO CHRISTIANITY

Christian cosmology did not evolve in a vacuum—its adaption and inheritance of Greek and Jewish antiquity combined into a uniquely Christian identity. It derived structure from Greek

²¹⁸ Blacker, 167-168

traditions and its traditional origin story from Judaism.²¹⁹ Cosmological renderings became infused with Christian iconography and placed in settings beyond the Old Testament, such as the Book of Revelation. Like Judaism and Islam, astronomy became important in Christianity for calculating important dates or cycles. For Christianity, determining the correct day of Easter, as the celebration of Christ's resurrection and therefore humanity's redemption, was imperative. Easter Day is the Sunday following the full moon following the spring equinox, a date which fluxed depending on the lunar and solar cycles. Venerable Bede (672/3-735) wrote a treatise *On the Divisions of Time* in which he combined the Roman calendar of Julius Caesar and the ancient Metonic cycle, attributed to both the Babylonians and Greeks, in order to determine the correct day of Easter. Inheriting the concept of man as microcosm of the universe, medical students were taught how to track planets in order to know favorable treatment times of various organs.²²⁰ Astronomy pervaded all parts of society.²²¹

Because many texts were lost with the collapse of the Roman Empire, it is important to note major translation periods to understand which texts were accessible, and when, to Christian populations. As previously discussed, the period between the fourth and sixth centuries served as an important moment for translation—this was when Boethius, Calcidius, Macrobius, and Capella were active. This was also a period of activity for Church Fathers and other Christian writers such as Ambrose of Milan (337-397), Lactantius (240-320), Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Gregory the Great (540-604), Cosmas Indicopleustes (sixth century), and Isidore of Seville (560-636) who transformed cosmology from a scientific discipline into a spiritual discipline. This transition to a spiritual focus is displayed by the importance and permeation of the number

²¹⁹ Ibid., 227

²²⁰ Hoskin, 30-31

²²¹ For discussion of how pre-Christian theories about domes as representations of the cosmos were reinvented in the Christian tradition see Karl Lehmann "The Dome of Heaven"

seven in cosmology, and its relation to various aspects of the Christian tradition. The seven concentric rings of the universe refer to the following: degrees of the soul, days of the Creation, Beatitudes, and blessings of the Holy Spirit.²²² The importance of numbers in the scheme of the cosmos has roots in antiquity; Cicero (107-44 B.C.) alludes to how numbers demonstrate the central unity of the universe in *Dream of Scipio*: “The number seven is entirely the nexus of all things.”²²³ As cosmology became more spiritual, parallels to both physical and mental spiritual journeys developed, as demonstrated in Augustine’s *Confessions*, in his vision at Ostia:

...we advanced step by step through all bodily things up to the sky itself, from which the sun, moon and stars shine out over the earth, and we ascended still farther in our interior cogitation, conversation and admiration of Thy works and came to our own minds. Then we transcended them, so that we might touch that realm of unfailing abundance.²²⁴

This passage alludes to a similar idea held by Ptolemy, in that through the study of astronomy one can travel to the heavens and have a spiritual experience. The journey Augustine describes lays out Christian cosmology—after leaving the realm of ‘bodily things’ Augustine travels into the sky, traveling from the sublunary to superlunary spheres. Reaching the stars, the edge of the universe, Augustine attests to a continuation of his journey in his mind. Rather than exploring the divine realms beyond the sphere of fixed stars as seen in the Islamic *miraj*, the exploration continues through inward contemplation of God’s creation and works. In reaching ‘the realm of unfailing abundance,’ the divine realm of God, Augustine attests to the importance of a sound interior spiritual life as the key to experiencing the heavens. The cosmological scheme is the literary device used to illuminate his point.

Gregory the Great, in his *Moralia in Job*, interpreted the stars of heaven in relation to the Second Coming of Christ—combining cosmology and Revelation: “Behold how we see shining

²²² Lachièze-Rey, 28, 31

²²³ Suzannah Clark, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture : Learning from the Learned*, Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005, 15

²²⁴ Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, IX

stars in the sky...until the true light-bringer (Christ) might rise, who, announcing to us the eternal morning, might shine more brightly than the others as a result of his divinity.”²²⁵ Not only does Gregory tap into the human experience of viewing the celestial sphere, but he transforms stars into symbols of theophanic apparition.²²⁶ Celestial events and motion are used as symbols for Christian prophecy and narratives, engaging the world around Christians to tie in Christian doctrine. The pagan god Helios, for example, is transformed in a Christian setting with Christ as the bearer of light, the Son of God serving as a double entendre and re-associating the symbolic role of the sun. Gregory the Great’s description of this celestial event as a sign from God alludes to the larger Christian concept of receiving divine guidance throughout history, adopted from Judaism. The warnings of the Apocalypse in Book of Revelation and vision of the new heaven are asserted not as literary or poetic allusions, but as fact, just as the Creation story of Genesis shapes cosmological thought.²²⁷ God operates on a celestial scale, utilizing the sky and its objects to speak to mankind and to provide a glimpse of the end of times.

Cosmas Indicopleustes’s *Christian Topography* stressed the centrality of the Bible in determining cosmological schemes, and developed a cosmology which reflected how cosmology was transferred to architecture. Indicopleustes was a sixth-century Byzantine merchant and traveler based in Alexandria, whose writings proposed an alternative cosmological system. Like previous authors, he asserted the division of the heavens and earth into separate realms. Its form, however, differed from traditional schemes. Earth was constructed as a rectangular prism, capped by the vaulted heaven. Heaven was a curved dome, often identified visually by the presence of stars. This shape was inspired by the Tabernacle in which the Ark of the Covenant was housed—shaped similarly to the tabernacle placed next to the Lamb in the central medallion

²²⁵ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, VI, 13

²²⁶ Mentré, 195

²²⁷ Blacker, 242-243

of the Adoration of the Lamb.²²⁸ The Lamb, as representative of man as microcosm, placed next to the tabernacle, which in Indicopleustes's cosmology is the form of the universe, creates another layer of microcosms. Placed within the celestial sphere, the Lamb is also associated with the representation of the whole universe and beyond Indicopleustes's cosmology, the Ark of the Covenant. The imagery of a vaulted heaven is demonstrated in mosaic domes, manifesting Indicopleustes's cosmology as a physical space (see Albenga, Figure 66). The vaulted heavens allow for devotees to worship in a space which operates as a microcosm of the larger cosmic shape.

Whereas Indicopleustes emphasized the authority of the Bible as the source for cosmological material, Isidore of Seville reasserted the importance in ancient philosophical tradition in conjunction with Christian doctrine:

This knowledge of nature is not mere superstitious learning, but rather should be considered as sane and sober doctrine. For if scientific learning were completely alien to the truth, that wise king (Solomon) would not have said: 'For it is he (God) who gave me unerring knowledge of what exists, to know the structure of the world and the activity of the elements; the beginning and end and middle of times, the alternations of the solstices and the changes of the seasons, the cycles of the year and the constellations of the stars.'²²⁹

Isidore of Seville utilized the Bible itself to demonstrate the importance of scientific study, as well as displaying a basic outline for the study of astronomy. This combination of Biblical interpretations and astronomical observations continued throughout his works. The cycles of day and night and the seasons, for example, are allegorized as various times in Church history.²³⁰ The stars of the sky are interpreted as the shining virtues of the saints, abstracting the stars into Christian figures as the elders of the Adoration of the Lamb are transformed into stars.²³¹ By

²²⁸ Ibid., 173

²²⁹ Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, quoting the Book of Wisdom 7:7-19

²³⁰ Ibid., VII

²³¹ Ibid., XII

operating with both Biblical and astronomical evidence Isidore infuses the physical world with divinity.²³²

CAROLINGIAN TRANSMISSION

“If your [Charlemagne’s] intentions proceed a new Athens will form in Francia. What do I say, an Athens more beautiful than the ancient one, for ennobled by the teaching of Christ, ours will surpass the wisdom of the Academy.”²³³

-Alcuin (735-804)

The Carolingian Renaissance, ushered in by the reign of Charlemagne (740s-814) produces a revitalization of the intellectual sphere of Europe. During the ninth and tenth centuries, Carolingian scribes copied, improved, and corrected classical and late antique works in a variety of topics spanning geometry, grammar, astronomy, and medicine. This zeal for the revival of classical texts was motivated by a desire to ensure the progress of the Church—increasing Christians’ ability to understand Biblical texts and their commentaries, as well as correct any incorrect practices (tapping into astronomy specifically for calendrical feasts).²³⁴ The earliest medieval astronomical treatise not derived from a classical or late antique text dates from the tenth century and is attributed to Alchandreus (Figure 67). The description of the characteristics of the planets is similar to traditional models; however, the analysis of the House of the Moon follows Islamic theory, a manifestation of the transmission of Greek texts through Islamic theories and innovations.²³⁵ Charlemagne’s biographer Einhard records Charlemagne’s interest in astronomy—he also promoted the highest standards for book production and owned a library containing many late antique manuscripts.²³⁶ Crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 800,

²³² For information on the Christianizing of pagan constellations see Stephen C. McCluskey “Gregory of Tours, Monastic Timekeeping and Early Christian Attitudes Toward Astronomy”

²³³ For more on Alcuin and Charlemagne, see P. Richeé *Les Carolingiens: Une famille qui fit l’Europe*

²³⁴ Raneé Katzenstein, *The Leiden Aratea : Ancient Constellations in a Medieval Manuscript*, (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988), 7

²³⁵ Lachièze-Rey, 29

²³⁶ For more see E.S. Firchow and E.H. Zeydel *The Life of Charlemagne*

Charlemagne succeeded the Roman emperors of antiquity—in this dual role of a religious and political ruler, Charlemagne promoted ecclesiastical and political unity.²³⁷ The Carolingian Renaissance and Golden Age of Cordoba both served to revitalize the intellectual sphere of Europeans, paving the way for innovative pieces merging various disciplines, such as astronomy and art.

The *Aratea*, a ninth-century copy of an astronomical treatise, serves as an exemplar of this fusion of ideas as a result of the revival of classical ideas (Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79).²³⁸ The original poem, *Phaenomena*, was written by the Greek poet Aratus (315-240/39 B.C.), itself a product of the Macedonian court and Hellenistic Greek culture at Athens.²³⁹ Like Charlemagne, the patron of Aratus's work, Antigonus Gonatas, was renowned for his active literary circle. The poem itself primarily discusses the constellations and spheres of heavens, also surveying meteorology. As mentioned previously, celestial globes have been utilized to visualize the constellations since ancient times. Cicero attests that rather than basing his poem on astronomical observations, Aratus derives it from viewing a celestial globe.²⁴⁰ Of the thirty-six illustrations of constellations in *Aratea*, eleven are derived from celestial globes (oriented opposite to the human view of the sky), and the remaining illustrations are viewed as if from earth, suggesting the presence of multiple sources and iconographic traditions.²⁴¹ The original poem and antique-style illustrations were recreated for many centuries, serving as a basis for astronomical art. The *Aratea* relies on two Latin translations, those of Claudius Caesar Germanicus (early first century

²³⁷ Katzenstein, 8

²³⁸ For a facsimile of the *Aratea* see Bernhard Bischoff and Germanicus Caesar, *Aratea: Kommentar zum Aratus des Germanicus, Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden*, (Lucerne, Switzerland: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 1989), and Germanicus Caesar and Aratus, *Aratea*, (Lucerne, Switzerland: Faksimile-Verlag Luzern, 1987)

²³⁹ Katzenstein, 5

²⁴⁰ For more on Cicero, see G.H. Sabine and S.B. Smith *Cicero: On the Commonwealth*

²⁴¹ Katzenstein, 15

A.D.) and Rufius Festus Avienus (fourth century A.D.), both men of high social class and civil office.²⁴²

The *Aratea* contains thirty-nine miniatures of the constellations, seasons, and planets, each framed by stars accented with gold leaf. These stars are not placed in strict accordance with their correct positions, and the correct number is often ignored—their function was to appropriately outline the figures, stressing the mythological significance of constellation imagery.²⁴³ The stars serve as a symbolic border, imitating the purpose of the stars of the Adoration of the Lamb. The focus on the mythology of the stars rather than astronomy in the *Aratea* miniatures is mirrored in the Adoration of the Lamb—the planets and zodiac figures are transformed into symbolic participants of Revelation. The movement of the planetary spheres is translated into the dynamism of the evangelists, and the constant rotation of the fixed stars, often represented as the twelve signs of the zodiac, is translated into a set of non-differentiated rosettes acting as stars. By ignoring the time indications of the zodiac, the rings of stars gives a sense of eternity, overlooking the construct of time. The placement and imagery of the zodiacal constellations in the heavens is rooted in Babylonian times, but is carried through and adapted into Greek tradition.²⁴⁴ The myths and legends of ancient peoples are placed in the heavens, representing people of an even more ancient past who have died but are eternalized in heaven as the realm of the dead.

Three diagrams at the conclusion of the poem, of the five planets, four seasons, and twelve months portrayed in the cosmic diagram, illustrate the strength of a central circular composition in cosmological iconography, even when that medallion is absent. The Four Seasons, folio 82v of the *Aratea* (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Leiden, Netherlands,

²⁴² Ibid., 5-6

²⁴³ Ibid., 14

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 13

Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79), portrays the personified seasons in the corners of a rectangular composition (Figure 68). Each of the figures faces the central, barren space and is identified by accessories on their head. The divisions of the year appear as a unity, oriented toward each other, alluding to their unifying role as representing the passing of time. This composition reflects the tradition found in Roman floor mosaics of four figures cornering a central circular composition, varying in their specific personifications. The seasons bear a lasting impact, being translated into cosmological floor mosaics of Jewish synagogues. In the Christian tradition, these figures are translated into images of the evangelists and angels, as in the Adoration of the Lamb.

The concluding diagram of the *Aratea*, the Configuration of the Planets, folio 93v, is derived from a different tradition than the other images, and is not a direct reference to the poem (Figure 69).²⁴⁵ This diagram is the earliest surviving example of a diagram portraying the planetary configuration for a specific day, revealing that this diagram in *Aratea* is a Carolingian copy of an earlier original, corresponding to the date March 28, 579.²⁴⁶ The band around the diagram is a zodiacal band, containing representations of the zodiac both as personifications in medallions and in their traditional imagery. These medallions and zodiacal signs run in opposite directions of each other—just as the stars of the Adoration of the Lamb indicate eternity, the encircling of the diagram in opposite directions alludes to the ultimate loss of specific timeframes in an eternal context. The planets are depicted as personifications in medallions, identified by quotations from the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny the Elder (23-79) which identify each planet's perigee, apogee, and its position of greatest astrological influence, accounting for the eccentric paths around earth. The inclusion of each planet's point of strongest influence

²⁴⁵ For more on the unique nature of this diagram, see Bruce Stansfield Eastwood “Origins and Contents of the Leiden Planetary Configuration (Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79, fol. 93v): An Artistic Schema of the Early Middle Ages”

²⁴⁶ Katzenstein, 15

alludes to a pervading interest in influence traveling between spheres. Curiously, Mercury and Venus are placed on two orbits, one around earth and another around the sun, which also orbits earth. The primary role of earth is still asserted by the orientation of the personified figures of Mercury and Venus towards earth.²⁴⁷ The Configuration of Planets serves as an example of the prominence of astronomy in the Carolingian Renaissance and the continued use of this composition to present Christian cosmology.

CONCLUSION

Analyzing the roots of Christian cosmology in ancient Greek philosophy, along with the transmissions and revitalization of the cosmic scheme through Jewish and Islamic cosmologies as well as various periods of translation including the Carolingian Renaissance, reveals several overarching themes. From Ptolemy, through Cicero, and represented in the Christian world through Augustine, there is the general idea that the study of astronomy and the construction of cosmologies serves as a mechanism of lifting one's soul to the divine realm and God. The structure of the universe as geocentric and organized as a series of concentric spheres survives from its development by Aristotle in ancient Greece. This construction is manifested in the composition of the Adoration of the Lamb. Diagrams serve as instruments of understanding to contemporary peoples, manifested most clearly in the dispersion of Isidore of Seville's cosmic diagrams and the prevalence of Aratus's *Phaenomena* in astronomical art. The Adoration of the Lamb serves as a didactic diagram for its contemporaries, asserting both cosmology and prophecy. First introduced in Plato's *Timaeus*, the concept of the universe as a unity remains central to all subsequent schemes. For Christianity, the affirmation of a geocentric, anthropocentric universe adheres to deeper truths about Christian faith, including the importance

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 17

of Christ as the human incarnation of God on earth and the creation of the universe by God at the beginning of time.

Conclusion

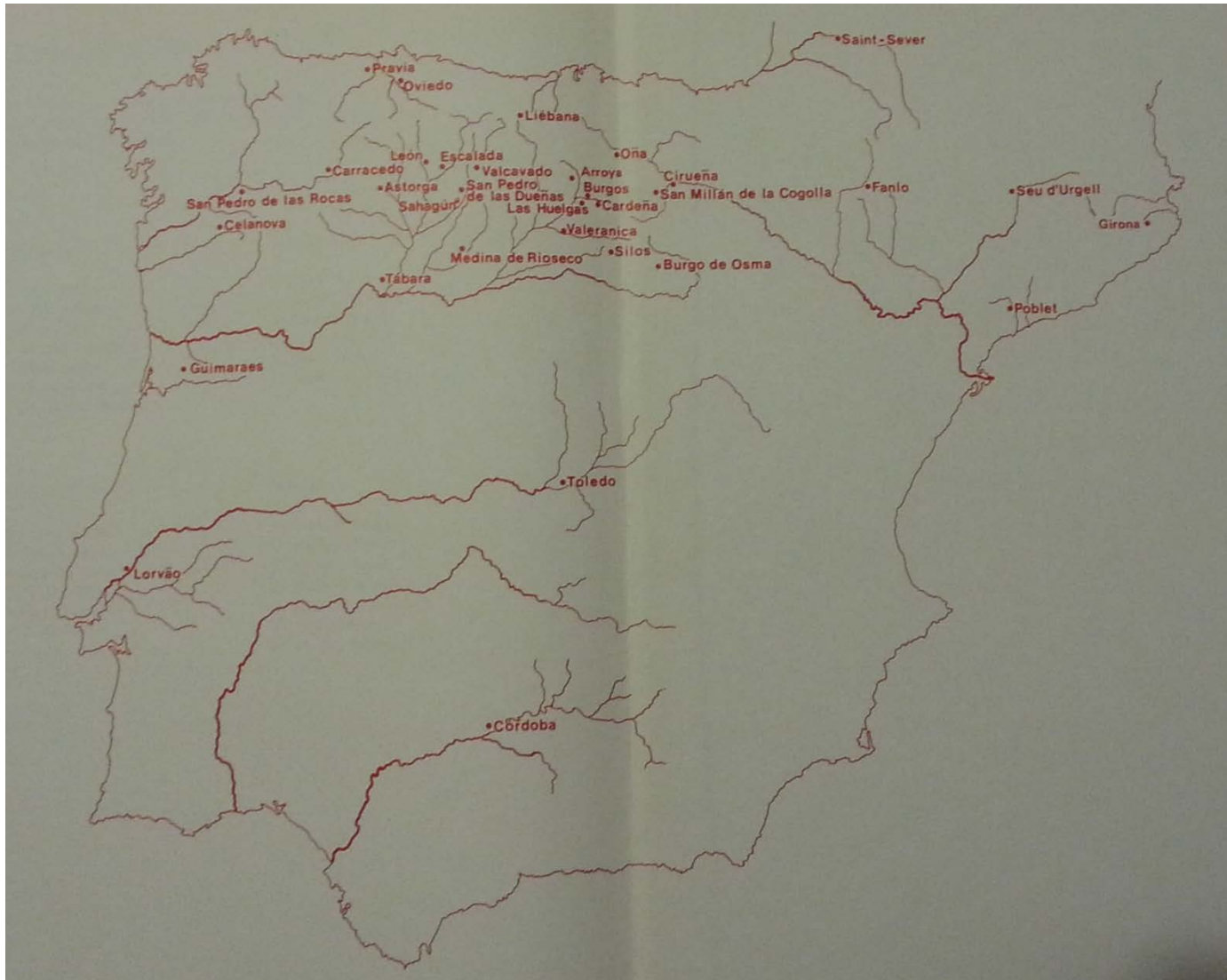
The Adoration of the Lamb serves as an exemplar of cultural exchange through media in the Mediterranean as well as understandings of medieval, contemporary cosmology. Art provides the medium for iconographic conversation across cultural gaps. The Morgan Beatus and the larger Mozarabic movement represents how these various cultures are integrated into a local Spanish, North African culture. Non-Christian comparanda provides evidence for the ancient connection between iconography found in the Adoration of the Lamb, primarily its circular shape, and the celestial realm. Manuscript comparanda displays how the Adoration of the Lamb is situated amongst other adoration iconographic pieces in Western Europe. Its innovation is most apparent with comparison to dome mosaics centered in Ravenna. The combination of these comparanda angles illuminates the importance of this piece—the Adoration of the Lamb, while part of a larger evolution of adoration iconography in the manuscript tradition, is transformed into a three-dimensional, dynamic piece by drawing inspiration from mosaic domes. The vast cosmos are depicted on a two-dimensional scale. Within the construct of the Morgan Beatus, the Adoration of the Lamb provides a didactic diagram for worshippers. The *Agnus Dei*, Christ, is the center of worship, the key to salvation for all humanity. He is given centrality in this composition of ascending, adoring rings. The Adoration of the Lamb is a microcosm of the Christian universe.

Figure 1



Adoration of the Lamb, Morgan Beatus, fol. 87, Ms. 644, San Miguel de Escalada, Tábara, Spain, 945-950, New York, Morgan Library

Figure 2



Map of Spain

Figure 3



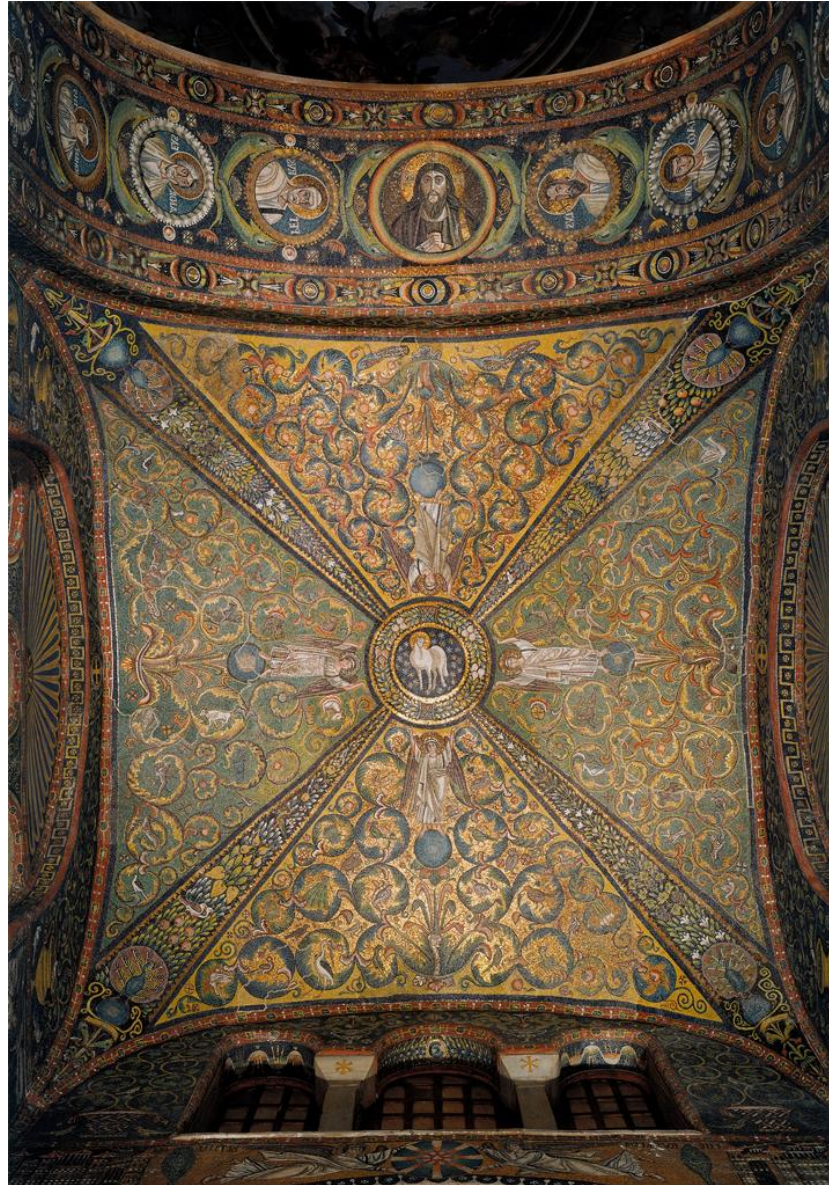
Dome with four seraphim painted on the pendentives, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, Turkey, Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles, 532-537

Figure 4



Dome in front of mihrab, Great Mosque, Cordoba, added 965

Figure 5



Lamb of God, San Vitale, interior, vault, 547

Figure 6



Solar and Lunar disc supported by two angels (the sun has a radiating nimbus), triumphal arch, north impost, Quintanilla de las Viñas, Iglesia Santa Maria, 7th century

Figure 7



Christ between two angels; two apostles, Quintanilla de las Viñas, Iglesia Santa Maria, 7th century

Figure 8

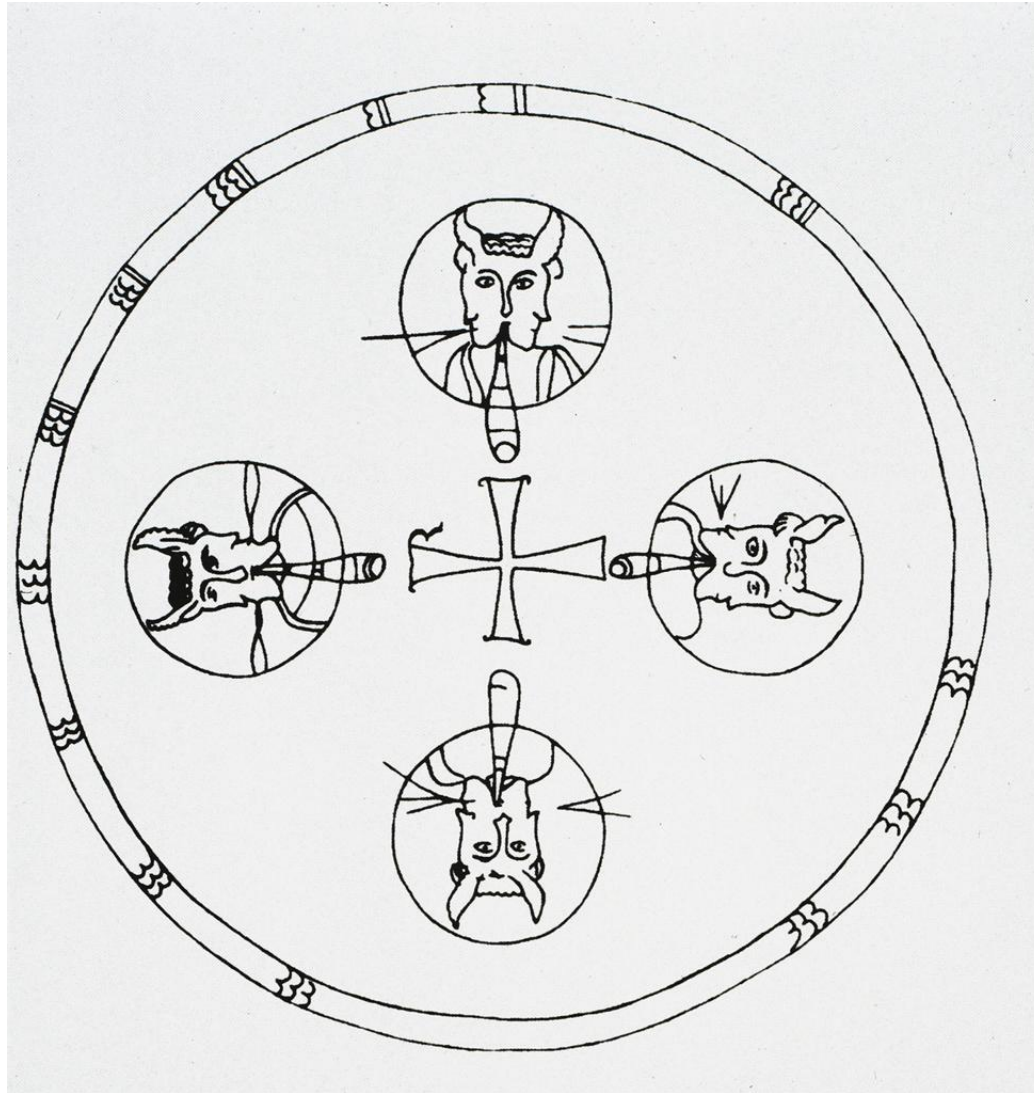
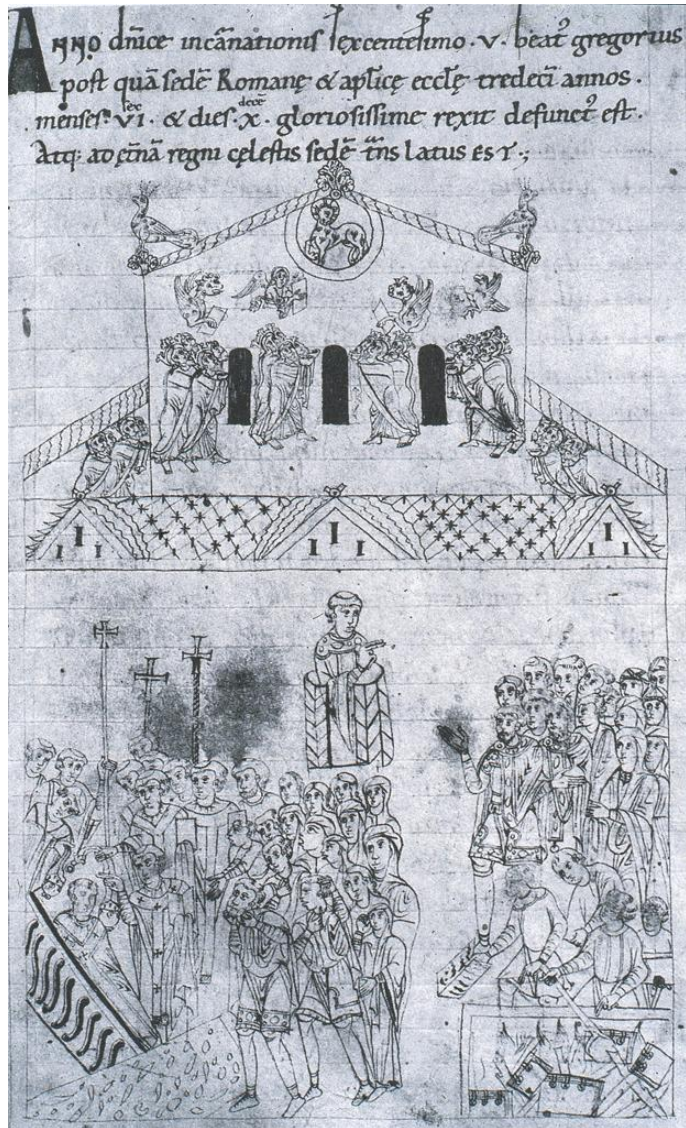


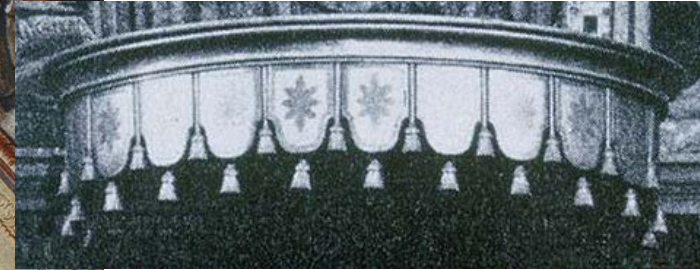
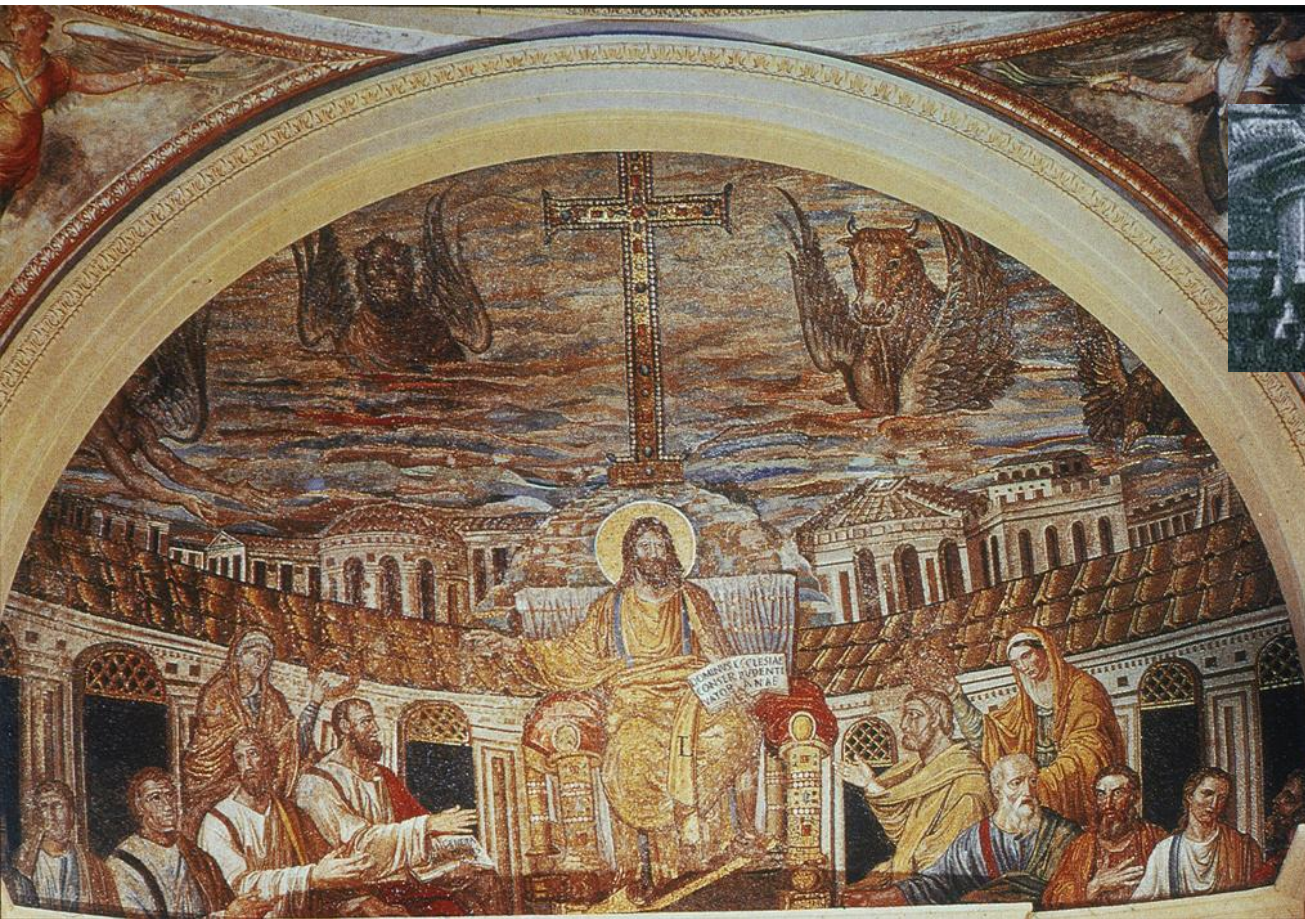
Diagram of the Winds, Liber orationum, fol. 3, Ms. 89, 7-8th centuries,
Cattedrale di Verona repository, Catalonia, Spain

Figure 9



Adoration of the Lamb by the Elders mosaic, Old St. Peter's façade, drawing, fol. 122r, Ms. 124, Rome, 4th century, Eton College Library, Windsor, United Kingdom ¹¹⁷

Figure 10



Christ in Majesty with Church of Golgotha at Jerusalem and Nativity at Bethlehem, St. Pudenziana, Rome, late 4th century 118

Figure 11



Vault mosaic, baptistery interior, Albenga (Italy), late 5th century 119

Figure 12



Lamb of God in Triumphal Wreath, San Giovanni in Laterno,
Rome, 5th century

Figure 13



Vault mosaic, interior, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, 425-450 ¹²¹

Figure 14



Vault Mosaic, Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna, 494-519

Figure 15



Lamb of God, San Vitale, interior, vault, 547

Figure 16



Baptism of Christ surrounded by the twelve Apostles, interior dome, Orthodox Baptistery (San Giovanni in Fonte, Neonian Baptistery), Ravenna, built 390, decorated 450-460

Figure 17



Dome with four seraphim painted on the pendentives, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, Turkey, 532-537

Figure 18



Christ in Majesty and Virgin and Child with Apostles,
Chapel VI niche, Monastery of St. Apollo, fresco, Bawit,
Egypt, 6-7th centuries

Figure 19



Pantheon, Rome, Italy, 118-125 CE, converted to church in 609
(St. Mary and the Martyrs, “Santa Maria Rotonda”)

Figure 20



Christ between two angels & Two apostles, Quintanilla de las Viñas, Iglesia Santa Maria, Spain, 7th century

Figure 21



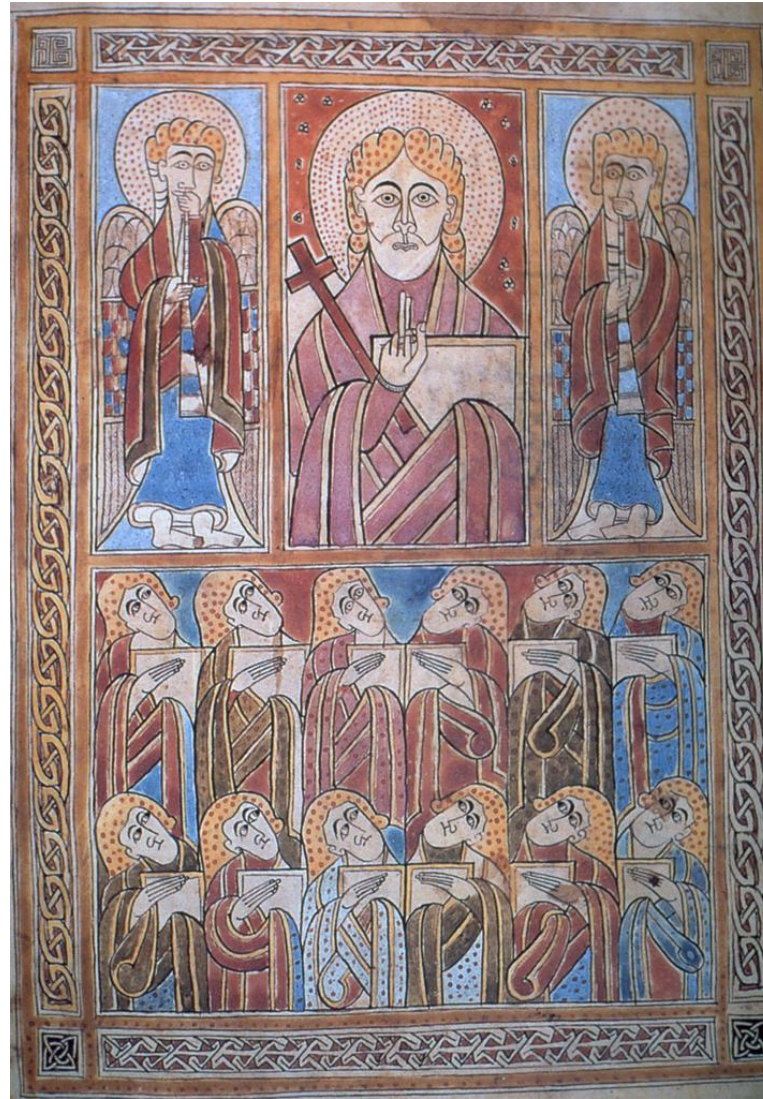
Solar and lunar discs supported by two angels (the sun has a radiating nimbus), triumphal arch, north impost, Quintanilla de las Viñas, Iglesia Santa Maria, Spain, 7th century

Figure 22



Christ in Majesty, Codex Amiatinus, fol. 796v, Cod. Ambat. 1, Northumbrian, early 8th century, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

Figure 23



The Second Coming of Christ, Irish Gospel Book of St. Gall, fol. 267, Cod. Sang. 51, Irish, 750-760, Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall(en), Switzerland 131

Figure 24



Christ in Majesty, Gundohinus Gospels, fol. 12v, Ms. 3, Abbey Vosevio, somewhere in contemporary France, 754, Bibliothèque municipale d'Autun, France

Figure 25



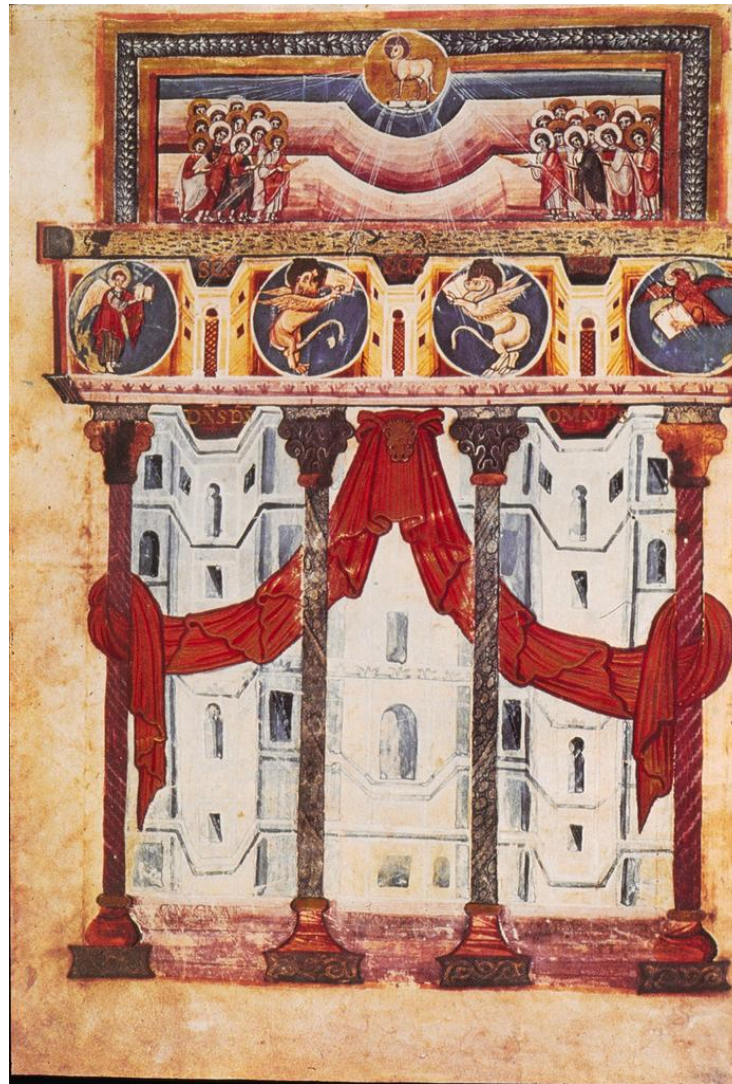
Christ in Majesty with symbols of the Four Evangelists, Gospel Book of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers, fol. 31r, Ms. 17, Carolingian, late 8th century, Bibliothèque municipale d'Amiens, France

Figure 26



Christ in Majesty, Codex Aureus of Lorsch, fol. 72v, Ms. Pal. Lat. 50, Aachen, Carolingian, 800, Alba Julia Batthyneum Library, Bucharest, Romania, Ms. R, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

Figure 27



Adoration of the Lamb, Gospel Book of St. Medard Soissons, fol. 1v, Ms. Lat. 8850, Carolingian, early 9th century, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France

Figure 28



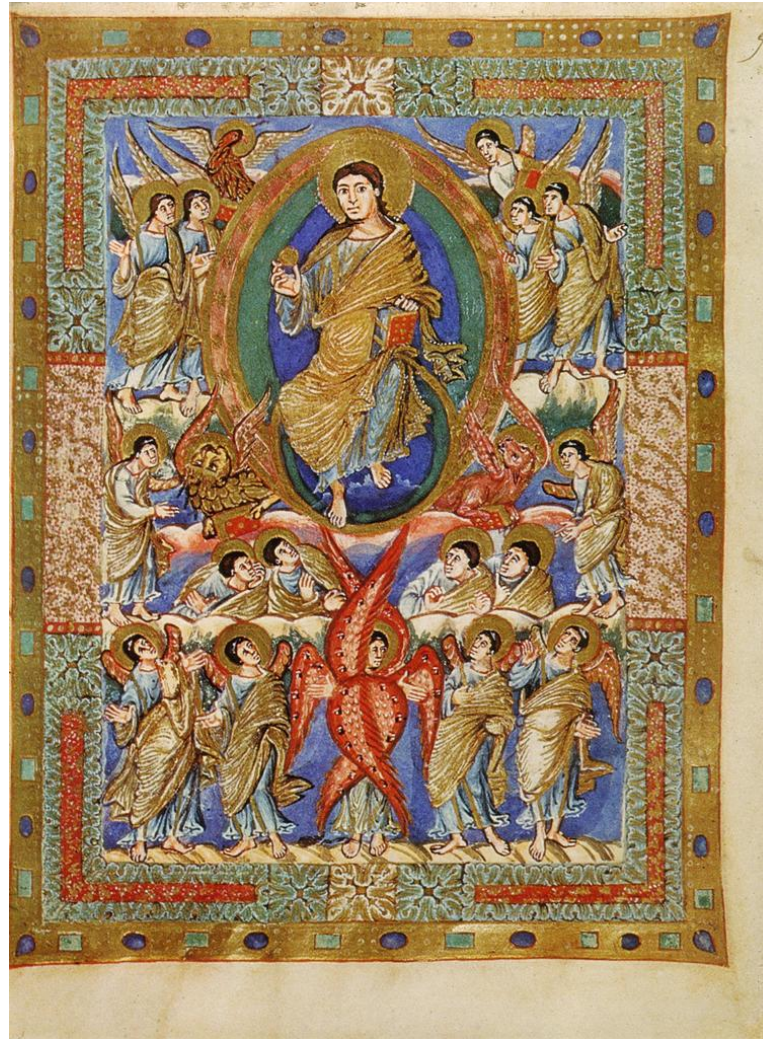
Christ in Majesty, Frontispiece to Gospels, Vivian Bible, fol. 329v, Ms. Lat. 1, Tours, Carolingian, 846, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

Figure 29



King David and musicians, Frontispiece to Psalms, Vivian Bible, fol. 215v, Ms. Lat. 1, Tours, Carolingian, 845-846, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

Figure 30



Christ in Majesty, Sacramentary of Metz, fol. 5r, Ms. Lat. 1141, Carolingian, 870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France 138

Figure 31



Christ in Majesty, Master of Heaven and Earth, Sacramentary of Metz, fol. 6, Ms. Lat. 1141, Carolingian, 870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

Figure 32



Adoration of the Lamb, Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, fol. 6r, Ms. Clm. 14000, Carolingian, 870, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany

Figure 33



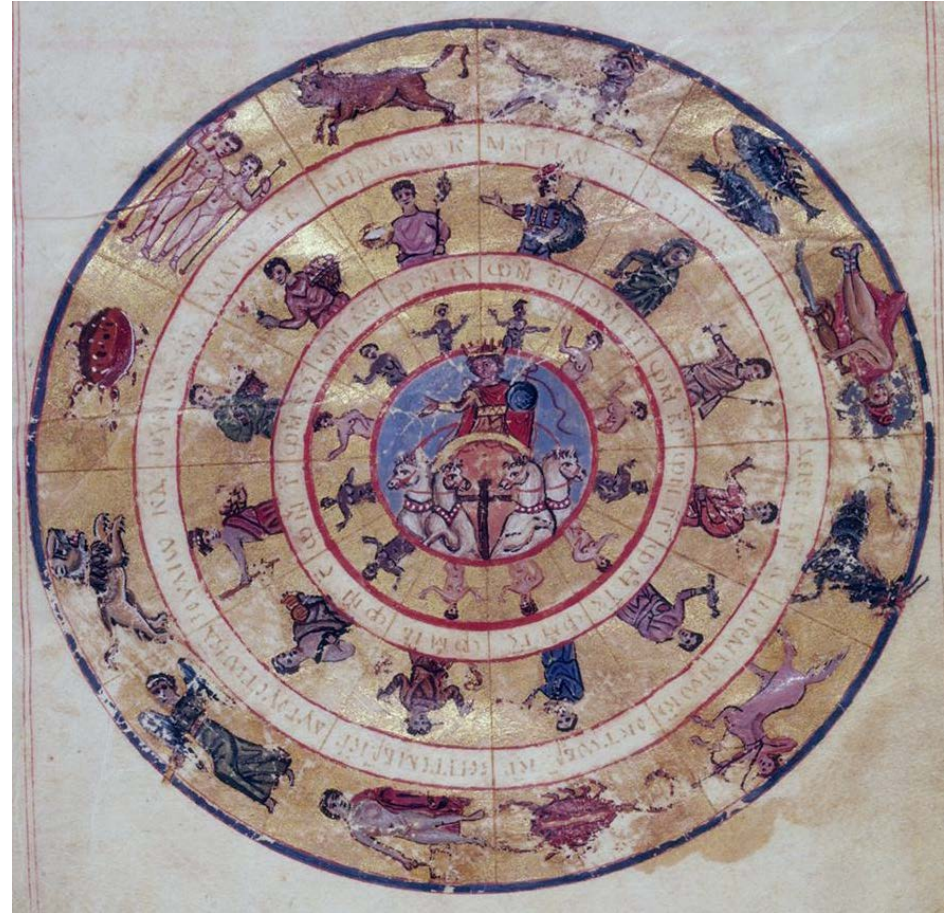
Opening of the Fifth Seal, Trier Apocalypse, fol. 20, Cod. 31, Carolingian, early 9th century, Stadtbibliothek Trier, Trier, Germany 141

Figure 34



Worship of the Lamb, Trier Apocalypse, fol. 23v, Cod. 31, Carolingian, early 9th century, Stadtbibliothek Trier, Trier, Germany

Figure 35



Signs of the Zodiac with the months of the year and the hours of the day and the night, Astronomical Tables, Octateuch, fol. 9, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1291, Constantinople, 9th century, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

Figure 36



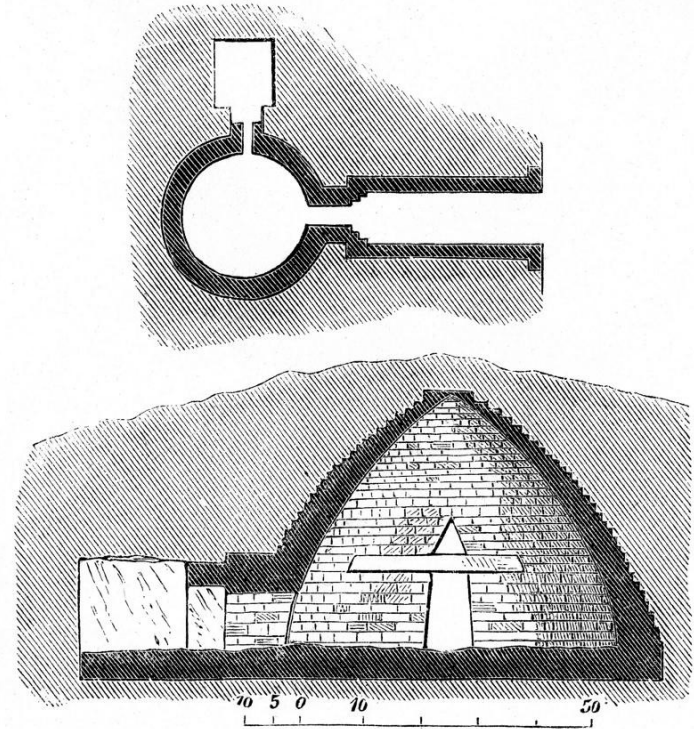
St. Luke, Bible of 920, fol. 211r, Ms. 6, León, Spain, 920,
Santa María de Regla, León, Spain

Figure 37



John of the Ladder, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, fols. 12v-13r,
Greek Ms. 418, author portrait, Sinai, Egypt, mid-10th century,
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

Figure 38



3. Treasury at Mycenæ.

Tholos Tomb, Treasury of Atreus, Mycenæ, Greece, 1250 BC

Figure 39



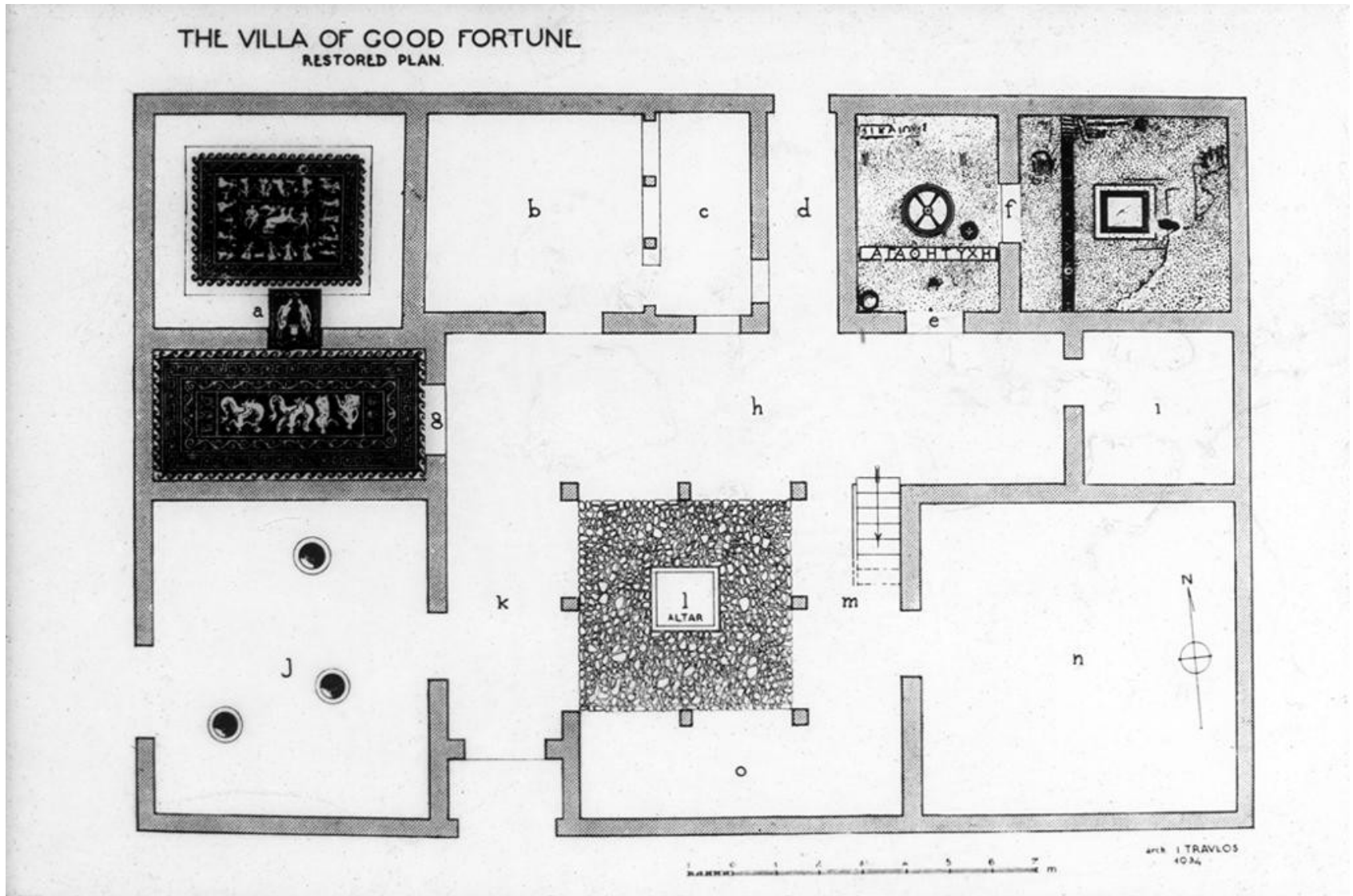
Homage to princely couple, Tholos Tomb, Kazanlak, Bulgaria,
Hellenistic, 300 BC

Figure 40



Centaur Bath, Corinth Excavations no. 75-36-25,
Corinth, Greece, end of 5th century BC

Figure 41



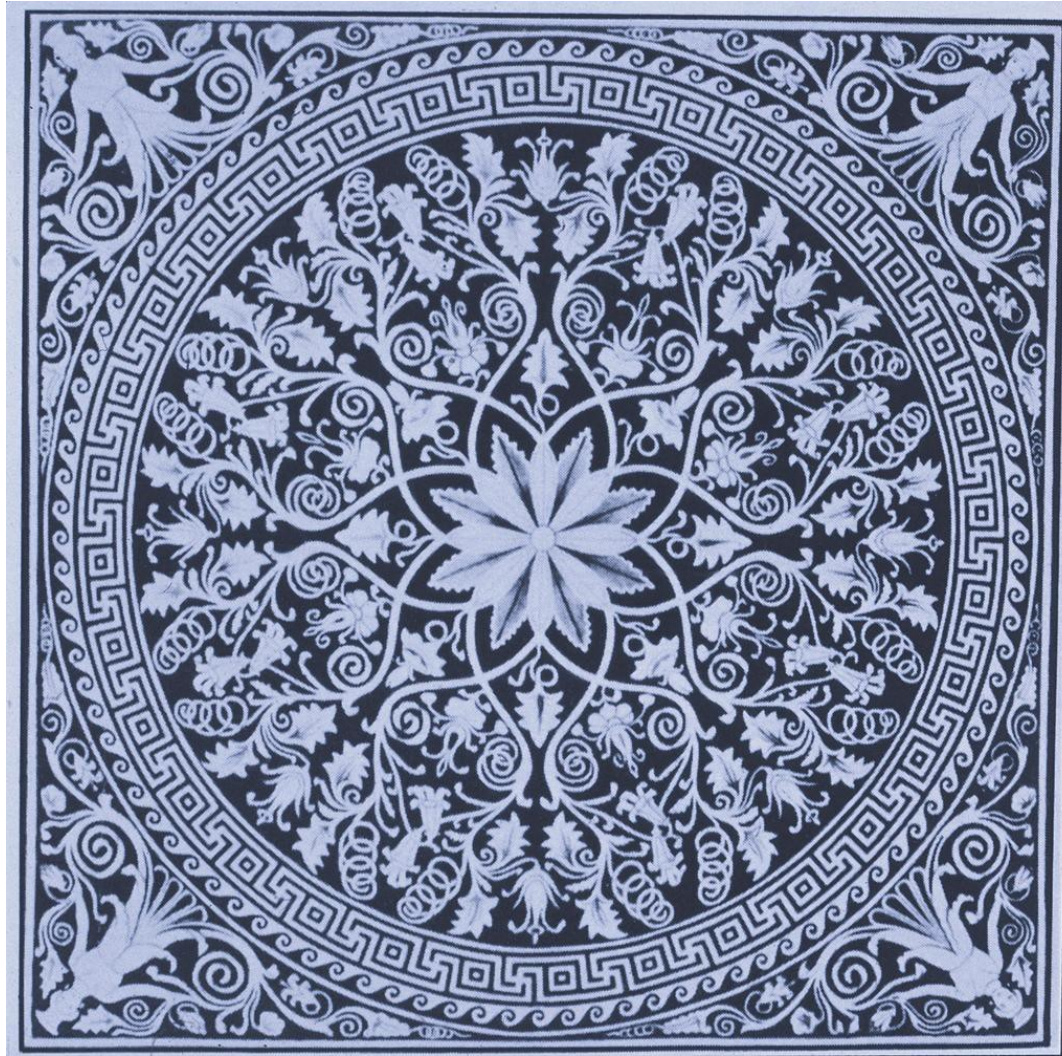
Villa of Good Fortune, plan, Olynthos, Greece, Classical, first half of the 4th century BC

Figure 42



Dionysiac mosaic, *andron*, Villa of Good Fortune, Olynthos, Greece, Classical, first half of the 4th century BC ¹⁵⁰

Figure 43



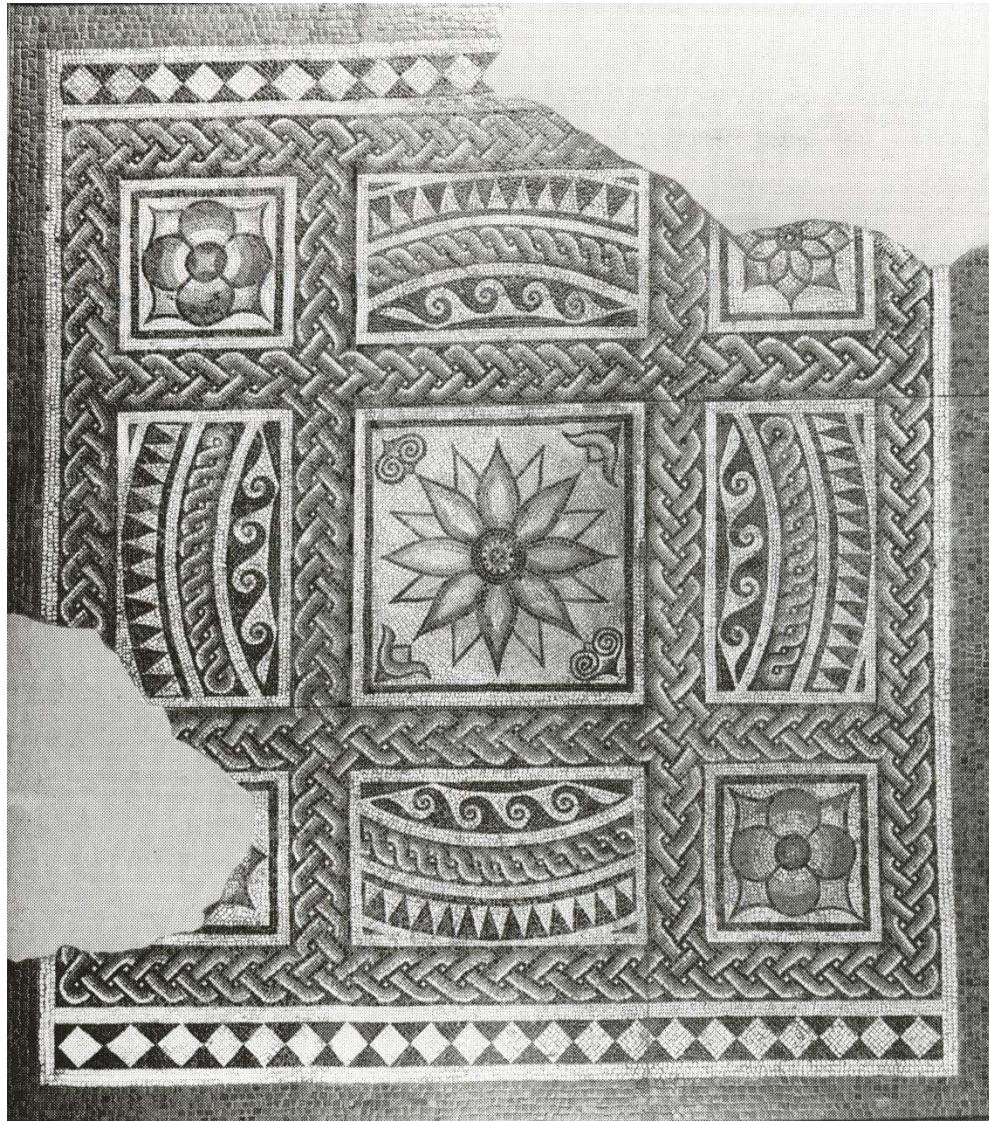
Drawing of floral floor mosaic, palace, Room 13, Vergina, Greece, end of the 4th century BC

Figure 44



Pavement with Dolphins and Central Medallion, courtyard, House of the Dolphins, Delos, Greece, Hellenistic, 2nd century BC 152

Figure 45



Geometric mosaic, no. 7, Verulamium, Britain, second half of the 2nd century

Figure 46



Cupid on a dolphin, room n7, floor mosaic, Flavian Palace,
Fishbourne, England, 160-200

Figure 47



Vegetal designs with bust of personification of the year, room A,
House of the Dionysiac Procession, Thysdrus, Roman African
province, mid 2nd century

Figure 48



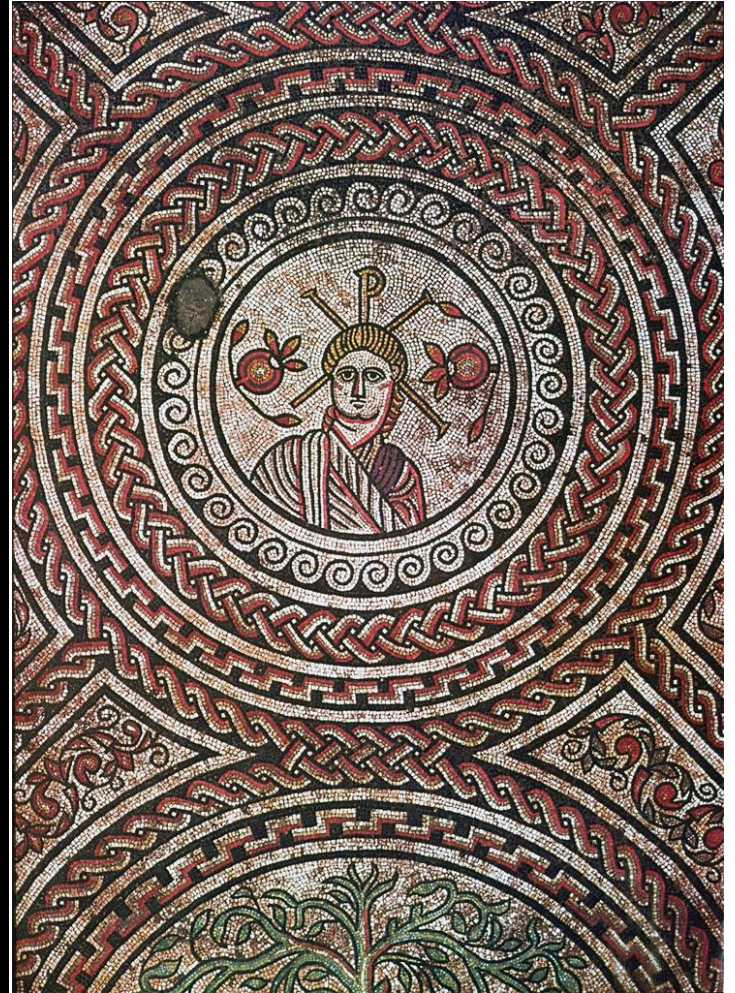
Floor mosaic, Room I, Constantinian Villa, Antioch (Daphne), Roman Syrian province, mid 4th century

Figure 49



Neptune and the Seasons, La Chebba, Roman African province, mid 2nd century

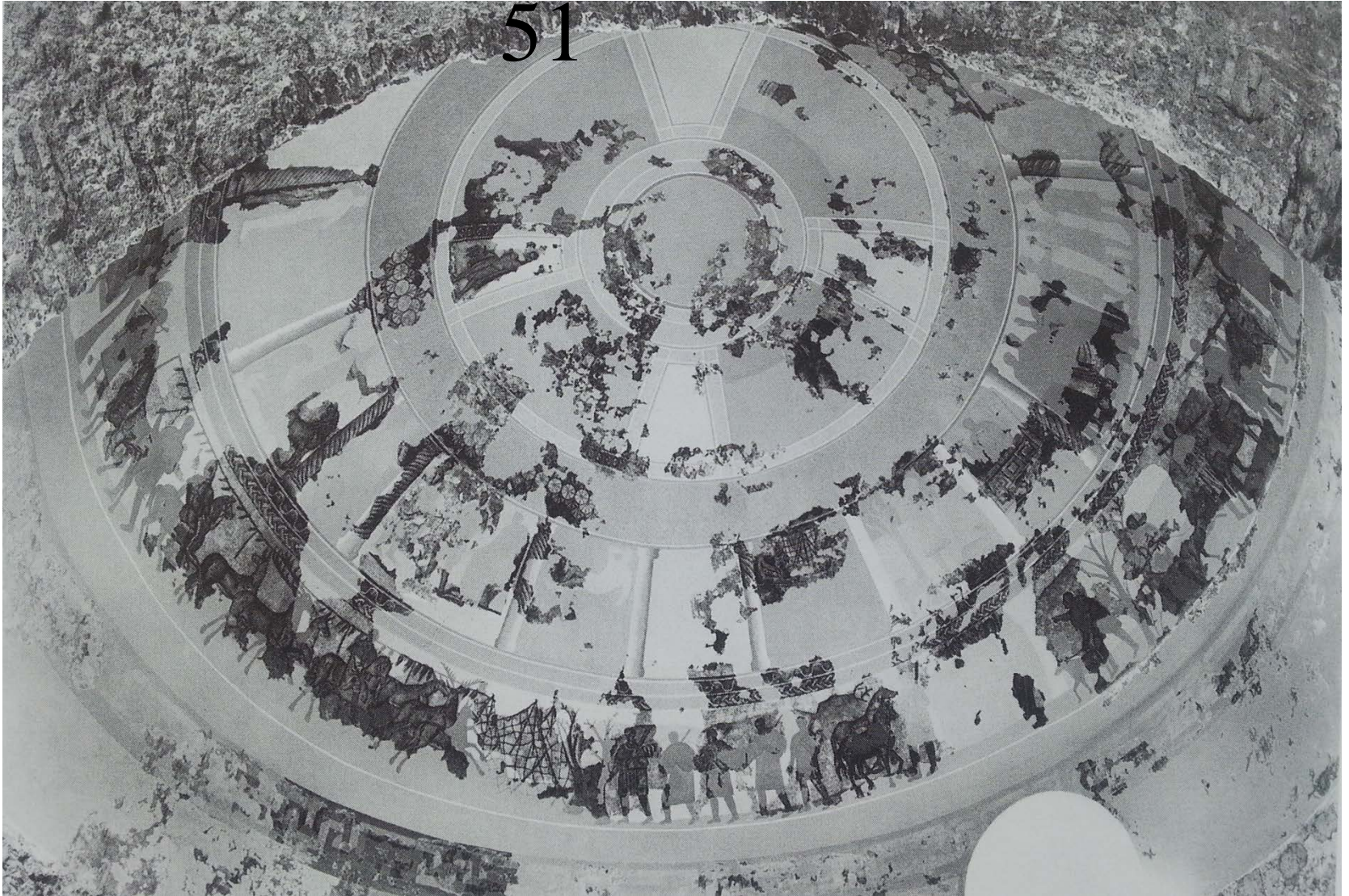
Figure 50



The Hinton St. Mary Mosaic, Dorset, England, Roman Britain,
4th century

Figure

51



Dome mosaic, Centcelles near Tarragona, Spain,
mausoleum, 4th century

Figure 52



Mosaic with busts of the planetary deities, House of the Planetarium, Italic, Roman Spanish province, mid 2nd century

Figure 53



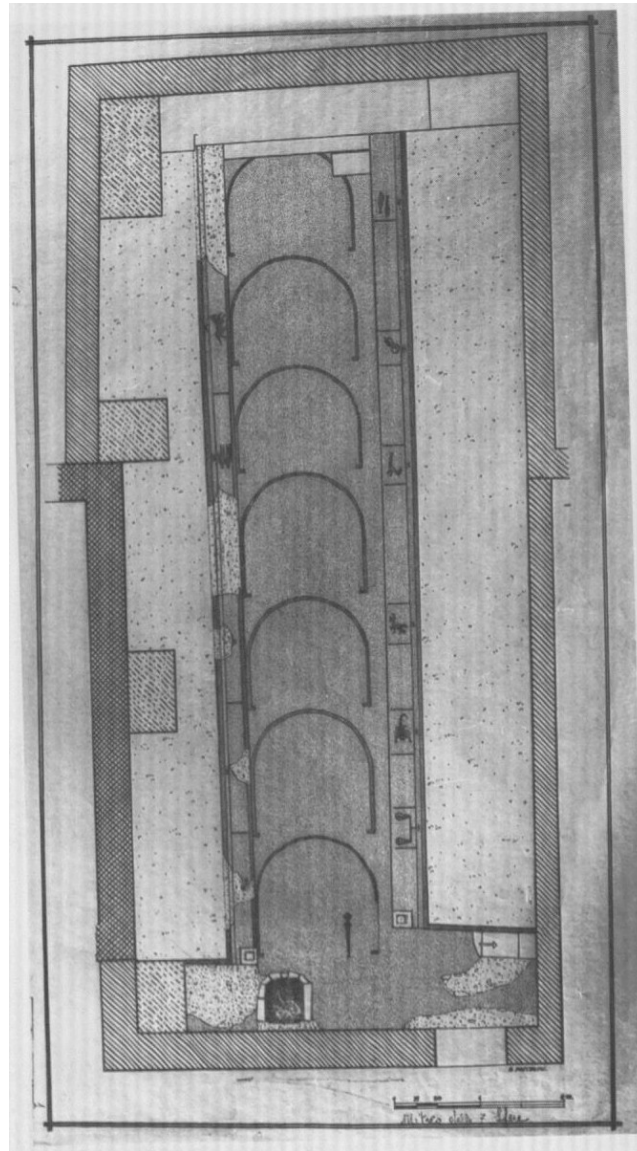
Mosaic of the Planetary Deities, floor mosaic, Orbe,
Switzerland, early 3rd century AD

Figure 54



Cosmological mosaic, House of the Mithraeum, Merida, Roman Spanish province, late 2nd to early 3rd century

Figure 55



Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres, Ostia 11.8.6, second half of the 2nd century

Figure 56



Zodiac Mosaic w/ Helios accompanied by sun, moon, and stars,
Severus Synagogue, Hamat Tiberias, Israel, later part of 4th century 164

Figure 57



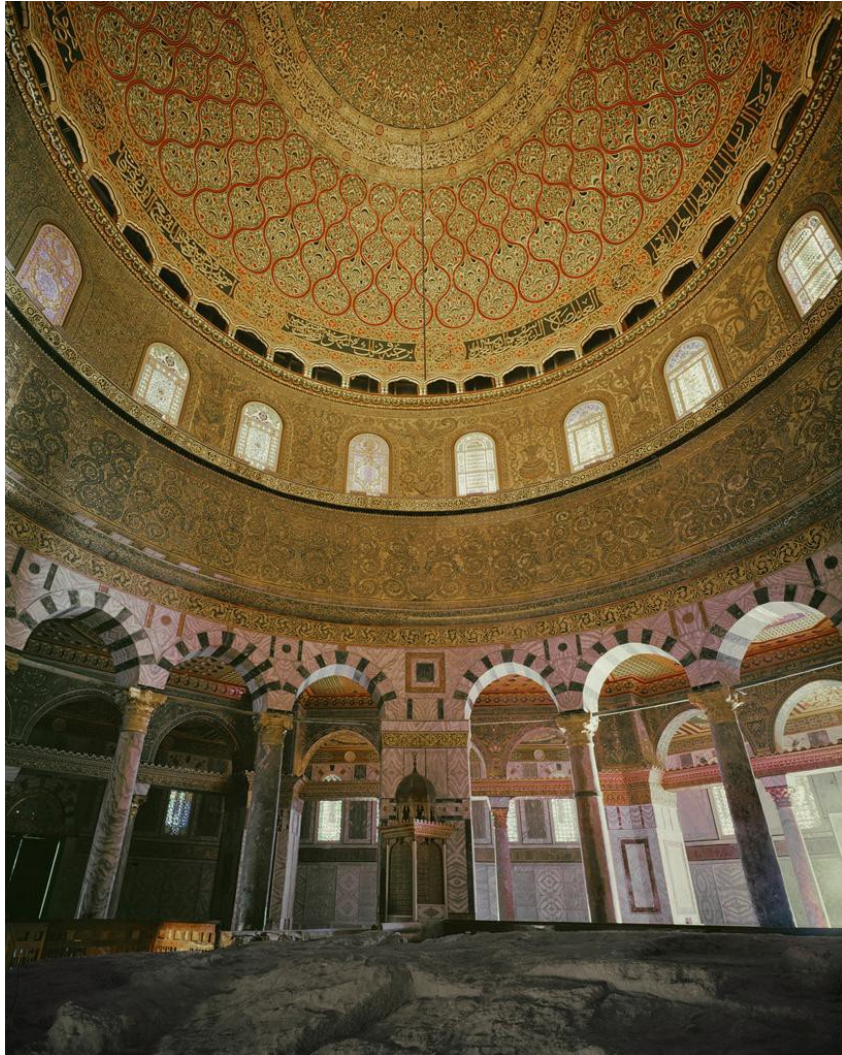
The Zodiac, mosaic floor panel 5, Ancient Synagogue, Sepphoris (Zippori, Diocaesarea), Isreal, Byzantine, 5th century

Figure 58



Floor mosaic of the Zodiac, Ark of the Covenant, and Jewish Symbols, Beth Alpha Synagogue, Heftsi Bah, Israel, 517-518

Figure 59



Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, Israel, Umayyad, Islamic, 687-691

Figure 60



Qusayr Amrah, Amman, Jordan (near), Syrian Umayyad, mid 8th century

Figure 61



Ivory Casket with Musicians, Cordoba, Spain, Umayyad, early 11th century ¹⁶⁹

Figure 62

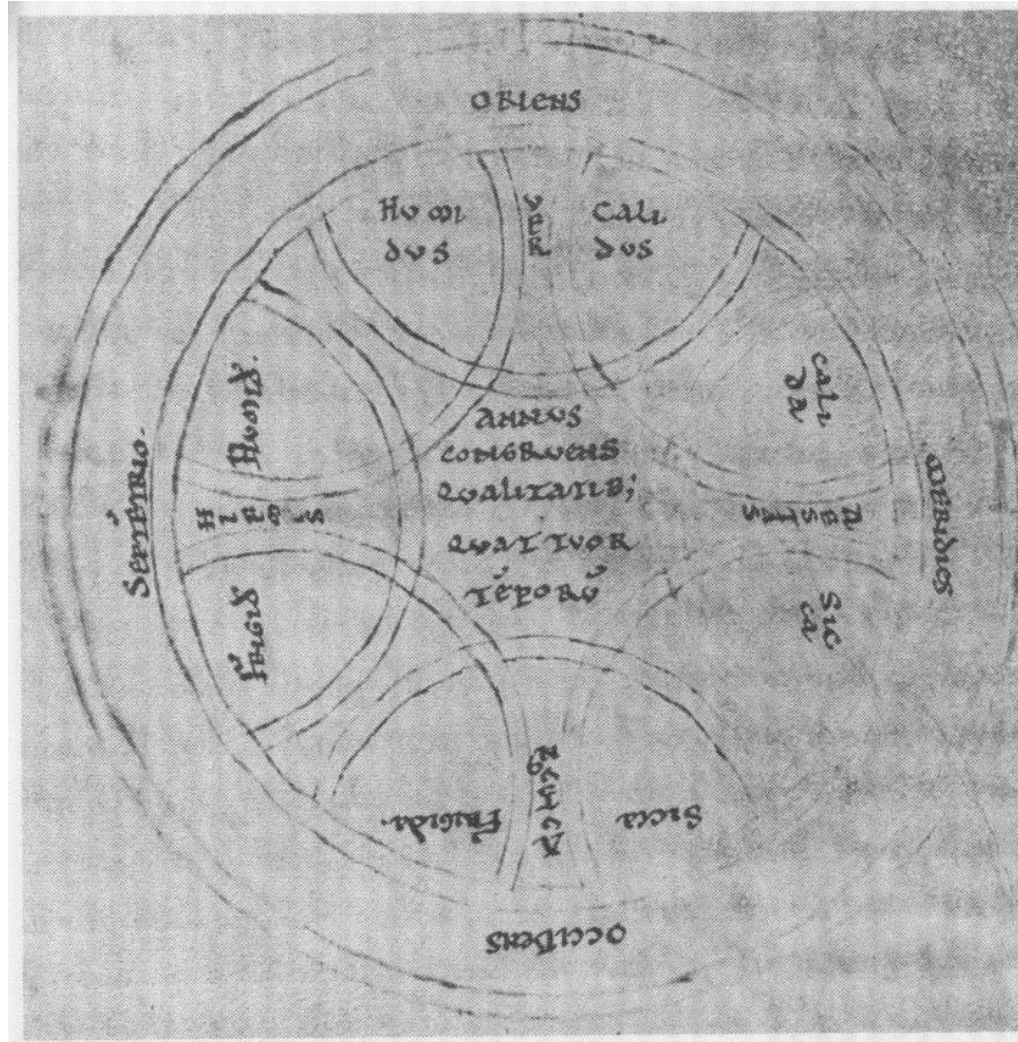


Griffins and simurgh, silk textile, New York, Cooper Union Museum, Spain or Byzantine world, 10th-11th century



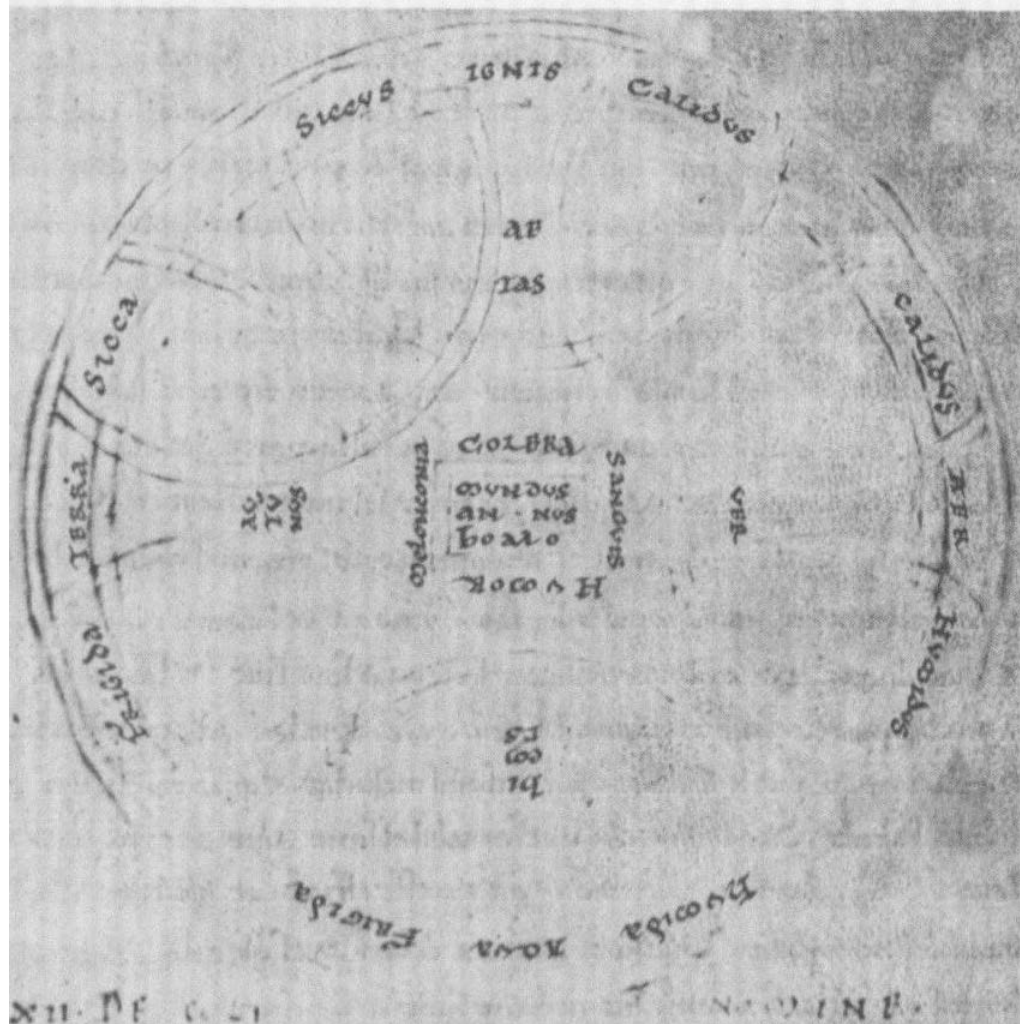
Silk Textile, Moschevaya Balka, Samanid, late 9th century

Figure 63



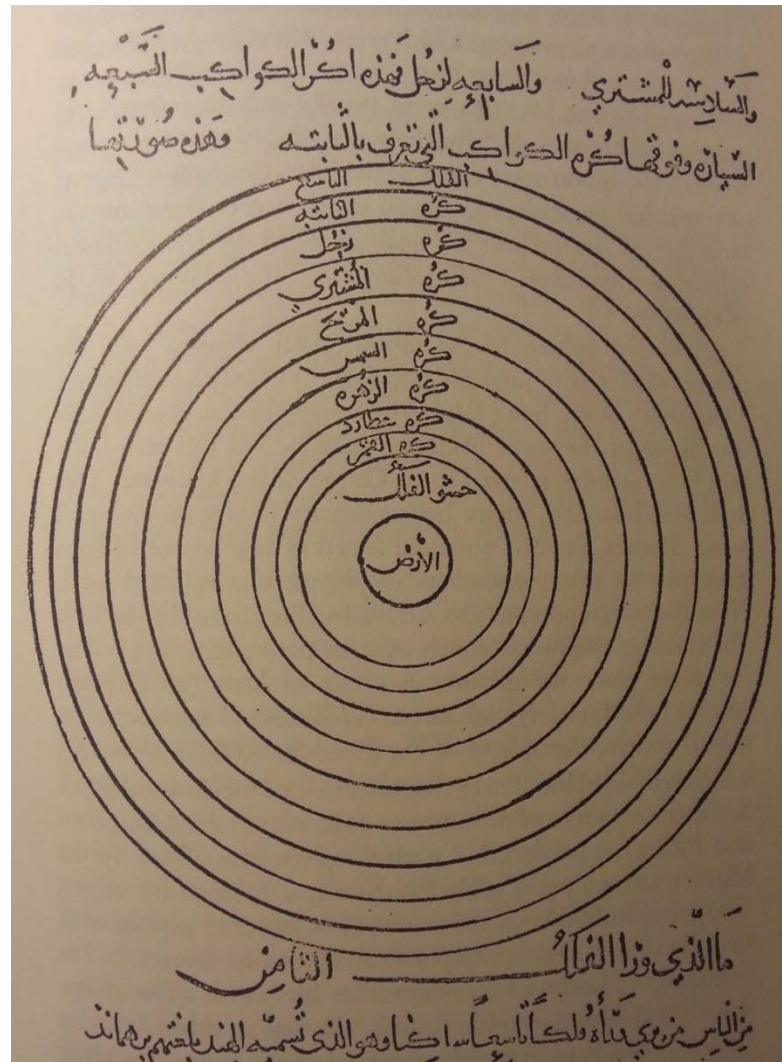
Annus congruens (harmonious year), fol. 50r, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A.XII, southwestern England, 10th or early 11th century

Figure 64



Annus-Mundus-Homo, fol. 52r, BL Cotton MS Vitellius A.XII,
southwestern England, 10th or early 11th century

Figure 65



The Structure of the Universe (according to Ptolemy), reproduced from British Museum Ms. Or. 8349, Ghaznah, Islamic, 1029, al-Biruni, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*

Figure 66



Vault mosaic, baptistery interior, Albenga, Italy, late 5th century 174

Figure 67



Cosmological diagram, Liber Alchandreï Philosophi, Lat. 17568, 10th century, Alchandreus, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France 175

Figure 68



The Four Seasons, *Aratea*, fol. 82v, Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79,
Carolingian, 9th century, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden,
Leiden, Netherlands

Figure 69



Configuration of the Planets, *Aratea*, fol. 93v, Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79, Carolingian, 9th century , Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Leiden, Netherlands

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