Picturing the Immaculate Conception in Thirteenth-century Castile: The Wall Paintings of the Chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca

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Abstract: This article explores the history and early iconography of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception with particular reference to the subject as found in the thirteenth-century wall paintings of the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca. It moves beyond this case study and looks at the theology, liturgy, iconography and changing approaches to the theme over time and space and suggests that it was a subject that worked on multiple levels and encompassed far more than has hitherto been believed. The role of the Crown of Castile during the initial stages of the development of this subject deserves special attention, as it received, adapted and created images to express both immaculist and maculist beliefs. Text is being published in two parts in two successive issues of Iconographica. *The first part focuses on the history of the doctrine and its earliest representations and claims that the wall paintings in Salamanca are an outstanding example of one of the first formulas developed to express it, here called the Annunciation-type for the* Meeting at the Golden Gate.*

Key words: Immaculate Conception, Meeting at the Golden Gate, Spanish Gothic painting, Old Cathedral of Salamanca

The Old Cathedral of Salamanca is a Late Romanesque building erected between c. 1140 and the early thirteenth century. Its west front, comprising two towers flanking the recessed main door, is of a type that was quite common during this period in Western Iberia. Inside the north tower, its lower level is accessible from the north aisle of the church through a narrow door (fig. 1). From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, this room housed a chapel dedicated to St. Martin that must be understood as an early example of a funerary space inside a church. No records about its foundation or endowment survive, but several clues can help establish an approximate date. Even though it was built in the early thirteenth century, when construction work on the cathedral was coming to an end, the wall paintings originally decorating its altar are dated 1262, and the earliest tomb either surviving or recorded inside it, that of bishop Pedro Pérez, is dated 1264. Thus, it is possible to assume that it was founded, endowed and decorated c. 1260, quite probably by bishop Pedro Pérez himself, who dedicated it to a much-venerated saint associated with the practice of charity, a virtue of eschatological value. A chaplain is first mentioned in a document from 1274[1]. Until the mid-fourteenth century new tombs and murals enriched the chapel, but it appears that it was soon abandoned. The very reasons that made it attractive as a funerary space in the mid-thirteenth century (location in a peripheral area connected with the church) made it less desirable when, in the Late Gothic period, funerary chapels became singular and visible spaces designed to impress and proclaim the grandeur of those who founded them. Moreover, the construction of a new cathedral to the north of

the old one, beginning in the early sixteenth century, and the reinforcement of the walls of the tower resulting from the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which shook the whole Iberian Peninsula, turned the chapel of San Martín into a dark and sinister space that was unsuitable for any liturgical purpose. The chapel was converted into a warehouse for storing the oil used for lamps in the cathedral, so even its name was forgotten. It was no longer known as the chapel of San Martín, but as the «Capilla del Aceite» (Oil Chapel). However, this abandonment and change of use proved to be providential for Art History. As from early on it was no longer used for the celebration of masses or anniversaries and its interior was not renovated, in the late nineteenth century scholars realized that it housed a rich assemblage of unaltered, although deteriorated, wall paintings and tombs dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Special attention has always been paid to the wall paintings that once decorated its altar (fig. 2). A controversial inscription proclaims their maker and date of creation: «ESTA OBRA FIZ YO ANTÓN SÁNHZ. DE SEGOUIA ERA DE MIL E CCC», which means «I, Antón Sánchez de Segovia, did this work in the era 1300» (i.e., AD 1262). These wall paintings were heavily restored in 1950-51, but photographs taken beforehand show that their general layout and features are reliable (fig. 3).

These wall paintings are intelligently adapted to the conditions of the Romanesque fabric of the chapel, comprising an off-center window subsequently blocked to serve as a niche for a cult image, no longer preserved. The wall paintings were distributed in three bays of different widths (the left one being extremely narrow), a problem skillfully overcome by the artist thanks to his profound knowledge of architectural design and his choice of postures and grouping of figures. In the side bays, the upper register has the prophets identified by inscriptions in their books or scrolls, these
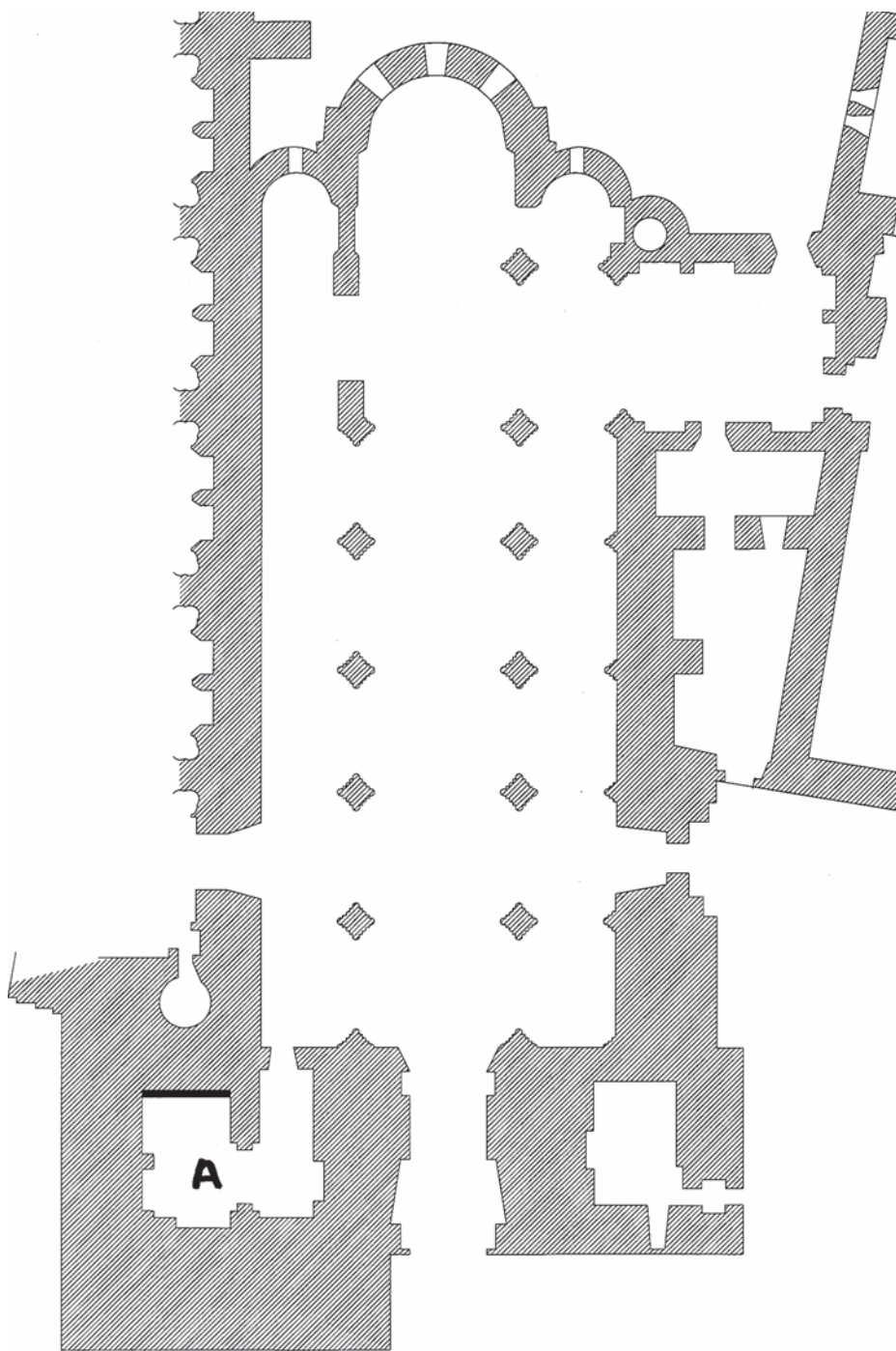
1. Salamanca, Old Cathedral, plan with the location of the chapel of San Martín (A) and the position of the wall paintings discussed here.

being Jeremiah (on the left) and Isaiah and Daniel (on the right), whilst the lower register has St. Anne (on the left) and St. Joachim (on the right), also identified by inscriptions. In the central bay, around the niche that undoubtedly once housed a sculpture of the Virgin and Child – beneath which an inscription records the dedication of the chapel to St. Martin –, is the glorification of the angels. Finally, in the lowest area, a depiction of the Crucifixion once occupied its entire width, but has now almost completely disappeared. This area is framed by a painted inscription (reproducing the biblical text from Lam. 1.12),

and London. This style might have reached Castile through the recorded presence in this territory of Peter of Spain, a leading painter working in the service of king Henry III of England between 1251 and 1262. He visited Castile in 1256-57 accompanying the «infante» (royal prince) don Sancho, archbishop elect of Toledo and brother of the Castilian king Alfonso X[3]. The purpose of this article is to argue that the iconographic program of these wall paintings is not just a question of adding St. Anne, St. Joachim, the prophets, etc., but that these figures represent the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* in a depiction that is not narrative, but dogmatic, intended to offer a visual representation of the Immaculate Conception, which doctrine was, at that time, being expanded.

The «Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis»: A Controversial Issue

It was not until 1854 that the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady became a dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. It was only in that year that pope Pious IX promulgated the apostolic constitution *Ineffabilis Deus*, which declared that Mary «in primo instanti suae conceptionis fuisse singulari Omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Christi Jesu Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservatam immunem»[4]. This solemn statement was preceded by centuries of intense debate that reached a peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the doctrine actually became fully enunciated[5]. It was also in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the subject entered into the visual arts, even though a classic formula for it would be found only in Renaissance and Baroque art[6].

Esteem for Mary, Mother of God, was established from the very first Christian centuries, so that the Fathers of the Church and other ecclesiastical writers from both the East and the West expressed their ideas about her unique purity. As early as the second half of the sec-

2. Salamanca, Old Cathedral (chapel of San Martín), Antón Sánchez de Segovia (signed), 1262, wall paintings.

which, in turn, encloses the arms of Castile and León.

Countless studies have been written on these wall paintings, whose maker was regarded by José Gudiol, a leading scholar in the study of Spanish medieval painting, as «la clave del origen de la pintura gótica en Castilla»[2]. Attention has usually been paid to such controversial issues as their date, authorship or style, but not to their iconography, as it is apparently expounded by the paintings themselves through their inscriptions. However, an iconographic analysis

should not end with the identification of the figures, but with the discovery of the key that confers sense to the assemblage of the figures, and this task has never been undertaken for the wall paintings over the altar of the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca.

This is precisely the intention of this article: no questions about date, authorship or style will be discussed. We assume that these wall paintings were created in 1262 by Antón Sánchez de Segovia in a style strongly influenced by court art of the mid-thirteenth century in both Paris

ond century, a Greek apocryphal text, the *Protoevangelium of James*, offered an account of her conception, modeled on Luke's gospel (accounts of the Annunciation and the conception of St. John the Baptist). According to this story, Joachim and Anne, afflicted because they had no children, were told that they were to have a baby. Consequently Joachim, who had fled to the desert in shame, returned home to meet his wife[7]. From the sixth century onwards, Latin adaptations of this text emerged, starting with the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. These adaptations placed the meeting of the couple at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem[8]. In the thirteenth century these texts became popular through the well-known compendia by Vincent of Beauvais and Jacopo de Varagine.

Devotion towards Mary was the basis for the emergence of the liturgical feast of the Conception of the Virgin, first recorded in the East in the late seventh or early eighth centuries through a *canon* (hymn) by St. Andrew of Crete[9]. This feast was subsidiary to the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, recorded already in the sixth century. By the time of St. Andrew of Crete the feast of the Conception of the Virgin had not yet become a widespread one in the East, a status that would be achieved only in the ninth century. It was then that its date (December 9) and its name (Conception of Anne, referring to her active conception, i.e., Anne's becoming pregnant) were established. In the tenth century the feast appears with these features in the liturgical and artistic landmark that is the *Menologion of Basil II*, together with a depiction of the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* according to the *Protoevangelium of James*[10]. The Eastern feast never enjoyed the pre-eminence to be achieved by its Western counterpart and never became the subject of the controversy that gave rise here to immaculist speculations[11].

By the mid-ninth century, knowledge of the Eastern feast of the Conception of Anne had reached Southern Italy, by then subject to a deep Byzantine influ-

3. Salamanca, Old Cathedral (chapel of San Martín), Antón Sánchez de Segovia (signed), 1262, wall paintings, condition in 1927, prior to conservation carried out in 1950-51.

ence. From there it passed to England, where it was largely accepted in the late Anglo-Saxon period. It was commemorated on December 8, focusing not mainly on the active conception of Anne, as in the East, but on the passive conception of Mary (i.e., Mary's being conceived, which is the same than Anne's becoming pregnant)[12]. The Norman con-

quest of 1066 interrupted the development of the feast, but its recovery, loaded with nationalist emphasis, was soon claimed by the Anglo-Saxon clergy. In this context, theological treatises, such as those by Eadmer, monk of St. Augustine's in Canterbury (*Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae*)[13], and Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster (*Sermo de*

Conceptione Sanctae Mariae)[14], were produced in the 1120s. It was in these treatises that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was enunciated for the first time in order to justify the commemoration of the feast of December 8.

This might all have been nothing more than an insular development, but the problem was that the feast reached the continent. Apart from evidence of its early existence in Normandy, which was closely linked to the British Isles[15], it is recorded that it had been adopted by the canons of Lyons by 1136. This enraged St. Bernard of Clairvaux[16]. The champion of the Virgin, famous for his *Apologia ad Willelmum*, showed in a letter addressed to these same canons c. 1139-40 that his angry words were not only reserved for deprecating Romanesque sculpture, but also for condemning a feast «quam ritus Ecclesiae nescit, non probat ratio, non commendat antiqua traditio»[17]. Commemorating concupiscence, which is a mark of sin, was inconceivable for him: «Quomodo namque aut sanctitas absque Spiritu sanctificante, aut sancto Spiritui societas cum peccato fuit? aut certe peccatum quomodo non fuit, ubi libido non defuit? (…) Si igitur ante conceptum sui sanctificari minime potuit, quoniam non erat, sed nec in ipso quidem conceptu, propter peccatum quod inerat, restat ut post conceptum in utero iam existens, sanctificationem accepisse credatur, quae, excluso peccato, sanctam fecerit nativitatem, non tamen et conceptionem»[18].

The controversy over the feast of the Conception (and, consequently, over the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception) took on epic proportions at this point. Immaculists supported the feast, as they assumed that no sin, either original or actual, was involved in Mary's conception. On the other hand, maculists opposed the feast, as they regarded the absence of sin in any human being as being inconceivable, even in somebody as venerated as Mary. The great scholars of the thirteenth century, starting with St. Thomas Aquinas, held maculist beliefs on the ba-

sis of ideas such as the universal character of Redemption (affirming that stating that Mary was not subject to original sin, as immaculists affirmed, was as much as stating that Mary did not require Christ's redeeming sacrifice). According to *Doctor Angelicus* it was only after her animation (i.e., after the infusion of her soul into her sufficiently developed body) that Mary was sanctified, i.e., cleansed from original sin[19]. Even Franciscan authors such as St. Bonaventure stuck to such ideas (in spite of which the feast was commemorated by the Franciscans of Paris in 1286)[20]. However, it would be a Franciscan friar, Bl. John Duns Scotus, who, at the turn of the fourteenth century, would produce a mature formulation for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, one capable of reconciling a conception free from original sin with the idea of the universal character of Redemption[21]. *Doctor Subtilis* inaugurated a new era in the controversy of the Immaculate Conception that goes beyond the remit of this article, which focuses on the disputes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In Search of an Image: How to Represent an Embarrassing Moment and, More Importantly, an Idea?

The development of a literary tradition dealing with the origins and infancy of the Virgin gave rise to the development of a pictorial tradition illustrating the events recorded in these texts. In turn, the pictorial tradition served as a source for images illustrating the different liturgical feasts prompted by devotion (e.g., the feast of the Conception of the Virgin) and, ultimately, the ideas emerging from them (e.g., the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin). Naturally, this process started in the East before developing in the West. Lafontaine-Dosogne, the foremost scholar on the subject, remarks on the origin of the iconography of the infancy of the Virgin in the sixth-century Byzantine Empire[22].

Regarding the conception of the Virgin, the great monument of Middle Byzantine illumination that is the aforementioned *menologion* completed in Constantinople c. 985 for emperor Basil II[23] already offers a perfectly characterized image of the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* to illustrate the feast of the Conception of Anne of December 9. In this image (fig. 4) Joachim and Anne move energetically towards each other to express that, once they have been separately told that they will be parents, they have abandoned their respective places of isolation. They embrace each other, bringing their faces together to seal their meeting with a kiss, a key feature in the Byzantine iconography of this scene[24]. In order to fill the rectangular horizontal frame that distinguishes the illustrations in this manuscript, there is a mountain on Joachim's side, evocative of his resigned retreat, with the family home on Anne's side completing the scene. Following the *Protoevangelium of James*, the Golden Gate of Jerusalem is omitted[25]. This composition was to survive for centuries. Its development must predate liturgical examples like this, but Iconoclasm has deprived us of older examples in the core of the empire. It is possible mentioning as early examples of the development of this scene on its periphery the frescoes of Santa Maria Antiqua, in Rome[26], and of the church of the Virgin in the valley of Kızıl Çukur, in Cappadoce[27].

The case of the representation of the Conception of the Virgin is much more complex in the West. This must be related to the controversy raised here by the commemoration of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin and by the doctrinal developments prompted by it. From an early, date both the text of the *Protoevangelium of James* and the depiction of the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* were known. However, before the thirteenth century images of the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* are scarce and discussed and their connection to the feast of the Conception of the Virgin is not firmly estab-

lished. At this early stage of the iconographic development, the uncomfortable instant of the conception of the Virgin signified by the meeting of Joachim and Anne was sometimes completely omitted or substituted by an aseptic scene focusing on a moment before or after the conception[28]. Exceptionally, the couple was represented in bed, in keeping with the ancient tradition of representing the conception of a hero prior to his or her birth[29]. This happened in an early thirteenth-century psalter credited as having being produced at the Cistercian abbey of Pairis, in Alsace (fig. 5)[30].

It was only in the thirteenth century that the iconography of the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* became perfectly developed in the West. It usually appeared in the context of narrative cycles and, although inspired by Byzantine prototypes, it had already developed its own distinctive features, which included its placement before the Golden Gate of Jerusalem (if composition and media allowed), following the Western apocrypha, and a restrained attitude of the figures, neither as dynamic nor as tender as the ones found in Byzantine models and clearly fashioned on a standard *Visitation* image[31].

Outstanding thirteenth-century examples of this image, which underwent further developments[32], are to be found, for example, in the sculptures added to the Portail Sainte-Anne in Notre-Dame in Paris to achieve its definitive arrangement c. 1210[33], in the frescoes of the Poitevin church at Vieux-Pouzanges of c. 1220-25[34], in the miniatures of an Oxonian book of hours of c. 1240 by William de Brailes[35], in a Pisan painted panel *Madonna* of c. 1260-70 by the Master of San Martino[36] and in numerous stained-glass windows throughout France (e.g., Bourges, fig. 6), just to mention a few works in different media and locations.

A quite different matter, however, is if these images were intended as a reference to the by then expanding liturgical feast of the Conception of the Virgin of De-

4. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. gr. 1613 (Menologion of Basil II), p. 229, Constantinople, c. 985, Meeting of Joachim and Anne (illustration for the feast of the Conception of Anne of December 9), *illuminated manuscript.*

cember 8 or, more importantly, if these images were akin to an expression of any position on the increasing controversy about the Immaculate Conception. Most of them were displayed in narrative contexts, non-liturgical or devotional ones, and if an image was required for the liturgical feast of the Conception of the Virgin, quite often the choice fell on other themes. Not surprisingly, the earliest examples of images for the liturgical feast of the Conception of the Virgin are to be found in manuscripts produced in England, from where the feast expanded throughout the West. Since the *formulae* of benedictions employed for the feast of the Conception of the Virgin focused on the angel's announcements to the Virgin's parents, the *Announcement to Joachim* was chosen to illustrate the feast of the Conception of the Virgin of December 8 (fig. 7)[37]. Alternatively, as the office employed for this feast was the one for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin of September 8 (merely replacing the word nativity with the word conception), an image of the *Nativity of the Virgin* also came to illustrate the feast of the Conception[38]. It was only in the second half of

the fourteenth century that the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* became the standard illustration for the feast of the Concep-

5. Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 24 (psalter), fol. 9r, Pairis abbey (Alsace)? second quarter of the thirteenth century, Announcement to Joachim *and* Conception of the Virgin, *illuminated manuscript.*

6. Bourges, Cathedral, c. 1210-15, Meeting at the Golden Gate, *stained glass (detail of the right-hand side window of the southernmost radiating chapel*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi *no. 22).*

tion[39], early examples including the *Breviary of Charles V*, dated c. 1364-70[40], and the Westminster *Lytlington Missal*, dated 1383-84[41], although the association was known before[42]. This lasted until the turn of the sixteenth century, when the well-known image inspired by the Woman of the Apocalypse accompanied by symbols became the standard image for the feast of the Conception[43]. The *Meeting at the Golden Gate* was once again relegated to narrative cycles until it was banned in the seventeenth century to avoid any misinterpretation in terms of a miraculous conception.

Determining when any of these images acquires an immaculist sense is a difficult task. It has to be determined not only by analyzing their iconographic features, as sometimes the very same images were used for both immaculist and maculist purposes, but also by studying their historical, liturgical, devotional and visual background[44].

Isolated from the Mainstream: The Annunciation-Type for the Meeting at the Golden Gate

The predominant Visitation-type was not the only way of representing the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* drawn from the Western apocrypha and intended to

signify the conception of the Virgin. A different arrangement of the scene appears in a few but extremely significant instances, usually associated with immaculist concerns. I propose designating this alternative arrangement «the Annunciation-type» as opposing to the standard Visitation-type. Effectively, this type seems lo be clearly modeled on a standard depiction of the *Annunciation*. In these images Joachim and Anne are not kissing, embracing or even touching each other; they are completely separate and gesturing to each other. Joachim, with an «active» pose of addressing, plays the role of the archangel Gabriel, while Anne, with a «passive» attitude of reception and acceptation, plays the role of Mary. They are both symmetrically displayed on each sides of an architectural element or display that is clearly intended to be the Golden Gate of Jerusalem.

The Annunciation-type for the *Meeting of the Golden Gate* is much more than a simple compositional device. As it visually merges the starting point of the life of Mary (Conception) and the starting

point of the life of Jesus (Incarnation), it emphasizes the status of the former, so that the encounter becomes no longer an episode in the story of an average, even sublime, human being (as other conception scenes referred to above), but a key moment in the history of Mankind if considered the history of Salvation. In short, the Annunciation-type for the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* foreshadows Redemption, underlining Mary's substantial role in this task (ideas that are closer to immaculist viewpoints). In this context, the Golden Gate also becomes much more than a topographical reference to earthly Jerusalem, as in merely narrative depictions: it also becomes a reference to Heavenly Jerusalem and, ultimately, to Salvation. Message is that Salvation starts not with the Incarnation of Christ, but with the Conception of the Virgin, an idea expressed by Eadmer and Osbert of Clare in the 1120s that soon became a commonplace among those who supported the feast of the Conception of the Virgin[45].

The ultimate inspiration for this type

7. London, British Library, ms. Cotton Caligula A XIV (Caligula Troper and others), fol. 26r, Hereford or Worcester? c. 1050, Announcement to Joachim (illustration for the feast of the Conception of the Virgin of December 8), *illuminated manuscript.*

may have come from the East, as a similar composition also appears in the already mentioned *Menologion of Basil II* (fig. 8)[46]. However, its development in terms of both gestures and meaning is specific to the West, understandable only in the context of the debate raised in the twelfth century regarding the feast of the Conception of the Virgin. The *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and the *Annunciation* are paired in a certain number of works, pointing to ideas like the ones expressed above. But what is specific to the Annunciation-type for the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, is not merely a question of placing both scenes side by side (in fact, the presence of the *Annunciation* is not required). What is specific to the Annunciation-type for the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* is the visual merging of both scenes that strongly emphasizes the meaning conferred to the meeting.

The Annunciation-type for the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* appears significantly in the *Winchester Psalter* of c. 1150-60 and in a stained-glass window in the cathedral at Chartres dated c. 1210-15[47], before being used in Salamanca in 1262. Later examples could also be cited, among which it is worth mentioning the so-called *Livre d'images de Madame Marie*[48]. This astonishing picture book, illuminated in the region of Hainaut c. 1285-90, was made up only of images to encourage the devotion of its female owner, a certain Madame Marie identified by Alison Stones as Marie de Rethel, wife of Wauthier d'Enghien. The cycle of the life of Christ includes, on fol. 18v, a *Meeting at the Golden Gate*[49] that anticipates, in terms of both composition and gestures, the *Annunciation* to be found two folios later, thereby visually paralleling and linking Conception and Incarnation with the implications discussed above (fig. 9)[50]. The cycle is believed to have been conceived by a Franciscan friar at a time when the order was shifting to strong immaculist positions.

The much-celebrated *Winchester Psalter* contains a series of thirty-eight full-page miniatures with stories of the Old and


8. *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. gr. 1613 (Menologion of Basil II), p. 23, Constantinople, c. 985*, SS. Joachim and Anne (illustration for the feast of SS. Joachim and Anne of September 9), *illuminated manuscript.*

New Testament[51]. Current fols 4r and 8r show a cycle of the origins and early life of the Virgin that is one of the oldest of its kind to the north of the Alps, together with its contemporary in the Portail Royal of Chartres. It includes the *Announcement to Joachim* (fol. 4r, lower register), the *Announcement to Anne* and the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (fol. 8r, upper register), the *Nativity of the Virgin* (*ibid.*, middle register) and the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (*ibid.*, lower register). The *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (fig. 10) shows the gesturing Joachim and Anne flanking the highly stylized Golden Gate of Jerusalem. Edmonson Haney, in line with Wormald, points out that in the absence of a pictorial tradition for these scenes, the author, following the apocrypha, drew their compositions from similar scenes of the life of Christ, so that, for example, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* follows *Christ with his Parents* on fol. 16r, with some elements recalling a tradition shared with the tapestry of Bayeux (layout of the door in the middle)[52]. In fact, these scenes, to which, according to Edmonson Haney, the *Announcement to Anne*

must be added, conform to an *Annunciation* scene of the type present in this very same manuscript on fol. 10r. Much more important is that Edmonson Haney argues that the overall cycle of the conception of the Virgin, including the scenes that precede the *Announcement to Joachim* on fol. 4r, is an immaculist program. This must be understood in the context of the Winchester production of the manuscript by the mid-twelfth century (the feast of the Conception of the Virgin was celebrated in Winchester from Anglo-Saxon times) and in the context of the controversy about the Immaculate Conception, passionately argued by English writers[53]. In short, the *Winchester Psalter* supplies the earliest Annunciation-type depiction of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, placing this image in a precise immaculist context.

The stained glass in the right lancet of the window of the second bay of the south choir aisle of Chartres cathedral is dedicated to the life of the Virgin. It was donated by the *vignerons* and by count Thibault VI of Chartres (d. 1218)[54]. Its three main medallions, the ones that rule over the ensemble of the narrative, show,
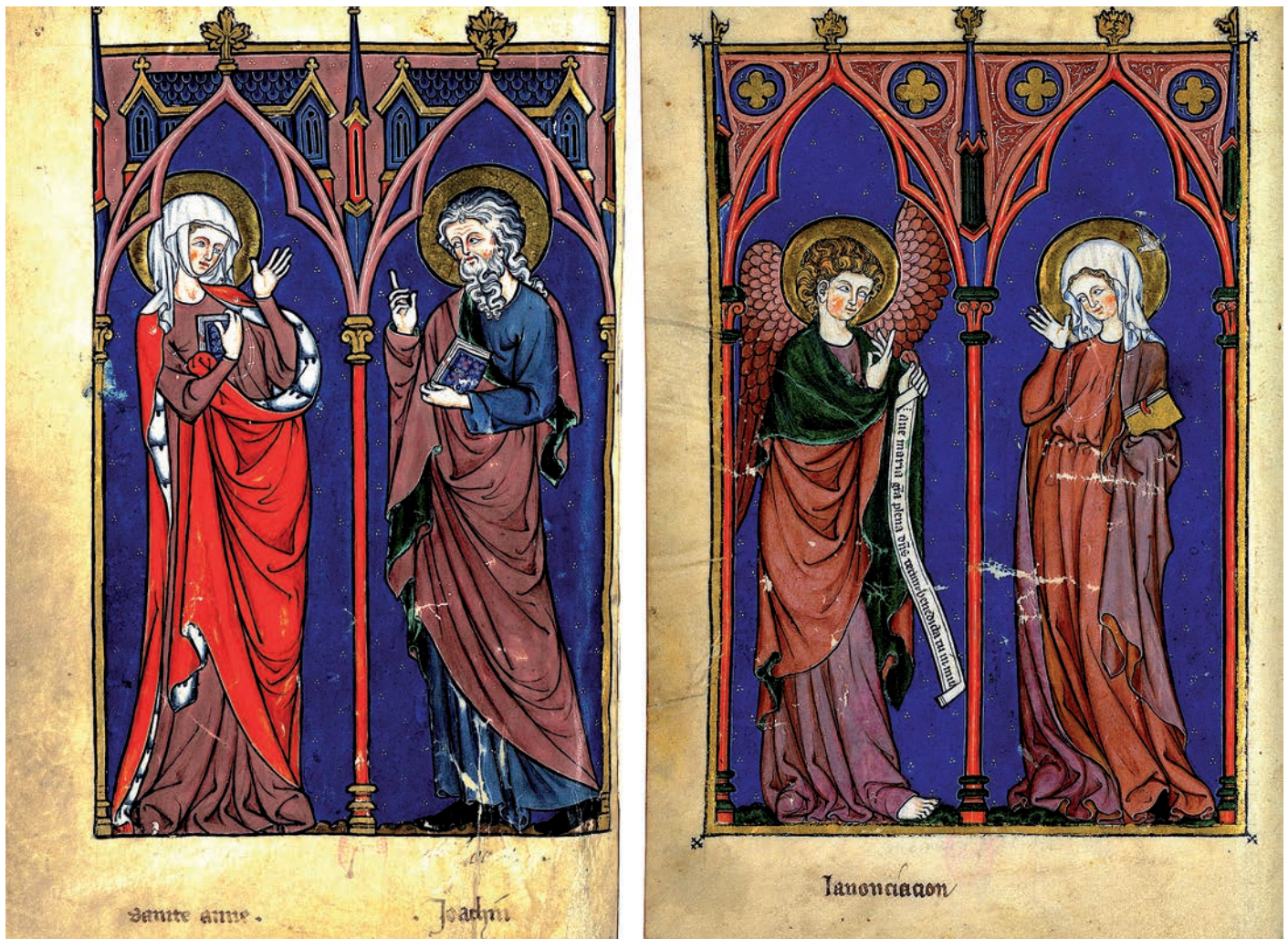
9. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251 (Livre d'images de Madame Marie), fols 18v and 20v, Hainaut, c. 1285-90, Meeting at the Golden Gate *and* Annunciation, *illuminated manuscript.*

from bottom to top, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (fig. 11), the *Annunciation* and the *Massacre of the Innocents*, thus paralleling, not only iconographically, but also visually, Conception and Incarnation. The *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, the same as in Winchester sixty years before, is of the Annunciation-type, displaying Joachim and Anne, both with haloes, gesturing to each other on different sides of the city gate of Jerusalem. Manhes-Deremble interprets the ensemble of stained glasses in the windows of the first two bays of the south choir aisle of Chartres cathedral as a coherent group whose program was dictated by the cathedral clergy and not, as usually stated, by the individual patrons of each lancet[55].

According to her interpretation, the four lancets of these two windows, depicting, from right to left, the life of St. Anthony, *Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière*, the life of the Virgin and the Zodiac, deal with triumph over Evil, and in this context special prominence is conferred to the two central lancets. It is well known that *Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière* is the replacement and enlargement of a stained glass dated c. 1180 showing the enthroned Virgin and Child that came from the former cathedral, burnt down in 1194[56]. The immaculist sense of the new setting was stated long ago on the basis of the items added to the Romanesque glasses to adjust their shape and size to their new location: the dove of the Holy Spirit

and the cycle of the temptations of Christ[57]. The idea of the key role of Mary in the triumph over Evil is continued to the left in the lancet of the life of the Virgin, where the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* occupies a prominent position, sharing the immaculist discourse.

Some fifty years after Chartres, the Annunciation-type for the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* occurs again in Salamanca. The choice of this type in Salamanca was partially prompted by the features of the wall to be frescoed, with an off-center window transformed into a niche inviting Joachim and Anne to be displayed on both sides of it. However, I think that the choice relied mainly on the ideas that the patron wanted to be expressed. To the

left, Anne, haloed[58], gestures expressively with both hands (fig. 12). Her stance evidently adapts that of the Crucifixion Virgin «che gesticola con ambedue le mani» (gesturing with both hands) that can be found occasionally in Italian painting[59] and migrated to the north of the Alps. Its ultimate source lies in Byzantine art, as can be seen in ivory plaques from the tenth and eleventh centuries depicting the Crucifixion[60]. To the right, Joachim, not haloed, energetically raises his right arm significantly pointing to the now empty niche ruling over the ensemble of the composition (fig. 13). This niche, with its rich fictive architectural design populated by angels, stands for the Golden Gate of Jerusalem. It is highly stylized in terms of design (in connection to the Rayonnant style)[61] and highly spiritualized in terms of iconography, as the presence of musician angels emerging from clouds is more reminiscent of a Heavenly Jerusalem than of an earthly one. But what is really important, as it confers its true meaning to the scene of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and to the overall fresco, is what this niche housed and what Joachim was pointing to so emphatically. Unfortunately there are no records at all about this. Some scholars proposed for this niche a cult image of St. Martin, the titular saint of the chapel[62], but other scholars put forward a cult image of the Virgin and Child[63]. The second is undoubtedly the right answer: a statue of the Virgin and Child confers a complete, definite and precise significance to the ensemble of paintings on the east wall of the chapel of San Martín, showing that the person responsible for them went further than Winchester or Chartres in the association between Conception and Incarnation implied by the choice of the Annunciation-type for the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* and in the assumption of an immaculist position. Conception, represented through the encounter of Joachim and Anne, was presented in Salamanca together with its fruit (Mary) and together with the ultimate reason for its ex-

10. London, British Library, ms. Cotton Nero C IV (Winchester Psalter), fol. 8r, Winchester, c. 1150, Meeting at the Golden Gate, *illuminated manuscript.*

traordinary circumstances (Jesus). This is not a *unicum*: the tympanum of the portal of the chapel of Santa Aina in the royal palace of La Almudaina in Palma in Mallorca shows a similar arrangement of figures (fig. 14). Work on this chapel started in 1314 and the sculpture was carved some years later by Pere de Guînes, a French sculptor first recorded on the island in 1325[64]. The prominence of the Mallorca-born theologian, philosopher and writer Bl. Ramon Llull (d. 1316), who is sometimes considered a forerunner of Bl. John Duns Scotus for his solid defense of the Immaculate Conception[65], together with his power over the royal dynasties of Aragon and Mallorca, provides an unquestionable immaculist background for this image.

In Salamanca there are several arguments that support the idea that an image of

the Virgin and Child once presided over the altar of this chapel dedicated to St. Martin and over the paintings decorating its wall. Firstly, evidence provided by an inventory of the cathedral from 1275 that records images of the Virgin and Child on the altars of St. Lawrence and St. Nicholas (i.e., the altars of the side chapels of the Romanesque cathedral)[66]. This inventory acknowledges that even though an altar was dedicated to a martyr or to a confessor, a Marian image was usually displayed on it. This was also certainly the case with the chapel of St. Martin and explains the painted inscription on the base of the niche on the east wall of the chapel: «ESTA CAPIELLA E/S DE SANT MAR/TÍN CONFESOR»[67], intended to affirm to whom the chapel was dedicated and completely unnecessary if an image of the saint stood in

11. Chartres, Cathedral, c. 1210-15, Meeting at the Golden Gate, *stained glass (detail of the right lancet of the window of the second bay of the south choir aisle*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi *no. 28b). Delaporte*, Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres, *pl. col. VIII.*

from Lk. 2.14 that recalls the birth of the Messiah, the most suitable for a depiction of the Child Jesus and which underlines his role as Savior[68].

The architectural setting itself plays an important role in the ensemble of wall paintings of the chapel of San Martín beyond articulating their scheme and beyond housing the cult image that conferred full sense to them. On one hand, the architectural setting contributes to the narrative, as it evokes the Golden Gate required by the depiction of the encounter of Joachim and Anne. On the other hand, the architectural setting backs the immaculist sense of the overall program. Architectural metaphors linking Conception and Incarnation became a commonplace in the writings of the twelfth-century authors who laid the foundations of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Eadmer refers to the Virgin as «the temple of the incarnate word», so that she should be free from the slightest stain of sin. Osbert of Clare refers to the Virgin as a «unique new palace» or «tabernacle» for the Godhead, so that she required the necessary purity for this purpose[69]. Considering this, the prominence given to the fictive architecture housing the Virgin and Child in these wall paintings could be considered an immaculist sign in itself, underlined by other iconographic features beyond the presence of the Virgin and Child commented above.

In Salamanca, quite different from Winchester or Chartres, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* is not part of a fully developed narrative, but an isolated subject or, to put it differently, a theme accompanied by others based on an association of ideas, not on a temporal sequence, a way of presenting it that plays in favor of its immaculist intention.

As described at the beginning of this article, above the figures of Anne and Joachim, flanking the upper part of the central niche that housed the cult image of the Virgin and Child, three major prophets are depicted: Jeremiah, to the left (over Anne)[70] and Isaiah and Daniel

the niche. Secondly, as suggested earlier, there is the overall iconographic program that considers an image of the Virgin and Child as suitable for completing such a depiction of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, as it will be paralleled later in Palma. But even if we concentrate only on the niche and on its framing arch we see that the glorifying angels that populate the fictive architecture around the niche are more suitable for an image of the Vir-

gin and Child than for an image of the saint bishop of Tours or of any other saint. Proof of this can be found in the precedent represented by the new setting of *Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière* in Chartres. Thirdly and definitively, the two angels occupying the spandrels over the gable surmounting the framing arch of the niche, who hold scrolls reading «GLORI.» (to the right) and «IN ECEL.» (to the left). This is a quotation

12. *Salamanca, Old Cathedral (chapel of San Martín), Antón Sánchez de Segovia (signed), 1262,* Anne, *wall paintings (detail).*

13. *Salamanca, Old Cathedral (chapel of San Martín), Antón Sánchez de Segovia (signed), 1262,* Joachim, *wall paintings (detail).*

together to the right (over Joachim). Their figures, stances and drapery designs are characteristic of the new figural style that had spread from Paris and northern France during the 1240s[71]. Many reasons could be invoked to justify the portrayal of the three most important prophets of the Old Testament. In his *Vitas Sanctorum*[72], completed c. 1275, Rodrigo de Cerrato, an outstanding Castilian writer, precedes his chapter on the Nativity of Christ with three brief chapters on Jeremiah, Isaiah and Daniel, to present their prophesies about Incarnation and about the moment in which it should take place[73]. This and other examples that could be mentioned make clear that the depiction of these prophets was intended to emphasize the discourse about Incarnation that distinguishes the main register of the wall paintings of the chapel of San Martín of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca by presenting an Annunciation-type depiction of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* completed with a cult image of the Virgin and Child, all endowed with immaculist connotations. There are yet other aspects to be explored in the iconographic program of these wall paintings. These, together with the back-

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14. Palma, «Palacio de la Almudaina» (chapel of Santa Aina), Pere de Guînes (attributed), c. 1325, Meeting at the Golden Gate, *tympanum.*

ground that justified such an ensemble in Salamanca in 1262, will be the subject of the second part of this article, to be published in the next issue of this journal.

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Notes

plete in two successive issues of the journal.

1) M. L. Guadalupe Beraza *et alii* (eds.), *Colección documental de la catedral de Salamanca I (1098-1300)*, León 2009, pp. 493-4, no. 350.

2) Which means «the key of the origin of Gothic painting in Castile», see W. W. S. Cook - J. Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura e imaginería románicas*, Madrid 1950, p. 183. Classic references about these wall paintings include Ch. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA, 1930, pp. 142-7; M. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de Salamanca*, Valencia 1967, pp. 127-30; W. W. S. Cook - J. Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura e imaginería románicas*, 2nd ed., Madrid 1980, pp. 241 and 243-4; F. Gutiérrez Baños, *Aportación al estudio de la pintura de estilo gótico lineal en Castilla y León: precisiones cronológicas y* corpus *de pintura mural y sobre tabla*, Madrid 2005, t. 2, pp. 143-53. Recent approaches include M. Ruiz Maldonado, *Imágenes de lo sagrado. Imágenes de lo profano. La escultura y pintura medievales*, in R. J. Payo Hernanz - V. Berriochoa Sánchez-Moreno

(eds.), *La catedral de Salamanca. Nueve siglos de historia y arte*, Burgos 2012, pp. 232-7; L. Lahoz, *Imagen, discurso y memoria en la práctica gótica*, in M. Casas Hernández (ed.), *La catedral de Salamanca. De* fortis *a* magna, Salamanca 2014, pp. 266-72.

3) F. Gutiérrez Baños, *Un castellano en la corte de Enrique III de Inglaterra: relaciones entre la escuela de Salamanca y el círculo cortesano de Westminster*, in «BSAA arte» 71 (2005), pp. 13-63.

4) Translated into English «in the first instance of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege granted by Almighty God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race, was preserved free from all stain of original sin», see http://www.newadvent.org/library/docs_pi09id.htm, accessed June 7, 2018.

5) Literature about the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, its history and its liturgical and theological background is certainly enormous. The following lines are based mainly upon the classic study by Le Bachelet and upon the more recent study by Lamy, see X. Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, in E. Amann (ed.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, t. 7/1, Paris 1927, cols 845-1218; M. Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception: étapes et enjeux d'une controverse au Moyen-Âge (XIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècles)*, Paris 2000. The essays collected in the different volumes of the proceedings of the international conference *Virgo Immaculata*, held in Rome on the occasion of the centenary of the dogma, and in E. D. O'Connor (ed.), *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance*, Notre Dame, IN, 1958, also proved useful. More recently, G. Morello *et alii* (eds.), *Una donna vestita di sole. L'Immacolata Concezione nelle opere dei grandi maestri*, Milano 2005, is also relevant. Broader approaches to the person and legacy of Mary, which discuss also her Immaculate Conception, are to be found in the relevant studies by Warner and Rubin, see M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, New York 1978, pp. 236-54; M. Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*, New Haven-London 2009, pp. 54, 174-6 and 303-5.

6) M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, New York 1957. This book, somewhat controversial, is the classic reference for the early iconography of the Immaculate Conception. Of course, the subject is discussed in all major iconographic treatises (as, for example, those by Mâle, Réau or Schiller), but their treatment of the early stage of the theme is limited.

7) *Protoevangelium of James* 1-5. The original wording of this text insinuated a miraculous conception that later versions amended.

8) *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* 1-4.

9) PG 97, cols 1305-16.

10) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 229. The text for the feast in PG 117, cols 195-6.

11) Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, cols 956-62.

12) *Ibidem*, cols 986-95; S. J. P. van Dijk, *The Origin of the Latin Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, in «The Dublin Review» 228 (1954), pp. 251-67.

13) PL 159, cols 301-18; H. Thurston - Th. Slater (eds.), *Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1904.

14) Apart from the *Sermo*, Osbert of Clare wrote on this subject a letter to Anselm, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, and a letter to Warin, prior of Worcester. His writings are included as an appendix to the edition of Eadmer's treatise by Thurston and Slater quoted in the previous note.

15) M. B. Dary, *Aux origines de la «Fête aux Normands». La liturgie de la fête de la Conception de la Vierge Marie en France (XIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles)*, in F. Thelamon (ed.), *Marie et la «Fête aux normands». Dévotion, images, poésie*, Mont-Saint-Aignan 2011, pp. 85-98.

16) Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, cols 1010-5; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 42-53.

17) PL 182, cols 332-6 (epistle 174). Translated into English «a rite which the Church knows nothing of, and which reason does not prove, nor ancient tradition hand down to us», see http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1090-1153,_Bernardus_Claraevallensis_Abbas,_Some_Letters,_EN.pdf, accessed June 7, 2018.

18) Translated into English «For how can there be sanctity without the sanctifying Spirit, or the co-operation of the Holy Spirit with sin? Or how could there not be sin where concupiscence was not wanting? (…) If, therefore, before her conception she could not possibly be sanctified, since she did not exist, nor in the conception itself, because of the sin which inhered in it, it remains to be believed that she received sanctification when existing in the womb after conception, which, by excluding sin, made her birth holy, but not her conception», see as above.

19) C. Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception up to the Death of Scotus*, in O'Connor (ed.), *The Dogma*, pp. 192-6.

20) Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, col. 1067. The traditional assertion that the feast was adopted by the Franciscan order on the occasion of the general chapter of Pisa of 1263 has been challenged, see Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, p. 396.

21) Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy*, pp. 204-12.

22) J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en Occident*, Bruxelles 1964-65, t. 1, pp. 189-90; t. 2, p. 168.

23) F. d'Aiuto (ed.), *El «Menologio de Basilio II». Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613. Libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición facsímil*, Madrid 2008.

24) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 1, pp. 83 and 88.

25) *Ibidem*, t. 1, pp. 37 and 86, fig. 47. The home, not necessarily the mountain, is recurrent in the Byzantine iconography of this scene, as Eastern accounts do not place the meeting at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, but by a gate, sometimes identified as Anne's home gate (see *ibidem*, t. 1, p. 82).

26) *Ibidem*, t. 1, p. 36; t. 2, pp. 13, 23 and 79, dates them to the papacy of Paul I (757-67), which is also the opinion recently held in G. Bordi, *Santa Maria Antiqua attraverso i suoi palinsesti pittorici*, in M. Andaloro *et alii* (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio*, Milano 2016, p. 51, fig. 18. However W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte-Marie-Antique*, Rome 1911, pp. 103-4, fig. 83, pl. 21, dated them to the papacy of Nicholas I (858-67). Lafontaine-Dosogne doubts whether these and other early Roman frescoes on the infancy of the Virgin were inspired by Eastern models or by adaptations from the Western *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, which was undoubtedly the source for the late ninth-century frescoes in Santa Maria de Gradellis, which do not include the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne*. In Santa Maria Antiqua, the overall disposition of the figures recalls that to be found later in the *Menologion of Basil II* and there are no traces of the Golden Gate, so that I think it must be considered the earliest example of the Byzantine iconography of the *Meeting of Joachim and Anne*.

27) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 1, pp. 37 and 83-5, fig. 14, dates them to the ninth-tenth centuries. However, L. Giovannini (ed.), *Arts de Cappadoce*, Genève 1971, pp. 139 and 169, fig. 78, preferred seventh-eighth centuries, while C. Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale. Images et spiritualité*, n.p. 2001, pp. 304-5, prefers seventh-tenth centuries. The *Meeting of Joachim and Anne* represented here presents some peculiarities (right hand of Joachim placed over the womb of Anne), suggesting the idea of a miraculous conception of the Virgin, already deprecated in the East, but maybe surviving in some eastern regions of the empire. This idea would be deprecated also in the West, where it would find few supporters even among immaculists.

28) This is the case in the capital frieze depicting the early life of the Virgin to the left of the central door of the Portail Royal of Chartres, carved c. 1145-50 (Joachim and Anne at home sitting on a bench and embracing each other), see Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, pp. 24-5 and 160-1, fig. 3, and in the only illuminated copy of the late twelfth-century *Wernherlieder von der Magd* (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiello ska, ms. Berol. Germ. Oct. 109, fol. 19v), produced c. 1220 probably in the region of Regensburg (return of Joachim from wilderness on horseback while Anne is attending), see *ibidem*, t. 2, pp. 43, 81, 83-4 and 162.

29) *Ibidem*, t. 1, p. 84.

30) Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 24, fol. 9r. See G. Cames, *L'arbre de Jessé et l'enfance de la Vierge dans le psautier cistercien de Fribourg-en-Brisgau*, in «Cahiers de l'Art Médiéval» 5/2 (1968), pp. 17-8, fig. 12.

31) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, p. 81.

32) *Ibidem*, t. 2, pp. 80-1. Giotto and Italian art transformed it into a choral scene with plenty of servants and shepherds, as already incipiently displayed in the Pisan painted panel *Madonna* by the Master of San Martino that will be mentioned immediately.

33) *Ibidem*, t. 2, p. 36; W. W. Clark - F. M. Ludden, *Notes on the Archivolts of the Sainte-Anne Portal of Notre-Dame de Paris*, in «Gesta» 25/1 (1986), pp. 112-3, fig. 6. The scene is in the lowest voussoir of the far-right archivolt. Strikingly the Golden Gate is represented through a pillar that almost hides the embracing couple.

34) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, pp. 35-6 and 82, fig. 35; C. Landry-Delcroix, *La peinture murale gothique en Poitou. XIIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècle*, Rennes 2012, pp. 278-9, fig. 126.

35) London, British Library, ms. Add. 49999, fol. 5v. See Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, p. 47; C. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth Century Oxford*, London 1991, pp. 46-7, fig. 16.

36) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, pp. 26 and 80, fig. 5; L. Carletti, *Dossale. Madonna col Bambino e storie di Gioacchino ed Ana*, in M. Burresi - A. Caleca (eds.), *Cimabue a Pisa. La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, Pisa 2005, pp. 157-61.

37) K. Edmonson Haney, *The Immaculate Imagery in the Winchester Psalter*, in «Gesta» 20/1 (1981), p. 111.

38) Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography*, p. 41; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, p. 82.

39) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, pp. 82-3.

40) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1052, fol. 294v.

41) London, Westminster Abbey, ms. 37, fol. 286v.

42) É. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIᵉ siècle en France*, Paris 1968, t. 2, p. 234, note 153, records that the Parisian confraternity of the Immaculate Conception based in the church of Saint-Séverin apparently adopted as a badge the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* as early as the thirteenth century.

43) Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography*, pp. 24-5, fig. 6, considers that the earliest example of this later dominant way of depicting the Immaculate Virgin is the Woman of the Apocalypse in the *Rothschild Canticles* (New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, ms. 404, fol. 64r), a singular manuscript from Northern France dated to the turn of the fourteenth century.

44) *Ibidem*, pp. 15-7. In spite of these methodological cautions, her study was severely criticized for including images that other specialists could hardly consider immaculist, as for example, the burning bush or some depictions of the tree of Jesse. The controversy was held in the pages of «The Burlington Magazine» 100 (1958), p. 138, and 101 (1959), pp. 149-50 and 245.

45) Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy*, pp. 174-5 and 181-2; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 140-1. Lamy quotes a significant phrase by Osbert of Clare: «Haec itaque dies totius est humanae redemptionis initium» (Therefore this day is the beginning of the whole human redemption).

46) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. gr. 1613, p. 23. The illustration stands for the feast of SS. Joachim and Anne of September 9, see Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 1, p. 33, whose text (PG 117, cols 37-40) is an abridged account of the *Protoevangelium of James* up to the announce-ments to the parents of the Virgin. It shows Joachim and Anne standing before a noble building, symmetrically displayed on each sides of the door of the building, over which a dome emphasizes the quality of the architecture. This image may have been created to accommodate the traditional isolated standing depictions of Joachim and Anne for the feast of September 9, recorded, for example, in some eleventh century manuscripts and also in contemporary calendar icons preserved in Mount Sinai, see K. Weitzmann, *Studies in the Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago 1971, figs. 298 and 301, to the rectangular horizontal frame of the festival illustrations of the *Menologion of Basil II* and to the narrative and pictorial character of this work: this led to separating Joachim and Anne and to incorporating a building to preside over the whole composition.

47) Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, pp. 25, 36 and 161, fig. 2. *Ibidem*, t. 2, p. 81 points out the close relationship between these two images.

48) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251.

49) A. Bräm, *Das Andachtsbuch der Marie de Gavre: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 16251. Buchmalerei in der Diözese Cambrai im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 62-3; A. Stones, *Le Livre d'images de Madame Marie. Reproduction intégrale du manuscrit Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 16251 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Paris 1997, pp. 43-4.

50) Compositional reasons forced to present the Golden Gate of Jerusalem as a pair of canopies supported by columns, one of them in the middle, between the couple, as in the Portail Sainte-Anne in Notre-Dame in Paris (see above note 33). Joachim and Anne, both haloed, hold books and address each other with gestures comparable to those of the figures of the *Annunciation* on fol. 20v.

51) London, British Library, ms. Cotton Nero C IV. See F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter*, London 1973.

52) K. Edmonson Haney, *The Winchester Psalter: An Iconographic Study*, Leicester 1986, pp. 36 and 92, fig. 7.

53) Idem, *The Immaculate Imagery*, pp. 111-8.

54) Y. Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres. Histoire et description*, Chartres 1926, pp. 223-6, fig. 20, pls XLIV-XLVII, pl. col. VIII. This stained glass, numbered XVI by Delaporte, corresponds to 28b in *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*.

55) C. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres. Étude iconographique*, Paris 1993, pp. 28 and 64-6. In her description of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* Manhes-Deremble mentions the closed gate as sign of the virginal innocence of the couple, but it is in fact open.

56) L. Grodecki, *Le vitrail roman*, Fribourg 1977, pp. 111-2, ill. 92. On the memorial value of *belles verrières*, see M. B. Shepard, *Memory and «Belles Verrières»*, in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, Princeton 2008, pp. 291-302.

57) Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography*, p. 55, in reference to the Holy Spirit.

58) According to Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography*, p. 45, fig. 29, this is a distinctive sign of immaculism. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, t. 2, p. 82, note 8, provides further examples.

59) E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione*, Verona 1929, p. 138, fig. 105.

60) See, for example, Walters Art Museum, nos 71.65 and 71.113. It was probably inspired by the *Hagiosoritissa* icon type, which, as was charged with the ideas of grief and supplication, was considered apt for Crucifixion and *Deesis* scenes, see Ch Baltoyanni, *The Mother of God in Portable Icons*, in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Milan-Athens 2000, pp. 51-4.

61) See Gutiérrez Baños, *Un castellano*, pp. 20-22, for the possible inspiration of the overall architectural design of these wall paintings in the «Grande Châsse» exhibited in the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris.

62) E. Tormo y Monzó, *Salamanca: las catedrales (sobre estudios inéditos de don Manuel Gómez Moreno)*, Madrid n.d., p. 45.

63) Post, *A History*, p. 143; Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental*, p. 127.

64) J. M. Palou i Sampol, *Pere de Guines*, in M. R. Manote i Clivilles - M. R. Terés i Tomàs (eds.), *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Escultura I*, Barcelona 2007, p. 201. In this depiction Joachim and Anne hold books, as in *Le Livre d'images de Madame Marie* (see above note 50), and two angels flying over the Virgin are crowning her.

65) Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, cols 1062-4; J. M. Guix, *La Inmaculada y la Corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media (siglos XIII-XV)*, in «Miscelánea Comillas» 22 (1954),

pp. 199-212; Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy*, p. 201; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 331-6.

66) The inventory records «Vna ymagen de Sancta María» (an image of St. Mary) on the altar of St. Nicholas and again «Vna ymagen de Santa María» at the altar of St. Lawrence. In both instances no image of the titular saint is recorded, see Guadalupe Beraza *et alii* (eds.), *Colección documental*, pp. 503-10, no. 357.

67) Translated into English «This chapel is of St. Martin, confessor».

68) Between the niche and the framing arch, presiding in some way over the musician angels, although forming visually a group with the angels holding scrolls, another frontally depicted angel holds another scroll reading «ANGELUS RAFAEL». For me this representation of archangel Raphael is quite intriguing (on a former occasion I invoked Tob. 12.6-15 to underline his glorifying role, see Gutiérrez Baños, *Aportación*, t. 2, p. 148, note 530). If it has to be understood in connection with the two angels holding scrolls, maybe the overall group

represented the joy of the three major archangels, Gabriel, Michael and Raphael (if so, the choices for the position and for the text on the scroll could be mainly compositional). A much later Castilian vernacular play on the birth of Christ, Gómez Manrique's *Representación del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor*, composed probably in 1467, presents the *Gloria* scene through the consecutive praises of the three archangels, see G. Manrique, *Cancionero*, F. Vidal González (ed.), Madrid 2003, pp. 665-66, no. 144, lines 102-28.

69) Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy*, pp. 176 and 181-2; Edmonson Haney, *The Immaculate Imagery*, pp. 113-4. This sort of metaphors were already present in the Greek liturgy for the feast of the Conception of Anne of December 9, see Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, col. 961.

70) Maybe the placing of Jeremiah over the haloed Anne was specifically intended to insist on the privilege of Mary. The Holy Scripture says that Jeremiah, the same as St. John the Baptist, was sanctified in his mother's womb before his birth. Defenders of the Immaculate

Conception argued that Mary was necessarily to deserve a higher privilege than Jeremiah or St. John the Baptist's one, see Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy*, pp. 180 and 185, note 123; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, p. 51.

71) R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1977, pp. 97-102 and 137-41; Gutiérrez Baños, *Un castellano*, pp. 17-20.

72) This is a collection of saints' lives arranged according to the liturgical year and intended as a source of reliable material for clerics and preachers (like the work by Rodrigo de Cerrato's contemporary and fellow Dominican Jacopo de Varagine, which influenced the final version of his own work). About Rodrigo de Cerrato, see M. Díaz y Díaz, *Tres compiladores latinos en el ambiente de Sancho IV*, in C. Alvar - J. M. Lucía Megías (eds.), *La literatura en la época de Sancho IV*, Alcalá de Henares 1996, pp. 41-6.

73) R. de Cerrato, *Vitas Sanctorum*, F. Villamil Fernández (ed.), Santiago de Compostela 1992, pp. 97 and 233-4.