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“Like a Wolf Takes a Sheep”

The Wall Paintings of the Chapel of St Barbara in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca

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In 2019 a cycle of wall paintings depicting the story of St Barbara was brought to light in the chapel dedicated to her in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca (Crown of Castile, Spain). They were painted c. 1350-1360, at the time the chapel was constructed and decorated by Bishop Juan Lucero, and, upon their discovery, they were found to be very well preserved. Following their immediate restoration, this article explores their significance in the hagiographic and iconographic tradition of St Barbara, a controversial, yet, very popular female saint whose story required successive adaptations in the West to keep her within the boundaries of the orthodoxy of sacramental practices. The special interest of the Salamanca wall paintings is predicated on their relatively early date and on their coherence with the development of the hagiographic tradition of St Barbara in the Crown of Castile, where, in contrast to other European regions, the account numbered 915 in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* was preferred until the 16th century in both Latin and vernacular versions, thereby ignoring the aforementioned adaptations. This led to the creation of striking scenes, especially that of St Barbara's self-baptising, which, according to this research, is a unique scene, unparalleled in other cycles.

Keywords: Salamanca, St Barbara, Gothic wall painting, Castilian hagiography, baptism

In 2019 a major discovery was made in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca: conservation works in the chapel of St Barbara revealed the wall paintings that originally decorated its altar. They were concealed behind a Renaissance altarpiece that allowed them to be preserved in particularly good condition, as they were never painted over, but merely hidden by this piece of furniture. This chapel had been founded, constructed, and decorated in the mid-14th century by Bishop Juan Lucero, who was bishop of Salamanca between 1339/1340 and 1361, before becoming bishop of Segovia between 1361 and his death in 1364.¹ Juan Lucero was a prominent cleric who had great standing in Castile during the reigns of Alfonso XI (1312-1350) and Pedro I (1350-1369), and his chapel in Salamanca is one of the earliest examples of a private funerary chapel specifically designed for this purpose in the entire Crown of Castile. It was constructed adjacent to the Romanesque cloister of the cathedral, and it still houses the tomb of the bishop in the centre, facing the altar decorated with the freshly recovered wall paintings depicting the story of the titular saint of this room (fig. 1).

The chapel of St Barbara of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca is first mentioned in 1352 and the wall paintings under discussion can be dated to c. 1350-1360 on stylistic grounds. They consist of fifteen compartments housing ten scenes of the saint's life that originally surrounded its now missing sculpture, which rested on a now erased corbel (fig. 2). This arrangement is evocative of early altarpieces of the tabernacle type, which were popular across Europe at the time and which also could be found in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca.²

St Barbara in the hagiographic tradition of the Middle Ages

Why Juan Lucero chose St Barbara as the titular saint of his private funerary chapel is unclear, but the saint was certainly extremely popular throughout Europe. Another Castilian cleric, Juan Sánchez, the archbishop of Seville (d. 1349) and a contemporary of Juan Lucero, was also buried in a chapel of St Barbara, founded by him in his own cathedral in Seville.³ Devotion to St Barbara was inspired by the belief that she could protect against lightning strikes and sudden death. But in spite of her popularity, which gave rise to hundreds, if not thousands of representations, her origin, her story, and even her actual existence remain obscure. Thus, the *Acta Sanctorum* for the 4 December, the feast day of St Barbara, were never published. However, the surviving accounts of her life were listed in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina (BHL)*, the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, and the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* collected by the Société des Bollandistes. Her cult emerged in the East during Late Antiquity on the basis of a Greek text that Pio Paschini considered a literary exercise modelled on stories of other saints. If so, St Barbara, the young girl who, living in a pagan *milieu*, became Christian by intuition and was tortured and finally beheaded by her own hideous father, never existed, and her *passio* does not testify to the exemplary life of a female saint, but to the literary skills of Alexandrian scholars from the 5th and 6th centuries, or those working under their influence.⁴

However, St Barbara entered the liturgy, became popular, and her cult was introduced in the West through Rome in the 7th century, as proven by a fresco from that time by a Byzantine artist that is preserved in the Roman church of Santa Maria *Antiqua*, at a time when the papacy was under considerable Greek influence (fig. 3). This required a Latin version of her *passio*, which was provided by the text identified in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* with the number 913,⁵ which is recorded at least since the early 9th century, in a period in which, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, no less than three different oratories dedicated to St Barbara already existed in Rome (the one in the church of the Santi Quattro Coronati, built by Pope Leo IV, is still preserved).⁶ *BHL* 913 is actually a flawed translation of an original Greek text. Sometime later, by the 10th-11th centuries, a new translation of the very same original was produced, which is the text identified in the *BHL* with the number 915.⁷ But *BHL* 913 remained the most circulated version of St Barbara's *passio*. Both texts, although attractive, had two big problems that became more significant as the Church developed into a more coherent and better structured institution after the Gregorian Reform. First, nothing is said about Barbara's instructions except that she became Christian by her natural intelligence and she baptised herself (a deed that, according to Paschini, could have been inspired by the earliest accounts of the life of St Thecla).⁸ Secondly, on the road to her martyrdom, she pronounced a final prayer in which anyone invoking her name would obtain forgiveness for their sins, which was equal to pronouncing that a confession was not required for the forgiveness of sins. Therefore, new accounts of Barbara's life were required and, as early as in the 11th century Peter, a deacon of the Roman church of St Anastasia, wrote a new version of her life (*BHL* 921), in which Barbara, after doubting the pagan idols, wrote to Origen of Alexandria, who sent one of his disciples to instruct her and baptise her.

As the popularity of St Barbara increased in the late 14th century, an Augustinian hermit from Brabant named Jean de Wackerzeele collected several texts about her and composed a new version of her life (*BHL* 920) that became a best-seller and was translated into various languages. In the text it is St John the Baptist himself who baptises Barbara, although the disciple of Origen of Alexandria features in the text as well.⁹ Most of the texts circulating in the 15th century either omitted the final prayer of Barbara or modified it, stating that anyone invoking her name will not die without confession, which is the same as saying that a confession is required for the forgiveness of sins, according to the orthodoxy. Surprisingly, Barbara's life was not part of the original version of the most-famous *Legenda aurea*, but was included in later versions, either in manuscript or printed form, as required by the utmost esteem St Barbara enjoyed in general devotion.

The reception of the cult and legend of St Barbara in medieval Castile

Research on selected liturgical manuscripts and some other evidence, suggests that the cult of St Barbara was unknown in medieval Castile until the 13th century.¹⁰ Apparently, it was introduced in the first half of 13th century¹¹ and quickly gained popularity. Already in the second half of the 13th century we find not only chapels dedicated to her (in the cathedral of Toledo in 1289, in Burgos in 1293),¹² but also accounts reporting on her life in detail that exceed the excerpts used in the liturgy. It has been suggested that the royal court played a leading role in this process, as King Alfonso X, the learned monarch who ruled over Castile between 1252 and 1284 and is remembered for his literary and intellectual endeavours, is usually presented as a pious devotee of St Barbara, who even tried to obtain her relics, though unfortunately unsuccessfully. References to Alfonso X's interest in St Barbara come from literary sources that are politically biased,¹³ but it is well recorded that on different occasions the monarch's life was saved from lightning strikes, a circumstance that could raise his devotion towards St Barbara. What is indisputable is that the chapel recorded in Burgos in 1293, shortly after Alfonso X's death, was a royal chapel (by then under the patronage of the queen) and that the reception of the *passio* of St Barbara in Castile is linked to the clerics of the intellectual entourage of the monarch and at least in one instance acting directly in the service of the monarch.

It was in the second half of the 13th century that the three major Latin compilations of lives of saints produced in the Middle Ages in Castile were written. Their authors were Rodrigo de Cerrato, a Dominican friar, Bernardo de Brihuega, a canon of the cathedral of Seville, and Juan Gil de Zamora, a Franciscan friar. Even though all of them acted as compilers, merely collecting those lives of saints that were circulating in Europe (as for example those included in the *Legenda aurea*), each of them created his work with a different purpose.¹⁴ Rodrigo de Cerrato, who is the closest to the *Legenda aurea*, wrote his compilation with a devotional purpose and arranged his material according to the liturgical calendar. Following his main source, he did not include the legend of St Barbara.¹⁵ Bernardo de Brihuega was guided by a scholarly interest and ordered his material following the period in which each saint had lived. He declared that he was writing on the orders of King Alfonso X in order to provide him with material for his *General Estoria*, a history of the world never to be completed. Bernardo de Brihuega introduced the legend of St Barbara in the *BHL* 913 version.¹⁶ Finally, Juan Gil de Zamora, a cleric who also served King Alfonso X, was an encyclopaedist and arranged his material in alphabetical order. He also introduced the legend of St Barbara, but in the *BHL* 915 version.¹⁷ Even though Bernardo de Brihuega translated his work into Castilian, only fragments of this translation have been identified, and the life of St Barbara fails to count among them.¹⁸ In Castile, the production of vernacular compilations of lives of saints is a phenomenon of the 14th and 15th centuries that is manifested in works generically known as *Flores sanctorum*. These *Flores sanctorum* are basically a translation into Castilian of the *Legenda aurea*, but enriched with additional lives relevant for the context for which every manuscript was produced. In the Castilian *Flores sanctorum* the life of St Barbara counts among the most popular¹⁹ and in all instances the text narrating her story is a translation of *BHL* 915, which dominated Castile in the late Middle Ages and persisted even in the printed editions of the 15th and 16th centuries,²⁰ leaving no room to those versions by the Deacon Peter or Jean de Wackerzeele, who, as explained above, tried to adapt the legendary story of St Barbara to the requirements of the orthodoxy and to the standards of the sacramental practices.

Taking everything into account, it is not a surprise that the wall paintings discovered in Salamanca in 2019 adhere to *BHL* 915, as this account was dominant in Castile until the 16th century (even though this account does not serve to explain all the features of the scenes painted in Salamanca). This makes the ensemble of Salamanca a unique and exceptional one, as other medieval cycles are connected to other hagiographic traditions.

The development of the iconography of St Barbara

The oldest depiction of St Barbara is the aforementioned fresco in the church of Santa Maria *Antiqua* in Rome, dating from the 7th century.²¹ Almost certainly, there existed earlier representations of the saint in the East,



1 The chapel of St Barbara in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca after its restoration in 2020



2 The wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara, Salamanca, c. 1350-1360



3 *St Barbara*, fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 7th century (© S. Zucker)



4 The wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara in Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome, c. 1280-1290 (photo: Wikimedia Commons)

in accordance with the origins of her legend and cult, but the Byzantine iconoclasm and the subsequent Islamic invasions have deprived us of such early testimonies. In the East, the oldest surviving depictions of St Barbara are to be found in the cave churches of Cappadocia, as for example the one dedicated to her in the valley of Sogañlı, whose wall paintings are dated to 1006 or 1021.²² Nevertheless, these images show merely the effigy of the saint, with different attributes that have been scrutinised by those scholars working on the iconography of the saints. The references required to understand the importance of the wall paintings brought to light in Salamanca in 2019 are not this kind of isolated images, but cycles of the life of St Barbara. The first scene to be illustrated was her martyrdom, as it was particularly suitable for liturgical manuscripts collecting saints' lives. The middle Byzantine *Menologion of Basil II* (c. 985)²³ and the Romanesque *Passionary of Zwiefalten abbey* (c. 1120-1135)²⁴ are the best testimonies of this stage of development of the iconography of St Barbara in the East and in the West, respectively.

Fully developed cycles did not appear until the 13th century and became commonplace only in the 15th century, when the popularity of the cult of St Barbara reached its climax. In this context, genuine masterpieces of late Gothic art were dedicated to her throughout Europe, as for example the *Puertomingalvo altarpiece* from Aragon by the Valencia painter Gonçal Peris Sarrià (c. 1420),²⁵ the *Kalanti altarpiece* from present-day Finland by the Hamburg painter known as "Meister Francke" (c. 1430-1435),²⁶ the *Wrocław altarpiece* that presided over the church dedicated to the saint in the capital city of currently Polish Silesia (at the time part of the kingdom of Bohemia and of the Holy Roman Empire), painted by Wilhelm von Aachen in 1447,²⁷ and the Flemish panel of unknown origin now divided between Bruges and Brussels that is the eponymous work of the painter known as the Master of the Legend of St Barbara, possibly the Brussels painter Aert van den Bossche (c. 1480).²⁸ In some instances, iconographic analyses of these cycles have been performed, pointing out, for example, how the panel by the Master of the Legend of St Barbara is a close pictorial transposition of Barbara's life by Jean de Wackerzeele (a compatriot of the painter),²⁹ while the Wrocław and Kalanti altarpieces are dependent upon accounts belonging to the tradition of *BHL* 913. For its part, the *Puertomingalvo altarpiece* is related to the vernacular versions of the life of St Barbara that circulated in the Crown of Aragon, which included the story of the instruction and baptism of Barbara according to *BHL* 921, but also original developments regarding the tortures of the saint and the punishment of her father.³⁰

Although all of these works refer to different hagiographic traditions, they share an almost certainly intentional omission of the problematic points of the life of St Barbara. Was this practice established in the time preceding 1400? Unfortunately, there are not so many cycles from this period. It is a real misfortune that the wall paintings that once decorated the chapel of St Barbara in the Roman monastery of the Santi Quattro Coronati, from the late 13th century and belonging to the same *elite* artistic milieu as the wall paintings of the *Sancta Sanctorum*, are so poorly preserved (fig. 4). Rome was the gateway through which the cult, legend, and iconography of St Barbara entered the West, and the place where her story had already been re-elaborated in the 11th century to avoid the most problematic issues.³¹ Only a few 14th-century examples are preserved: some Valencian altarpieces that are iconographically coherent with the *Puertomingalvo altarpiece* (those from Cocentaina and Castellново) and the marginal and heavily restored wall paintings in the church of Savigny (Normandy).³²

The wall paintings of Salamanca: an old and unique cycle

The wall paintings from the Old Cathedral of Salamanca are very well preserved and, apart from the scenes, include two lines of text above each compartment that, considering their length, could be regarded as an account of the life of St Barbara on their own. Fortunately, these inscriptions, written in Castilian, are fully legible and elucidate some aspects of the legend of St Barbara that the anonymous painter was unable to express with only images.³³ Text and images together relate the wall paintings of Salamanca to the tradition of *BHL* 915. However, on the one hand, the text is completely independent from the Castilian versions of *BHL* 915 that entered the Castilian *Flores sanctorum*, so that it represents an independent literary tradition that was probably created

for this particular decorative program. The person who prepared the text for the inscriptions, almost certainly a cleric acting in the service of the bishop (if not the bishop himself), worked from a Latin source and occasionally misunderstood it, which led to the creation of bizarre scenes. And, on the other hand, *BHL* 915 does not suffice to explain all the scenes, which suggests that by the mid-14th century there already existed a visual tradition of the life of St Barbara, even though only those murals in Rome's Santi Quattro Coronati and in the Savigny's church date back to before those in Salamanca.

Since *BHL* 913 and *BHL* 915 are independent translations of the very same original Greek account, the structure of both texts is very similar. Therefore, what are the features that allow us to state that the Salamanca murals are a visual transposition of *BHL* 915, the only one known to this date, while outstanding works such as the *Kalanti* and *Wrocław* altarpieces are related to the tradition of *BHL* 913? In both accounts Barbara is a clever young girl who, despite living in a pagan *milieu*, believes in Christ. Barbara's father, Dioscorus, keeps her in a tower to protect her from the interest of men who could ask for her hand in marriage. However, once Dioscorus discovers that his daughter believes in Christ he becomes enraged and is ready to kill her with his own sword. Barbara flees to the nearby mountains, where she is seen by two shepherds. Dioscorus pursues her, and, on encountering the shepherds, asks them if they have seen the girl: one of them says he has not seen her, but the other reveals the place where Barbara is hidden. Dioscorus captures her and acting "así como el lobo lieua la oueja" (like a wolf takes a sheep) – as splendidly expressed in the Castilian texts of the *Flores sanctorum* – brings her back to the city and denounces her to the governor, Marcian, who demands of her to renounce Christianity. However, Barbara opposes this and is tortured until Marcian orders her to be beheaded – the moment at which Dioscorus asks for permission to execute his daughter himself.

There are several differences between *BHL* 913 and *BHL* 915. First, in the way Dioscorus discovers that his daughter is a Christian: in *BHL* 913 it is by asking her why she has ordered a third window to be opened in her tower, only to receive the reply that it is to honour the Holy Trinity, while in *BHL* 915 it is during the proposition of marriage candidates that Barbara reveals that she is already married to Christ. Second, in the punishment of the shepherd who betrays Barbara: in *BHL* 913 his sheep are transformed into locusts, and in *BHL* 915 he and his sheep are transformed into statues. Third, in the sequence of the five torments that Marcian inflicted on Barbara in trying to obtain her apostasy. In *BHL* 913 the sequence of events is: flagellation, tearing of her flesh before placing fire by her sides (and combined with the hammering of her head), cutting off her breasts and putting shame on her by making her walking naked through the region, while in *BHL* 915, following her flagellation are hammering of her head, placing of fire by her sides, cutting off her breasts, and her walking naked. A minor difference is included at the beginning of *BHL* 913, in which Barbara offends the idols venerated by her father while he was away and after baptising herself (a deed represented in the *Wrocław altarpiece*); this episode is not included in *BHL* 915.

The ten scenes represented in the wall paintings in Salamanca are: 1. Barbara ordering a third window to be opened in her tower, 2. Barbara baptising herself, 3. Barbara arguing with her father, 4. Barbara's flight, 5. Dioscorus pursuing Barbara, 6. Dioscorus capturing Barbara, 7. Dioscorus bringing Barbara to the Governor Marcian, 8. Hammering of Barbara's head, 9. Barbara walking naked through the city and 10. Barbara being beheaded. Of these scenes, numbers 3 and 6 refer firmly to the tradition of *BHL* 915 instead of *BHL* 913, and in both scenes it is due to the inscriptions that we can state this, as images by themselves are not clear enough. In scene 3 (Barbara arguing with her father), the inscription reads: "CÓMO DIXO A SU PADRE QUE ERA ESPOSA DE IHESU CHRISTO" (How she said to her father that she was the spouse of Jesus Christ), thus making explicit the subject of the controversy (something difficult to express visually), which is that of *BHL* 915 instead of *BHL* 913 (fig. 5). In scene 6 (Dioscorus capturing Barbara), there are two inscriptions; the second one "+ CÓMO SE TORNÓ EN PIEDRA EL / PASTOR QUE DIXO DÓ ESTAU A SANTA BÁRBARA" (How the shepherd, who revealed where St Barbara was, was transformed into stone), indicates the punishment of the traitor shepherd, which is again that of *BHL* 915 instead of *BHL* 913. According to *BHL* 915, in the wall paintings of Salamanca his punishment takes place after the capture of Barbara

and not after his treachery. In visualizing this scene, his punishment could have been easily represented by simply painting his figure in white (as later works do), but the anonymous painter of Salamanca did not do this.

In conclusion, both textual and visual account of the wall paintings in Salamanca is related to the tradition of *BHL* 915, the preferred one in Castile, whereas in other parts of Europe *BHL* 913 and later adaptations, such as *BHL* 921 and *BHL* 920 (the last one not in existence in the time when the wall paintings of Salamanca were created) dominated. In some instances, Salamanca's version provides new and original features, as for example in scene 4 (Barbara's flight), where (as expressed by both text and images) the saint asks shepherds to say they have not seen her (fig. 6). This account could have been included in order to justify the later punishment of the traitor. In other instances, Salamanca's version seems to build heavily on an established visual tradition. I refer to scene 6 (Dioscorus capturing Barbara), where Dioscorus brutally grabs his daughter by her long hair and drags her back home (fig. 7). In *BHL* 915 it reads that Dioscorus takes his daughter back to town,³⁴ whereas only *BHL* 913 specified that Dioscorus beats his daughter and pulls her by the hair.³⁵ Even though the scene of pulling Barbara by the hair appears only in *BHL* 913, this scene is depicted in this way in all the cycles.

The most original and interesting scenes on the wall paintings of Salamanca are scenes 2 and 9: the first one, because it demonstrates that the program reflects early stages of the hagiographic tradition of St Barbara, and the second one, because it proves that the person who conceived the program misunderstood the Latin source he was working with. As already explained, the instruction and baptism of Barbara were among the most controversial issues in the original and oldest versions of her story. Early cycles either avoided this scene or represented it according to Deacon Peter's re-elaboration. However, Salamanca's scene 2 shows Barbara naked inside a jasper tub baptising herself by pouring water over her head, as is declared by the inscription: "+ CÓMO SANCTA BÁRBARA ECHÓ ELA AGUA POR SÍ E SE BATIZÓ" (How St Barbara poured the water over herself and baptised herself). I know of no other example of Barbara's self-baptising, which is undoubtedly a most-striking scene and a true flagship of the program (fig. 8). Quite differently, the fifth and the last torment of the saint – Barbara walks naked through the city – is represented visually many times. It was intended to embarrass her, which is why Barbara implored Christ to send her an angel to veil her nudity. It happened so, making the torment fail, which incited Marcian to decree her death. Both *BHL* 913 and *BHL* 915 state that the angel veiled Barbara's nudity with a *stola candida* (a shining robe). Nevertheless, in Salamanca, the Latin word *stola* was not understood in its original sense – robe – but in its ecclesiastical sense – stole (i.e., a strip of cloth long and narrow that is used by clerics during celebrations). In the restored image there is the impression that the angel covers Barbara with a translucent veil, which cannot be the case (fig. 9). On the photos taken before restoration it is visible that the angel is trying to cover Barbara with a strip of cloth and not a veil; in fact, he is making a knot on top of her head. This erroneous transposition of words resulted in an iconographically unique and most interesting solution of the visual interpretation of the scene. The Castilian translations of *BHL* 915 included in the *Flores sanctorum* did not make this mistake, correctly translating *stola* as *vestidura*.

Over the course of centuries, the wall paintings deteriorated and almost certainly the unconventional representations of Barbara's life became improper. This fact, together with the increasingly old-fashioned style of the wall paintings, resulted in commissioning of a new altarpiece in the 16th century, one that covered the wall paintings until the 21st century. In this new altarpiece only two scenes of Barbara's life were represented: Barbara's trial before Marcian and Barbara's beheading (fig. 10). Thus, a more critical piety instructs that a young girl, who supposedly lived in the East in c. 300, deserves to be commemorated not because of her fantastic story, but because of the firmness of her Christian faith.



5 *Barbara arguing with her father*, detail of the wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara, Salamanca



6 *Barbara's flight*, detail of the wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara, Salamanca



7 *Dioscorus capturing Barbara*, detail of the wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara, Salamanca

* All images except 3 and 4 are photos by Ó. G. Rodríguez, © Cathedral Chapter of Salamanca



8 *Barbara baptizing herself*, detail of the wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara, Salamanca



9 *Barbara walking naked through the city*, detail of the wall paintings in the chapel of St Barbara, Salamanca



10 Renaissance altarpiece in the chapel of St Barbara in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca, c. 1540

Abbreviations:

BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*

- 1 About Bishop Juan Lucero, see B. BARTOLOMÉ HERRERO, "Lucero, Juan", <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/25372/juan-lucero> (accessed 9 November 2020). A more comprehensive biography is now under preparation by Casimiro Muñoz Martín, the canon in charge of the archive of the Cathedral of Salamanca, to whom I am indebted for generously sharing with me his research.
- 2 *The Saint Enshrined: European Tabernacle-altarpieces c. 1150-c. 1400*, F. GUTIÉRREZ BAÑOS-J. KROESEN-E. ANDERSEN (eds.), Bellaterra, Institut d'Estudis Medievals (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), 2020, pp. 281-282.
- 3 D. ORTIZ DE ZÚÑIGA, *Annales eclesiásticos y seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de la Andalucía*, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1677, p. 266.
- 4 P. PASCHINI, *S. Barbara. Note agiografiche*, Rome, Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore, 1927, pp. 60-67.
- 5 BHL, t. 1, Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1898, p. 142. Its incipit is "Temporibus Maximiani imp. erat in civitate Antiochiae quidam satrapas..." and its reference text, which is neither the original nor the oldest one, is Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli, MS XXXIV, fols. 214r-217r. BHL 913 has been published by F. A. ZACCARIA, *De rebus ad historiam atque antiquitates Ecclesiae pertinentibus dissertationes latinae*, t. 1, Foligno, Pompeo Campana, 1781, pp. 137-142, and by PASCHINI, *op. cit.*, 1927, pp. 26-34, who designates it "redaction A".
- 6 *The Lives of the Eighth-century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817*, R. DAVIS (ed.), 2nd ed., Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2007, p. 233; *The Lives of the Ninth-century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from A.D. 817-891*, R. DAVIS (ed.), Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1995, pp. 122, 129, and 130. About the chapel of St Barbara in the church of the Quattro Santi Coronati, see L. BARELLI, *The Monumental Complex of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome*, Rome, Viella, 2009, pp. 15-17 and 64-66.
- 7 BHL, p. 142. Its incipit is "Regnante Maximiano imp. et Martiano praeside fuit quidam vir in Nicomedia civitate Dioscorus..." and its reference text, which is neither the original nor the oldest one, is Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5356, fols. 131v-134v. BHL 915 has been published by PASCHINI, *op. cit.*, 1927, pp. 38-50, who designates it "redaction B".
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
- 9 B. DE GAIFFIER, "La légende de Sainte Barbe par Jean de Wackerzeele", in: *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 77, nos. 1-2, 1959, pp. 5-41.
- 10 It does not appear in liturgical calendars pre-dating the 12th century, see J. PÉREZ-EMBED WAMBA, *Hagiología y sociedad en la España medieval. Castilla y León (siglos XI-XIII)*, Huelva, Universidad de Huelva, 2002, pp. 30-31, and it does not appear still in the liturgical calendar of a missal dating from the beginning of the 13th century and coming from the well-known Benedictine abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2194, fol. 5v.
- 11 The first dated testimony corresponds to 1246 and appears in the liturgical calendar of a *liber capituli* coming from the Cistercian female abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos "el Antiguo" of Toledo (not to be confused with the aforementioned Benedictine abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, which lies not in Toledo, but in Old Castile), see Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 17820, fol. 4v.
- 12 For the chapel in Toledo, see T. NICKSON, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile*, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015, p. 235. For the chapel in Burgos, see F. GUTIÉRREZ BAÑOS, *Las empresas artísticas de Sancho IV el Bravo*, Burgos, Junta de Castilla y León, 1997, pp. 102-106.
- 13 L. FUNES, "La leyenda de la blasfemia del rey Sabio: revisión de su itinerario narrativo", in: *e-Spania*, no. 25, October, 2016 (accessed 9 November 2020).
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- 15 F. VILLAMIL FERNÁNDEZ, *Vitas sanctorum. Rodrigo de Cerrato. Estudio y edición*, PhD Thesis, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1991.

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- 33 A full discussion of the Salamanca cycle, including the transcription of all the inscriptions, is to be found in F. GUTIÉRREZ BAÑOS, *Las pinturas murales de la capilla de Santa Bárbara de la catedral vieja de Salamanca. Contar historias en la Castilla del siglo XIV*, Salamanca, Cabildo Catedral de Salamanca, 2020.
- 34 "Quam cum uidisset iniquissimus Dioscorus, pater eius, cucurrit et apprehendit eam", according to the version of *BHL* 915 copied in Castile by Juan Gil de Zamora, see GIL DE ZAMORA, *op. cit.*, 2014, p. 263.
- 35 "At uero pater eius, reperiens eam, flagellauit eam et, tenes cornam [*sic: comam*] capitis eius, pertraxit eam a monte", according to the version of *BHL* 913 copied in Castile by Bernardo de Brihuega, see Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca, MS 2538, fol. 260v.

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„Kao što vuk zgrabi ovcu“: zidne slike u kapeli Svete Barbare u staroj katedrali u Salamanci

U kapeli Sv. Barbare u staroj katedrali u Salamanci, otkriven je 2019. godine dobro sačuvan ciklus zidnih slika s prikazima iz života Svete Barbare. Kapela je oslikana između 1350. 1360., u vrijeme biskupa Juana Lucera, koji je i dao sagraditi kapelu. Ovaj je rad nastao kao rezultat istraživanja fresaka neposredno nakon njihova otkrića, a raspravlja se o hagiografskom i ikonografskom značenju u prikazima Sv. Barbare, kontroverzne i popularne svete, čiji je životopis zahtijevao uzastopne adaptacije na Zapadu, kako bi se zadržao u okvirima sakramentalnih praksi. Poseban značaj zidnih slika u Salamanci jest njihova rana datacija i vezanost uz razvoj hagiografske tradicije Svete Barbare u Kraljevini Kastiliji, gdje je, za razliku od ostalih europskih regija, narativ 915 *Bibliothecae Hagiographice Latine* bio najviše korišten izvor sve do 16. stoljeća (i u latinskoj i vernakularnoj verziji). To je rezultiralo stvaranjem neobičnih prikaza – poput Barbarinog samokrštenja, jedinstvenom prizoru bez analogije u drugim ciklusima.

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