

The Lorrão Beatus.

The *Lorrão Beatus* is one of the extant copies of a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* written in the eighth century in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, attributed to the monk Beatus of Liébana, which was accompanied by a set of illustrations that functioned as the visual counterpart of the textual exegesis of the biblical book. Currently preserved at the National Archives in Lisbon, the Portuguese copy was carried out in the scriptorium of the monastery of São Mamede de Lorrão in 1189. Along with other Beatus manuscripts, it also includes a world map, but is the only one to preserve only one half, which is, besides, placed down, that is, inverted, in the manuscript. As Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez states, despite the organic and coherent nature of the *mappae mundi* found in the Beatus codices, attributes to which Beatus researchers Gonzalo Menendez-Pidal and Carlos Cid Priego refer, a detailed comparison highlights numerous similarities among and differences between these maps. Because of these, the cartographic corpus of the Beatus can be subdivided into families or groups which, in turn, coincide with the groupings within which the Beatus codices have been organized, based on the artistic analysis of the manuscripts: *Family I*, the oldest, pertaining to the editions of Beatus himself of 776 (*Family Ia*) and of 784 (*Family Ib*), and *Families IIab*, derived from the posthumous edition of ca. 940. The names we use to refer to the *mappae mundi*, as well as the manuscripts to which they belong, are related to their place of origin, to the addressees of the codices, or to the place in which they are currently preserved. As a reference, this map falls into Wilhelm Neuss' *Family I* stemma that organized the Beatus *mappae mundi* into related "Families". The Beatus *Family I* comprises the following maps:

- *Mappa mundi of Saint-Sever* (third quarter of the 11th century) #207.13.
- *Mappa mundi of El Burgo de Osma* (1086) #207.14.
- *Mappa mundi of Milan* (late 12th century or beginning of the 13th) #207.26.
- *Mappa mundi of Navarre* (late twelfth century) #207.23.
- *Mappa mundi of Lorrão* (1189) #207.22. Only half of the map survives, specifically the recto folio which relates to AFRICA with the fourth part of the world and the south of [ASI]A. The map is badly bound into the codex, appearing in inverted form, in other words, with the west in the upper section.
- Mural *mappa mundi* from the church of the monastery of San Pedro de Rocas in Orense (middle or late 12th century). This monastery, founded originally as a hermitage and carved out of the rock of a hillside, has been linked with the diocese of Astorga due to its hermit-related history. Sadly, the mural map is in a very bad state of preservation and only some fragments are visible, based on which Serafin Moralejo Alvarez partially reconstructed the map.

Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez has identified the following common features of this Family of Beatus *mappae mundi*:

- Within the maps which comprise the *Family I*, the maps of *El Burgo de Osma*, *Milan*, *Navarre*, *Lorrão* and the painting of *San Pedro de Rocas* show a stronger connection as they share a series of characteristics which usually do not appear in the other maps of the Beatus codices, not even in the *Saint-Sever* map:
 - The maps of *El Burgo de Osma*, *Milan*, *Lorrão* and *San Pedro de Rocas* represent the world in a circular shape (as do the maps of *Turin* and *San Andres de Arroyo* of the *Family IIb*).
 - The *Earthly Paradise* is represented by a paradisiacal hydrography, either by means of the four rivers – the Tigris, Euphrates, Gihon and Phison – flowing from the fountain of *Paradise* in the map of *El Burgo de Osma*,

Milan and Navarre, or by a mere allusion to this fountain in the case of the map of *Lorrão*.

- The maps of *El Burgo de Osma*, *Milan*, *Lorrão* and *San Pedro de Rocas* include the depiction of the apostles, and insert by this method the apostolic geography in an artistic form.
- The maps of *El Burgo de Osma*, *Navarre* and *Lorrão* illustrate and/or allude textually to the *sciopods* in the fourth part of the world.
- Except for the maps of *Lorrão* and *Navarre*, there are gulfs shown on the west coast of the African continent, one in the maps of *El Burgo de Osma* and *Milan*, two in that of *Saint-Sever*. The Adriatic Sea is shown in the map of *Saint-Sever*, where it is called *sinus Noricum* and *sinus Adriaticus*, as also in the *El Burgo de Osma* and *Milan* maps. Except for the *Lorrão* map, the Red Sea appears as two gulfs – the Arabian and Persian Gulfs – perpendicular to the sea that separates off the fourth part of the world, which in the *Saint-Sever* map is also identified as the Red Sea.

With the surviving section of the *Lorrão mappa mundi* one can see some of the typical *Beatus mappae mundi* conventions, such as the encircling ocean populated with fish and islands. Four islands are identified: *Tabroiane*, *Cors et Agire*, *Espendum Insula* and *Furtuniarum Insula*. Although the map of *Lorrão* has no illustration of the Red Sea as does all the other *Beatus mappae mundi*, *Beatus* historian John Williams has proposed that the *tuas mons* (possibly an errata for *duas mons*, i.e. “two mountains”), shown as perpendicular to the aqueous channel which separates off the fourth part of the world, might have been inspired by the two gulfs which form the Red Sea in these other *Beatus mappae mundi*, perhaps being copies of them, and misrepresented by an artist of lesser technical ability. This would be no surprise as, according to a point raised by Peter K. Klein, the errors of iconographic interpretation of the copy version are quite frequent in this manuscript.

The mountains are represented by single triangular geometric shapes, colored reddish-orange. The *Lorrão mappa mundi* depicts three mountains on the western African coast called *Calpes mons* (the northmost), *Adlas mons* (the southernmost) and *Montuosa Alpes quod Ethiopes...* [the mountainous Alps, because Ethiopian...]. The second one can be identified as the African Atlas Mountains, while the first one must equate to *Mount Calpe* [the Rock of Gibraltar]. This is possibly another example of an adherence to the Isidorian *Etymologiae* (XIV,8,17) displacing this European mountain from its true location.

Like the *El Burgo de Osma* and *Milan Beatus mappae mundi*, the *Lorrão mappa mundi* appears to show heads of the evangelizing apostles. In the surviving section of the *Lorrão mappa mundi* there are six apostles depicted: Thomas in India, John in Asia, Simon the Zealot in Egypt, Matthias in Udeus [Judea], and James the Lesser (alias Alphaeus) in Iherusalem but not the apostle who is shown near *Caldea*. Maria de los Angeles Sepulveda Gonzalez postulates that it could be Judas Thaddeus, mentioned in the etymological analysis of the apostles, about whom it is said that “according to the tradition of the Church he was sent to the city of Edessa, to king Abagarus”. According to the aforementioned researcher, the illuminator, possibly when including him, removed Paul, thus leaving only twelve direct disciples of Christ. However, one has to bear in mind that in the list of the apostles and the lands they evangelized that precedes the map there is no mention of Judas Thaddeus, so it would be odd if he were depicted.

Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez thinks this apostle could be identified as St Bartholomew (in *Lycaonia*, Asia Minor), a conclusion that one might reach by a process of elimination. Excluding the apostles of the *Lorrão* map that we have already identified, the only one who could feature in the surviving recto folio is Bartholomew, as the other six, according to the text that precedes the map, evangelized European regions and would therefore have featured in the lost folio: St Peter and St Paul would appear in Rome; St Andrew in Achaia; St James the Greater in Spain; St Matthew in Macedonia; and St Philip in the land of the Gauls. Although it might be debatable whether to identify Bartholomew's position on the map with *Lycaonia*, we should point out that the linking, for example, of Judaea with Matthias is also incorrect. The fact that the apostles in the *Lorrão* map lack any clear identification or correct positioning might be understood as being an example of a type of error of interpretation arising from copying an original, which Peter K. Klein has highlighted in the study of images from this manuscript.



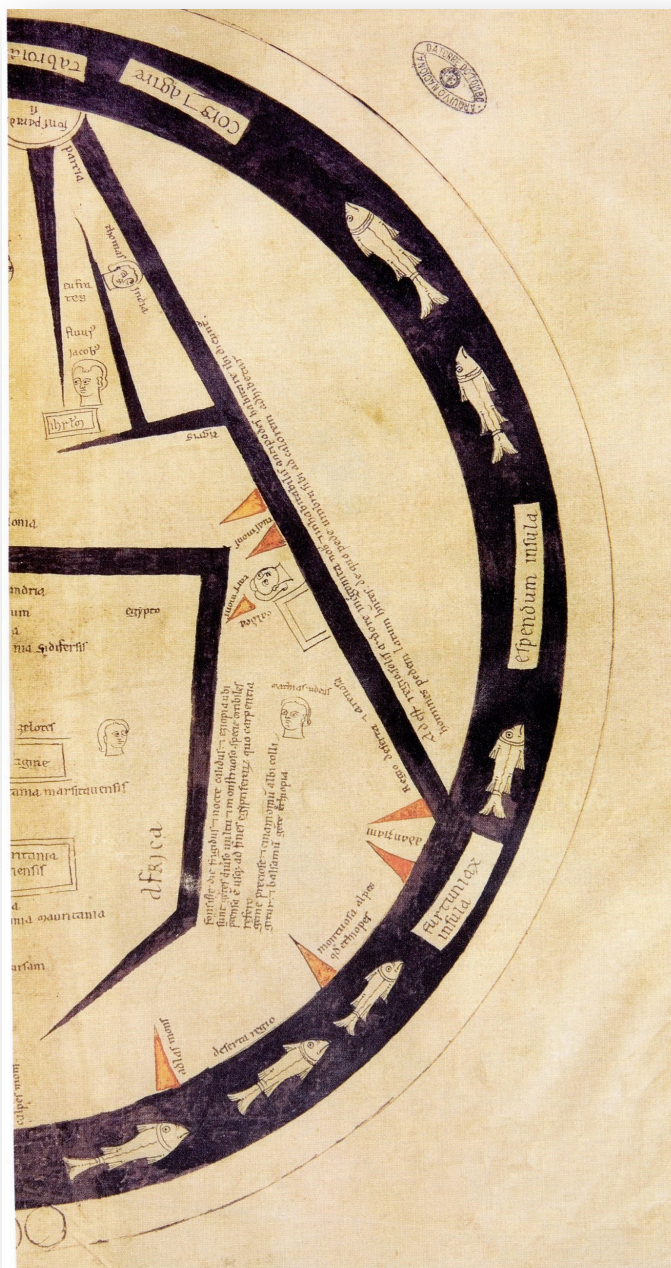
The *mappa mundi* of *Lorrão* seems to manifest the most primitive formula of representing the apostles due to its elementary stylization. The apostles are only drawn, not polychromed, by means of stereotyped heads of three-quarters profile, beardless, with broad foreheads, except for St James the Less, alias Alphaeus, and without aureoles. According to Anne de Egry, these figures appear without aureoles because they are shown as living, in the process of evangelizing the whole world. The heads that are severed at the neck and without any base seem to float around the map. Only certain ones seem to be shown near caption boxes, within which a place name is included referring to a place evangelized by the apostles, such

as *Iherusalem*, or close to them, as in the case of *[Cart]agine* or *Mauritania Cesariensis* in the vicinity of *Egypto*. In the absence of the survival of the verso folio of the map of *Lorrão*, one can only make reference to the apostles located on the recto, in other words, in the southern zone of Asia and in Africa. In this half there are six apostles shown, compared with El Burgo de Osma and Milan, where only three appear in the same space. It is difficult to identify some of the apostles in the *Lorrão* map, because generally they are rather vaguely positioned and sometimes they lack any written reference to the name. In these cases, we need to resort to the geographic location and to a comparison with other maps.

The *mappa mundi* of *Lorrão* shows the *Earthly Paradise* in a semicircular shape next to the ocean. Within this semicircle appears the inscription *fons Paradisi*, only alluding therefore in a textual manner to the source. The four sacred rivers do not appear pictorially in the *Paradise*, although non-paradisiacal tributaries emanate from it, two of them in the rear folio that survives and at least a third, it seems, to judge by the fine line of a dark color to the north of the *Paradise*, in the lost front folio. It is not easy to recognize these rivers, as the inscriptions which identify them (*Tigris*, *Eufrates fluuius*) are positioned in a somewhat imprecise manner. Also, curiously, one of the tributaries emerging from the *Paradise* is at the same time the sea that separates the fourth part of the world, which could perhaps be seen as an error of interpretation of the iconography of the copy model, which is quite common in this manuscript. Finally, it is interesting to remark that the depiction of the *Earthly Paradise* in the map of *Lorrão* is reminiscent, due to its semicircular shape and the rivers emanating from it, of the same motif shown in

some Hispanic maps of the Isidorian *Etymologiae* to which we referred in analyzing the cartographic context of the Beatus maps (see #205).

The *mappa mundi* of Lorrão, for its part, mentions the reference to the population of the fourth part of the world in the following way: *Ad est regio solis ardore incognita nobis et inhabitabilis antipodes habitare ibi dicuntur homines pedem latum habentes de quo pede umbra sibi ad calorem adhibetur*



[This region is unknown to us due to the heat of the sun and is uninhabitable. They say the antipodeans live there, men who have a wide foot with which they shade themselves as protection against the heat]. Once again, in this text the information about the lack of knowledge of this region due to the heat of the sun is repeated. As regards the inhabitants, they are called *antipodeans*, not *sciopods*, but subsequently are described as “men who have a wide foot with which they shade themselves as protection against the heat”, although instead of this definition they bear the name of *pedem latum*. The *sciopods* are not graphically depicted in the Lorrão *mappa mundi* as they are in the *El Burgo de Osma* and *Navarre mappae mundi*. Given that this map is later than the *El Burgo de Osma*, Serafin Moralejo Alvarez proposed that the text was the result of a corruption of the caption which in other maps of the Beatus codices refers to the people called *antipodeans*, with a variation of it in *El Burgo de Osma*.

The surviving portion of the Lorrão variant of the Beatus mappamundi, 1189, Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Codex 160, Lisbon, Portugal showing the Antipodes

Besides this, due to the more conservative nature of the Portuguese *mappa mundi*, this researcher also suggested that the Lorrão map reflected a prior phase to that shown in the map of *El Burgo de Osma*, where the illustration of these monstrous beings finally materializes.

The *mappae mundi* of the Beatus codices repeat the textual information on Ethiopia in an almost identical form, with some orthographic differences: *Fons iste die frigidus et nocte calidus. Et Eziopia ubi sunt gentes diuerso uultu et monstruoso specie orribiles pretensa est usque ad fines Egypti ferarum quo carpentia refero. Gemme preciose et cinnamomum albi colligitur et balsamum gente Ethiopia.* [In Ethiopia there are fearsome people with their different faces and monstrous appearance. It extends to the frontier of Egypt. It is full of a quantity of wild beasts and serpents. Here there are precious stones, cinnamon and balsam]. The Lorrão map includes the reference to the spring whose water is cold by day and warm by night, specifying that the cinnamon is white and omitting the serpents..

The Lorrão *mappa mundi* does not illustrate regions, provinces or cities graphically by means of architectural images as some of the Beatus *mappae mundi* do. Instead specific places are highlighted using place names in caption boxes and by the placement of the apostles' heads.

A 12th century copy of the *Apocalypse* which had belonged to the Monastery of Lorrão, founded apparently at the end of the ninth century near Coimbra, is now preserved in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. It is the work of a copyist, probably a Benedictine monk, named Egas, who signed and dated it 1189, and contains sixty-six drawings, roughly executed and colored in red and yellow. It also contained an oval world map, of which only the right-hand half remains, with part of the meridional section, drawn as in the other Beatus maps of this period and later called *quarta pars trans oceanum*. The inscription here reads: *Ad est regio solis ardore incognita nobis et inhabitabilis antipodes habitare ibi dicelltur I homines pedem [atum habentes. de quo pede umbra sibi ad calorem adhibetur]* [The region is unknown to us, the sun's heat and drought globe to live there dicellui 1 man's feet [atom having. the heat of which is used for themselves, to the foot of the shadow.] Its prototype must have been one of the earliest known, of the ninth century. It would be interesting to know how that prototype reached Lorrão or if Egas copied it elsewhere. If the *Apocalypse* of Beatus has a limited interest in itself, the maps contained in some of its copies give it exceptional importance in the history of cartography. However crude, they represent a considerable progress and are magnificent examples.

Many Portuguese authors have described, or referred to the *Apocalipse de Lorrão*, as this codex is now called, but no one mentions the map. But in a lecture delivered at the University of Coimbra in August 1929, an abstract of which was published in *Boletim do Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra*, II, 108-12, Coimbra 1929, Professor Neuss said that the world map was missing in the codex (p. 109). However, the fragment was reproduced in *M.C.A.A.*, III, iii, 745, with the following caption: *Fragment d'une mappemonde dite de Beatus. XI au XII siècle. L'original est une feuille détachée se trouvant dans l'Archivio [sic] Naciollal it Lisbonne*, but does not connect it with the Lorrão codex. Destombes, *M.C.VA.*, 42, lists it thus: 11. *Lisboa Arquivo Nac. da Torre do Tombo. Manuscrit execute avant 1198, probablement au convent de Lorrão; copiste, Egas, moine cistercien, Type B (350 x 230 mm), partie australe seule.*

Menendez-Pidal (1954) suggests some relationship between the Lorrão codex and a fragment of a ninth century Beatus codex found at Silos in 1929. The *Commentary* of Beatus of Liébana is what is called a *chain*, that is a work which does not give us

personal interpretations, but simply reproduces those of previous authors (Tychonius, Apringio, Primasius, St Ireneus, St Augustine, St Isidore of Seville, St Jerome, as well as Orosius), as the sources of Beatus, not only these names but also others: Los escritos de los Padres Geronymo, Agustine, Ambrosio, Fulgencio, Gregorio, Tichonio, Ireneu, Apringio, Isidoro y Victorino.

Many Beatus researchers suggest that the *Lorrão mappa mundi* represents the best choice for matching the prototype original map of the Beatus codex of the eighth century because of its simplicity and stylization representative of the eighth century. The comparison of the map of *Lorrão* with these last maps highlights a series of common traits which explain what Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez regards as two of the most pronounced divergences between the *Lorrão* map and the remaining *mappae mundi* of the Beatus codices:

- Whereas the fourth part of the world in all the *mappae mundi* of the Beatus codices (missing in the *Navarre* one) appears to be located to the south and separated from the *oecumene* by the Red Sea or another sea (named as the sea that separates off the fourth part of the world), the *Lorrão* map places this land to the southeast and isolates it by means of an aqueous channel which emanates from the *Earthly Paradise*. Perhaps we could find a certain similarity to this detail in the Hispanic maps of the Isidorian *Etymologiae*, where the Nile flows out of *Paradise* and splits off a portion of land from the *oecumene* with the same southeastern orientation (this land, however, is not identified as being the southern land of the Beatus codices, but an Asian land, since it is here that we find the reference to Shem, the son of Noah, who inherited this continent).

- *Lorrão*, in its allusion to the inhabitants of the fourth part of the world, mentions the *antipodeans* which it describes as *homines pedem latum habentes de quo pede umbra sibi ad calorem adhibetur* [men who have a wide foot with which they shade themselves as protection against the heat]. The term *pedem latum* also appears in the Hispanic maps of the Isidorian *Etymologiae* (as *pedes latos*) in a region to the southwest, which has been proposed as a possible origin of the fourth part of the world. The original map of Beatus of Liebana must have included this fourth part of the world, and possibly placed there the *pedem latum*, the term by which *sciopods* were known (either corrected, or updated) in the Beatus map of *El Burgo de Osma*, according to the description given in the Isidorian *Etymologiae* (xi, 3, 23). The map of *Navarre* of Beatus *Family I* also includes the image of a *sciopod*. The introduction of monstrous beings from the time of the original map (initially only by name, and later also in an illustrated form) could be for the purpose of emphasizing the idea of Christian universality as preached by the apostles. Let us not forget that in the Middle Ages, monstrous qualities were understood and accepted as part of God's creation, and even St Augustine himself (354-430) included monsters in the process of Redemption in *The City of God* (xvi, 8; va, 5). Regarding the presence of monsters in the archetype, and their inclusion in the maps so as to emphasize the apostolic mission, one must point out that, graphically, the most expressive *mappae mundi* in this respect, because they show the heads of the apostles, are those which include the image of the monster, as occurs in the map of *El Burgo de Osma*, or at any rate a textual allusion to it, as in the *Lorrão* map.

The *Lorrão* map and the Hispanic maps of the Isidorian *Etymologiae* share many other common traits that, aside from helping to create mutual links, enable us to detail the features that would come to define the original map of Beatus of Liebana:

1. Both maps show a circular world (not rectangular), so that the archetypal map must have shown it in the same shape. Also, that is how St Isidore

himself describes it in his *Etymologiae* 15, 1; and xiv, 2, 1) and that is how it is shown in the manuscripts of these works, and in many other maps of *Family I* (specifically those of *El Burgo de Osma*, *Milan* and *San Pedro de Rocas*).

2. Both maps illustrate the *Earthly Paradise* by means of the motif of the paradisiacal hydrography, and they do so in a very similar manner, and differently from the way this iconographic theme is shown in the other maps of the Beatus codices of *Family I* (specifically those of *El Burgo de Osma*, *Milan*, *Navarre* and *San Pedro de Rocas*). The *Paradise* is located in the far east of the world and inserts the paradisiacal spring in a semicircular frame (in the *Etymologiae* of *Sancha* and *Sancho* (#205, see image below), and that of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence), from which the rivers emanate that cross the barrier of *Paradise* and change into earthly ones. That is how the *Earthly Paradise* must have been, then, in the archetypal map. The option of the paradisiacal hydrography is not only more ancient than the motif of original sin by Adam and Eve (which does not appear until the 10th century), but it is also the one that is described in the Isidorian *Etymologiae* (XIII, 21, 7-10) and the one shown in the manuscripts of these works, as we find in the Isidorian *Etymologiae* of the bishop of Magalona in the ninth century, the most ancient one that illustrates this theme. Also, it is once again the alternative that is chosen in most of the maps of *Family I*. The fact that the map of *Saint-Sever* shows up to five rivers emanating from the *Earthly Paradise* (at the center of which, however, one finds the scene of the fall due to the influence of *Families IIab*) can also be taken to be indicative of the option in favor of the paradisiacal hydrography of the archetype.
3. Both maps illustrate the geographical elements in a very schematic form. In the map of *Lorrão* the orography takes certain triangular shapes and hydrography is simplified into straight lines. The mountains and mountain chains which characterize the orography of the *mappae mundi* of *Families IIab* are therefore missing, and the rivers lack the simulation of the movement of water and the irregularities of the river course based on typical wavy lines that are also in the *mappae mundi* of *Families IIab*. This stylization of the geographical design, and by extension, of the other artistic motifs (such as the heads of the apostles), must have been present in the archetypal map. It is no surprise to find also in *mappae mundi* that were contemporary with that of Beatus of Liebana, for example, Mount Sinai as a triangle in the *Albi* map (second half of the eighth century, #206), or as a brief succession of triangles in the Vatican map (762-777, #205).
4. Both maps include numerous place names and some captions, just as the archetypal map must have done. However, they lack the illustration of cities, so that we ought to expect that the original would also have omitted them. Overall, *Lorrão* introduces certain relevant place names, such as Jerusalem, in caption boxes. This stylization is reminiscent of the highlighting of geometric symbols with certain place names in the Vatican map (762-777, #205) that was contemporaneous with the Beatus map, which also omits architectural depictions of cities.

Contrary to most of the illustrations in the Beatus manuscripts, the depiction of the world has nothing to do with the biblical text. It is inserted as the visual counterpart of a passage added by the author of the *Commentary* in the Prologue of Book II, where he identifies the apostles, listed together with the regions they evangelized. All the copies include this passage, and the *Lorrão* version reads as follows:

Hii duodecim sunt Christi discipuli, predicatorum fidei et doctores Gentium, qui dum omnes unum sint, singuli tamen eorum ad predicandum in mundo sortes proprias acceperunt, Petrus Roma, Andreas Achaia, Thomas India, Iacobus Spania, Iohannes Asia, Mattheus Macedonia, Philippus Gallias, Bartholomeus Licaonia, Symon Zelotes Egyptum, Matthias Iudeam, Iacobus frater domini Ierusalem (...) Et quo facilius hanc seminis grana per agrum huius mundi, quem prophetae laborauerunt et hii metent, agnoscas subiecta formula picturarum demonstrat.

The main textual source for this passage is the *Etymologies* by St. Isidore of Seville (#205), when he lists the apostles and their names. The last sentence of the text, which can be translated as “And so that you may recognize with more ease the grains of the seed in the field of this world, in which the prophets worked and to which they were sent, as the following disposition of images shows” becomes crucial to understand the inclusion of a world Map in Beatus manuscripts. The text of the copies of *Lorrão*, *Burgo de Osma* (#207.14), *Corsini*, and *Berlin*, all belonging to *Branch I* of the stemma.

It is precisely the last part of the sentence, pointing out the visual exegesis which follows, which has driven scholars to believe that the text was already followed by a world depiction in the eighth century first version of the work. According to the common features all the later copies unanimously show, the original Beatus map spread across two pages and its general distribution of land followed the Isidorian T-O scheme, with Asia at the top, Europe at the bottom left and Africa at the bottom right, with the addition of a fourth, antipodal part of the world, represented on the right end of the map. Further on, all Beatus Maps show the depiction of the Nile river flowing with a course that goes from the Mediterranean to the Calpes and Atlas mountains, in the same way as it was actually depicted in several early medieval cartographic families, being thus plausible that the archetype already showed it.

Focusing on the *Lorrão* map, and although being rather sketchy, it is today considered as the closest to the original archetype, although not a direct copy. This statement is based on several reasons, being the first one that the *Lorrão* Beatus itself belongs to *Branch I* of Beatus pictorial tradition, which is the most conservative and the oldest one. Further on, the *Lorrão* map forms a homogenous group along with the map included in the *Burgo de Osma* Beatus and to two others that do not belong to the Beatus set of manuscripts, the so-called *Oña* map, and the wall painting located in the Galician monastery of St. Pedro de Rocas (Orense). The oval shape and the depiction of the apostles’ heads are the main features they all have in common and separate them from the Maps of the *Saint-Sever* and the *Navarre* copies, which also belong to *Branch I* of the Beatus pictorial tradition.

Following an idea previously suggested by S. Moralejo, S. Sáenz-López Pérez has recently proposed that these four Beatus maps were not designed to play the same role. According to this scholar, both the *Oña* map (#207.26), integrated in a miscellaneous codex, and the Galician mural map, were copied from a Beatus manuscript to become a visual tool for a *Peregrinatio in stabilitate*, that is, a kind of spiritual exercise that allowed monks to pilgrimage and visit holy places without leaving their monastery.

The closest map to the *Lorrão* depiction is that included in the *Burgo de Osma* Beatus, above all due to the inclusion of a heading describing the fourth part of the world where, according to the *Lorrão* map, *Antipodes* live. However, the text is similar but not the same, as the *Osma* map replaces the mention of the *Antipodes* with the description of the *Sciopods*, and adds a depiction of such a race. The text in the *Lorrão* map continues with a description of the *Antipodes* that has nothing to do with this race but fits instead with the iconography of the *Sciopods*. Therefore, although not retaining either the name of the *Sciopods* or their visual counterpart, the manuscript model used by the author of the *Lorrão* map surely contained a reference to them. The greater conservatism of the Portuguese codex suggests the possibility that it reflects an earlier stage of the *Burgo de Osma* manuscript within the Beatus pictorial tradition.

On the other hand, the *Lorrão* copy shows a very strong relationship with a group of manuscripts illustrating the *Etymologies* by St. Isidore of Seville and copied between the ninth and 13th centuries. As S. Sáenz-López Pérez has pointed out, due to chronological reasons, none of these manuscripts could have served as a model for the prototype of the Beatus map, as the oldest one preserved dates from the 10th century. However, an older manuscript not preserved today could have been the one that served as a model for the first Beatus illustrator. Very similar is, for example, the representation of *Paradise*, a half circular space with the caption *fons paradisi*, from which several streams flow that are to be identified with the biblical rivers of *Paradise*. The relationship becomes even stronger since the description of the *Antipodes* as people with *pedem latum* [wide foot] in the *Lorrão* map is to be compared with the expression *terra de pedes latos* [land of wide feet] included in a zone in Africa that is showed by all the Isidorian maps.

As can be inferred from the features and peculiarities the *Lorrão* map shows, it plays a definitive role to consider the original Beatus world map as an important milestone in the historical evolution of the Iberian cartographic culture. This flourished in Roman times with authors such as Pomponius Mela and was later consolidated thanks to works such as those by Orosius, St. Isidore of Seville and, therefore, the Beatus world maps.

Out of the twenty-eight illustrated Beatus copies that have been found so far, only fourteen retain their world maps, but it is natural to suppose that many of them included it. This fact leads us to consider the reason or reasons why they were removed from their original context, and we can afford two kinds of decontextualization, an aleatory one and a deliberate one.

Regarding the first one, we need to take into consideration that Beatus maps, as it happens with the *Lorrão* map, might be located on a *bifolium*, executed independently of the manuscript binding and later added to it. This could have had a significant outcome: they were less resistant, so they came away easily, out of chance. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the maps were removed from their manuscripts by intentional reasons and for various purposes.

In the case of the *Lorrão* map, it is really hard to know the reason of its detachment from the original codex. We cannot exclude any of the possible reasons – either casual or intentional. However, there are several clues that could be taken into account. The first one is its state of conservation, as the map has been damaged by xylophagous organisms, which have attacked neither the previous nor the following folios of the manuscript. We can thus infer that this deterioration took place after the map's detachment from the codex. In this sense and taken into consideration that both the initial and final folios, and the binding of the manuscript were in turn also affected

by xylophagy, it could be suggested that the Map was at some point placed either at the beginning or at the end of the codex. The second one is the possibility that the map was reused in a cover binding or other manuscript use. Finally, the idea of the map having had this second use leaves open the possibility that the other half which is missing might be found one day as part of the binding of another manuscript.

The *Lorrão* Beatus entered the Portuguese National Archives in the mid-19th century, for the arrival of which there exists two records. The first one dates from 1853 and it was made by historian Alexandre Herculano, who stated that he had received the manuscript directly from the female Cistercian community of the Monastery of Lorrão. The second one is the aforementioned description by José Manuel de Costa Basto, dating from 1860-1868. It has become crucial to explain the reuse of the map.

After arriving in the Archives, the *Lorrão* map seems to have had a life separated from the codex, as can be inferred by several dates. It was surprisingly not included in the great compilation of atlases and maps carried out by the Portuguese Viscount of Santarém between 1841 and 1855. Although he developed his work in Paris, he was at the same time Director of the Portuguese National Archives and should have known of the existence of this map.

No record of the *Lorrão* map was made during the second half of the 19th century and first decades of the 20th century in the major studies on medieval cartography, on Beatus manuscripts or on the *Lorrão* Beatus.



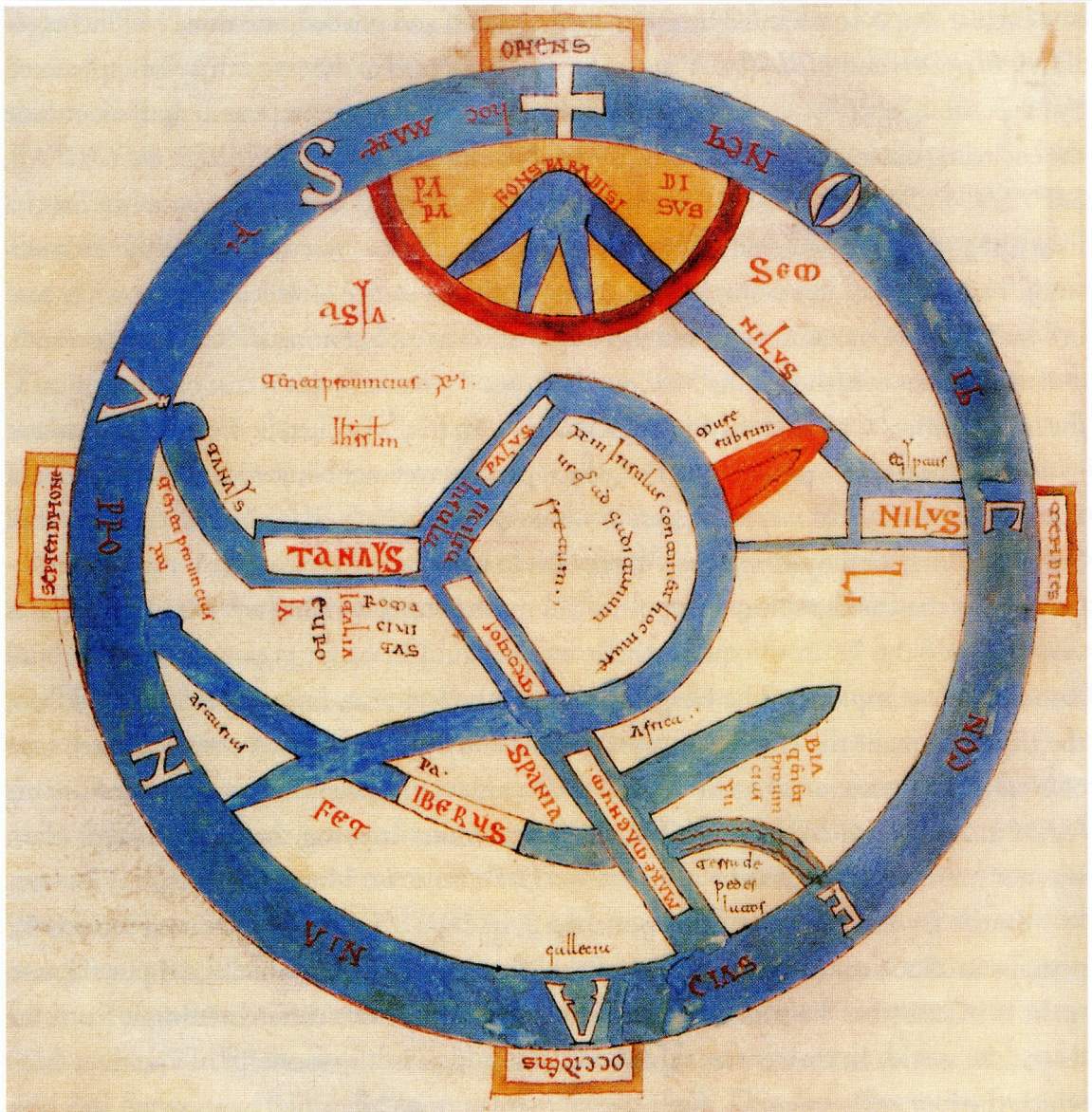
Lorvão Beatus World Map (recto)
Lisboa, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Ordem do Cister, Mosteiro de Santa Maria de
Lorvão, Liv. 44, f. 34bivr PT/TT/MSML/B/44

Conclusion (from Alicia Migue Lez Caveró)

The world map of the 12th century *Lorvão Beatus* plays a definitive role for a better understanding of the world representation included in the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* in the eighth century, which can thus be understood as a landmark in the evolution of the Iberian cartographic culture and one of the most important cartographic works in Early Medieval Europe.

However, the life of the *Lorvão* map has been uneven and marked by several events and misfortunes. With the data provided along Caveró's study, it is possible now to map its whole history: it was created on an independent *bifolium* and then integrated into the manuscript. At a certain point, however, it was detached from the manuscript, a fact that could be due to the kind of procedure in its making, which increased its fragility, although other reasons cannot be excluded, such as to serve as a model for another depiction. On the other hand, the detachment can be dated from medieval times, as in the 16th century the manuscript was provided with a new binding for which all folios were cut but not the Map, which still preserved the original measures. After its detachment from the original manuscript, the world map was reused, if not previously for other functions, at least as a cover of the manuscript, being placed at its end. It was still in such a place when the *Lorvão Beatus* was brought from the Monastery to the National Archives in Lisbon. Here, however, the map was separated from the manuscript, not being replaced into it until late in the 20th century, first at the end of the manuscript and later on in the correct place but in a wrong direction.

To sum up, the main misfortune of this map, which is to preserve just one half, damaged and with a complicated history, can also be understood as a "fortune", as it clearly contributes to a better understanding of the creation of Beatus maps specifically, and medieval maps in general. It also shows the evolution in the appreciation, uses and reuses of medieval pieces in modern times. Finally, it is also a good example to analyze the kind of preservation and restoration procedures that took place during the 20th century, which were no doubt considered appropriate at that time and already surpassed nowadays.



Map of the Isidorean Etymologiae of Sancha & Sancho, 1047
Real Biblioteca de the Monasterio de El Escorial, Madrid (MS & 1.3, folio 177v)

Location: Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, ff.34bisv [I]

Size: 345 x 245 mm.

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