Colby College

From the SelectedWorks of David M. Freidenreich

2020

What is That to Us? The Eucharistic Liturgy and the Enemies of Christ in the Beam of the Passion

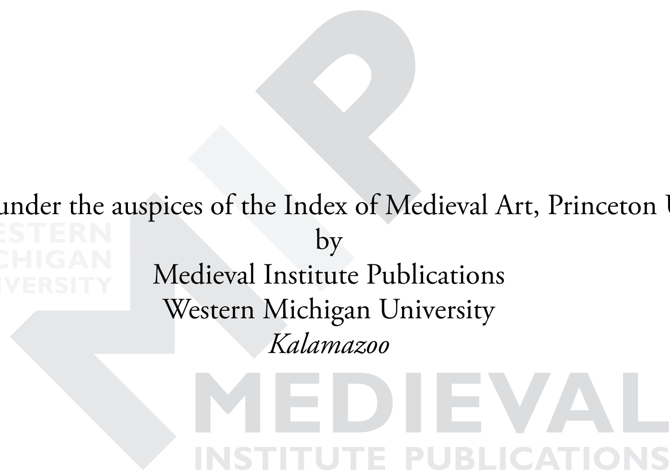
David M. Freidenreich
Veronique Plesch, *Colby College*

Available at: https://works.bepress.com/david_freidenreich/64/

Studies in Iconography

Volume 41

2020



Published under the auspices of the Index of Medieval Art, Princeton University
by
Medieval Institute Publications
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo

For private and
non-commercial
use only

Copyright 2020 by the Board of Trustees of Western Michigan University

Studies in Iconography is supported and administered by the
Index of Medieval Art, Princeton University.
For further details see <http://ima.princeton.edu>.

ISSN 0148-1029

Composed by Kathy Bond Borie

Cover photo: Lessines, *Veil Rentier*, ca. 1275. Brussels, KBR, MS 1175, fol. 116v. (Photo: Royal Library of Belgium.)

For private and
non-commercial
use only

Table of Contents

Articles

Margaret Goehring. Signs of the City: Seigniorial Power and Vernacular Visual Culture in Two Northern French Rent-Books 1

Mati Meyer. The Rhetoric of Aphrodite in the Byzantine Illuminated Book 30

Justin Willson. Reading with the Evangelists: Portrait, Gesture, and Interpretation in the Byzantine Gospel Book 67

David M. Freidenreich and Véronique Plesch. "What is That to Us?": The Eucharistic Liturgy and the Enemies of Christ in the Beam of the Passion 104

Renana Bartal. Text, Textile, Blood: Mary under the Cross in an Illuminated *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410) 131

Louise Marshall. St. Roch and the Angel in Renaissance Art 165

Reviews

Sherry C. M. Lindquist and Asa Simon Mittman. *Medieval Monsters: Terrors, Aliens, Wonders.* By Thomas E. A. Dale 212

Diane J. Reilly. *The Cistercian Reform and the Art of the Book in Twelfth-Century France.* By James D'Emilio 216

Denise Borlée and Laurence Terrier Aliferis, eds. *Les modèles dans l'art du Moyen Âge (XIIe–XVe siècles). Actes du colloque. Modèles supposés, modèles repérés: leurs usages dans l'art gothique, Université de Genève (3–5 November 2016) = Models in the Art of the Middle Ages (12th–15th Centuries). Conference Proceedings. Supposed Models, Identified Models: Their Uses in Gothic Art, University of Geneva (3–5 November 2016).* By Sonja Drimmer 219

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

For private and non-commercial use only

Philippe Despoix and Jillian Tomm, eds. *Raymond Klibansky and the Warburg Library Network: Intellectual Peregrinations from Hamburg to London and Montreal.*
By Karen Lang 222

Rachel Moss, Felicity O'Mahony and Jane Maxwell, eds. *An Insular Odyssey: Manuscript Culture in Early Christian Ireland and Beyond*.
By Carol Neuman de Vegvar 225

Renana Bartal. *Gender, Piety, and Production in Fourteenth-Century English Apocalypse Manuscripts*; and
Richard K. Emmerson. *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts*.
By Alexa Sand 229

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Robert Suckale, and Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, eds. *Painting the Page in the Age of Print*.
By Larry Silver and Debra Cashion 235

Alessia Bauer, Elise Kleivane, and Terje Spurkland, eds. *Epigraphy in an Intermedial Context*.
By Nancy L. Wicker 241

Notes on Contributors 245

For private and non-commercial use only

"What is That to Us?": The Eucharistic Liturgy and the Enemies of Christ in the Beam of the Passion

David M. Freidenreich and Véronique Plesch

The Beam of the Passion, a painted pine beam created in early thirteenth-century Iberia for display above the eucharistic altar, unexpectedly depicts Judas's second encounter with the priests in its central Crucifixion scene. Even more surprisingly, the priests and elders of first-century Jerusalem look like stereotypical African Muslims. Prior scholarship emphasizes the Beam's depictions of Muslims as Christ's enemies, but this work is not ultimately about Muslims. Rather, "Moorish" figures—like the Jewish figures they displace—play an instrumental role in an effort to bolster faith in Christ and the Eucharist. In this respect, the Beam's anomalous iconography illustrates a common dynamic within medieval anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim rhetoric, whose true focus is often a fellow Christian. The full significance of the Crucifixion's Moorish figures and their dismissive *quid ad nos* becomes apparent through analysis of the Beam in its entirety within its architectural, liturgical, and political contexts.

THE DEPICTION OF THE Crucifixion on the Beam of the Passion, an early thirteenth-century work in the collections of Barcelona's Museu nacional d'art de Catalunya, displays a number of highly unusual features (Fig. 1). The scene, a portion of which no longer survives, includes not only Christ on the cross with devoted disciples at his side but also Judas with the priests and elders to whom he betrayed his master. This is an unexpected juxtaposition, as the Gospel of Matthew (27:3–5) recounts that Judas returned the silver coins to the priests—and then committed suicide—well before Christ's Crucifixion. Surprising as well is the fact that Judas in this scene bears a golden nimbus. Still more surprisingly, the priests and elders of first-century Jerusalem look like African Muslims as stereotypically depicted in medieval Iberian art. There can be no doubt, however, that these "Moorish" figures represent the Gospel's Jewish characters: the words these priests and elders spoke to Judas—QVID AD NOS, "What is that to us?" (Matt. 27:4)—appear prominently in the depiction.[1] This scene, and the broader work within which it appears, reinforce core Christian doctrines by contrasting Christ's followers and his enemies. Jews typically serve as the exemplars of un-Christian behavior, but the creator(s) of the Beam of the Passion, active during the era of "Reconquest," regarded Muslims as a more powerful foil.

This strikingly innovative Crucifixion occupies the focal midpoint of the Beam of the Passion's seven scenes, which include the Arrest, the Flagellation, the Road to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, and the Holy Women at the Tomb (Fig. 2). Each of the first four scenes features dark-skinned figures wearing sashes and turban-like scarves. All are portrayed in profile with enlarged eyes, down-turned mouths, and hooked noses. Pamela Patton highlights these figures as exemplars of "Jewish–Muslim conflations in Iberian visual culture," and Inés Monteira Arias situates them among Iberian depictions of Muslims as Christ-killers.[2] To date, however, art

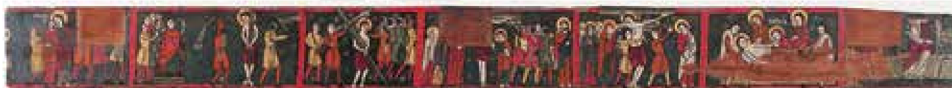
Western Michigan University
Medieval Institute Publications
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 1. Crucifixion; detail from the Beam of the Passion, early thirteenth century; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya. (Photo: © Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya.)

historians have not adequately explained why the anonymous artist who created the Beam chose in this specific work to depart from conventional Passion iconography by depicting Christ’s enemies as Muslims. The answer, we will suggest, rests in the words of the now-Moorish priests and elders: *quid ad nos*. The full significance of that phrase, however, only becomes apparent through analysis of the Beam in its entirety within its architectural, liturgical, and political contexts.

The Beam of the Passion was most probably originally displayed above an altar in a church in or near the Crown of Aragon. Therefore, those in the best position to appreciate its details were participants in the eucharistic liturgy and related liturgical enactments. The logic that underpins the Beam’s unusual iconography is instructive not only for its thirteenth-century viewers, however, but also for art historians and, more generally, for those who study Christian representations of Muslims. The artist employed Moorish figures to frame a timeless Christian challenge in contemporaneous terms: do you, the medieval Iberian viewer, truly believe in Christ as manifest in the eucharistic liturgy, or are you an enemy of Christ like the Muslim warriors of al-Andalus? Prior scholarship emphasizes the Beam’s depictions of Muslims as Christ’s enemies, but we believe that this work is not ultimately about Muslims. Rather, the Moorish figures in the Crucifixion scene play an instrumental role in an effort to bolster Christian faith. In this respect, the Beam of the Passion gives visual expression to a common dynamic within medieval anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim rhetoric, whose true focus is often a fellow Christian.[3]

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY



MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Fig. 2. The Beam of the Passion, early thirteenth century; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya. (Photo: © Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya. For details, see Fig. 12.)

For private and non-commercial use only

In order to unpack the significance of the Moorish priests and elders on the Beam of the Passion, we will analyze these figures within a series of expanding contexts. After examining the Crucifixion, we will interpret this scene in light of the others that accompany it on the Beam. We will then consider the Beam's meaning in relation to the altar and its eucharistic liturgy. Widening our scope further, we will analyze the relationship between the Beam of the Passion and other twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberian depictions of Muslims, before concluding with reflections on how this work of art fits within the even broader scope of pre-modern Christian conceptions of Judaism and Islam.

First, however, some preliminary remarks about the Beam of the Passion itself are in order.[4] Painted in tempera on pine, the Beam in its present state measures 20 cm in height and 230 cm in length. The Beam has sustained noticeable damage over the years and was once longer, but we will argue below that it still contains all of its original scenes. At some point in its history, the Beam was put to a new use, probably as part of a ceiling, and consequently it suffered three rectangular losses that were later filled in with unpainted pine blocks.

The origins of the Beam of the Passion are unknown. Although commonly regarded as Catalonian, it could be the work of an Aragonese or a Castilian artist. Art historians have long recognized similarities between the Beam's paintings and some of the illuminations within the *Liber feudorum maior*, a cartulary associated with Alfonso II, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona.[5] Shannon Wearing, the most recent scholar to take up this issue, makes a compelling case that the Beam of the Passion is the mature work of an artist who served as an assistant during the second phase of the cartulary project.[6] The figures in the cartulary (e.g., the vassal in Fig. 3) and on the Beam (e.g., the nail-bearer in Fig. 4) feature almond-shaped eyes, hooked noses that connect to one eyebrow, mouths defined by two straight lines, a color scheme that emphasizes deep jewel tones, and schematic black lines to represent the folds of garments. Wearing contends that this anonymous artist most likely worked on the *Liber feudorum maior* between 1196 and 1199, although a date as late as 1213 is also plausible.[7]

Fig. 3. *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ca. 1199; Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Cancillería, Reg. 1, fol. 36r. (Photo: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón.)

Wearing's analysis supports the scholarly consensus that the Beam of the Passion dates to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and it may offer suggestive evidence regarding the Beam's patronage and original location. It is noteworthy that Iberian art of this period has sometimes been shown to present stylistic kinship with late twelfth-century English miniatures.[8] We will have occasion to compare the Beam of the Passion to several such works in the analysis that follows.

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 4. Road to Calvary; detail from the Beam of the Passion; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. (Photo: © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.)

Judas and the Priests at the Crucifixion

Why does Judas appear in a depiction of the Crucifixion when he ought to be dead already? Some medieval artists juxtapose the crucified Christ with the hanged Judas; this can be seen as early as the fifth century on an ivory plaque in the British Museum (Fig. 5).[9] In this depiction and others like it, the suicide of Judas appears to the viewer's left to indicate chronological priority. The Beam of the Passion, however, depicts not the traitor's suicide but rather—to the viewer's right no less—Judas's second encounter with the priests and elders. To the best of our knowledge, no earlier or contemporary work of medieval art juxtaposes within the same scene the Crucifixion and the event typically labeled the Remorse of Judas (Matt. 27:3–4).

The Beam's treatment of the Remorse is also unparalleled. Depictions of this scene, a relatively infrequent one in Passion iconography, conventionally show Judas returning the silver coins he received in payment for betraying Christ. In several early thirteenth-century English psalters, for example, Judas turns away from the priests and a pile of coins, his hand raised to his cheek in a sign of despair; to the immediate right, Judas is portrayed again, hanging from a tree (Fig. 6).[10] On the Beam of the Passion, there are no coins, and Judas does not avert his gaze. We do not see Judas's suicide, and there is no reason to interpret his gesture toward his own mouth as an expression of despair (Fig. 7).[11] Judas's facial expression and gesture allude in part to his remorseful confession to the priests and elders, but the Beam's depiction does not focus either on remorse or on Judas himself. The artist, after all, literally marginalizes Judas, whose body overlaps the scene's right-hand frame. The Beam

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 5. Suicide of Judas and Crucifixion, ivory relief, c. 420–430; London, British Museum. (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.)

of the Passion instead draws the viewer's gaze toward the dark figures who obstinately reject the truth—and the Truth, which is to say Christ (John 14:6)—with their dismissive "What is that to us?" The artist emphasizes the significance of this phrase by including its words within the image. The priests and their callous response, moreover, appear near the center of the Crucifixion and, indeed, of the Beam as a whole. To understand this scene, which we might well call the Spurning of Christ rather than the Remorse of Judas, we too need to focus our attention on these dark figures and their declaration.

The biblical phrase *quid ad nos* is quite rare in medieval art, and the Beam's artist transforms its meaning through his singular rendition of the Crucifixion.[12] In Matthew, the priests and elders dismiss Judas's remorse and, perhaps, his insistence that Christ is innocent—the implicit "that" of "what is that to us?" refers to the words Judas has spoken: "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood" (Matt. 27:4). In the present context, however, these dark figures seem to dismiss the significance of the very Crucifixion in which they appear. They stand facing away from the cross, and the arm of the leftmost priest or elder gestures back toward the crucified Christ. The arm of this figure and that of Christ frame the *quid ad nos* text.

The leftward motion of this dark figure's arm, which points toward Christ in a gesture of demonstration, is striking because it is one of the few elements that does not conform to the rightward thrust of the Beam's visual narrative. This gesturing figure calls to mind the customary depiction of the Roman centurion, who often stands to the right of the cross (Christ's left) and whose gesture toward Christ declares his belief in Christ's divinity. The bronze relief depicting the Crucifixion on Bonanno Pisano's doors for the Pisa Cathedral offers a late twelfth-century exemplar of this theme (Fig. 8).[13] In the marble *Deposition* relief that Benedetto Antelami created for Parma's

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 6. Remorse and Death of Judas. Psalter, first quarter of the thirteenth century; London, British Library, Arundel 157, fol. 10r (detail). (Photo: © British Library Board.)

Fig. 7. Judas; detail from the Beam of the Passion, early thirteenth century; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. (Photo: Véronique Plesch.)

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

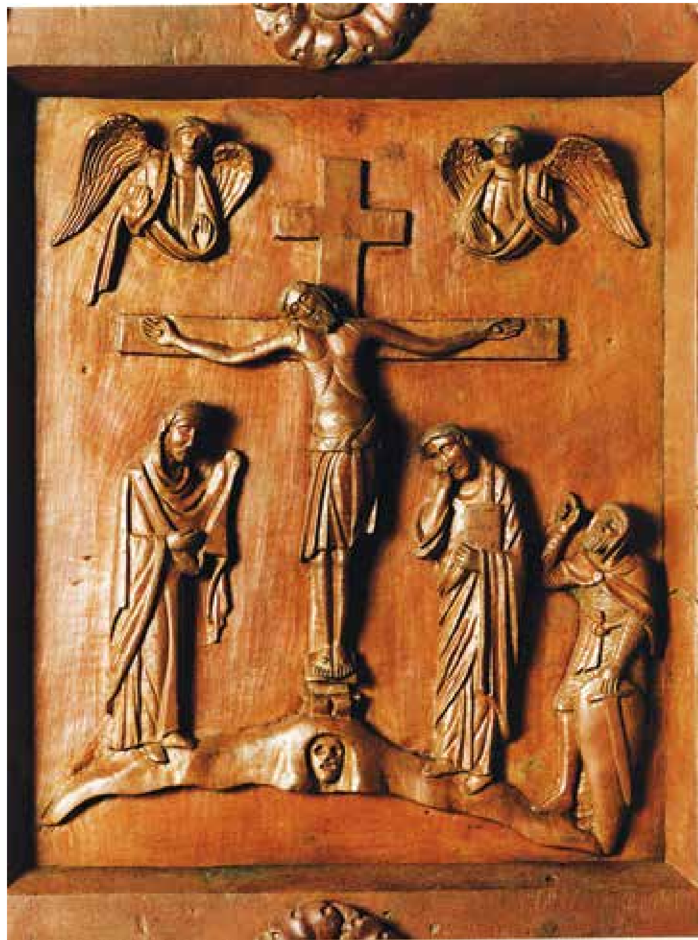


Fig. 8. Bonanno Pisano, Crucifixion, bronze, detail from the Porta di San Ranieri, Pisa Cathedral; 1180. (Photo: A.F.O.P Archivio Fotografico Opera del Duomo di Pisa; all rights reserved.)

cathedral in 1178, the centurion and his utterance, “Indeed this was the Son of God” (Matt. 27:54), appear next to a figure of the unbelieving Synagoga, forcefully contrasting belief and unbelief (Fig. 9).[14] On a late twelfth-century enameled pyx from Lower Saxony, a blindfolded Synagoga stands alone next to the cross in the place of the centurion; Philippe Verdier observed that “she designates Christ as the true Son of God with the gesture usually associated with the centurion” (Fig. 10).[15] The artist of the Beam of the Passion employs a similar approach, alluding to the faithful centurion while portraying his opposite, in this case a Jewish priest who disdains Christian testimony and rejects the salvific power of the Crucifixion.

The Beam of the Passion, however, depicts this representative of disbelief not as a Jew—or, for that matter, as Synagoga—but rather as an African and, more importantly, as a Muslim. As Pamela Patton observes regarding this figure and others like him on the Beam, while their “dark skin, large eyes, enlarged lips, and curled hair conform to medieval stereotypes of Africans,” their scarves and

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 9. Benedetto Antelami, Deposition (detail), 1178. Marble relief, Parma Cathedral. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.)

Fig. 10. The Crucifixion, with personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga, detail from a pyx, ca. 1170–1180; Germany, Lower Saxony (Hildesheim?). The Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund and the Fanny Tewksbury King Collection by exchange, 1949.431. (Photo: Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.)

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 11. Flagellator; detail from the Beam of the Passion, early thirteenth century; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. (Photo: Véronique Plesch.)

sashes assimilate them to Muslims (Fig. 11).[16] Inés Monteira Arias reaches a similar conclusion: "The turban ending in two fringes is a distinguishing sign of Muslims in the art from this era, … there is no doubt whatsoever about the allusion to them in this image."[17] Monteira Arias draws attention to a variety of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century sculptures that depict Muslims as black Africans and suggests that this imagery derives in part from the presence of black Africans in the Muslim armies of al-Andalus.[18] More broadly, medieval writers understood the very term "Moor"—*moro*, the standard translation of the Latin term for a Muslim, *sarracenus*—to mean "dark-colored."[19] The artist consistently depicts these Moorish figures in profile, their ugliness signifying their villainy; the only similarly depicted figure on the Beam is Judas following his betrayal of Christ.[20]

In stark contrast to the dark, Moorish priests and elders to whom he confesses, however, Judas bears a bright nimbus in the Crucifixion scene (Fig. 7). Medieval depictions of a nimbed Judas are rare but not unheard of: the Index of Medieval Art alone lists dozens of exemplars.[21] Although some of these nimbuses are darkened to signify Judas's evil nature, many are not. In some of these cases, Judas's golden nimbus seems to have no iconographic significance beyond simply reflecting his identity as an apostle. In a scene on a leaf from the twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter, for example, Judas even wears a golden nimbus while performing the distinctly unholy action of receiving his payment from the priests.[22] Judas lacks a nimbus in the Arrest scene on the Beam of the Passion, however, so the artist probably sought to make a point by including it when he depicted the Spurning of Christ.

The bright nimbus, we suggest, serves to highlight the stark contrast between Judas's remorseful testimony about Christ's innocence and the scornful dismissiveness of the priests and elders. Judas's portrayal with a nimbus may also have been intended to express the power of confession, as Judas acquires this attribute at precisely the moment that he acknowledges his sin to the priests and seeks atonement. Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) required Catholics to perform the

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

ritual of confession at least once a year. The same canon also mandates that every Catholic receive the Eucharist at Easter, thus emphasizing the link between confession and a primary theme on the Beam of the Passion. Judas's behavior in his second encounter with the priests, moreover, exemplifies the three required aspects of penance identified by St. Bonaventure later in the thirteenth century: contrition, verbal confession, and satisfaction.[23]

In this context, Judas's gesture toward his mouth refers to the declaration that the priests and elders reject with their scornful *quid ad nos*. That testimony includes, but may not be limited to, Judas's acknowledgment that "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood" (Matt. 27:4). The gesture could also allude to his act of kissing Christ: some medieval authorities assert that Judas's mouth became sanctified as a result of its contact with Jesus. Petrus Comestor, for example, explained that Judas's mouth was too sacred for his damned soul to pass through it, which is why Judas's soul left his body through his burst bowels.[24] In addition, the gesture might remind viewers of the devil entering Judas's mouth at the Last Supper, a common iconographic motif in renditions of that scene.[25] No matter: the priests care nothing for Christ's innocence and sanctity, nor even for the fact that they, like Christ's traitor, acted in service of the devil. In comparison with these figures, even Judas is positively saintly, for he at least recognizes Christ and the sinfulness of his own behavior.

Muslims and Holy Women across the Beam of the Passion

The Beam of the Passion establishes an even stronger opposition between its Moorish figures and the Holy Women. Also known as the Three Marys, these women lovingly and reverently lean toward Christ in the Crucifixion scene (Fig. 1). In so doing, they also face Saint John the Evangelist, who stands holding his Gospel at the foot of the cross. The Moorish priests and elders, in contrast, spurn Christ and the Gospel as they turn their backs toward and move away from the cross, rejecting even the truth expressed by Judas. The stark contrast between the three faithful women on Christ's favored, right-hand side and the three scornful Muslims on his sinister side underpins the Crucifixion scene and, indeed, the entire Beam of the Passion.

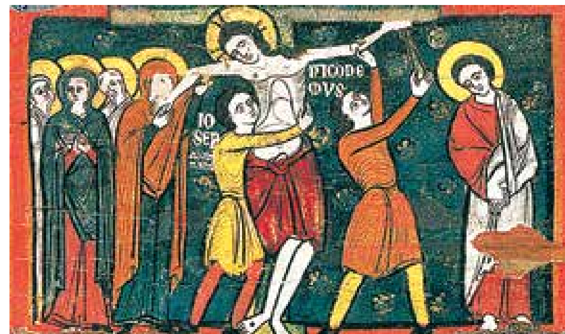
Moorish figures occupy the first four of the seven scenes on the Beam of the Passion. Although the upper bodies and heads of those who arrested Christ no longer survive, the fact that two of these figures wear sashes indicates that at least two of them were portrayed as Muslims. The nimbed Holy Women, meanwhile, appear in each of the Beam's four final scenes, often accompanied by saintly men such as John the Evangelist, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus. The Holy Women and the Muslims—exemplars of right and wrong, good and evil, faithfulness and disbelief—converge at the Crucifixion, but their responses to that pivotal event could not be more different.

The diametrical opposition between Muslims and Holy Women extends well beyond the Crucifixion: the seven scenes on the Beam of the Passion display a chiastic pattern (see Fig. 12). The women's reverent and tender mourning as Christ is taken down from the cross, the scene to the immediate right of the Crucifixion, stands in stark contrast to the Moorish mockers' scornfully demeaning treatment of Christ on the Road to Calvary, to the Crucifixion's immediate left. These scenes are also visually balanced, because in each one Christ is centrally placed and is larger than the other figures. The benevolent care for Christ's horizontal body at the Entombment contrasts sharply with the violence to Christ's vertical body in the Flagellation. Although the initial and final scenes on the Beam are both badly damaged, the rightmost sashed figure in the Arrest evidently bears a weapon,

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Scene 4: *Crucifixion*

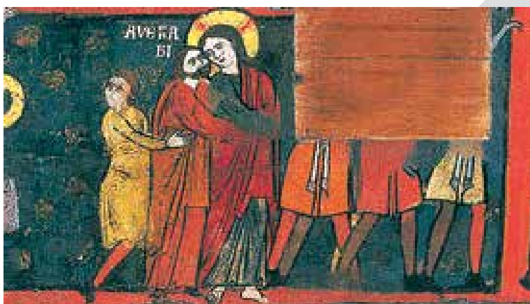
Scene 3: *Road to Calvary*



Scene 5: *Descent from the Cross*

Scene 2: *Flagellation*

Scene 6: *Entombment*



Scene 1: *Arrest*

Scene 7: *Holy Women at the Tomb*

Fig. 12. Scenes from the Beam of the Passion, arranged chiastically; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. (Photo: © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.)

For private and non-commercial use only

while, in stark contrast, the Holy Women in the final scene presumably bore spices and ointments (Mark 16:1, Luke 23:56–24:1). This contrast is reinforced throughout the Beam by the Moorish figures' consistent portrayal in profile and with distorted features, while Christ's faithful bear idealized features and appear in frontal or three-quarter view.[26]

The chiastic structure of the Beam of the Passion is sufficiently clear to conclude that this work did not suffer major losses and originally featured only seven scenes. This conclusion differs from that of Pamela Patton, according to whom "[t]he presence of a fragmentary figure [at the far left of the surviving beam] suggests that the beam was once longer by at least one episode."[27] There is, however, no frame separating that figure from the Arrest, so the figure must belong to the surviving scene. Given the narrative context, the fragmentary haloed figure most likely represents one of the fleeing disciples. Mark 14:50–52 describes this flight, including that of a young man who managed to escape by leaving his coat; authors such as St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, and Vincent of Beauvais understood Mark's *adolescens* as John the Evangelist.[28]

The Beam's creator worked hard to fit the Passion narrative within a seven-part chiastic structure whose fulcrum is the Crucifixion. The artist accomplishes this goal by alluding to Christ's appearance before Pilate in the Flagellation rather than by devoting a separate scene to this episode, as one finds in other thirteenth-century works.[29] Because of this arrangement, the tension between Christ's followers and his enemies extends across the entirety of the Beam of the Passion in perfect balance. This balance hinges on one's response to the question that the priests and elders pose regarding Christ's Crucifixion, "What is that to us?" The juxtaposition of the Holy Women and the Muslims suggests that the beam was designed to offer the viewer two choices: to emulate those who revere Christ or to follow in the path of those who reject him. The artist challenges the viewer to rebut the priests' caustic *quid ad nos* by taking on the role of the absent centurion, who declared that "indeed this was the Son of God."

The Holy Women, after all, evoke the Christians of the artist's day no less than their malicious counterparts evoke contemporaneous Muslims. As C. Clifford Flanigan observes in his analysis of the *Quem quaeritis* trope in liturgical drama, the believers who assemble for the Easter liturgy emulate these women. "Like the Marys of that first Easter they too seek the Lord; like those Marys they too are in the presence of angels and, ultimately, of the risen Lord himself. … It is not merely that the past event of salvation is made present again; the worshipping community of the [thirteenth] century is thought here to become identical with the Marys of the first century."[30] Other saintly figures on the Beam also relate to contemporary members of the Christian community. Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), explaining the rituals of the eucharistic liturgy, "identified the priest holding up the host with Nicodemus and the deacon holding the chalice with Joseph of Arimathea."[31] These figures appear prominently in the Descent from the Cross; they may also appear in the Road to Calvary bearing the instruments of the Passion and again in the Entombment.[32]

The artist labels Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in the Descent, along with Mary in the Entombment and Christ himself on the Road to Calvary. The labeling of figures whose identity is obvious suggests that the labels may have functioned, at least in part, to call attention to individuals worthy of emulation. By contrasting Christ's grotesque and despicable enemies with his faithful and visually pleasing followers, the Beam of the Passion inspires revulsion toward those who reject Christian doctrines and identification with those who model adherence to them. More specifically, the artist employs this contrast to reinforce Christian doctrines related to the Eucharist.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

The Architectural and Liturgical Context of the Beam of the Passion

Christ's persecutors and his followers alike are present in thirteenth-century Iberia: through the repeated celebration of the Eucharist, Christ's Passion is perpetual. The Beam of the Passion, moreover, alludes directly to that celebration, which once took place beneath it.

The Beam is an example of liturgical furniture associated with Catalan Romanesque altars.[33] This work may have formed part of a wooden polychrome baldachin, a type of ceiling-canopy placed over the altar in a number of churches in Catalonia. Its length (currently 230 cm) is similar to that of an early thirteenth-century wooden baldachin from the parish church of Sant Cristòfol in Toses (238 cm). While the Toses baldachin rests on freestanding pillars, other Catalonian baldachins of the period took the form of wooden canopies supported by beams anchored to side walls. An example of the latter, dated ca. 1220, once graced the church of Sant Martí in Tost; its front beam measures 378 cm and supported not only a rectangular wooden canopy but also a forward-facing wooden crest that measures 178 cm in length.[34] Alternatively, as Manuel Castiñeiras argues, the Beam of the Passion "was simply a beam at the entrance to the altar, like the *epistyles* of the Byzantine *temploi*," which marked the holiness of the altar area.[35]

In either case, Castiñeiras is surely correct that we should understand the Beam's iconography and visual rhetoric in light of the eucharistic liturgy—and, we would add, the related liturgical enactments—that took place beneath it.[36] Indeed, as noted earlier, the Beam itself is so narrow (20 cm in height) that those in the best position to appreciate its imagery were the participants in these liturgies and enactments. If the church was dimly lit, then the Beam's painted content would have been readable only from a nearby position, notwithstanding its bold outlines and flat areas of bright color.

The Beam of the Passion alludes to the altar over which it hung through its depiction of Christ's tomb. The speckled stone sarcophagus that appears in the final two scenes—the Entombment and the Holy Women at the Tomb (Fig. 13)—reflects iconographic conventions regarding the Stone of Unction, the slab on which Christ's body was anointed, and which, according to tradition, was indelibly stained red by drops of Christ's blood and white by the Virgin's tears. Mary Ann Graeve observes that twelfth-century Northern European artists transformed the Stone of Unction into a sarcophagus. Artists typically depict Christ's body as lying on top of this box-like sepulchre, as is the

Fig. 13. Entombment and Holy Women at the Tomb; detail from the Beam of the Passion; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. (Photo: © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.)

For private and non-commercial use only

case on the Beam of the Passion. "The reason for this alteration," Graeve suggests, "was to transfer to the sarcophagus the altar meaning which the stone of unction has in [Byzantine] Epitaphioi."[37] Just as the Beam of the Passion depicts Christ's first-century persecutors as present-day Muslims and Christ's devout followers as models for contemporary Christians, it portrays Christ's sarcophagus as equivalent to the very altar that once stood beneath the Beam.

The Beam of the Passion directs the viewer's gaze not only toward its central Crucifixion but also toward Christ's sarcophagus and the altar that stood beneath it. All of the scenes to the left of the Entombment contain features that direct the viewer's eyes in a rightward direction. We enter the left-hand side of the Arrest with a man clad in yellow who steps to the right while extending his right hand toward Judas. The bearded traitor—here portrayed in three-quarter-face with idealized features like the other followers of Christ—likewise advances toward a beardless Christ, his arm embracing Christ in a similar gesture.[38] The three partially obscured Moorish figures on the right side of the scene also stride toward the right: indeed, the feet of most figures in the Beam's opening scenes are turned to the right. In the Flagellation, Pilate and the figures gathered next to him gaze and gesture to the right. This forward motion is of course present in the Road to Calvary, in which Christ and the bearers of the instruments of the Passion march rightward. Although Christ's mockers in this scene face left, their legs angle backward and thus align with the overarching movement toward the right. In the Crucifixion, the Holy Women lean rightward toward Christ and at least two of them gesture to the right. The Moorish priests also move rightward, away from the cross. Even in the Descent from the Cross, which introduces a vertical dimension to the Beam's compositional motion while slowing somewhat the work's rightward narrative thrust, the feet and heads of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus point to the right. The rendition of the Descent from the Cross on the Beam of the Passion presents noteworthy iconographic points of encounter with an anonymous Descent from the Cross from Lleida, dated to the last third of the thirteenth century, now at the Museo de bellas artes de Bilbao. In both, Mary caresses Christ's right hand and Joseph of Arimathea embraces Christ's oversized torso while John the Evangelist stands mournfully to the side.[39]

The rightward motion of the Beam's elements ceases in the Entombment. Christ's attendants lower his body onto his speckled sarcophagus, while the symmetrically arranged mourners and assistants frame Mary in the center of the scene. It is as if we have finally arrived at the Beam's intended destination: the eucharistic altar. The visual stasis of this scene calls to mind the change of pace that the lyrical *Planctus Mariae* introduces into liturgical enactments of the Passion.[40] This element of medieval Passion dramatizations, in which Mary laments at the foot of the cross, became especially important during the twelfth century. The Beam of the Passion alludes to Mary's lament in the Descent from the Cross as well, but carries this lament into the Entombment so as to construct an image that focuses squarely on the Virgin and the sarcophagus-altar.[41]

The angel who sits on this sarcophagus in the Beam's final scene gestures in a rightward and somewhat downward direction. At the edge of the Beam, now partially cut off, are his words ECCE LO[CVS] VBI POS[VERUNT] E[VM], "Behold the place where they laid him" (Mark 16:6).[42] Given the symbolism of the speckled stone sarcophagus, the angel's statement "Behold the place" refers in this context not only to the Tomb of the Sepulchre but also to the altar that stood beneath the Beam of the Passion itself.

That altar was the site not only of the eucharistic liturgy but also of liturgical enactments of Christ's burial and Resurrection. These enactments include the *Depositio*, the "burial" of a consecrated

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Host on Good Friday in a container called a *sepulchrum*; the Easter morning *Elevatio*, in which that Host is raised from the *sepulchrum*; and the *Quem quaeritis*, in which the Holy Women discover that Christ is risen.[43] The final scenes on the Beam of the Passion reinforce the messages conveyed in these Easter liturgical ceremonies.

Texts of the *Quem quaeritis*—named for its opening words, "Whom do you seek?"—and the more dramatic forms often called *Visitatio sepulchri* are widely attested in medieval Europe, including eleventh- and thirteenth-century manuscripts from the Catalonian city of Vic.[44] The *Visitatio sepulchri*, Michael Norton observes, "served as the juncture between the historical and the sacramental rites of the Holy Week liturgy, joining at one moment within the ever-recurring liturgical cycle the salvation offered by Christ through the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist with the long-past, and ever-recurring, events of Christ's passion, death, and resurrection."[45] The Beam of the Passion, like the *Quem quaeritis* and the *Visitatio sepulchri*, reinforces the traditional association between the eucharistic altar and the site of Christ's Resurrection.[46]

The Beam of the Passion alludes to these liturgical enactments in its depictions of Christ's burial shroud, which first appears draped over the shoulders of the attendants who lower Christ's body onto the sarcophagus. In the final scene, a portion of this shroud hovers over the sarcophagus, where it flanks the angel. This shroud features prominently in many depictions of the Holy Women at the Tomb, where it signifies the absence of Christ's body.[47] A similarly elevated shroud appears, for example, in the Lectionary of Sahagún, which Daniel Rico Camps dates to ca. 1180 (Fig. 14).[48] According to Rico Camps, this image alludes to the moment in certain enactments of the *Visitatio sepulchri* in which the white fabric that had shrouded the entombed Host in the *sepulchrum* is raised and displayed. This elevation of the empty shroud, accompanied by the antiphon *Venite et videte locum*, "Come and see the place," demonstrates that Christ is risen. In the Beam of the Passion, a similar iconography, reinforced by the accompanying biblical verse, connects the events of Christ's Passion and Resurrection with those that take place at the altar beneath the Beam.

An image of Christ in Majesty may well have appeared in close proximity to the Beam of the Passion, either on the underside of the baldachin, on the apse, or on the front of the altar.[49] Christ's body, however, is absent from the final scene of the Beam itself. Indeed, it is now the angel who wears the imperial reddish-purple that Christ alone wears in every other scene, a color that appears in no other context. In accordance with the liturgical reading we are proposing, the culminating scene on the Beam of the Passion emphasizes that Christ's body is now present not on the Beam itself but rather *beneath* it, in the form of the consecrated Host.

Nils Holger Petersen reads *Quem quaeritis* ceremonies from around 1200 as a "ritual celebration of, or even effectuation of, the transubstantiation of the host. … The ceremony, in other words, is not only a ritual pointing back to a biblical event, but is a ritual actually taking place in the here and now, pointing to the sacred means of the sacrament of the Eucharist as a perpetual institution."[50] The Beam of the Passion also addresses the present-day miracle of transubstantiation even as it depicts scriptural events. It does so not only through its iconography but also through its three biblical quotations—which, not coincidentally, appear in the initial, central, and final scenes. The angelic declaration, "Behold the place where they laid him," refers to the eucharistic altar beneath the Beam no less than to Christ's first-century tomb. The priests' dismissive "What is that to us?" expresses the rejection of Christ's significance not only by ancient Jews but also by present-day Muslims and, implicitly, by insufficiently faithful Christians. In the Beam of the Passion's eucharistic context, this

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

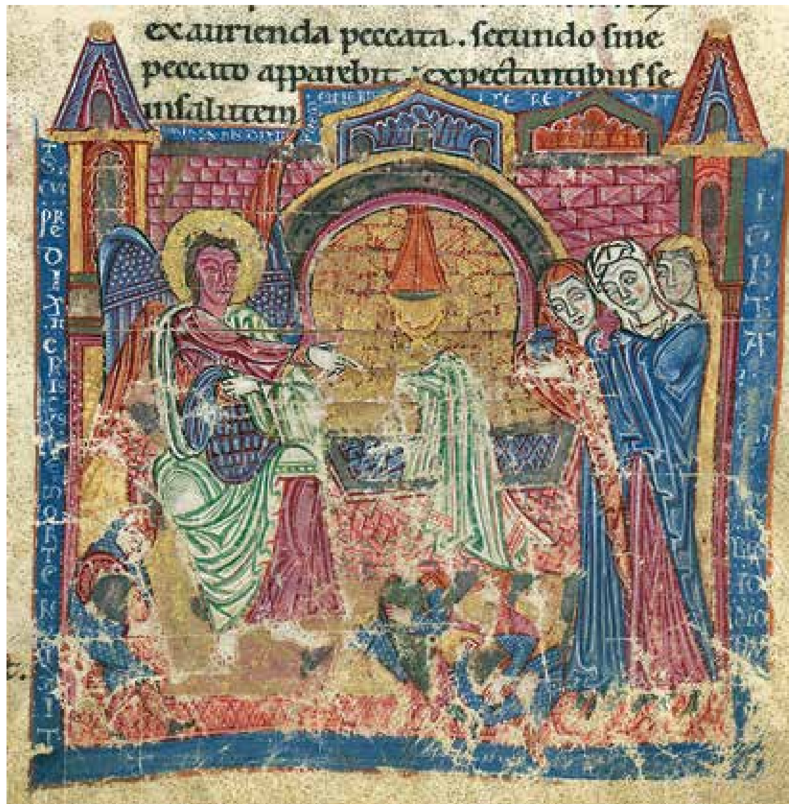


Fig. 14. Holy Women at the Tomb. Lectionary of Sahagún, ca. 1180. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Cód. 9, f. 47r. (Photo: © Real Academia de la Historia.)

rejection encompasses belief in the true presence of Christ within the consecrated Host. The words that launch this entire narrative, Judas’s “Hail, Rabbi!” (Matt. 26:49), are pregnant with meaning as well. Does the contemporary viewer reading these words, like the centurion, recognize Christ’s divinity and hail him as lord and master? Or is that viewer, like Judas, in fact duplicitous and, ultimately, faithless? Does the viewer truly possess the belief exemplified by the Holy Women, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea? Alternatively, is that viewer no better than a Jew—or a Muslim?

The artist goads his viewers toward faith in the efficacy of what happens on the altar beneath the Beam of the Passion by suggesting that those who lack such faith are equivalent to Christ’s enemies. Indeed, the Beam’s Moorish villains reinforce the dogma of the true presence by serving as a negative foil: viewers incline toward faithfulness lest they find themselves mimicking the reviled unbelievers.

Reading Muslims into the Bible in the Era of “Reconquest”

By placing Judas’s second encounter with the priests and elders in the Crucifixion scene, the Beam of the Passion anchors this dichotomy in the question, “What is that to us?” This artist could, however, have conveyed the same contrast using Jewish figures as representatives of Christ’s enemies.

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 15. Herod Persecutes the Infant Christ. Girona Beatus, 975; Girona, Museum of the Cathedral, Inv. 7 (11). fol. 15v (detail). (Photo: Girona Cathedral Chapter; all rights reserved.)

Why did the artist break from iconographic tradition—and, indeed, from the evident meaning of the Gospel narratives—by instead depicting these enemies as Muslims? He makes this change, we believe, because many thirteenth-century Iberians regarded the Christian–Muslim dichotomy as more urgent, more salient, and more compelling than the traditional opposition between Christianity and Judaism.[51]

Conflict between Christians and Muslims features prominently in the artistic programs of several twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberian churches. Numerous works of art from this period depict Christian knights and saints battling and vanquishing Moorish foes; others portray defeated and demonized Muslims.[52] These images cast the ongoing efforts to expand the bounds of Christendom in theological terms, echoing ecclesiastical rhetoric about an Iberian “crusade.”[53] Still other works from this period place Moorish figures into biblical or early Christian scenes. Black figures resembling sub-Saharan Africans who may represent Muslims, for example, participate in the Massacre of the Innocents and execute John the Baptist as well as various early Christian saints.[54] O. K. Werckmeister has shown that the Girona Beatus of 975 depicts Herod himself as a mounted Muslim warrior attacking the Christ child on horseback (Fig. 15). The thirteenth-century *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, the earliest surviving vernacular dramatization of the Three Kings story, also associates Herod and his Jewish counselors with Muslims.[55] Pamela Patton draws attention to a sculpture in the late twelfth-century cloister of Santa María la Mayor in Tudela in which a confederate of the high priest Caiaphas wears clothes associated with Muslims and bears a book with an envelope-flap binding distinctive to the Muslim world.[56]

The Beam of the Passion similarly places Moorish figures into a biblical story in which these figures do not properly belong. The artist evidently intended his viewers to recognize as an anachronism his visual conflation of ancient Jewish priests and elders with present-day Muslims: we can be certain, after all, that thirteenth-century Iberian Christians understood the difference between Jews and Muslims. These viewers likely recognized the anachronistic nature of other depictions of Muslims in biblical and early Christian scenes as well. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

Fig. 16. Tympanum above the south door to the Collegiate Church of San Isidoro, Léon ("the Lamb Portal"); Ishmael and Hagar appear to the far left. (Photo: Courtesy of Antonio García Omedes.)

observe that manifest anachronisms of this nature communicate the contemporary relevance of ancient stories; such anachronisms also reinforce the claim that European churches constitute the successors to the holy sites of biblical Jerusalem. Viewers of works like the Beam of the Passion "can either accept the literal identity [of Jews and Muslims], or simply reflect on the possibility of such identity, on the possibility that the relentless linear sequence of events that humans experience masks a hidden sameness," as Nagel and Wood put it.[57] These viewers could recognize Christ's enemies both as first-century Jews *and* as present-day Muslims; by the same token, they could recognize themselves in Christ's first-century followers.

A well-known example of Iberian anachronism appears on the early to mid-twelfth-century tympanum above the south door of the church of San Isidoro in León (Fig. 16). The relief includes a Muslim warrior on horseback, specifically an archer aiming his weapon at the Lamb of God. The Moorish figure here represents not Herod, as in the Girona Beatus, but rather Ishmael, who, alongside his mother Hagar on the tympanum's far left, stands in opposition to the faithful Isaac and Sarah on the tympanum's right side. This scene, as John Williams demonstrated, adapts Paul's allegorical portrayal of Sarah and Hagar as representatives of Christianity and Judaism respectively (Gal. 4:21–5:1): on the tympanum, Hagar and Ishmael instead represent Muslims, widely regarded as Ishmael's descendants.[58] In the context of the Reconquest, the scriptural command, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son" (Gal. 4:30, cf. Gen. 21:10), takes on a new meaning.[59]

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

The Beam of the Passion likewise adds new layers of significance to a classic contrast between Christianity and Judaism by depicting Muslims in the place of the Jewish priests and elders. Thirteenth-century Christians were aware of—and scandalized by—the Qurʾan's claim that Jesus did not in fact suffer death on the cross (Q. 4:157). Petrus Alfonsi already cites this assertion in his influential early twelfth-century *Dialogue against the Jews*.[60] Mark of Toledo, a contemporary of the Beam's artist, also highlights this claim in the preface to his Qurʾan translation, completed in 1210. According to Mark, Muhammad chose to teach his followers Jewish rather than Christian law. Recognizing that Jews were despised for having crucified Christ, however, he insisted that the Jews did not in fact kill him.[61] Likewise, the Moorish figures in the Beam's Crucifixion refuse to even acknowledge Christ's death, much less recognize his divinity: the dark figures resolutely face away from the cross, and their dismissive *quid ad nos* statement literally separates them from Christ. The Beam of the Passion suggests that the ongoing conflict between Christians and Muslims is nothing less than a battle over the significance of the Crucifixion.

Unlike many earlier (and later) images, however, the Beam of the Passion does not seem designed to inspire anti-Muslim violence. Compare, for example, the depictions of Moorish figures on the Beam with Baldric of Bourgueil's account of a sermon preached beneath the walls of Jerusalem in 1099:

> Rouse yourselves, members of Christ's household! Rouse yourselves, knights and foot soldiers and seize firmly that city, our commonwealth! Give heed to Christ, who today is banished from that city and crucified; and with Joseph of Arimathea take him down from the cross; and lay up in the sepulchre of your hearts an incomparable treasure, that desirable treasure; and forcefully take Christ away from these impious crucifiers. For every time those bad judges, confederates of Herod and Pilate, make sport of and enslave your brothers they crucify Christ. Every time they torment them and kill them they lance Christ's side with Longinus.[62]

This sermon declares that present-day Muslims are "crucifiers" because of their purported treatment of Christians and also that crusaders can act as contemporary embodiments of Joseph of Arimathea—and, indeed, as members of Christ's household—by forcibly seizing Jerusalem. The Beam of the Passion, in contrast, does not portray Moorish figures crucifying Christ. It associates Muslims with the incorrigibly disbelieving priests and elders, not with the violent Longinus or Ishmael, the murderous Herod, or the anonymous executioners of Christian saints. The Beam does not glorify attacks against these Muslims either. Instead, it highlights Joseph of Arimathea and, even more so, the Holy Women, as exemplars of steadfast faithfulness.

The Beam of the Passion invites viewers to contemplate its Moorish figures for the purpose of bolstering their own Christian belief. The Beam's artist does not attempt to arouse its viewers to revile Muslims, as does Baldric's preacher. Rather, the artist seeks to capitalize on the fact that many thirteenth-century Iberian Christians already revile Muslims. For that reason, he frames a perennial doctrinal lesson in bracingly contemporary terms.

Muslims, as representatives of those who reject Christian doctrine, function as a contrastive foil with which to reinforce Christian identity and belief. Jews typically fill that instrumental role, but there is nothing exclusively Jewish about it. As Sara Lipton observes, there is no inherent need to include Jewish figures iconographically marked as such in depictions of the Crucifixion.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

When such figures appear, they exemplify beliefs and practices that Christians might, but emphatically should not, adopt themselves.[63] Jewish and Moorish figures are iconographically interchangeable to the extent that Christians associate Jews and Muslims with the same beliefs and practices, notwithstanding the acknowledged differences between these types of non-Christians. In some rhetorical contexts, Moorish figures are a more effective foil than their Jewish counterparts.

David Nirenberg demonstrates that Christian artists and intellectuals put negative ideas about Judaism to work in a wide range of contexts that have little or nothing to do with actual Jews. Nirenberg makes a powerful case that "anti-Judaism" constitutes not merely an attitude toward Jews and their religion, but also, and more fundamentally, a conceptual tool with which Christians (among others) make sense of and critique the world. The Beam of the Passion demonstrates that medieval Christians used negative ideas about Jews not only "to think about topics as diverse as politics and painting, poetry and property rights," but also to think about Muslims as eternal enemies of Christ.[64] If a viewer of the Beam of the Passion objected that Muslims did not yet exist during Christ's lifetime, its creator could easily respond, *Quid ad nos*? Muslims are not Jews, he might elaborate, but in important respects they are Jewish nonetheless.

More fundamentally, the Beam of the Passion exemplifies how these Christians also used ideas about and depictions of Muslims to express what it meant to be a true follower of Christ. In the context of ongoing military efforts against Muslim enemies, rhetoric that contrasts Christians and Muslims is especially powerful: drive out the "Moorish" beliefs and doubts within yourself, or risk being driven out of the Christian community. Jewish figures serve this contrastive role, but Jews as such are not essential to the project of Christian self-definition that motivates so much medieval art: any similarly constructed enemy of Christ will do.

NOTES

This article emerged from the preliminary research of our student, Anna Spencer (Colby '16), to whom we are grateful both for her diligence and for her permission to make use of her work. We are deeply appreciative of the many individuals who offered constructive criticism of prior drafts, including Pamela Patton, Nils Holger Petersen, Kathryn A. Smith, Debra Strickland, Louis Alexander Waldman, and several anonymous readers. Annie Muller, Sarah Rossien, and David L. Simon assisted in the process of obtaining images and reproduction rights; Antonio García Omedes graciously permitted us to use his photograph of the tympanum at León's church of San Isidoro.

[1] All biblical translations are from the Douay-Rheims version. We employ the term "Moorish" throughout this essay to reflect the pejorative and distorted nature of the Muslims depicted in medieval Christian art.

[2] Pamela A. Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 103–4, 113–19 (quoted: 119); Inés Monteira Arias, "Los musulmanes como verdugos de los personajes sagrados en la iconografía románica: una interpretación actualizada de las Escrituras para combatir el islam en la Edad Media," *Codex Aquilarensis* 23 (2007): 64–87.

[3] On anti-Jewish rhetoric, see Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014); and, more broadly, David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2013). On anti-Muslim rhetoric, see John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), and the forthcoming work of David Freidenreich.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

[4] For an extensive bibliography on the Beam of the Passion, see Laia Pérez Pena, "Viga de la Pasión," in *Enciclopedia del Románico en Cataluña: Barcelona*, ed. José María Pérez González, Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras González, and Jordi Camps i Sòria (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2014), 2:1174–75. References that follow are to English-language works whenever possible; unless otherwise noted, all translations are ours.

[5] Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1. For recent scholarship with bibliography, see Adam J. Kosto, "The *Liber Feudorum Maior* of the Counts of Barcelona: The Cartulary as an Expression of Power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 1–22; and Shannon L. Wearing, "The Death of the Patron: Agency, Style and the Making of the *Liber Feudorum Maior* of Barcelona," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes: Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras, John McNeill, and Richard Plant (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 327–36.

[6] Shannon L. Wearing, "Power and Style: The *Liber Feudorum Maior* and the Court of Alfonso II, King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona (r. 1162–1196)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2015), 159–68, esp.163–64. We are grateful to Shannon Wearing for sharing her unpublished dissertation with us.

[7] Ibid., 173.

[8] The classic study of this phenomenon is Otto Pächt, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain," *The Burlington Magazine* 103, no. 698 (1961): 166–75. On the connections between paintings in the chapterhouse of Santa María de Sigena and English art, see Karl F. Schuler, "Seeking Institutional Identity in the Chapterhouse at Sigena," in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Paintings: Essays in Honor of Otto Demus*, ed. Thomas E. A. Dale with John Mitchell (London: Pindar Press, 2004), 245–56. Schuler notes that the Sigena frescoes, painted around 1190–94, contain allusions to "the struggle against the Saracens" through the "occasional depiction of Moors" recognizable by their dark skin, aquiline nose, and dark beard. The royal monastery of Sigena, located "on recently-conquered territory bordering the Muslim world," housed a female community of the Knights Hospitaller (248–50).

[9] On this work, see Felicity Harley-McGowan, "The Maskell Passion Ivories and Greco-Roman Art: Notes on the Iconography of Crucifixion," in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, and Richard Hawtree (Dublin: Four Courts, 2013), 13–33. For a broader perspective on images of Judas's death, see Benjamin Zweig, "Depicting the Unforgivable Sin: Images of Suicide in Medieval Art" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2014); on this work, see 77–82.

[10] These include BL, Arundel 157, fol. 10r, and Royal 1 D X, fol. 6r (both digitized at www.bl.uk), as well as the Munich Golden Psalter, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 835, fol. 68r (available via www.wdl.org). These psalters were all produced in the same atelier; see D. H. Turner, "Manuscript Illumination," in *The Year 1200: A Background Survey*, ed. Florens Deuchler (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970), 136. The British Library website indicates that Arundel 157 is "[a]ttributed to Hand B of the Munich Psalter (Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm. 835), with possibly an assistant, and the minor decoration to the same artists as that of Harley 2905 and Victoria and Albert Museum, MS L.404–1916." See also Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 2 vols, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 4 (London: Harvey Miller, 1982–1988), I: *1190–1250*, no. 24 (Arundel 157), no. 28 (Royal 1 D X), and no. 23 (Munich Golden Psalter).

[11] No gesture of this type appears in Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976). A similar gesture does, however, appear on one of the (Jewish?) figures in the tympanum of the abbey church of Saint-Pierre at Beaulieu-sur-Garonne. Henry Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), 140–44, contends that the figure on the tympanum is in fact pointing beyond his own head toward Christ; we find this explanation to be unconvincing and, in any event, inapplicable to the Beam of the Passion.

[12] The Beam of the Passion is the sole work listed in the Index of Medieval Art as including a citation of Matt. 27:4. We are aware of just one other work that cites this verse: an illumination in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels (Rossano, Museo Diocesano, Onciale 042), on which see William C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin* 43, no. 3 (1961): 171–95, at 172.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

[13] Depictions of a gesturing centurion at the Crucifixion are common in Byzantine works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By the late twelfth century, this figure is also attested in works by Italian and French artists; in the Iberian peninsula, a gesturing figure who may represent the centurion appears to the left of the cross in the Royal Pantheon of San Isidoro de León (early twelfth century). In a number of Byzantine works, the centurion wears a turban like that of contemporary Muslims: see Henry Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 205–14, at 213; Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, trans. Richard Burgi (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1985), 131. The Beam of the Passion's artist, in contrast, prefers to portray Muslims as implacably hostile toward the Christian faith. On the "gesture of demonstration," see Claude Gandelman, *Reading Pictures, Viewing Texts* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 14–35.

[14] Henry Maguire, "Ivories as Pilgrimage Art: A New Frame for the 'Frame Group,'" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009): 117–46, at 126–28, places this image in the context of Byzantine ivories that depict a gesturing centurion. Recent studies of the Parma Deposition include: Elizabeth C. Parker, "Antelami's Deposition at Parma: A Liturgical Reading," in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross*, ed. Mullins, Ní Ghrádaigh, and Hawtree, 336–51; and Elizabeth C. Parker, "The Politics of the Tunic in Antelami's Deposition in Parma," *Speculum* 90, no. 4 (2015): 995–1018, both with earlier bibliography.

[15] Philippe Verdier, "The Cleveland Portable Altar from Hildesheim," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 61, no. 10 (1974): 339–42, at 339. A high-resolution image is available at www.clevelandart.org.

[16] Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 114. Therese Martin, "Sacred in Secular: Sculpture at the Romanesque Palaces of Estella and Huesca," in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 112, observes more broadly that "stereotyped African features of corkscrew curls and exaggeratedly protruding eyes and lips … were commonly used to represent Muslims by the second half of the twelfth century."

[17] Inés Monteira Arias, "Seeking the Origins of Christian Representation of Islam: Anti-Muslim Images in Romanesque Art (Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries)," *Islamophobia Studies Yearbook* 7 (2016): 86–112, at 102.

[18] Ibid., 99–101; see further Inés Monteira Arias, *El enemigo imaginado: La escultura románica hispana y la lucha contra el Islam* (Toulouse: Méridiennes, CNRS–Université de Toulouse Le Mirail, 2012), 479–88.

[19] In doing so, they followed Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 9.2.122; cf. 19.23.6. See further E. Lévi-Provençal and E. van Donzel, "Moors," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 1986–2004), 7:235–36. The portrayal of Christ's enemies as Muslims reinforces the broader European practice of rendering these figures as dark and swarthy. This practice is well attested in twelfth- and thirteenth-century English miniatures; see, for example, the Winchester Psalter (or Psalter of Henry of Blois, BL, Cotton Nero C IV, fol. 21r, digitized at www.bl.uk), the Huntingfield Psalter (PML, MS M. 43, fols. 20r and 22v, digitized at www.themorgan.org), and the Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester, John Rylands Lib., lat. 24, fol. 150v). See C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 3 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), no. 78 (Winchester Psalter), Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, no. 30 (Huntingfield Psalter), and II, no. 100 (Missal of Henry of Chichester). On the black Muslim in Iberian art, see Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 114–19, and Jean Devisse, "The Black and His Color: From Symbols to Realities," trans. William Granger Ryan, in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, new ed., ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, vol. 2 pt. 1 (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2010), 73–137, at 77–89; Devisse addresses the Beam of the Passion on p. 64.

[20] On the depiction of these figures in profile, see n. 26 below.

[21] https://ima.princeton.edu/. In preparing this study we also consulted the Index's physical card catalog at Princeton University. We are grateful to the staff of the Index of Medieval Art for their research assistance.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

[22] PML, MS M. 521v, digitized at www.themorgan.org. See *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, and Richard W. Pfaff (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 37–38. See also the Last Supper mural from the cathedral church of Saint Mary in La Seu d'Urgell (painted 1242–55, now in the collection of Museu episcopal de Vic), in which Judas and his fellow apostles all bear nimbuses.

[23] "Ipsius autem partes integrales sunt contritio in animo, confessio in verbo et satisfactio in facto." St. Bonaventure, "Breviloquium" 6.10, in *Tria opuscula*, 3rd ed. (Quaracchi: Collegio di San Bonaventura, 1911), 235, quoted in Maurice Accarie, *Le Théâtre sacré de la fin du moyen âge: Étude sur le sens moral de la Passion de Jean Michel* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 261 n. 83. On confession, see Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). For an example of a depiction of Judas's remorse as an embodiment of the sacrament of penance, see Véronique Plesch, "Peter's Three Tears," in *Cultures of Compunction in the Medieval World: Emotion, Contrition and Penitence in the Middle Ages*, ed. Charlotte Steenbrugge and Graham Williams (London: I. B. Tauris, forthcoming).

[24] See Susan Gubar, *Judas: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 2009), 115–16, 167; Paull Franklin Baum, "The Mediaeval Legend of Judas Iscariot," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 31, no. 3 (1916): 481–632, at 518 n. 29.

[25] Contemporaneous English examples of this motif include BL, Royal 1 D X, fol. 5r and Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 835; on these manuscripts, see n. 10 above.

[26] On the significance of profile and frontal or three-quarter view as what Meyer Schapiro calls "paired carriers of opposed meaning," see Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983), 43–46; and Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 211–12.

[27] Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 113. Pérez Pena, "Viga de la Pasión," states without supporting evidence that the Beam once contained not only Christ's prayer at Gethsemane but also the *Noli me tangere* and the Ascension.

[28] It is not unusual in depictions of the Arrest to find a single fleeing apostle rather than an entire group. See Véronique Plesch, *Painter and Priest: Giovanni Canavesio's Visual Rhetoric and the Passion Cycle at La Brigue* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 184.

[29] See, for example, the mid-thirteenth-century Wetter altarpiece, whose seven-scene Passion depicts Christ before Pilate and the Flagellation separately and concludes with the Entombment. Studies of this work include Uta Reinhold, "Das Retabel aus der ehem. Evang-Luth. Stiftskirche zu Wetter," in *Das Aschaffenburger Tafelbild: Studien zur Tafelmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Erwin Emmerling and Cornelia Ringer (Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1997), 151–56; and Daniel Hess, "Das Retabel von Wetter und die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Tafel- und Glasmalerei in Hessen und am Mittelrhein um 1250," *Westfalen* 80, no. 2002 (2005): 245–58.

[30] C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," *Comparative Drama* 8, no. 1 (1974): 45–62, at 55. Flanigan refers to the tenth century, as he describes the ritual nature of the oldest surviving *Quem quaeritis*, from the church of St. Martial in Limoges. Flanigan observes that in this text and its many successors the term *Christicolae*, "followers of Christ," refers simultaneously to the Holy Women and contemporary worshippers. On the *Quem quaeritis* and related liturgical enactments in medieval Iberia, see n. 44 below.

[31] Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 106.

[32] Like Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in the Descent, one of the figures bearing the instruments of the Passion is dressed in yellow and the other in red, and both are depicted with idealized features. This artist, however, is not always consistent in his use of color to identify specific characters. The Holy Women, for example, wear different colors in the Crucifixion and the Descent from the Cross, and Nicodemus wears leggings of

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

a different color in the Descent from the Cross from the red-clad figure in the Road to Calvary. Both attendants who place Christ on the sarcophagus in the Entombment, like Nicodemus in the Descent, wear red tops and yellow leggings.

[33] Shannon Wearing, "Power and Style," 161 n. 352, observes that the Beam of the Passion labels Joseph of Arimathea using the Catalan vernacular IOSEP rather than the Latin IOSEPH, perhaps indicating that the Beam was painted for a Catalonian church. Although stylistic analysis allows art historians to narrow down the Beam's geographic origin, we lack sufficient information to determine its exact original location, the type of church for which it was made, or whether it was placed over the main altar rather than a secondary one.

[34] On this type of structure, see Manuel Castiñeiras, "El altar románico y su mobiliario litúrgico: frontales, vigas y baldaquinos," in *Mobiliario y ajuar litúrgico en las iglesias románicas*, ed. Pedro Luis Huerta Huerta (Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2011), 11–75; Castiñeiras addresses the Beam of the Passion on 49–51. The baldachin from Toses and the canopy from Tost are now at the Museu nacional d'art de Catalunya; the beam and crest from Tost are now at the Museu episcopal de Vic.

[35] Manuel Castiñeiras, "Panel Painting," in Manuel Castiñeiras and Jordi Camps, *Romanesque Art in the MNAC Collections* (Barcelona: Museu nacional d'art de Catalunya, 2008), 130; see further Castiñeiras, "El altar románico," 52–55. See also Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, "Imágenes litúrgicas: la viga de Sant Miquel de Cruïlles (Museu d'Art de Gerona) y la dedicación de su iglesia," in *Arte y cristianismo*, ed. Carmen Alonso-Pimentel and Edorta Kortadi Olano (San Sebastián: Universidad de Deusto, 2007), 329–39, at 330, who suggests that the beam from Cruïlles either formed part of a ciborium that covered the main altar or served as a transversal beam on the triumphal arch.

[36] Castiñeiras, "El altar románico," 55, emphasizes the "intimate relationship that exists between the iconographic program" of painted beams like the Beam of the Passion "and the liturgical function of the altar it frames." See also Manuel Castiñeiras, "Catalan Romanesque Painting Revisited: The Altar-Frontal Workshops," in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 2007), 119–53, at 142–47. Carrero Santamaría, "Imágenes litúrgicas," 330, similarly contends that the beam from Cruïlles possesses a "clear liturgical meaning."

[37] Mary Ann Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova," *Art Bulletin* 40, no. 3 (1958): 223–38, at 230–31. English examples include fol. 23r of both the Winchester and Huntingfield Psalters, on which see n. 19 above.

[38] Christ is commonly portrayed as bearded in Iberian Romanesque and Gothic art. English manuscripts of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, however, often portray Christ without a beard; see Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, "Popular Belief and the Image of the Beardless Christ," *Visual Resources* 19, no. 1 (2003): 27–42, esp. 35. Wearing, "Power and Style," 166, suggests that "the painter of the Passion Beam might have left Christ beardless in order to contrast him with Judas, who is the only bearded figure on the entire beam—such a distinction may have been a means of visually highlighting the deviance of the traitor." On the ways in which beards sometimes signify Jewishness, see the numerous references to this topic in Lipton, *Dark Mirror*. For a thirteenth-century example of the conventional depiction of Judas in this scene, see the Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester, John Rylands Lib., lat. 24, fol. 150v).

[39] On the Lleida Descent, see Jose Luis Merino Gorospe, *Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao: guía* (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2011), 13, no. 2a, *ad vocem*; for an image, see www.museobilbao.com.

[40] See Sandro Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph R. Berrigan (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

[41] This emphasis on Mary and her lamentation finds literary parallels in the roughly contemporaneous work of Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1198–1246), "El duelo de la Virgen." "Los moros" also play a prominent role—albeit as pagans, not as Jews—in Berceo's account of Christ's Passion (stanzas 31–33, 56–57). See Monteira Arias, "Los musulmanes," 72–75; Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 117.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

[42] To the angel's left, only the letters A and RE survive. Laia Pérez Pena, "Viga de la Pasión," 1175, suggests that the RE was originally part of [SUR]RE[XIT NON EST HIC], "He is risen, He is not here," which is the preceding phrase of Mark 16:6. There does not seem to be sufficient space for this entire phrase, although it is possible that the artist only included the verb [SUR]RE[XIT]. Pérez Pena does not explain the A that appears above the surviving RE. Perhaps it identified the angel, or perhaps all three letters originally labeled one of the figures; we cannot, however, suggest a specific reconstruction.

[43] See further Barbara Lane, "'Depositio and Elevatio': The Symbolism of the Seilern Triptych," *Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (1975): 21–30, 27; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), 1:113–15, 219–20, 240–46, and 2:507–13.

[44] *Teatro medieval, volumen 1: el drama litúrgico*, ed. Eva Castro Caridad (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), 73–91, 111–35. On the *Quem quaeritis* in medieval Iberia, see Eva Castro Caridad, "El texto y la función litúrgica del 'Quem quaeritis' pascual en la catedral de Vic," *Hispania sacra: Revista de historia eclesiástica de España* 41 (1989): 399–420; Daniel Rico Camps, "Un *Quem queritis* en Sahagún y la dramatización de la liturgia," in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval: Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*, ed. María Luisa Melero Moneo et al. (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001), 179–89. See also *Historia del teatro español*, ed. Javier Huerta Calvo, vol. 1: *De la Edad Media a los Siglos de Oro*, ed. Abraham Madroñal Durán and Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada (Madrid: Gredos, 2003), 110–16; Noemi Abajo Vega, "Arte románico y teatro litúrgico: las posibilidades de un método en el estudio de la iconografía," *Codex Aquilarensis* 21 (2005): 111–31. For broader studies of the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio sepulchri* ceremonies, see Young, *Drama,* and Young, *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1920).

[45] Michael Norton, *Liturgical Drama and the Reimagining of Medieval Theater* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017), 194.

[46] See Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 22–23, analyzing the instructions regarding Easter liturgical enactments found in the tenth-century *Regularis concordia*. The association of Christ's tomb with the altar can already be found in the *Eclogue de Officio Missae* by Amalarius of Metz (ca. 780–850/1); see Lane, "'Depositio and Elevatio,'" n. 32. For further discussion of the intersection between paschal liturgy and the visual arts, in particular in the Iberian context, see Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, "Crucificados, imaginería y liturgia pascual: la interacción entre el rito y su expresión material," in *Los Crucificados: Religiosidad, Cofradías y Arte*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (Madrid: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2010) 75–92; and Abajo Vega, "Arte románico."

[47] The Index of Medieval Art contains dozens of exemplars. For a discussion of several, with particular attention to the relationship between visual and theatrical depictions of the Holy Women at the Tomb, see Yves Esquieu, "Théâtre liturgique et iconographie: l'exemple des Saintes Femmes au tombeau dans la France méridionale et l'Espagne du Nord," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 28 (1993): 215–31, esp. 223–26.

[48] Rico Camps, "Un *Quem queritis* en Sahagún," analyzing Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Cód. 9, f. 47r (fig. 14).

[49] An image of Christ in Majesty appears on the underside of the already mentioned baldachin from the church of Sant Martí in Tost as well as the baldachin from Ribes, dated to 1119–34 (Museu episcopal de Vic, digitized at www.museuepiscopalvic.com). Images of Christ in Majesty also frequently appear in apse paintings in the Iberian peninsula, as well as on altar frontals, such as the frontal of the Apostles from La Seu d'Urgell, dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century (Museu nacional d'art de Catalunya, digitized at www .museunacional.cat).

[50] Nils Holger Petersen, "Liturgical Enactment," in *Routledge Research Companion to Early Drama and Performance*, ed. Pamela King (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 17. Petersen observes that these versions of the *Quem quaeritis* were performed during a period of intense theological discussion of transubstantiation, which was affirmed as Catholic doctrine at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; see further Petersen, "Representation

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy," in *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, ed. Eric Csapo and Margaret C. Miller (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 329–360, at 345–47.

[51] It is worth recalling in this context that the increased presence of anti-Jewish imagery in thirteenth-century Northern European art reflects the renewed urgency and salience of the Christian–Jewish dichotomy during this period of European history. See Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[52] Monteira Arias, "Seeking the Origins."

[53] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

[54] Monteira Arias, "Los musulmanes."

[55] O. K. Werckmeister, "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Girona," *Gesta* 36, no. 2 (1997): 101–6; Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 190–98. It seems significant that the Beam of the Passion and the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* both focus on biblical scenes and characters that usually receive minimal attention in order to express new anti-Muslim sentiments. The *Auto* places surprising emphasis on Herod's conversation with his rabbinic counselors, who have the last word in the play and who employ what appears to be an Arabic phrase as they acknowledge their ignorance of the truth. The Beam of the Passion is unique in its emphasis on the priests' dismissive response to Judas's remorse and its placement of that scene alongside the Crucifixion. Because these elements of the biblical narratives are relatively undeveloped within the Christian interpretive tradition, the author of the *Auto* and the painter of the Beam had especially free rein to render their accounts of the past in light of present circumstances.

[56] Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 111–13, and, in greater detail, Patton, "An Islamic Envelope-Flap Binding in the Cloister of Tudela: Another 'Muslim Connection' for Iberian Jews?" in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Tempe: ACMRS, 2007), 65–88.

[57] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 151. Their statement refers originally to Jean Fouquet's *Construction of Solomon's Temple* (ca. 1465), in which the portals of that temple accurately reflect those of the cathedral of Tours. This work is one of several intentionally anachronistic works that Nagel and Wood address on 147–58; see also their discussion on 62–70 of Jan van Eyck's *Three Marys at the Tomb of Christ* (ca. 1425–35), in which the Dome of the Rock appears in the background. Note that Nagel and Wood focus primarily on "anachrony," a term they invent for works of art that disregard historicity in order to project an aura of timelessness. We understand the Beam of the Passion to be a work of anachronism proper: through the intentional inclusion of artistic elements within the "wrong" historical context, it both emphasizes and elides the differences between the first and thirteenth Christian centuries.

[58] John Williams, "Generationes Abrahae: Reconquest Iconography in Leon," *Gesta* 16, no. 2 (1977): 3–14. In its original context, Paul associates Hagar specifically with Jewish Christ-believers who insisted that gentile believers adopt the ritual of circumcision and, presumably, other aspects of biblical law that apply solely to Jews.

[59] See further the forthcoming work of David Freidenreich.

[60] Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, trans. Irven M. Resnick, Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 163. In his *Summa totius haeresis Sarracenorum*, Peter the Venerable also criticized Muslims for their insistence that Christ did not die; that work, however, may not have circulated in Iberia. See *Peter the Venerable: Writings against the Saracens*, trans. Irven M. Resnick, Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 35–36.

[61] For the text of Mark's preface, see Georges Vajda and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tûmart," *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951): 260–68, at 262–63. Reprinted in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *La Connaissance de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994).

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only

[62] "Expergiscimini igitur, familia Christi; expergiscimini, milites et pedites expediti; et ciuitatem hanc, rem quidem publicam nostram, constanter capessite; et Christum, qui adhuc hodie in ciuitate ista proscribitur et crucifigitur, adtendite; et de cruce, cum Ioseph, uobis illum deponite; et in sepulcro cordis uestri thesaurum incomparabilem, thesaurum illum concupiscibilem, collocate; et istis impiis crucifixoribus illum uiriliter eripite. Quociens enim isti mali Iudices, Herodis et Pilati complices, fratribus uestris illudunt uel angariant, tociens Christum crucifigunt. Quociens eos tormentant et occidunt, tociens lateri Christi cum Longino lanceam infligunt." *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 108. The cited translation is by Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," in "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," trans. Jonathan Riley-Smith, in *Persecution and Toleration*, ed. W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History 21 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 51–72, at 68; Riley-Smith's translation is based on the edition in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 101. The *Historia Ierosolimitana* circulated in Iberian Cluniac circles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as evidenced by a manuscript held in the library of the cathedral of Burgo de Osma; see *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Biddlecombe, xcvii.

[63] Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 119.

[64] Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 6. Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 9, makes a similar observation regarding the wide range of topics apparently unconnected to Jews and Judaism that artists addressed by means of depicting Jewish figures. On the role of ideas about Jews in Christian visual arts, see also David Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology and Its Enemies: Judaism in Christian Painting, Poetry, and Politics* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2015), 15–78.

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
For private and non-commercial use only