
PICTURING THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILE: THE WALL PAINTINGS OF THE CHAPEL OF SAN MARTÍN IN THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF SALAMANCA (PART II)

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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 second part completes the iconographic analysis of the wall paintings in Salamanca through the study of the Crucifixion represented in the lower register in connection with the overall immaculist program. This part also explores the background that made possible the creation of such an ensemble in Castile in a context of great reluctance towards the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as proved by Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María*.

Keywords: Immaculate Conception, Crucifixion, Old Cathedral of Salamanca, *Cantigas de Santa María*, Alfonso X

The main register of the paintings on the east wall of the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca parallels Conception and Incarnation, and thus underlines the unique role of the Virgin in the history of Salvation, the reason why she was immaculately conceived under extraordinary circumstances. This is all expressed through the depiction of the scene of the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, an episode from the apocrypha that acquired special implications when modelled, as is the case here, on the quite exceptional Annunciation-type, which was usually associated with immaculist con-

cerns. In Salamanca the choice of this type was reinforced with the inclusion of a now lost sculpture of the Virgin and Child to emphasize this message.

Looking Down: From the Joy of Birth to the Grief of Death

However, the unique character of the iconographic display of Salamanca rests not only on the way in which the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* was represented in its main register, but also on the motifs that were associated with it in the upper register (prophets) and, chiefly, in the

lower register, where a *Crucifixion* occupied the whole width of the paintings. As explained above, in Salamanca the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* is not part of a narrative sequence, but part of interconnected ideas. If the main and upper register relate to Incarnation, the lower register justifies Incarnation by pointing to passion and, ultimately, to Redemption, proposing the active role of the Virgin in this crucial moment of the history of Salvation by sharing the sufferings of Christ. This is the idea of *compassio* that spread from the twelfth century onwards and was held dear by Cistercians, Fran-

ciscans and Dominicans even if many of them were reluctant to accept the idea of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception¹. The Crucifixion painted by Antón Sánchez de Segovia in 1262 as part of the decoration of the chapel of San Martín is now completely ruined: just a few remnants of the Crucified Christ accompanied at the top left by the Sun can be discerned in the middle, together with faint contours of haloed figures to the left. To form an idea about its original complex development we must rely on the lavish description provided by Manuel Gómez-Moreno in the early twentieth century: «Campeaba más abajo y a todo lo ancho la escena del Calvario, casi enteramente borrada por la humedad y el roce; pero aún se rastrean el sol y la luna por encima de la cruz; algún ángel que recogería en un cáliz la sangre de Cristo; a la izquierda, nutrido grupo de figuras con nimbos de colores, cubiertas las cabezas con sus mantos y en actitudes de dolor, y a la derecha otro grupo de soldados, uno de los cuales es el «cinturio», como consigna un letrero, vestidos con blancos perpuntes o lorigas que les protegen las piernas y hasta los dedos de las manos, almofares, capacetes, uno de ellos con cimera de plumas o crines amarillas, escudo timbrado, adarga puntiaguda con sus borlas, espada, lanzas, partesana, alguna sobrevesta amarilla, etcétera»².

Comparison between today's scant remains (fig. 1) and Gómez-Moreno's description provides the only basis for an analysis of this scene, the most complex Crucifixion depicted in Castilian art to date. As in a few contemporary examples, in Salamanca the Crucifixion was an intense, dramatic, crowded scene with groups of figures on both sides of the Crucified Christ³. To the right, among a group of soldiers, the centurion mentioned by the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke acknowledged Christ as the Son of God. His depiction in Crucifixion scenes, recorded in the East, became increasingly frequent in the West from the late twelfth century. No traces of him can be recognized nowadays. To the left the vague traces of the haloed figures allow us to recognize a kneeling figure closer to the cross (probably St. Mary Magdalen) and, farther away, a standing figure surrounded by others. This figure, the cloak over her head, turns her face away from the sight of the Crucified Christ. This is probably the fainting Virgin, swooning in the arms of the Holy Women and/or of St. John⁴. The interest that existed in contemporary Castile in the suffering of the Virgin and in her contribution to Redemption is confirmed by somewhat different representations of the motif in *cantigas* 50 and 140 of the «Códice Rico» of the *Cantigas*

de Santa María of king Alfonso X⁵. In fact, a Castilian vernacular poem in the *planctus Mariae* tradition composed c. 1240, Gonzalo de Berceo's *El duelo de la Virgen* (trans. *The Grief of the Virgin*), already dramatically expressed Mary's swooning at the precise moment of Christ's death: «cadió en tierra muerta como de mal raviado»⁶. The roots of this motif can be traced back to the eleventh-century Byzantine milieu, but its first explicit depictions correspond to the twelfth-century West, where Amy Neff noted its proliferation in the mid-thirteenth century⁷.

The Marian accent of this extraordinary Crucifixion image is furthermore enhanced by the inscription that runs along its frame: «O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus», a quotation from *Lam* 1, 12, traditionally attributed to Jeremiah⁸. As underlined by the late Joaquín Yarza with regard to these paintings, this verse, which is part of the office of Holy Saturday, applies to the suffering Virgin in connection with the passion of Christ⁹.

At this point we must look up to see again the Virgin and Child flanked by her gesturing parents and we must indulge in a little speculation in order to finally understand these wall paintings. The dynamic attitude of pointing con-



1. Salamanca, Old Cathedral, chapel of San Martín, Antón Sánchez de Segovia, 1262, Crucifixion, wall paintings (det.).

ferred by the artist on Joachim could echo the now missing figure of the centurion beneath him, so that Joachim's gesture, like the centurion's, must be interpreted as an acknowledgment of Christ as the Son of God, addressed to the Incarnate Christ by the father of the Virgin and to the Redeeming Christ by the Roman officer. Anne's animated expression of surprise portrayed by the artist, insofar as it is fashioned on a suffering Crucifixion Virgin (as noted before), could be interpreted as intending to foreshadow the pain of the Virgin beneath her. In these wall paintings, Conception, Incarnation, Passion and Redemption were so closely inter-related that they were not merely juxtaposed, but linked through textual and visual bonds.

Reluctance towards the Conception of the Virgin in Thirteenth-century Castile

Mary was immaculately conceived for the sake of Incarnation. Mary was immaculately conceived to make way for Redemption. Furthermore, she became partner of Redemption through her own suffering during the passion of her unique Son. Considered in the light of the models employed and their associated images, it is clear that the paintings on the east wall of the chapel of San Martín of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca were intended as a visual expression of all these ideas. The question now is... why? Why was there an interest in creating such a program in Salamanca in 1262? First of all, this requires a devotion based on a certain degree of knowledge of the doctrine and its associated controversy. But this also requires access to models suitable for expressing it. Was this all possible in Salamanca in 1262?

Any approach to questions like these is obscured by the reinterpretation of ancient sources prompted by the widespread dissemination of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin from the fourteenth century onwards and by the general assumption of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, even in the ab-

sence of papal sanction, from the end of the Middle Ages onwards. Apologetic and devotional literature written from then on presented the great saints of the period of the controversy as defenders of the doctrine, including such passionate opponents as St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure. It has been a task of modern criticism to reconstruct their positions and the progress of the debate.

This situation affects Spain in particular. It so enthusiastically supported the doctrine from the end of the Middle Ages onwards that it came to be considered «tierra de María» (i.e., «Mary's land», a devotional expression often in use), producing some of the most accomplished examples of its iconography. Pious literature, for example, went so far as to say that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had already been proclaimed in Spain in the Visigothic era by St. Ildephonsus (d. 667), archbishop of Toledo, who also established a feast for it¹⁰. The reality, however, is quite different: St. Ildephonsus, undoubtedly a loyal devotee of the Blessed Virgin, wrote a treatise about her virginity, not about her conception (although centuries later his treatise was copied together with immaculist writings that were misattributed to him)¹¹. With regard to the feast, it was not he, but the Tenth Council of Toledo (656) that changed the liturgical feast of the Annunciation from its usual date of March 25 (exactly nine months before Christmas) to December 18. The reason for this change was that it was quite common for Lent or even Easter to clash with the liturgical feast of the Annunciation, making difficult its commemoration with the solemnity and joy it deserved. The new liturgical feast, intended to honor Mary in general terms, received different names (St. Mary, St. Mary of Advent, St. Mary of December, the Annunciation, the Annunciation of December...), including the name Conception (since the late seventh century), but in this instance the name Conception refers to Mary's active conception (i.e., it refers

to Mary conceiving by becoming pregnant as a result of the Annunciation), not to Mary's passive conception, which is the event that will raise all the issues discussed here¹². In any case, the problem is that when Spanish sources of the twelfth, thirteenth or even fourteenth centuries mention the liturgical feast of the Conception without specifying its date, we cannot be sure if they refer to the feast of the passive Conception of the Virgin of December 8 or to the Hispanic feast of the active Conception of the Virgin of December 18, which is the most likely in the majority of instances (and even if they refer to the feast of the passive Conception of the Virgin of December 8, we cannot be sure if they consider it in a maculist or immaculist sense).

In Spain, the first unquestionable liturgical evidence of the celebration of the feast of December 8 is to be found in the cathedral and diocese of Barcelona as late as 1281, when it was endowed by a canon and approved by the bishop¹³. Spain, due to its peripheral position with respect to the nucleus of the controversy in both geographical and intellectual terms, played a marginal role during the first two centuries of the debate. It was only in the final years of the thirteenth century that two Spanish theologians, the Mercedarian St. Peter Paschal (d. 1300) and the Franciscan tertiary Bl. Ramon Llull (d. 1316), produced passionate original writings in support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception¹⁴. Significantly, both theologians were from the Crown of Aragon, although St. Peter Paschal had close bonds with Castile, where he became bishop of Jaén shortly before being martyred by the Muslims in Granada. In the western kingdoms of medieval Spain, where Salamanca lies, we have to wait until the early fourteenth century to find undisputed evidence of the celebration of the feast of December 8 and original writings in support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

However, literature produced in Castile in the second half of the thirteenth cen-

tury, contemporaneously with the wall paintings being analyzed here, prove that if a general acceptance did not exist by then, at least there was a certain knowledge of the feast of December 8. Similarly, if original works dealing with the controversy were not produced, at least there was a certain concern regarding the ongoing debates. This literature includes vernacular and Latin texts, most of them produced in the entourage of king Alfonso X (r. 1252-84). We can leave aside the Castilian poems in praise of the Virgin written by the already mentioned Gonzalo de Berceo, most notably his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (trans. *Miracles of Our Lady*). Gonzalo de Berceo was a priest attached to the Benedictine abbey of San Millán de la Cogolla, in La Rioja. His works are not discussed here, not only due to their early date (records of Gonzalo de Berceo date from 1221-46), but also due to their encomiastic tone, more akin to devotion than to dogma (in spite of which he has been claimed to be an immaculist)¹⁵. Literature produced by the king himself, either personally or at his command, is much more interesting. This literature includes the Castilian *General Estoria*, a world history arranged according to the Bible¹⁶, and the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa María*, a collection of poems intended to honor the Virgin emphasizing her unique features and her miraculous powers¹⁷. The king ordered copiously illustrated manuscripts to preserve this collection, most notably the ensemble of two volumes now usually known as «Códices de las Historias», comprising the so-called «Códice Rico», preserved in the Spanish royal collections¹⁸, and the «Códice de Florencia»¹⁹, which remained unfinished. The monarch has also been called an immaculist²⁰. Latin literature of his time includes treatises written by authors such as the already mentioned Dominican Rodrigo de Cerrato, *alias* Ceratense, and the Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora (d. c. 1318). The Franciscan was a compiler and encyclopaedist responsible for a huge and intricate production

to which special attention is being paid in recent years²¹. He studied in Salamanca and in Paris, where it is assumed he became a disciple of St. Bonaventure. On his return to Castile, he practiced as a lecturer in the Franciscan convent of Zamora and established close bonds with the royal court. His works include *Legende Sanctorum* in the spirit of Ceratense's work, but with saints' lives arranged alphabetically instead of by date²², and a treatise on the Virgin entitled *Liber Marie*, the final version of which dates to 1300²³. Of course, he has also been called an immaculist²⁴. Certainly, these authors make use of expressions and concepts later associated with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but considering the moment they wrote and the context of their whole output, their possible immaculist character must be discarded. I am not referring to the use by these authors of merely encomiastic adjectives, as for example «purissima, sanctissima, / rorifera, fructifera, / carens omni procella», employed by Juan Gil de Zamora at the *Officium almi flue Virginis* that accompanies his *Liber Marie* in the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional de España to characterize Mary upon her birth²⁵: stating the absolute purity and sanctity of Mary was assumed by everybody, both theologians and mere devotees, both immaculists and maculists. I am referring, for example, to the use of expressions such as «sin mancilla» (without stain), derived from «macula non est in te» of *Song of Sol* 4, 7, which was to become later an emblem of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, or to the presence of ideas concerning the pre-existence and predestination of the Virgin, also based upon Holy Scripture (*Prov* 8, 22-23; *Ecclus* 24, 14; *Ps* 109 (110), 3), soon employed by immaculist theologians: if Mary existed before Time, Mary existed before Sin²⁶. Twomey has noted that the use of the expression «sin mancilla» applied to the Virgin does not necessarily imply immaculism before the fifteenth century²⁷. In fact, Alfonso X employed it in *cantigas*

330, line 10, and 361, line 51. Before him, Gonzalo de Berceo employed it in *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, stanza 20²⁸. It also occurs in line 18 of a Latin hymn accompanying the works of Gonzalo de Berceo in the most authoritative manuscript that preserves them²⁹. In all these instances the expression «sin mancilla» applied to the Virgin refers not to her conception, but to her virginity and to her giving birth to Christ.

The ideas of the pre-existence and predestination of the Virgin were so widespread, even before the first immaculist theologians began to make use of them, that they are present in all these authors³⁰, but we are not authorized to interpret them as immaculist assertions if the overall context of the works including them is not immaculist (and it is not immaculist, as shall be shown). These ideas, however, are of great interest because in spite of their abstract and conceptualized character, which hinders any transposition of them into images, they will be occasionally used to visually express the idea of the Immaculate Conception. Due to their character, these ideas gave rise to different iconographic developments that usually required an accompanying text to make their interpretation clear. According to Levi d'Ancona, in medieval times they were represented by the image of the Virgin and Child and from the beginning of the Renaissance they were represented by the image of Mary as a maiden, either in her infancy or in her womanhood³¹. However, as there was no established iconography for these otherwise scarcely represented concepts, other possibilities also existed³².

In this context, it is worth drawing attention to Alfonso X's *cantiga* 180, illustrated in the «Códice Rico» (fol. 239r), as an early and alternative way of visually expressing these ideas (in a context that, in this instance, cannot be claimed as immaculist). In this poem, one of the most charming in the whole collection, the refrain praises Mary, ascribing her apparently antithetical roles: «Vella e Min a, /

Madr' e Donzela, / Pobre e Reynna, / Don' e Ancela»³³.

The successive stanzas explain why Mary reunites all these features. Echoing *Prov* 8, 22-23, Mary is an Old Woman: «segund' a profecia / que Salamon foi dela profetar, / que ante do mundo foi todavia / criada, e que nunc' á de minguar / o seu gran ben; e poren' encarnar / quis Deus en ela, que todo caudela»³⁴.

However, this apparently immaculist statement is immediately denied in the following stanza, when her condition as a Girl-Child is explained: God was so satisfied by her growing in virtues «que por ela salvar / deceu no mundo da sa alta sela»³⁵. This means that Mary needed Redemption, which would be unnecessary if she were immaculately conceived (we must remember that this poem precedes Duns Scotus, who was to reconcile the Immaculate Conception and the universal character of Redemption). The ideas of the pre-existence and predestination of the Virgin enclosed in the literary image of Mary as an Old Woman were visually expressed in the «Códice Rico» through the representation of Mary as a mature rather than an old woman. Here, she is gravely seated holding an open book while blessing with her right hand (an unusual gesture for the Virgin that appears on other occasions throughout the folio). She is accompanied by the image of Mary as a Girl-Child, visually expressed as a young girl standing nearby. Both images of Mary are flanked by standing, worshipping angels, defining a compositional sketch repeated throughout the folio (fig. 2).

Beyond these statements, which are not valid as proof of immaculist positions because they were not made within explicit immaculist contexts, writings produced in Castile in the second half of the thirteenth century demonstrate that both the story of the conception of the Virgin according to the apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* and the feast of the Conception of the Virgin of December 8 were well known at the time. These writings use these references to confirm and



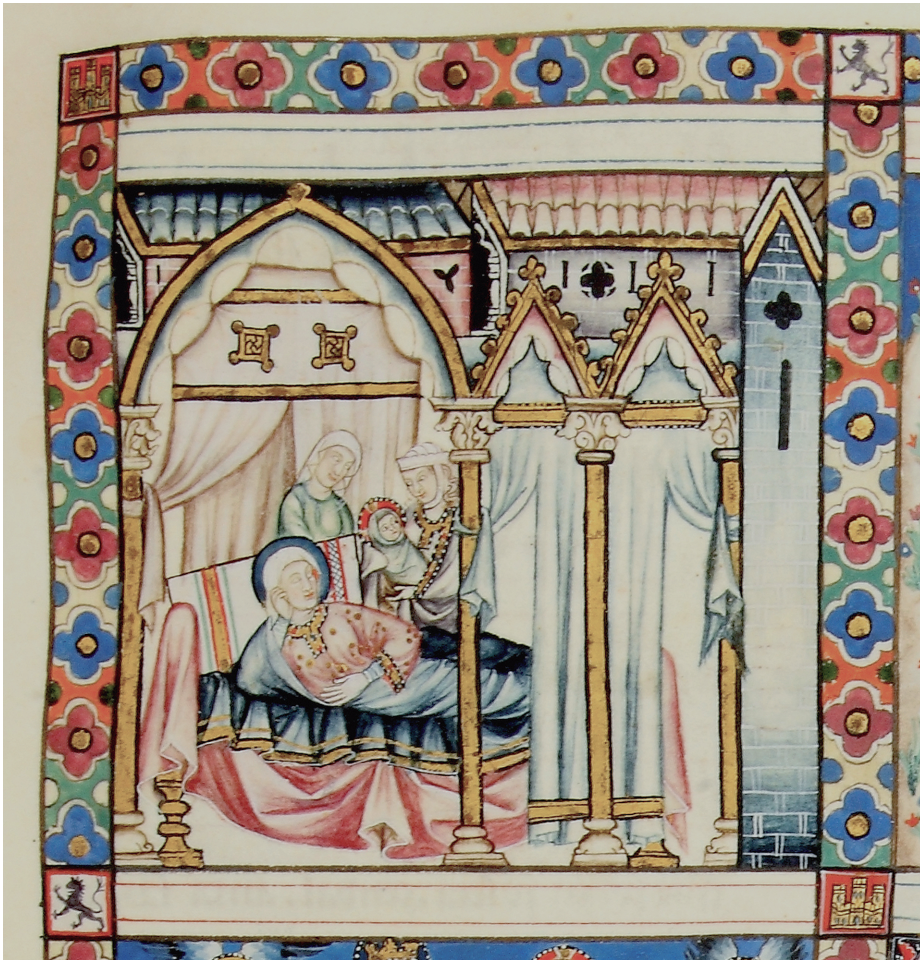
2. *San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, ms. T-I-1 («Códice Rico» of the Cantigas de Santa María), Castile, c. 1280, Mary as an Old Woman and as a Girl-Child (illustration for stanzas 2-3 of cantiga 180), illuminated manuscript (det. of fol. 239r).*

explicate maculist assertions, showing that their authors were conscious of the ensuing debate on this subject.

Concerning the story of the conception of the Virgin, it is convenient to consider, for example, the way in which it is presented in Alfonso X's *General Estoria*: «E el ángel apareció estonce a Anna, que estava en oración, e dixol: –Sal a las puertas que llaman doradas contra tu marido que te verná oy. E ella tanto que esto oyó fuese con sus mancebas a estar a aquella puerta faziendo su oración, e estando allí gran pieça cató e vio Joaquín que vinié con sus ganados, e fue corriendo a él e abraçólo e dio gracias a Dios, e dixo: – Ah, Señor, que bivda era, e loor ende a ti ya lo non só; manera e ya conciberé (...) Pues que Joaquín se fue con su mugier para su casa fue assí que Agna concibió

fija en el nombre de Dios, e luego que esta benedita fija fue concebida e el cuerpo en el vientre fue formado e el alma metida en él, e el Spíritu Santo vino e santi-góla toda, assí que ni migaja d'aquella mala raíz del pecado de Adam con que todos los omnes nacen non fincase en su carne nin en su alma»³⁶.

This passage is mostly an accurate translation of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* interspersed with quotations (omitted here) from the Bible and from the Fathers of the Church, but it also introduces significant changes and developments. Firstly, where the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* presents Anne saying «ecce iam concepi», referring to a miraculous conception that has taken place before the meeting with her husband, the *General Estoria* indicates «ya conciberé» (I



3. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, ms. T-I-1 («Códice Rico» of the *Cantigas de Santa María*), Castile, c. 1280, Nativity of the Virgin (illustration for the refrain of *cantiga* 70), illuminated manuscript (detail of fol. 118r).

shall conceive), referring to the natural conception that is going to take place subsequently. Those who thought that the conception of the Virgin took place miraculously (i.e., without sexual intercourse) were a minority even among the immaculists and the use in the visual arts of such moments as the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* was not intended as a portrayal of a miraculous conception, but as a way of avoiding the depiction of the mere act of procreation, certainly inappropriate for the liturgical or religious contexts where these images were displayed. However, the explicit insistence on the natural conception of the Virgin is more akin to a maculist than to an immaculist position. In any case, any possible doubt concerning Alfonso X's posi-

tion is immediately removed by the sentences that follow, which are not in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. They state that Mary was conceived, then her body was formed and then her soul was introduced into her body and that it was only in the third stage (i.e., upon animation) that she was sanctified by the Holy Spirit: Alfonso X explicitly adheres to the maculist theory of sanctification upon animation, the most widespread theory of thirteenth-century theology. A similar account, including changes and developments with respect to the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, is to be found in Alfonso X's *cantiga* 411, which, unfortunately, was not included in the «Códices de las Historias»³⁷. Other accounts, based upon the *Golden Legend's* adaptation of the

Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (and therefore including the allusion to the future sanctification of Mary during the announcement to Joachim) are to be found in Ceratense's *Vitas Sanctorum*³⁸ and in Gil de Zamora's *Legende Sanctorum*³⁹. If these accounts appear in liturgical or paraliturgical contexts, they are associated with the September 8 feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, not with the December 8 feast of the Conception of the Virgin, which is either deliberately ignored or clearly condemned, as we shall see below. The doctrine of sanctification upon animation as opposed to the doctrine of an Immaculate Conception occurs again in Alfonso X's *cantigas* 310⁴⁰, 330⁴¹, 414⁴², 418⁴³, 419⁴⁴ and 420⁴⁵ and is fully developed in Gil de Zamora's *Liber Marie*, extensively quoting from St. Bonaventure⁴⁶. In this treatise, the only systematic Mariological text among those discussed here, Gil de Zamora places sanctification «cito post animationem» (shortly after animation) quoting from Dominican Pierre de Tarentaise (future pope Bl. Innocent V), as the precise moment of sanctification was subject to controversy among maculists. Alfonso X, who is mainly a collector of poems, not a theologian writing a treatise, is vague or even contradictory in this respect. Sometimes it seems that he links the sanctification of the Virgin to the very instant of her conception (*cantiga* 310), sometimes it seems that he alludes to a double sanctification, both in her mother's womb and upon her birth (*cantigas* 330 and 420). The *Nativity of the Virgin* that appears in *cantiga* 70 in the «Códice Rico» (fol. 118r)⁴⁷ to illustrate the reference to the name of Mary in the refrain of the poem, shows both Anne and Mary with haloes (Mary with a cross inscribed in hers), which could be intended as an allusion to the theory of the sanctification of Mary upon her birth in view of the role she was to fulfill (fig. 3). In short, Alfonso X clearly adheres in his poems to the theory of sanctification as opposed to the theory of immaculate conception (despite contradictions with respect to

the precise moment in which sanctification took place). The dominance of maculism in Castile in the second half of the thirteenth century could not be clearer or stronger.

Alfonso X's *cantiga* 310, illustrated in the «Códice de Florencia» (fol. 36r), provided the opportunity to visually express the maculist doctrine of sanctification (fig. 4). Unfortunately, as stated previously, this manuscript was left unfinished and even though in the case of this *cantiga*, only the heads and hands needed to be completed, the inexpert illustrator who took on the task in the fourteenth century misunderstood the image illustrating stanza 1, referring to sanctification⁴⁸. The resulting image is unintelligible. In the upper part Mary, wearing a crown, is seated in Heaven flanked by four seated male figures, probably originally intended to be the four evangelists. In the lower part there is a kneeling figure, also wearing a crown, that was completed in the fourteenth century as an absurd second depiction of the Virgin. This kneeling figure was probably originally intended to be king Alfonso X, gesturing and speaking to a group of notable people, including a bishop and clerics⁴⁹. The precise relationship between the wording of the stanza and the image illustrating it remains obscure, even if we overlook the mistakes made by the artist who completed the image. Maybe by associating the Virgin with the evangelists in Heaven the intention was to express the unique role of the Virgin in the task of Redemption, a role for which she needed to be sanctified, and Alfonso X presented himself as witness and proclaimer of this. Similar images were used with an immaculist intention at an early stage of the iconographic development of the new doctrine⁵⁰.

Concerning the feast of the Conception of December 8, Alfonso X merely ignores it when enumerating the feasts of the Virgin, but Cerratense and Gil de Zamora go further when listing them and criticize those who commemorate it. Alfonso X's *cantiga* 410 lists the five



4. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. B.R. 20 («Códice de Florencia» of the Cantigas de Santa María), Castile, c. 1280, crudely completed in the fourteenth century, The Sanctified Virgin (illustration for stanza 1 of *cantiga* 310), illuminated manuscript (detail of fol. 36r).

feasts of Mary that «Santa Egreja ordi[n]ou» (Holy Church decreed). These feasts are the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8), the Annunciation (March 25), a feast obscurely referred to as «como Reynou / ontr' as virgêes, u amou / sa virgïdad' e guardou / por toda bondade comprir» (stanza 6)⁵¹, the Purification (February 2) and the Assumption (August 15). Subsequent *cantigas* go into each of these feasts in detail. *Cantiga* 411 refers to the Nativity of the Virgin, including the apocryphal account of the conception of the Virgin according to the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* already discussed, while *cantigas* 413 and 414 develop the feast obscurely referred to in *cantiga* 410, which is clearly identified here with the Hispanic feast of the active

Conception of the Virgin of December 18, named on this occasion feast of the Virginité of the Virgin and presented as established by St. Ildephonsus. Cerratense's *Vitas Sanctorum* and Gil de Zamora's *Legende Sanctorum* list these very same five feasts, vaguely quoting the one of December 18 as «De commemoratione beate Marie» or «De festo beate Marie Virginis» (Cerratense)⁵² or as «Aduentus Christi in carnem ystoria» (Gil de Zamora)⁵³. Cerratense says that the passive conception of the Virgin, which certainly took place on December 8, should not be celebrated, «quia humano modo concepta fuit sicut alii, in peccato originali». However, he acknowledges that the Conception feast of December 8 «in quibusdam calendariis legi-

tur». Gil de Zamora expresses similar ideas in the treatise about the conception of the Virgin included in his *Liber Marie*. He believes, «salua sententia meliori», that Mary was conceived in sin, so that what is worthy of commemoration is not her conception, but her sanctification, which, as stated, took place shortly after animation at a precise moment that is impossible to determine⁵⁴. However, quoting St. Bonaventure, he proves more indulgent than Cerratense, as he acknowledges that some people, «quos nec omnino laudare nec simpliciter audeo reprehendere», commemorate the Conception of the Virgin moved by a special devotion towards her. Finally, he states that if what is commemorated were not the actual conception, but the future sanctification, the feast could be accepted, even though he is not fond of it.

The special role of Santiago de Compostela and Salamanca

The way in which Cerratense and Gil de Zamora oppose the commemoration of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin of December 8 is the best proof of its existence in Castile. It is likely that this feast was not of general acceptance, but it is also likely that there were churches or individuals that celebrated it, even though we cannot be certain of its precise doctrinal content, maculist or immaculist. A missal from the prestigious Benedictine abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos⁵⁵ provides probably the earliest unquestionable evidence for the feast of the Conception of the Virgin of December 8 in Castile and even in Spain as a whole. Its codicological features and the style of its crude miniatures place it in the early thirteenth century. Considering that its calendar includes the patron saint of the monastery, we must assume that it was produced at the very same abbey. The calendar for December (fol. 5v) includes on «vi idus» (December 8) the «Conceptio beate marie» and on «xv kalendas Ianuarii» (December 18) the «Expectatio beate marie». The mass for the Concep-

tion, which occupies fols 106r-110r, is the only one in the whole manuscript that includes musical notation, perhaps because of its novelty.

Generalization of the feast in Castile was to come only in the early fourteenth century, in a process in which the church of Santiago de Compostela and its suffragan the church Salamanca were to assume a leading role that suggests that this devotion was firmly established in them prior to this date. In fact, taking advantage of the fact that a national council was being held in Salamanca in 1310, the ecclesiastical district of Santiago de Compostela, which included eight dioceses in Castile (Santiago de Compostela, Ávila, Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, Coria, Plasencia, Salamanca and Zamora) and five dioceses in Portugal (Évora, Guarda, Lamego, Lisbon and Silves), held its own meeting and approved that «festum Conceptionis beatae Virginis gloriosae per totam Compostellanam provinciam singulis annis, VI idus Decembris, solemniter celebretur» (canon IV)⁵⁶. In the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, the first documentary evidence of its celebration dates back to 1309, when a statute by the archbishop and chapter established «quod in Conceptione bte. Marie virginis, scilicet quando concepta fuit in utero matris sue, videlicet VI idus decembris celebretur festum solempne cum mitris ob reverentiam ipsius Virginis», apparently solemnizing a feast that was already commemorated⁵⁷. In the cathedral of Salamanca, the first documentary evidence of its celebration dates back to 1335, when a certain Ruy Gil, fellow of the cathedral (he became later a canon), endowed several anniversaries, including one «para las oras et proçesión de la ffeista de la Concepción»⁵⁸. By this time, a certain «Magister Petrus Compostellanus», who wrote a sort of allegorical encyclopedia entitled *De consolatione rationis* in the time of archbishop Berenguel de Landoira (1317-30), discussed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in his writings, supporting it in a distinctive and peculiar way⁵⁹.

Unquestionable evidence in the early fourteenth century concerning the feast of the Conception and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the church of Santiago de Compostela and in its suffragan the church of Salamanca was probably firmly rooted in unrecorded traditions of the thirteenth century that provide the necessary background for the wall paintings discussed here, themselves a sign of this devotion.

In this context of lack of clear evidence before the early fourteenth century, there is a document that deserves special attention: the will dictated in Salamanca on December 16, 1273, by Rui Fernandes de Santiago, a well-known poet of the Galician-Portuguese tradition⁶⁰. In this document «Rodericus Fernandi Compostellanus» presents himself as «clericus» of king Alfonso X and as «scolaris» of the University of Salamanca, which must be understood as lecturer. He left instructions for his burial in the cloister of the cathedral of Salamanca, but he also established an anniversary in the cathedral of his home city of Santiago de Compostela «in crastinum Conceptionis beate Virginis». Unfortunately, the books of anniversaries of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela do not register his endowment⁶¹, so we cannot be sure if this learned man of Galician origin, living and working in Salamanca in close connection with its University and cathedral (which by that time were almost one and the same thing), was referring to the traditional Hispanic feast of December 18 or to the controversial imported feast of December 8. Frías discussed this at length and considered it likely that he was referring to the second⁶².

Bishop Pedro Pérez, the presumed founder of the chapel and patron of the wall paintings discussed in this article, probably belonged to the very same personal and intellectual background as Rui Fernandes de Santiago. This enables us to hypothesize that, in Castile, in the second half of the thirteenth century, in a general context of reluctance about the feast of the Conception of the Virgin of

December 8 and rejection of immaculist speculations, a group of learned clerics connected with the church of Santiago de Compostela and its suffragan the church of Salamanca were the forerunners of a devotion that would be generally accepted in the Crown of Castile well into the fourteenth century.

In support of this hypothesis there is the will of Rui Fernandes de Santiago of 1273, which probably refers to the feast of December 8; the statute of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in 1309, apparently solemnizing an already commemorated feast; the canon of the provincial council of Santiago de Compostela held in Salamanca in 1310, apparently conferring official status on what was then a widespread feast; and the writings of «Magister Petrus Compostellanus» dating from the time of archbishop Berenguel de Landoira (1317-30), which discuss the doctrine in their own right. And now, new and strong evidence in the form of wall paintings from the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca, dated to 1262 and probably commissioned by bishop Pedro Pérez. There is no comparable early evidence from any other place in the Crown of Castile, apart from the isolated and undated missal from the Benedictine abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos. What is known about bishop Pedro Pérez? Not a great deal, unfortunately. The epitaph carved on the wall above his tomb in the chapel of San Martín (fig. 5) was mainly intended as a laudatory text and as a scholarly exercise of Latin versification, not as a brief account of his life⁶³. In any case, his epitaph underscores the learned milieu in which bishop Pedro Pérez lived and mentions his devotion to the Virgin and his confidence in her powers as intercessor: «ALMA MARIA / EI(US) SIS ANIME DUX VIA VIRGOPIA». These statements can be linked to the program of the wall paintings discussed here (imprecisely, unfortunately). He is recorded as bishop of Salamanca between 1248 and 1264, the probable year of his death. The question is if this Pedro Pérez is the same Pedro Pérez who



5. Salamanca, Old Cathedral, chapel of San Martín, tomb of bishop Pedro Pérez (d. c. 1264).

entered the service of the royal chancery of León in 1203 and who became royal chancellor of León in two different periods: 1213-21 and 1224-30 (until the Kingdom of León was subsumed into the Crown of Castile). A simple cleric in 1207, he held different positions in churches of the Kingdom of León (starting in Galicia, where he was probably born)⁶⁴. Once he left the royal chancery, he is frequently recorded in Ourense until

1242⁶⁵. It is not certain, but I believe assumable that Pedro Pérez the royal chancellor of León and Pedro Pérez the bishop of Salamanca are one and the same person⁶⁶: Galician by origin, Galician by family, Galician by education, Galician by career... It is therefore possible to relate Pedro Pérez to the intellectual milieu that seems to have prompted the devotion and cult of the Immaculate Conception in Western Spain.

Conclusion

The paintings on the east wall of the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca must be regarded as a relatively early example of the iconography of the Immaculate Conception. In this instance, paintings do not merely express the then controversial doctrine, but also commemorate the extraordinary event it put forward as the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Old Testament and the beginning of Mankind's Redemption, a deed that required not only Christ's sacrifice, but also Christ's prior Incarnation in an appropriate vessel. The ambitious purpose of these paintings required the use of immaculist imagery developed elsewhere beyond the Pyrenees. At this time Spain (especially Western Spain) still played a marginal role in the development of the theological controversy surrounding the Immaculate Conception and in the creation of images to give it visibility. This is seen in the texts by outstanding writers such as king Alfonso X, Rodrigo de Cerrato or Juan Gil de Zamora. Western Spain played a passive and receptive role at this time, leaning towards the most conservative, even authoritative, theories, which were to find some visual expression in the unique work of art embodied by the «Códices de las Historias» of the *Cantigas de Santa María* commissioned by king Alfonso X. By then, it appears that only a group of learned clerics linked to the churches of Santiago de Compostela and Salamanca were devotees of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin. It is probable that bishop Pedro Pérez, the presumed patron of these paintings, was among this group of learned clerics and, if so, it was he who ordered the creation of an ensemble capable of expressing his devotional concerns. It has been said that in terms of style and layout these paintings reflect the art developed in the courts of Paris and London from the 1240s onwards (in fact, none of their features relate to any Castil-

ian tradition). This study puts forward the idea that the same must be said regarding their iconography: at the time these paintings were created, the ideas involved and the models employed were being elaborated and discussed in France and England, so the artist who worked in Salamanca must have been familiar with them. In relation to their style and layout, it has been suggested that these paintings are a possible consequence of the recorded stay in Castile in 1256-57 of Peter of Spain. He was the most outstanding painter in the service of king Henry III of England in the 1250s and worked mainly in Westminster (both palace and abbey). If this is the case, could their iconographic display be also a consequence of this English influence? An affirmative answer without an endless list of warnings is impossible and certainly unwise, but it must be remembered that Westminster Abbey was one of the centers responsible for the restoration of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin in twelfth-century England and that Osbert of Clare, who was the author of some of the foundational writings on the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the 1120s, was prior of this famous abbey at that time.

It is clear that the paintings on the east wall of the chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca, signed and dated by Antón Sánchez de Segovia in 1262 and created to dignify the altar of this funerary chapel, presumably founded by bishop Pedro Pérez, reflect an international and avant-garde character. This not only in their style and layout, but also in their complex iconographic program, which deals with the controversial doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and its implications, considered at the time with great reluctance in the rest of Castile.

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Notes

1) O. G. von Simson, *Compassio and Co-Redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross*, in «The Art Bulletin» 35/1 (1953), pp. 11-13. The early development of these ideas in Spanish art is studied in A. Domínguez Rodríguez, «*Compassio* y «*co-redemptio*» en las *cantigas de Santa María*. *Crucifixión y Juicio final*, in «Archivo Español de Arte» 71 (1998), pp. 17-35.

2) M. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de Salamanca*, Valencia 1967, p. 128. Translated into English «below and comprising the whole width was displayed the scene of the Calvary, almost completely erased by humidity and rubbing; but one can still trace the sun and the moon above the cross; an angel that would collect the blood of Christ in a chalice; to the left, a large group of figures with colored haloes, their heads covered with their cloaks and in attitudes of sorrow, and to the right another group of soldiers, one of them being the "centurio", as recorded by a label, dressed with white pourpoints or hauberks protecting their legs and even the fingers of their hands, mail coifs, chapels de fer, one of them with a crest of yellow feathers or horsehairs, shield with emblems, pointed "adarga" [a sort of Muslim shield made of hardened leather] with its tassels, sword, spears, partisan, some sort of yellow surcoat, etc.». Even though the text was published in 1967, it was written in 1901-1903. Its condition was already very poor by then. F. Giner de los Ríos, *La catedral vieja de Salamanca*, in «Ilustración Artística» 2 (1883), p. 79, was probably referring to this composition when mentioning in this area «guerreros con escudos» (warriors with shields), without identifying Crucifixion. After Gómez-Moreno's visit, sources for the study of this scene are even vaguer: photographs of 1927, see F. Gutiérrez Baños, *Picturing the Immaculate Conception in Thirteenth-century Castile: The Wall Paintings of the Chapel of San Martín in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca*, in «Iconographica» 17 (2018), fig. 3, and Post's description published in 1930: «Beneath the Joachim may be seen the indistinct traces of a scene that appears to depict a struggle, perhaps the Massacre of the Innocents, and beneath the hypothetical Anne there remain vestiges of haloed figures», see Ch. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA, 1930, p. 143.

3) Gómez-Moreno's description refers to «an angel that would collect the blood of Christ in a chalice». If it really existed (note the use of the conditional), it would be an extraordinary early depiction of this motif. The earliest ex-

- ample I know of is a c. 1255 diptych by Bonaventura Berlinghieri (alternatively attributed to the Master of the Oblate Cross) exhibited in the Galleria degli Uffizi, nos 8575-8576.
- 4) Closer to the cross from this side, the remains of a pair of legs in a dynamic attitude suggest the possible former presence of Longinus.
- 5) Domínguez Rodríguez, «*Compassio*» y «*co-redemptio*», pp. 19-26, figs. 1-4.
- 6) «She fell on the ground as if she were dead from a fierce disease», see G. de Berceo, *Obras completas*, ed. B. Dutton, London 1967-81, vol. 3, p. 33 (*El duelo de la Virgen*, stanza 109).
- 7) A. Neff, *The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross*, in «The Art Bulletin» 80 (1998), pp. 254-73.
- 8) Its present condition, «O UOS OMNES QUI TRANSITIS P(ER) UIAM ATENDITE ET (...) ...E SI ES[T] DOLOR (...)», is the result of the 1950-51 restoration, but its genuine character is out of doubt, as it was recorded by Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental*, p. 128: «M. mater di omnes qui transitis p. viam attendite et videte si es dolor sim sic.....».
- 9) J. Yarza Luaces, *La Edad Media*, Madrid 1980, p. 249.
- 10) Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, in E. Amann (ed.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, t. 7/1, Paris 1927, cols 986-87.
- 11) M. Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception: étapes et enjeux d'une controverse au Moyen-Âge (XII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 2000, pp. 516-18.
- 12) L. Frías, *Antigüedad de la fiesta de la Inmaculada Concepción en las iglesias de España*, in «Miscelánea Comillas» 22 (1954), pp. 32-34.
- 13) Frías, *Antigüedad*, pp. 50-51, 72, 79-80 and 84. The document in F. Gazulla, *Los reyes de Aragón y la Purísima Concepción de María Santísima*, in «Boletín de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona» 21 (1906), pp. 259-61. It has been claimed that the monasteries of Irache, in Navarre, in the late eleventh century, and Ripoll, in Catalonia, in the late twelfth century, already observed the feast of December 8, but this remains doubtful, see Frías, *Antigüedad*, pp. 80-82 and 84.
- 14) Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, cols 1060 and 1062-64; C. Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception up to the Death of Scotus*, in E. D. O'Connor (ed.), *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance*, Notre Dame, IN, 1958, pp. 200-1; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 326-36.
- 15) The immaculist case for Gonzalo de Berceo was upheld by N. G. Garcés, «*¿Qué pensaba de la Virgen el pueblo castellano del siglo XIII? Doctrina mariana en la poesía de Gonzalo de Berceo*», in «Estudios Marianos» 35 (1970), pp. 38-42. However, most scholars deny it: A. Riera Estarellas, *La doctrina immaculista en los orígenes de nuestras lenguas romances*, in «Estudios Marianos» 16 (1955), p. 254; J. W. Marchand - S. Baldwin, *A Maculist at the Court of Alfonso el Sabio: Gil de Zamora's Lost Treatise on the Immaculate Conception*, in «Franciscan Studies» 47 (1987), pp. 171 and 179-80; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin in Thirteenth-century Spain*, in «Bulletin of Hispanic Studies» 71 (1994), p. 172; R. Burkard, *Berceo's Limited Dogmata Concerning the Virgin in his Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, in «Romance Notes» 44 (2004), pp. 228-29; L. K. Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose: The Immaculate Conception and Hispanic Poetry in the Late Medieval Period*, Leiden-Boston 2008, pp. 77-81, 113-14, 133, 162-64, 189-90, 220-31 and 239.
- 16) The standard edition here employed is Alfonso X el Sabio, *General Estoria*, ed. P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, Madrid 2009, 10 vols.
- 17) The standard edition here employed is Alfonso X el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. W. Mettmann, Madrid 1986-89, 3 vols. An English version of the full collection is provided in K. Kulp-Hill (tr.), *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María*, Tempe, AZ, 2000.
- 18) San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, ms. T-I-1.
- 19) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. B.R. 20.
- 20) Riera Estarellas, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 248-50; C. Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista en las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X el Sabio*, in F. J. Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (ed.), *La Inmaculada Concepción en España: religiosidad, historia y arte*, San Lorenzo de El Escorial 2005, t. 2, pp. 1219-46 (a good article that, in my opinion, misinterprets the texts). Scholars denying it, with whom I agree, include: Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, pp. 171-72 and 179-80; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin*, pp. 172-73; Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, pp. 243-53 and 268.
- 21) C. Ferrero Hernández, *Nuevas perspectivas sobre Juan Gil de Zamora*, in «Studia Zamorensia» 9 (2010), pp. 19-33; Eadem (ed.), *Juan Gil, franciscano de Zamora*, in «Studia Zamorensia» 13 (2014), pp. 23-183. The classic study about this author is in J. Gil de Zamora, *De preconiis Hispanie*, ed. M. de Castro y Castro, Madrid 1955.
- 22) J. Gil de Zamora, *Legende Sanctorum*, ed. J. C. Martín Iglesias - E. Otero Pereira, Zamora 2014.
- 23) O. S. Bohdziewicz, *Una contribución al estudio de la prosa latina en la Castilla del siglo XIII: edición crítica y estudio del Liber Mariae de Juan Gil de Zamora*, Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Buenos Aires 2014. I am indebted to the author for generously facilitating me her unpublished dissertation together with several articles relevant for the purpose of this text. *Liber Marie* was in fact the second part of a larger treatise entitled *Liber Ihesu et Marie*, but it was copied separately, see Eadem, *El Liber Mariae de Juan Gil de Zamora. Hacia un estado de la cuestión*, in «Incipit» 32-33 (2012-13), pp. 167-90; C. Arronis Llopis - F. Baños Vallejo, *Las vidas de María en el ámbito peninsular pretridentino*, in «Estudios Humanísticos. Filología» 36 (2014), pp. 72-74.
- 24) In the past there was a great controversy concerning the position of Juan Gil de Zamora on this point, see Ferrero Hernández, *Nuevas perspectivas*, pp. 24-27; Bohdziewicz, *El Liber Mariae de Juan Gil de Zamora*, pp. 183-86; Eadem, *Juan Gil de Zamora en la crítica immaculista de Pedro de Alva y Astorga*, in «Fuego y Raya» 6 (2013), pp. 39-52. Treatise IV of *Liber Marie*, entitled «Qualiter Virgo almi flua fuit concepta», was considered lost for a long time because the leaves containing it were torn off from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (we can suspect that it was done so precisely because of their maculist content), but it is actually preserved in the manuscript in the cathedral of El Burgo de Osma and it has been published firstly by Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, pp. 174-77 (partially) and then by Bohdziewicz, *Una contribución*, pp. 192-96 (fully). The text of treatise IV of *Liber Marie* leaves no room for any doubt: Juan Gil de Zamora was a current maculist of the thirteenth century extensively quoting from St. Bonaventure, whose maculist position is well known, see Le Bachelet, *Immaculée Conception*, cols 1047-8; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 237-76. However, in modern times the immaculist case for Juan Gil de Zamora is upheld by Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1224-25, who ignores the finding of treatise IV of *Liber Marie*. Scholars denying it, with whom I agree, include: Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, pp. 171-80; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin*, pp. 172-73; E. Pérez Rodríguez, *Cantus in laudem Virginis: el oficio poético de Juan Gil de Zamora*, in «Studia Zamorensia» 13 (2014), pp. 115-16.

- 25) J. Gil de Zamora, *Obra poética*, ed. E. Pérez Rodríguez, Zamora 2018, p. 216 (hymn, lines 5-7).
- 26) Balić, *The Mediaeval Controversy*, pp. 184-85; Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 166-81.
- 27) Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, p. 138.
- 28) Garcés, *¿Qué pensaba?*, p. 42; Burkard, *Berceo's Limited Dogmata*, p. 227. For similar expressions in other passages of his works, see Garcés, *¿Qué pensaba?*, pp. 37 and 43-44.
- 29) Santo Domingo de Silos, abadía benedictina, ms. 110, fols 84r-84v. Published in G. de Berceo, *Obras completas*, ed. Dutton, vol. 2, pp. 10-11.
- 30) For Gonzalo de Berceo, who expresses them loosely, see Garcés, *¿Qué pensaba?*, pp. 36-38; Marchand - Baldwin, *Singers of the Virgin*, p. 172. For the Latin hymn accompanying the works of Gonzalo de Berceo, see *ibidem*, p. 171. For Alfonso X's *cantiga* 180, see *ibidem*, p. 171; Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, p. 1242. For Alfonso X's *cantiga* 414, see *ibidem*, p. 1241. For Cerratense, who paraphrases Ecclesi 24, 14, see R. de Cerrato, *Vitas Sanctorum*, ed. F. Villamil Fernández, Santiago de Compostela 1992, p. 100. For Gil de Zamora, see Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, pp. 173-4; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin*, p. 171; O. S. Bohdziewicz, *El Liber Mariae de Juan Gil de Zamora y el discurso compilatorio*, in «Studia Zamorensia» 13 (2014), p. 106.
- 31) M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, New York 1957, pp. 19 and 50-53, figs 2 and 41.
- 32) *Ibidem*, pp. 28-29 and 56, fig. 13.
- 33) «Old Woman and Girl-Child, Mother and Maiden, Pauper and Queen, Mistress and Handmaiden», see Kulp-Hill (tr.), *Songs of Holy Mary*, p. 216. The full poem in Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 2, pp. 193-95.
- 34) «according to the prophecy Solomon made of Her, that She existed before the world was created, and Her great benevolence will never decrease. Therefore, God Who rules all chose to become incarnate in Her» (stanza 2).
- 35) «that in order to save Her He descended to earth from His high throne» (stanza 3).
- 36) Alfonso X, *General Estoria*, ed. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, vol. 10, pp. 805-6 (pp. 801-6 the full account). Translated into English: «And the angel appeared then to Anne, who was praying, and told her: – Go to the gates that are called the golden ones to meet your husband, who is coming today. And as soon as she heard this, she went there with her maids to stay at the gate praying, and while staying there for a long time she looked and saw Joachim coming with his cattle and she run to meet him and she embraced him and gave thanks to God saying: – Ah, God my Lord, I was a widow and glory be said to you I am not any more; I was barren and I shall conceive (...) As Joachim went to his home together with his wife, Anne conceived a daughter in the name of God, and as soon as this blessed daughter was conceived and in the womb the body was formed and the soul in it was introduced, the Holy Spirit came and sanctified her entirely, so that not even a small bit of that bad root of the sin of Adam with which every human being is born remained either in her flesh or in her soul».
- 37) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 327-32. Comments on this poem in Riera Estarellas, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 248-49; Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, pp. 171-72; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin*, p. 172; Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1243-44; Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, pp. 243-48.
- 38) Cerrato, *Vitas Sanctorum*, ed. Villamil Fernández, pp. 100-7.
- 39) Gil de Zamora, *Legende Sanctorum*, ed. Martín Iglesias - Otero Pereira, pp. 596-607.
- 40) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 117-18. Comments on this poem in Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, pp. 171-72; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin*, p. 172; Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1241-42, fig. 3; Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, p. 251.
- 41) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 165-66. Comments on this poem in Marchand - Baldwin, *A Maculist*, p. 172; Idem, *Singers of the Virgin*, p. 172; Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1244-46; Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, pp. 251-52.
- 42) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 334-35. Comments on this poem in Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1240-42.
- 43) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 338-39.
- 44) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 340-45. Comments on this poem in Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1238-40.
- 45) Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 345-47. Comments on this poem in Riera Estarellas, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 249-50; Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1244-46; Twomey, *The Serpent and the Rose*, pp. 248-50.
- 46) Bohdziewicz, *Una contribución*, pp. 192-204.
- 47) In this manuscript this *cantiga* is numbered 80.
- 48) «For She was always sanctified from the moment Her father made Her in the body of Her mother, where She lay so very small», see Kulp-Hill (tr.), *Songs of Holy Mary*, p. 375.
- 49) A. Domínguez Rodríguez, *Poder, ciencia y religiosidad en la miniatura de Alfonso X el Sabio. Una aproximación*, in «Fragmentos» 2 (1984), p. 46, fig. 11; Álvarez Díaz, *La doctrina immaculista*, pp. 1241-42, fig. 3. Domínguez Rodríguez comments on the political implications of this image.
- 50) Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography*, p. 29, fig. 13.
- 51) «how She reigned among the virgins when She loved Her virginity and guarded it to fulfill Her blessed destiny», see Kulp-Hill (tr.), *Songs of Holy Mary*, p. 494. The full poem in Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, ed. Mettmann, vol. 3, pp. 325-26. Mettmann and Kulp-Hill erroneously interpret this feast as December 8's passive conception.
- 52) Cerrato, *Vitas Sanctorum*, ed. Villamil Fernández, pp. 97 and 224-25. Concerning Cerratense's remarks, see Frías, *Antigüedad*, p. 59; L. Frías, *Antigüedad de la fiesta de la Inmaculada Concepción en las iglesias de España*, in «Miscelánea Comillas» 23 (1955), pp. 116-17.
- 53) Gil de Zamora, *Legende Sanctorum*, ed. Martín Iglesias - Otero Pereira, pp. 132 and 133-37. Gil de Zamora names this feast «festum anunciacionis» when commenting on its presumed institution by St. Ildephonsus, see *ibidem*, p. 162.
- 54) Bohdziewicz, *Una contribución*, pp. 192-95. Concerning Gil de Zamora's remarks, see Pérez Rodríguez, *Cantus in laudem Virginis*, p. 116.
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- 56) F. Fita y Colomé, *Actas inéditas de siete concilios españoles celebrados desde el año 1282 hasta el de 1314*, Madrid 1882, p. 73; A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 5, Santiago de Compostela 1905, *appendices*, p. 145, no. LI; Frías, *Antigüedad* (1954), pp. 37-38, 71, 80 and 84.

- 57) López Ferreiro, *Historia, appendices*, p. 130, no. XLVIII; Frías, *Antigüedad* (1954), pp. 38-40, 70, 72, 80 and 84.
- 58) Salamanca, Archivo de la Catedral, Caj. 3, leg. 1, núm. 6. The date of December 8 (instead of the date of December 18) is confirmed by the book of anniversaries, see *ibidem*, Caj. 67, leg. 3, núm. 1, fol. 51v.
- 59) J. Climent Pérez, *El primer escolástico que propugnó el privilegio inmaculista de María, fue un español*, in «Ilustración del Clero» 32 (1939), pp. 17-20, 57-63 and 90-95. This author, full of patriotic enthusiasm, claimed Petrus Compostellanus as the first theologian who stated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as he thought he had written his work c. 1140, in the time of archbishop Berenguer I, instead of archbishop Berenguer II. L. Modrić, *De Petro Compostellano qui primus assertor Immaculatae Conceptionis dicitur*, in «Antonianum» 29 (1954), pp. 563-72, placed correctly his work in the fourteenth century, softening the immaculist character of his asserts (about these, see Lamy, *L'Immaculée Conception*, pp. 429-30).
- 60) Published by V. Beltrán de Heredia, *Carulario de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca 1970-72, t. 1, pp. 619-22, who discusses the personage in pp. 85-87, and by X. B. Arias Freixedo, *As cantigas de Roi Fernandiz de Santiago*, Vigo 2010, appendix 1.
- 61) E. Leirós Fernández, *Los tres libros de aniversarios de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela*, «Compostellanum» 15 (1970), pp. 179-254.
- 62) Frías, *Antigüedad* (1954), pp. 38-40, 80 and 84. The feast of December 18, which, we must remember, received different names (among which Conception of the Virgin, referring to her active conception), is never designated feast of the Conception of the Virgin in liturgical evidence from the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.
- 63) «+ HIC PRESVL PETR(US) PETRI IACET ALMA MARIA / EI(US) SIS ANIME DUX VIA VIRGO PIA / EGREGI(US) SOCI(US) HVMILIS PI(US) ATQ(UE) BENIGN(US) / VIR FVIT ET PACIENS PRELATI N(OMI)NE DIGN(US) / O(MN)IB(US) HOSPICIUM FVIT HI(C) GAVDENS DARE DONVM / CLERI PRESIDIVM PROMT(US) AD O(MN)E BONVM / HIC EXPENDEBAT DA(N)S CV(N)TIS Q(U)ICQ(U)ID HABEBAT / HIC DARE NON RENVIT MENS DARE TOTA FVIT / PRESVLE DE PET(R)O BREVITER VOLO DICERE MET(R)O / QVEM TEGIT HEC PETRA PER MEA SCRIBO METRA / MORS FVIT IPSI(US) MVLTI LACRIMABILE FVN(US) / HVIC MISERERE DEVS Q(U)I REGNAS TRIN(US) ET VN(US)» (own transcription).
- 64) Records are to be found mainly in J. González, *Alfonso IX*, Madrid 1944, t. 2, and also in M. L. Guadalupe Beraza *et alii* (ed.), *Colección documental de la catedral de Salamanca I (1098-1300)*, León 2009, as he is recorded as archdeacon of Salamanca in 1214-21 and 1223?
- 65) Records are to be found in M. B. Vaquero Díaz - F. J. Pérez Rodríguez (ed.), *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de Ourense (888-1300)*, León 2010, 2 ts.
- 66) F. Gutiérrez Baños - E. Pérez Rodríguez, *Lo que un epitafio esconde: Pedro Pérez, obispo de Salamanca (1248-1264)*, in «Hispania Sacra» 71 (2019), pp. 59-76.

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