The San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus.

Dating from the first half of the 13th century, this is one of later copies of Beatus *mappae mundi*. The San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus *mappa mundi* is extracted from a 1235 copy of the *The Commentary of the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liébana presently preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, France. This map is circular in shape and its presentation is somewhat different from the others Beatus *mappae mundi*. As a reference, this map falls into Peter Klein’s “Fourth Recension” and Wilhelm Neuss’ *Family IIb* stemma which consists of the following maps:

- Manuscript of Tabara (970). Although its *mappa mundi* has not survived, as we said in reference to the manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* which contain the *mappa mundi*, it must have been very similar to the maps of Las Huelgas and Girona.
- *Mappa mundi* of Girona. (975) #207.6.
- *Mappa mundi* of Turin (first quarter of the 12th century) #207.15.
- *Mappa mundi* of Manchester (ca. 1175) #207.20.
- *Mappa mundi* of Las Huelgas (1220) #207.24.
- *Mappa mundi* of San Andrés de Arroyo (ca. 200 - ca. 1248?) #207.25.

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

- The toponyms are virtually identical between the San Andrés de Arroyo map and those of the other Beatus *Family IIb* maps. Gonzalo Menendez-Pidal recognized the following as being inherent traits of these maps: the inclusion of Cappadocia and Mesopotamia, as well as the addition of the names of *Gallia Belgica* and *Gallia Lugdunensis* (instead of just the basic *Gallias* as shown in the maps of *Family Ila*). These maps do not contain all the references pertaining to the apostolic geography.
- In all of the Beatus *Family IIb* maps there are texts relating to *Dacia*, and to the frontiers between Europe and Asia.
- The elements of physical geography are the same in the Beatus *Family IIb* maps and are shown in a similar way. The ones which stand out are the following:
  1. The Red Sea does not connect the west and the east (except in the *Turin* Beatus), but rather, its course is interrupted before reaching the Far East and penetrates inland, thus forming the Gulf of Arabia. Parallel to it is the Persian Gulf, so that both of them form the Arabian Peninsula. An inland sea, and not the Red Sea, separates off the fourth part of the world.
  2. Among the hydrographic elements, the River Nile stands out, as it has a double branching – western and eastern – the latter branch approaching close to the East African lake. The River Danube branches into four, combined in a two plus two format, which finally join up into a single river: the most southerly branch is the one with the name *flumen Danubius*. None of them disgorge into the encircling ocean, and one of them, possibly the Rhine (named *Ren*) emanates from an orographic feature which we can identify as the *Rhyphian Mountains* (illustrated further to the west than in the maps of the *Family Ila*), or more probably as the Alps, due to their geographical position. The *flumen Eusis* appears to be duplicated in Asia and Europe. In the Iberian Peninsula we find the Tajo and another river, the Guadalquivir or the Guadiana. A North African river rises among some mountains next to an area occupied by
the Garamantes, Baggi and Getuli and flows towards the interior of the continent. In Mesopotamia there is a river that could be the Tigris or the Euphrates.

3. These mountain chains are shown merging in a similar way to the Pillars of Hercules, except in the Las Huelgas map, where they appear parallel. The Caucasus Mountains are the source of the Asiatic flumen Eusis. In Armenia there is another mountain. In Asia we also find the Lebanese Mountains; Mount Carmel; Mount Sinai; a mountain in Arabia; as well as others in the vicinity of Antioch and India. In the northeast of Europe we see the Rhyphaean Mountains, which, in comparison with the maps of Family IIa, seem to have been displaced towards the west, although they might be the Alps. The French Alps and the Pyrenees are shown as being parallel. A mountain in the center of Europe, which is not named, becomes the source of the European flumen Eusis. In North Africa there are three mountain chains arranged in a parallel form and perpendicular to the Mediterranean Sea. There is also a mountain in the region settled by the Garamantes, Baggi and Getuli, which is the source of a river that flows out into the Mediterranean Sea. In West Africa are the Pillars of Hercules. To the south of them, are the montes at luni. Parallel to the Red Sea is a mountain chain that is unidentified.

4. The islands have a rectangular shape, except in the Las Huelgas map, where one also finds similar irregular shapes and orographic elements in the encircling ocean, and in the San Andrés de Arroyo map, where they are oval with wavy outlines. The number of islands increases in the maps of Family IIb, and curiously more of them are unidentified, compared with only one island lacking a name in the far southeast of the world in the maps of the Family IIa. Perhaps, in addition to modifying the islands into decorative features, the reason for the absence of names could stem from the unreadable nature of the island toponyms in the reference map. In the maps in this group, the islands are also shown both in the encircling ocean and in the Mediterranean Sea, except in the map of San Andrés de Arroyo, which shrinks the Mediterranean into a narrow channel of water, as if it were a river, and hence, its islands are transferred into the ocean. Thus we find in the encircling ocean of this map the following islands, starting from the east, clockwise: Cecilia; Sardinia; Bitinia insula; Tile insula; Maiorga; Lino de Suez; Anglia; Irlanda; Scocia; and [...]archia. In the remaining maps, the islands of the ocean are as follows: Taprobane; Chryse and Argyre; an unidentified island to the far southeast; Scaria insula (now lacking a name); the Fortunate Isles; Ireland; Great Britain; Thanatos; Thule; and an unidentified island in the Manchester map. Many of the numerous islands of the Mediterranean Sea lack any identification or are now unreadable. The following can be recognized in some maps, from west to east: Corsica; Crete; Sicily; Samos; Tarsus; and Cos.

5. The northeastern zone of the world is described as desert and a sandy area.

6. The Earthly Paradise is illustrated by means of original sin (in the San Andrés de Arroyo map, Adam and Eve, named Adam and Eua, cover their groin areas with leaves indicative of the fact that the “original sin” has
already been committed as explained in *Genesis*; also the tree with the serpent coiled on its trunk is shown outside the *Earthly Paradise* with dried up branches without leaves, again alluding to the commission of the original sin.

7. There is no homogeneity in the depiction of cities within the maps of this Family group, and this ranges from their total absence to a truly profuse decoration: the maps of *Girona* and *Turin* do not include any image; that of Manchester shows only the city of Jerusalem; that of *Las Huelgas* enhances the decorative interest by including, besides Jerusalem, the images of Ascalon and Babylon; and lastly, the *San Andrés de Arroyo* map shows all the cities, and also illustrates with symbols of cities certain elements of the physical or human geography.

8. There are drawings of fish, marine animals and ships in the encircling ocean. By contrast with *Family IIa*, those of *Family IIb* display a certain tendency towards introducing sea monsters, especially the maps of *Girona*, *Manchester* and *San Andrés de Arroyo*.

9. All display the characteristic “fourth part of the world”, the land to the south and independent of the *oeicumene* (Europe, Africa, Asia), separated by a water feature and, although inhabited by antipodeans or *sciopods*, is said to be unknown to us because of the heat of the sun. Unlike many of the Beatus maps, the *San Andrés de Arroyo* map does not include a caption here.

The *San Andrés de Arroyo* map is oriented win East at the top. Unlike the other Beatus maps in the *Family IIb*, this map does not label the any of the three continents (Europe, Africa or Asia). However, the legend *Hic caput Garope* [here begins Europe] and *Hic finis Asie* [here ends Asia], between Europe and Asia, is marked. The name *Garupe* which appears in the maps of the *Family IIb* must be interpreted as an orthographic error for Europe.

As is commonly found in medieval cartography, in terms of the water that covers the earth’s sphere, the *mappae mundi* of the Beatus codices only show the watery mass which surrounds the emerging earth, almost as a surrounding river. In the *San Andrés de Arroyo mappa mundi* the encircling ocean is represented by wavy lines that simulate the movement of the water. Due to the limited space available, ships, fauna and sea monsters are relegated to the ocean. While conventionally drawn, the ships of the *San Andrés de Arroyo* map have a double stern and a larger shipboard than the ones pictured on the other Beatus maps, with a sculling oar or a tiller on the starboard side, and these are the only ones which boast a set of masts and sails, the latter consisting of a large single square sail. The ships in this map are undoubtedly the most nautically complex in the entire cartographic corpus of the Beatus codices, which perhaps reflects the level of complexity attained by the Castilian fleet in the 13th century. Perhaps they can be identified as being a *cog*, a merchant vessel that was typical of the Cantabrian Sea. Its degree of modernization is surprising, as it includes a rudder oar that was only introduced in the 13th century. Also, they have two people on board, arranged at each side
of the mast, who are shown in slightly varying positions in the five ships represented, either seemingly arranging the sail, or holding the rudder. There is no proportionality between them and the ship in which they are travelling. The hull is decorated with different motifs: cross shapes, geometric figures or stylized plant-like forms.

In the far west of the encircling ocean in the San Andrés de Arroyo map there is a pretty yellow animal. Initially we might think that we are seeing an octopus, in other words a cephalopod mollusc opening its nine (not eight, as would be correct) tentacles, revealing what appear to be its suction pads in the form of circles, and with an expressive face, with a nose, eyes and a smiling mouth. However, comparing this creature with those that we find in other works enables us to identify it as a starfish. However, it is of tremendous interest that the starfish appears located in the far west of the mappae mundi, and that, in the same manner, the De natura rerum (7, 73) places this creature in the western sea:

The starfish is found in the western sea. It has the shape of a star with little flesh inside and a very hard rind outside. Aristotle and Pliny say that this fish contains such fiery heat that it scotches all things it touches in the sea. If it eats any animal, there is immediately found in its stomach something as hard as bread that has been baked twice).

In addition, in the San Andrés de Arroyo map there is a depiction in the encircling ocean of a creature with an elongated body and tentacles reminiscent of a squid.

Aside from these realistic fauna, in the maps of Family IIb, specifically in the maps of Girona, Manchester and San Andrés de Arroyo, we find the encircling ocean infested with hybridized monstrous entities, and even people at the bottom of the sea. On the one hand, we should mention the sirens. This type, the half-woman, half-fish is the one that is depicted in the maps of the Beatus codices, specifically one appearing in the Manchester map, in the far southeast of the world, and two in the map of San Andrés de Arroyo, in the north and south of the encircling ocean. This is not surprising, given that this typology is more widely publicized in the Bestiaries of the 12th and 13th centuries, which were the founding sources for the dissemination of this model within mediaeval art.
The San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus map, 1220-48, 39.8 x 37.6 cm
Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, na Lat. MS 2290, ff 13v-14r
Both the siren of the Manchester map and those of the map of San Andrés de Arroyo have a single scaly tail. One of the main differences in the depiction of this motif in both maps lies in the emphasis given to their sexuality. Whilst in the San Andrés de Arroyo map the clear form of the female breast is drawn, with the further enhancement of femininity due to its long hair, the siren of the Manchester map has short hair and its torso appears masculine. Perhaps we might explain away this detail due to the lack of skill in illustrating a nude woman, something that is perceived also in this same map in the depiction of Eve.

As regards the significance of the sirens in these maps, Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx avers that they are cosmic symbols, or rather we should say geographic or hydrographic ones, as with the fish and the ships in the maps of the Beatus codices. Their identification as aquatic symbols lies in the fact that they appear to be cut out against a wavy background simulating water, as in the map of San Andrés de Arroyo. The assigned
meaning of the sirens in the Christian Middle Ages was that of temptation, and although perhaps in the maps of the Beatus codices they lack this meaning, we should stress that in the examples of the San Andrés de Arroyo map one finds a certain echo or influence of the traditional symbolism. In this map, both sirens direct their gaze towards particular ships and their crews, and using a gesture of their hands they seem to evince the notion of a seductive chant, with which they are depicted back to the time of Homer’s Odyssey (eighth century BC) and frequently in the mediaeval Bestiaries.

Also in the San Andrés de Arroyo map, a quadruped animal with a long tail is walking along the bottom of the sea. In the far west of the encircling ocean, one finds the depiction of a naked individual fighting two monsters who, like sea serpents are coiling themselves around his body; one biting the other, while the latter, grasped in the arms of the man, sticks out its tongue in an expressive way. Possibly the origin of this image should be sought in the personifications of the Ocean and the Sea, generally associated with the goddess Thetis, due to the serpents which are coiled around her arms. Thus, this figure, along with the ships, fish and sea monsters in the maps of the Beatus codices, would be a symbol of the depiction of water.

Regarding the arrangement of the fish in the maps of the Beatus codices, except in the Beatus mapa mundi of Escalada where they are swimming in two rows, in the remainder they are shown one after the other, alternating in a more or less regular way with the ships and the islands. Just as we find a greater richness of varieties in the maps of Family Ib, so do we also note in them a greater dynamism when the creatures are placed in a chaotic manner: swimming in different directions, criss-crossing, intermingling and interlinking with each other. They appear to be chasing each other and hunting each other, as we can appreciate in the maps of Girona, Manchester or San Andrés de Arroyo, where they are biting each other.

In the San Andrés de Arroyo map the Mediterranean Sea is conceived in the form of a narrow channel of water identical to the way that rivers are shown, and, due to the lack of space, as we have mentioned, its islands are transferred to the encircling ocean. Also in this map the Mediterranean Sea is curiously elongated from west to east, linking the two ends of the ocean and traversing the entire earth, so that it both separates the European and African continents and divides Asia into two. No other major seas are displayed, such as the Adriatic, Black, Caspian, etc. And unlike many medieval maps, the Red Sea is not colored red.

The horizontal river going left from the Mediterranean represents the Tanais River [i.e., river Don] flowing into the indistinguishable Black Sea, with the Black and Aegean Sea strung along the river’s line. On the European side of the water, to the right of the two rivers flowing into the sea is the city of Constantinople, marked with a banner bearing a red cross, with Thessalonica to its right. On the right of the vertical Mediterranean, is the river Nile marking the border between Africa and Asia with its downward curving path. The floral depiction at its end is the lake (lacus) which was assumed to be the source of the Nile. To the east of the lake we can see India (?). This terminology was often used very loosely to indicate eastern far-away lands. In this case it could to be assumed as referring to Ethiopia. The San Andrés de Arroyo map is the only Beatus map that displays the Jordan River as a single-branch river, possibly due to the fact that the tree of the Earthly Paradise is located in the space reserved for the other branch of this river.

Specific provinces are represented by vignettes of buildings and churches and the mountains by piles rocks, all richly colored. The fourth continent in the south (right)
is very small and bears no inscriptions. The *Earthly Paradise* is at the top (colored in green to emphasize the luxuriant garden of Eden), with figures of Adam and Eve trying to cover themselves. The surrounding ocean is full of fish, sailing boats, floating islands and a dragon. Although the map names many towns and countries, their relative positions are, at best, very approximate.

In this map the legend *Armenia* appears next to the large pile of rocks (a mountain) at the top center-left of the map, between the two unnamed rivers, which we can assume to be the Euphrates and the Tigris. Below, to the left of Armenia is the province of Cappadocia, which is shown sandwiched between mountains of Armenia and Mons Caucasus. There are no other Caucasian provinces depicted.

The mountains to the right of *Paradise* are (from the top) *Mons Liban* [Mount Lebanon], *Mons Syriay* [Syrian Mountains], *Mons Syna* [Mount Sinai] and *Mons Carmel*. *Ihrlm* [Jerusalem] is located directly below Adam’s heel followed by Askelon and Judea. Although the shapes of the mountains and ranges are similar to those of the maps in the Beatus Family IIb group, the interior decoration is very different. The filling of the orographic features is done using very angular geometric shapes, in varied colors, different from the color of the background which agglomerates these shapes.

Inside the territory of Europe the map shows many vignettes and toponyms. In order to accommodate all of these names and to make space, the boundaries of Asia have been pushed upwards. *Anglia* [England] is the second island in the group of four islands located at the lower left of the map, with *Irlanda* [Ireland] to its left. *Scocia* [Scotland] is inexplicitly pushed far eastward and appears at the top left of the map near Armenia. With regard to the depiction of Great Britain here, the map of *San Andrés de Arroyo* duplicates the portrayal of these islands and shows them, on the one hand, with their old names, *Scocia* and *Bitinia*, and, on the other, with the updated names, *Irlanda* and *Anglia*. It is worth noting that the name is not the only difference between them, but also their placement on the map. Whereas the isles of *Scocia* and *Bitinia* are in the Far East and south, respectively, in other words, far from their real location, *Irlanda* and *Anglia* are opposite the coasts of Europe, with the second island being the southernmost, as in the Beatus maps of *El Burgo de Osma* and *Milan*. But, aside from the updating of the names, perhaps we can surmise that the showing of these two latter islands in their correct position and the placing of the two others with the older names far from the European coastline might also be interpreted as an indicator of modernization.

In the cartographic corpus of the Beatus codices, Constantinople is given greater importance in the map of *San Andrés de Arroyo*. It does not stand out architecturally in relation to the other cities which are portrayed as Gothic castles, and it is even one of the smallest on the map. It presents only one block and three towers, a central one that is notable for its height and another two side-towers at the ends of the building. However, it is marked with the anagram of the cross. Although the name of this city is somewhat separated from the image, we can link its image with the place-name, as the latter is also identified by a cross. These small *pattée* crosses of a red color are the only ones in the entire map. No other city, not even Jerusalem, displays them. The fact that Constantinople is singled out in this
manner as a center of Christianity might be linked to the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) that culminated in the conquest of Constantinople, the sacking of the city and the formation of the Holy Roman Empire. The illuminator of the map of San Andrés de Arroyo would have known of this historic event and, again, highlighted it as part of the modernization process to which these maps are subjected. Just as in the case of Constantinople, Rome is mentioned in all the maps of the Beatus codices. The map of San Andrés de Arroyo illustrates the city of Rome, although it does so by showing it as a model city without any emphasis, and it even shrinks it down to a smaller drawing, similar to the city of Jerusalem. It is depicted as a slender tower that breaks up the place-name into two syllables Roma.

The isla de Thule [Thule] is depicted in all the maps of the Beatus codices, except for the Navarre map. It constitutes the most remote island in the encircling ocean, as we find in the evidence that comes down from the geographers of Antiquity, who place it at the far northwest of the world. This is where the maps of the Beatus codices place it, with its position being slightly more northerly in the maps of El Burgo de Osma, Milan and especially Saint-Sever. In the San Andrés de Arroyo map, however, it is moved to the far southwest. Paulus Orosius comments on this island in his Seven Books of History Against the Pagans (I, 2, 79): “The island of Thule, which, separated from the others by an indefinite space and situated in the middle of the Ocean toward the northwest, is known to barely a very few”. And by St. Isidore in his Etymologiae (XIV, 6, 4): “Ultima Thule is an island of the Ocean in the northwestern region, beyond Britannia, taking its name from the sun, because there the sun makes its summer solstice, and there is no daylight beyond this. Hence its sea is sluggish and frozen”.

As mentioned earlier, the map in the San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus, which was made ca. 1220-1248, is artistically more sophisticated than some of the other Beatus mappae mundi, with many images of cities, and the mountains are imaginatively depicted as piles of rocks; and it has a dramatic color palette different from those of the other Beatus maps: the earth is burgundy/purple, and there are stripes of white in the water.
A siren beside a ship in the southern ocean in the San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus; the siren’s dancing gesture indicates that she is singing to the sailors on the ship.
An aquatic dragon, a personification of Ocean wrestling with two sea serpents, and a starfish in the western ocean on the San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus. Also shown are the cities of Seville (not shown on another Beatus mappae mundi), Baetica and Toledo.

Constantinople and the Rhyphian Mountains
A miniature inserted in the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liebana (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, NAL 2290, ff. 13v-14r) near the bare and inhospitable Riphean mountains, the city of Constantinople is marked by a church which is vaguely gothic, far from what would have been understood as “Byzantine Architecture”, even in a 13th century monastery in northern Spain. The buildings associated with the toponyms of Chalcedony and Cappadocia, both of which were administrated by Greeks during the Latin Empire of Constantinople, these two churches exhibit vague byzantine shapes, far from the salient façade shown by the Constantinople image.

Between the 10th and 13th centuries, a number of mostly Spanish scribes and illuminators produced an extraordinary series of volumes known today as *Beatus manuscripts*. At last count, 29 full or partial illustrated manuscripts survive. They take their name from the text’s compiler, the Benedictine monk Beatus of Liebana (d. 798), of the monastery of San Martin de Turieno in the valley of Liebana in Asturia, northern Spain. The text that openly plunders earlier, mostly patristic sources is a commentary on the New Testament’s last book, *Revelation*, or the *Apocalypse*, which by its very nature is a rich and exciting source of visual imagery. Beatus completed his commentary in 776 and revised it twice in the 780s, yet no manuscript survives from his lifetime. He explained that he chose the Apocalypse in anticipation of the end of the world, a subject also at the heart of the book.

Many of the illustrations gracing extant Beatus manuscripts are so masterfully rendered that they arguably outshine all other Spanish medieval manuscripts. The manuscripts usually conform to a format of 68 sections, following the structure of Beatus’ commentary, each section ending with an illustration. Most illustrations directly refer to biblical verses, but a small number were inspired by the commentary. The world map was one of these, and appears in only 14 surviving Beatus manuscripts.

His text specifically refers to the map in a passage about the 12 apostles and the various lands associated with them:

This is the church reaching throughout the world. This is the sacred and select seed, the royal priesthood disseminated throughout the world. They were few but select and from this small seed arose a great harvest. We have faith in and
possess this Church, and that which was evangelized before these is not Christian but will endure perpetual anathema, excommunication, that is, perdition when the Lord comes. And this is shown to greater effect-these grains of seed scattered in the field of the world which the prophets prepared-by the pictorial formula attached.

As with all the Beatus manuscripts, there has been much debate over the decades about the meaning, heritage and sources of the Beatus maps. The maps are usually claimed to derive from the simple three-part map of Isidore’s Etymologies (#205), and Beatus scholar John Williams has argued that they also draw heavily on Orosius, a student of St Augustine of Hipp, and Tyconius. On stylistic grounds, historians have divided the Beatus volumes into three major branches, known as I, IIa and IIb, to account for changes over the centuries. The Arroyo falls into the type called IIb.

A most important feature of Beatus maps is their depiction of a fourth continent at the south. Whereas Isidore of Seville only referred in writing to a fourth, inhabited continent, Beatus maps actually depicted it. Some IIb maps contain an inscription denoting it as a 'fourth part of the world'. The Arroyo's inscriptions are minimal, and indeed there are no inscriptions on this continent, which is to be found on the right-hand side. Similarly, whereas a 10th century example populates the map with the busts of the apostles, the Arroyo, like other later versions, depicts the apostles in a miniature on the leaf preceding the map.

PROVENANCE: The manuscript was purchased by the Bibliotheque nationale de France in 1882 from the Cistercian convent of San Andres de Arroyo, Spain, where it is believed to have been held for centuries. Folio 167 of the volume carries a handwritten note, dated to the 14th or 15th century, that reads, 'Conventus Sancti Andree de R', suggesting the manuscript was in their possession from at least that time.
The San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus map, 1220-48, Bibliotheque Nationale Paris
An outline copy of the San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus map

**Location:** Bibliothèque Nationale, NAL 2290, fols. 13v-14r, Paris, France.

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