January 2015

THE CHURCH DIVIDED: THE DOMINICANS, FRANCISCANS, AND JESUITS AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CONTROVERSY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

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Entitled
THE CHURCH DIVIDED: THE DOMINICANS, FRANCISCANS, AND JESUITS AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CONTROVERSY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

For the degree of Master of Arts

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THE CHURCH DIVIDED: THE DOMINICANS, FRANCISCANS, AND JESUITS
AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CONTROVERSY IN SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY SPAIN

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty
of
Purdue University
by
Hayley R. Bowman

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts

August 2015
Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana
For Granny, my most adventurous role model. Thank you for introducing me, in many ways, to art, Catholicism, and Spain.

For my parents, my unconditional support system and biggest cheerleaders. Thank you for believing in me and giving me the opportunities to achieve my dreams.

Finally, for Logan, my lifelong editor, friend, and cousin. Thank you for reading all of my crummy papers and helping me understand the finer points of grammar with a light heart.
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ABSTRACT


This thesis examines the debates between the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans about the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary through sermons and artwork in Madrid and Seville from 1595 to 1680. Although the religious orders had different opinions on the issue since the thirteenth century, the doctrine became a central point of contention during the sixteenth century as an aspect of both Catholic Reform and the Counter-Reformation. Beginning in 1595, the issue came to the forefront of theological debates. By 1680, pro- and anti-Immaculate preachers overtly denounced each other in sermons, while art contributed to the widespread popularity of the doctrine. Hundreds of paintings of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, produced by some of the most important Spanish Golden Age masters, decorated churches, convents and public buildings. As one of the most controversial theological issues of the seventeenth century, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception reveals the complex nature of Spanish Catholicism in the post-Reformation period.
INTRODUCTION: THE DOGMATIZATION OF MARY’S IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

In 1854, Pope Pius IX (r. 1846-1878) proclaimed in the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, “the most Blessed Virgin Mary was, from the first moment of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of almighty God and by virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, Savior of the human race, preserved immune from all stain of original sin.”¹ This is the dogma—an infallible tenet of the Church confirmed by the Pope—of the Immaculate Conception, which affirms that Mary was conceived by her parents, St. Anne and St. Joachim, without the stain of original sin. It implies that Mary is almost as divine as Jesus. While the doctrine existed since the second century, the dogmatization did not always enjoy the universal support of the Catholic Church. The Dominicans, in particular, were against dogmatization. Nevertheless, the doctrine grew in popularity, especially after the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century motivated Catholics to reenforce their beliefs. By the seventeenth century, several orders of the Catholic Church had emerged as staunch supporters, or *inmaculistas*, as they were referred to in Spain. Although many orders supported the dogmatization, the Franciscans and the Jesuits were the most vocal

supporters. As a result, there was an explosion of pro-Immaculist art, sermons, and processions, all of which responded to anti-Immaculist critiques.

Although historians have noted the preeminence of the doctrine in the Spanish art and the Catholic faith during the early modern period, the intensity and significance of the debates surrounding Mary’s conception have not yet been analyzed. Nearly all of the religious orders wrote sermons on the subject while the Immaculate Conception became one of the most widely painted religious scenes of the century. This study explores the controversy between the pro- and anti-Immaculist orders as it reached a boiling point in seventeenth-century Spain. It analyzes a sample of pro-Immaculist sermons, texts, and art produced mainly in Madrid and Seville from 1595-1680.

In order to understand the importance and impact of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception on early modern Spain, several distinctions must be made. First, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception states that St. Anne and St. Joachim conceived the Virgin Mary without the stain of original sin. Not only was “she wholly borne by God’s grace,” but actually “redeemed from the moment of her conception” through God. It should be noted that the purity of Mary, therefore, sets her apart from all other humans.

Rather than experiencing sanctification (being made holy) after conception, she was free from sin from the very moment of her conception. Thus, by setting Mary apart, God

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3 *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 123.
prepared her to give birth to Christ from the very beginning, before the moment of her conception by Anne and Joachim. Consequently, Mary became the only solely human person (as, in Christian belief, Jesus was both fully human and fully divine) conceived and born without original sin. This places Mary in a category apart (and above) all other humans, as they must be born with the stain of original sin and subsequently be redeemed from sin by Christ.

Another important distinction must be made between doctrine and dogma in the Catholic Church. Although the two seem very similar, they are not. For the Catholic Church, doctrines consist of church teachings, simply beliefs of faith and morals widely taught by the Church to its members. Dogma, on the other hand, has a more important role. According to The Catechism of the Catholic Church, dogmas serve as “truths contained in divine Revelation or having a necessary connection with them, in a form obliging the Christian people to an irrevocable adherence of faith.” The proclamation of a dogma requires “the Church’s Magisterium [to exercise] the authority it holds from Christ to the fullest extent” when it defines dogmas. This places dogmas in a more important position than doctrines, as they invoke the ultimate authority of the Church and therefore cannot be questioned. In differentiating between dogma and doctrine, the Catechism goes on to quote The Epistle of Jude, which states, “In Catholic doctrine there exists an order

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5 The Catechism of the Catholic Church, 28. The Catechism defines the “Magisterium” as “the Pope and bishops in communion with him,” 30.
or ‘hierarchy’ of truths, since they vary in their relation to the foundation of the Christian faith,” with dogmas thus occupying a space above doctrines in this hierarchy. This makes dogmas infallible where doctrines are not. This was a key component in the controversy between the religious orders, as the dogmatization would effectively end debates on the subject.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the doctrine had become popular enough by the fourteenth century to warrant the passage of legislation. The Kingdom of Aragon, likely due to the influence of Franciscans as confessors to the king, adopted a law equating loyalty to the doctrine with loyalty to the state. While this shows that the Aragonese monarchs supported the doctrine, the pro-Immaculist legislation also indicates that at least some individuals did not agree with the notion of Mary’s conception without original sin. In 1484, Queen Isabel I of Castile (r. 1474-1504) donated buildings to Beatriz de Silva so that the nun could found a religious order dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception. With the support of the Queen, the nuns of the Immaculate Conception founded chaplaincies in Guadalupe, Toledo, and Seville. This order would

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6 The Catechism of the Catholic Church, 28; The Bible, New American Standard Bible, Jude 3.


later have a role in the development of artistic iconography relating to the Immaculate Conception, as Mary’s attire would be based on the white and blue habits of the nuns.9

The evolution of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was deeply impacted by the religious events of the sixteenth century. Historians have long wrestled with the problem of understanding Catholicism in the years surrounding Martin Luther’s critique of the Church in 1517 and the Council of Trent in 1545-1563.10 Historiographically, analyses of two separate movements have emerged: the Catholic Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.11 The former refers to a movement within the Church to reduce corruption and streamline doctrine which began before Luther’s criticisms. The latter, on the other hand, implies a reactionary state in which the Catholic Church responded to

9 Franciscus Pacheco, *Del Arte de la Pintura* (Seville, 1649), 483. “A se de pintar con tunic a blanca, y manto azul, que assaparecio esta snora a doña Beatriz de Silva portuguesa que se recogio despues en santo Domingo Real de Toledo, a fundar de Religion de la Concepción puríssima; que confiero el Papa Julio Segunda año de 1511.” All translations are the author’s unless otherwise noted.


Luther’s complaints and revised its methods and teachings only after and because of the events of 1517.\textsuperscript{12}

The problem of the status of Immaculate Conception, like many issues during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, does not fall strictly within one of these two movements. An analysis of the doctrine from the reactionary position of the “Counter-Reformation” framework neglects to consider the movements toward reform that occurred before the Protestant stirrings. Since the time of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel I and Ferdinand II, a desire for reformation had enveloped the Spanish Catholic Church with the intention to create a uniform local religious life more attuned to the religious centers of Toledo and Rome. Additionally, the sixteenth century witnessed the rise of a new focus of Spanish Catholicism on personal relationships with God, an idea that Luther also embraced. Sara T. Nalle has referred to this as “an earlier, resilient faith, the religion of preindustrial people dependent on the… land of Castile.”\textsuperscript{13} The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception most certainly belonged to this early reform movement, evidenced by the devotion of Isabel I and the Crown of Aragon in the late medieval period. However, the doctrine cannot only be seen through the lens of Catholic Reform.


Although useful, the “Catholic Reformation” framework obscures the impact of Protestantism on Catholicism. Continuities certainly exist from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries; yet, the religious reform movement greatly intensified after 1517 as a result of the Protestant Reformation. Critical events in the history of Catholicism, such as the reestablishment of the Inquisition in 1524, the papacy of Paul IV from 1555-1559, and the Council of Trent (1545-1563), cannot be analyzed without considering them vis-à-vis the Protestant Reformation. The meeting of Church leaders in Trent, Italy, to discuss Church policy, belief, and organization had important consequences for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The Council itself did not settle the issue either in favor or in opposition to the doctrine, but their staunch support of the religious orders had a tremendous impact. Although indirectly, the Council’s focus on support of the religious orders, definition of Catholic doctrine, and structural reorganization of the Church played a key role in the spread of Immaculist fervor. The foundation of the Society of Jesus in 1540 and their subsequent role in enforcing the rulings of the Council also played a role in the spread of the cult of the Immaculate Conception. The Jesuits became some of the most important defenders of the doctrine in Spain and promoters of the doctrine abroad.

14 Homza, Religious Authority, 118-119. The papacy of Paul V is described as particularly “reactionary” by Homza.

15 Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, 236.

By the end of the sixteenth century, Spanish devotion to Mary was impressive. While Catholic, and particularly Spanish, devotion to Mary was not unusual before the Protestant Reformation, a clear increase appears after the century of religious unrest. This probably reflects an increasing awareness of the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism and a desire to defend and affirm core Catholic beliefs. Because the “worship” of Mary came under fire by Protestant reformers, Catholics increasingly invoked Marian devotion as a means of allying themselves to the “true faith.” The Immaculate Conception formed a key component of this devotion due to Protestant objections to the doctrine, becoming a major aspect of Counter-Reformation Catholicism. By the early 1600s, 277 chapels were dedicated to Mary and an additional twenty-eight were specifically dedicated to Mary of the Immaculate Conception. Out of these twenty-eight, twelve were located in Madrid, the city that had become the capital of the Spanish global empire in 1561. Side chapels, devotional areas, and statues in multiple Spanish churches were dedicated to the Immaculate Conception as well. These two categories of chapels dedicated to Mary and chapels specifically dedicated to the Immaculate Conception comprise more chapels than the next six most popular devotions combined.

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception should not be seen within a single framework; analysis through neither the Counter-Reformation nor the Catholic Reform


movements presents the full picture of the importance of the doctrine on seventeenth-century society in Spain. Thus, both movements affected and considered the issue. The Immaculate Conception was a devotion with medieval roots; the spread of Marian devotion and the popularity of the cult in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries indicates that the doctrine was already important in Spain before the rise of Protestantism. Nevertheless, the doctrine became a rallying point for Counter-Reformation religiosity. In short, the Immaculate Conception was a product of medieval Catholic tradition as well as an essential component in the development of a Spanish Catholic identity in post-Reformation Europe. As Lu Ann Homza remarked in her examination of the two terms in her *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance*, “it would be absurd to argue that these individuals [Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] belonged to one movement but not the other.” The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception also belonged to both movements in the complex religious atmosphere of early modern Spain.

Although already in the Iberian peninsula, the doctrine became an important pillar of Austrian piety. Anna Coreth refers to this piety as *pietas austriacas*, which became synonymous with the Habsburg dynasty. Nevertheless, Spanish Habsburg kings took different approaches to the issue. While Philip II left most of the discussions surrounding the doctrine to theologians, by the time that his son, Philip III (r. 1598-1621), inherited

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19 Homza, *Religious Authority*, 120. This idea is also supported by Bireley. He instead uses the term “Early Modern Catholicism,” which he credits to O’Malley and Delumeau, to describe the complex nature of Catholicism during this period. In short, he contends, “Catholics were both agents and subjects of change.” For more information, see Bireley, *Refashioning of Catholicism*, 2-5.

the crown, the stakes, along with the doctrine’s popularity, had increased. Philip III’s wife, Habsburg Archduchess, Margaret of Austria (1584-1611), wrote letters to Rome expressing her support for the dogmatization of the doctrine.\(^2\) Undoubtedly, her education of *pietas austriacae* under Jesuit tutelage in the Austrian Habsburg court formed the basis for her active devotion to the doctrine as queen of Spain. Queen Margaret’s son, Philip IV (1621-1665), became the staunchest supporter of the doctrine. Substantial evidence of his devotion appears in his letters to his spiritual counselor, the Franciscan nun Sor María de Ágreda.\(^2\) Like his mother, he felt a personal connection to the doctrine that led him to write to Pope Innocent X (r. 1644-1665) in support of its dogmatization in 1645.\(^2\) Habsburg devotion to the Immaculate Conception in Spain survived another generation, supported by Philip IV’s wife, Mariana of Austria (1634-1696), and instilled in his son, Charles II (r. 1665-1700), the last Habsburg king of Spain.\(^2\)

The debates among the religious orders surrounding the dogmatization came to the forefront in a Spain caught up in the atmosphere of the post-Reformation religious turmoil and during the reigns of the Habsburg monarchs with a strong identification with the Immaculate Conception. The city of Seville, for example, became a hotbed of activity.

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\(^2\) *Cartas de Sor María de Jesús Ágreda y del Rey Felipe IV*, ed. Carlos Seco Serrano (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1958).

\(^2\) *Cartas de Sor María de Jesús Ágreda y del Rey Felipe IV*, 13-15.

both for and against the Immaculate Conception. A book of arguments against the
doctrine, published 1615, caused significant disturbances and ignited debates; this,
despite the Papal ruling that forbid public debates on this topic.\textsuperscript{25} Supporters of the
doctrine immediately organized processions and feasts in support of Mary conceived
without original sin (\textit{María concebida sin pecado original}) throughout the city. In
response, those opposed to the doctrine drafted satirical poems mocking pro-Immaculist
church officials. Such efforts brought the divisions among the orders surrounding the
doctrine to the public light, as the two sides worked tirelessly to discredit one another in
the public sphere. Preaching also played a role here, as both sides carefully constructed
sermons to either campaign for dogmatization or rally support for the opposite side. The
cycle of sermons and responses by the opposition created an oral dispute that carried on
despite the Pope’s decrees prohibiting such discussions.\textsuperscript{26} The pro-Immaculists turned to
preaching and religious imagery in an effort to legitimize the Immaculate Conception and
defend it against the increasingly-disruptive Dominican attacks. The great painters of the
Spanish Golden Age, including Doménikos Theotokópoulos (El Greco), Francisco
Pacheco, Diego Velázquez, Francisco de Zurbarán, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo all
produced significant works depicting the Immaculate Conception. There is a consensus
among art historians that this is one of the most, if not the most, important genres of the

\textsuperscript{25} Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 72.

\textsuperscript{26} Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 68-73.
Spanish Golden Age.27 Spanish artists’ workshops also created hundreds of copies of lesser quality to meet demand. The masterpieces hung in churches, private chapels, and confraternity houses throughout Spain to display support of the doctrine.

Art historians have been naturally at the forefront of studies of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, an artistic genre extremely important in Golden Age Spanish art. Most prolifically, Suzanne L. Stratton’s *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art,* published in 1994, tracks the doctrine through its artistic depictions and iconography from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Based on her *La Inmaculada Concepción en el Arte Español* published in 1989, Stratton’s edited English version presents her findings to a wider English-speaking audience. Her 176-page overview provides a strong foundation for further research. As an art historian, it is not surprising that Stratton’s main contribution is her excellent analysis of iconography during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Stratton, however, does not fully examine the theological aspects of the doctrine, relying too much on secondary source material for her theological discussions.28 This study utilizes the iconography identified by Stratton to access the larger disagreement among the religious orders. I argue in what follows that art displayed pro-Immaculist fervor visually in the same way that sermons expressed theological perspective textually.

27 Kagané, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, 10.

28 Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art.*
In *Alone of all Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* published in 1983 and republished in 2013, Marina Warner provides a study of Mary and views of the Virgin throughout history. Warner’s meticulous research and consultation of primary sources presents an impressive history of devotion to the Virgin Mary as Virgin, Queen, Bride, Mother, and Intercessor. Using a cultural historical approach, Warner relies on visual source material, such as images and statues or sculptures, but also uses manuscripts, documents, and letters to support her claims. She focuses on the growth of the cult of Mary and the ways in which perceptions of the Virgin changed throughout history, until the mid twentieth century. The volume dedicates an entire chapter to the Immaculate Conception, tracking the doctrine from its inception until the proclamation of the dogma in 1854. Although Warner is right in presenting Mary as a multifaceted religious figure, with the Immaculate Conception being only one feature of her larger presence in Spain, this aspect of Marian devotion became critical in the seventeenth century. First, as it will become clear in the following chapters, the Catholic Church found itself divided on the topic. Second, the conflicts between the religious orders are critical in understanding these issues.

Indeed, the controversy between the Dominicans, Jesuits, and Franciscans adds complexity to current understandings of the Catholic Church that was not a static unidimensional entity. Chapter 1 examines the theological origins of each side of the debate, analyzing the differences between the anti-Immaculist Dominicans and pro-Immaculist Jesuits and Franciscans. Once the theological backgrounds of the orders are
dissected, the reasons behind the intense divisions between the Dominicans and the *Immaculists* become more clear. Chapter 2 investigates the debate from the point of view of the Dominicans through an examination of sermons and papers in support of the doctrine. Although these were written by *Immaculists*, they were directed to the Dominicans. These texts were not confined to intellectual or ecclesiastical circles. On the contrary, Spaniards heard these debates during Mass, within the walls of the church, and in the streets during celebratory processions. Chapter 3 discusses the role of art as a medium of Immaculist propaganda intended to popularize and legitimize the doctrine in the face of Dominican criticisms. An important artistic genre in their own right, paintings of the Immaculate Conception conveyed theological and dynastic meaning when they appeared in Franciscan churches and in portraits of the reigning Habsburg monarchs.

The issue of the dogmatization of Mary’s Immaculate Conception reached a height during the seventeenth century and divided the Catholic Church in a way that had important impacts on Spanish society and artistic development during the early modern period.
CHAPTER 1. OUT OF THE BOOK OF JAMES: THE THEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE DOCTRINE

The Immaculate Conception first appeared in the second century in the *Book of James*. The *Book of James* belongs to the apocrypha, texts omitted from the Bible because the Catholic Church either deemed them heretical, inaccurate, or potentially falsified. With such a contentious beginning, Mary’s conception became a topic pursued and considered by many theologians over the centuries. An “infancy gospel” depicting events that occurred before those described in the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, the *Book of James* was determined to be pseudepigrapha, or a falsely attributed work, in the fifth century. However, the *Book of James* nonetheless achieved widespread popularity in the centuries since its appearance. Over one hundred manuscript copies of the text still exist in six different languages from the Eastern Orthodox Mediterranean region. Several other “infancy gospels” or “protevangelion” exist, most dating from the second

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29 Unless otherwise noted, for my purposes the *Book of James* refers to the apocrypha of James from the second century, not the epistle of James from the New Testament written in the first century AD. Although the epistle of James is often called the letter of James, it is also referred to as the “Book of James” in many cases and is not part of the apocryphal texts.

30 Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 239.

century AD or later and thus not considered authentic by the Catholic Church.\(^{32}\) Because these accounts were written two centuries after the lifetime of Christ, obviously the authors could not have witnessed events from before Christ’s birth. This explains the Church’s classification of infancy gospels such as the *Book of James* as apocryphal, placement of them in the categories of inaccurate and potentially falsified, and ultimate omission of them from the Bible.\(^{33}\)

The *Book of James* describes Mary’s conception very concretely:

> And behold an angel of the Lord appeared, saying unto her: Anna, Anna, the Lord hath hearkened unto thy prayer, and thou shalt conceive and bear, and thy seed shall be spoken of in the whole world. And Anna said: As the Lord my God liveth, if I bring forth either male or female, I will bring it for a gift unto the Lord my God, and it shall be ministering unto him all the days of its life.

After describing the Angel speaking to Anne for the first time, the text goes on to describe the Angel’s calling of Joachim in from the fields where he had been working with his flocks. At this point, the text becomes vague and it is not clear how Anne and Joachim conceived Mary. The Angel informs Joachim that Anne had conceived while he worked in the fields: “Ioacim [Joachim], Ioacim, the Lord God hath hearkened unto thy prayer. Get thee down hence, for behold thy wife Anna hath conceived.” This suggests that Anne conceived without Joachim’s presence, simply by the grace of God (or, more specifically, the Holy Spirit) through the voice of the Angel. The Angel’s telling Joachim

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\(^{32}\) In fact, most texts of this nature were written to satisfy the curiosity of early Christians about the early years of Jesus’ life and his background. The popularity of such texts attests to the demand for more information about the young Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

\(^{33}\) Timothy J. Horner argues that one major factor in the *Book of James*‘s classification as apocryphal may have stemmed from its discussion of the marriage of Joseph before his marriage to Mary. For more information, see Horner, “Jewish Aspects,” 315.
that Anne had conceived thus becomes the actual moment of Mary’s conception. Another critical moment takes place a few lines later, when “Ioacim came with his flocks, and Anna stood at the gate and saw Ioacim coming, and ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now know I that the Lord God hath greatly blessed me: for behold the widow is no more a widow, and she that was childless shall conceive.” The miraculous embrace of the husband and wife at the town gate could also be interpreted as the time of Mary’s conception. This event was certainly more tangible and physical point of conception and became more popular than the notion that Mary was conceived “through the ear” by the words of the Angel.

Although the exact details surrounding Mary’s conception remained unclear, the popularity of the doctrine increased throughout the medieval period. Some of the early fathers of the Christian Church became involved. St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), for example, wrote on the doctrine in as early as 415. St. Augustine granted the Virgin exception from original sin in his *De Natura et Gratia* but left the Virgin’s perpetual sinlessness throughout life up for interpretation. Despite its increasing popularity and the work of St. Augustine, the feast day of the Immaculate Conception did not become official as a Holy Day of Obligation until 1708. Yet, the designation of a specific feast

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35. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 239.

day emerged much earlier. Spreading from the east, the feast reached Rome via monks fleeing from the Iconoclasm of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century. From there, the feast continued to spread throughout western Europe throughout the medieval period. The feast reached the south of France by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was not devoid of controversy: a French abbot reportedly saw the feast as a celebration of copulation and demanded that the canons of Lyons cease motions to establish the feast. The abbot was none other than St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), who wrote to the canons in an accusatory tone: “Do you mean that the Holy Spirit was a partner to the sin of concupiscence, or are we to assume that there was no sin where lust was not absent?” This early example shows that while the cult of the Immaculate Conception might have spread quickly, it was by no means universally accepted. Formal recognition was not forthcoming from Rome, and the Church was unable to reach a consensus regarding the doctrine. Opposition from theologians such as Clairvaux that contrasted with the popular spread of the cult caused two distinct sides of the issue to form. Without a clear majority, medieval Popes avoided ruling one way or another on the legitimacy of the doctrine.38

37 Quoted in Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 240. Interestingly enough, the Eastern Orthodox Church does not recognize the Immaculate Conception of Mary as legitimate today. This suggests that the cult of the Immaculate Conception grew more quickly and successfully in the Western Church after the Great Schism (1054) while not enjoying similar popularity in the east, despite the feast day originating there.

38 Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 241. The issue was further complicated by the schism of the fifteenth century. Pope Felix V supported the doctrine at the Council of Basle in 1439, but was later deposed as an anti-pope, leading his rulings to be disregarded.
The first theological camps against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception formed in the twelfth century. Peter Lombard (c. 1100-1160) was among the first theologians to write about the Immaculate Conception. A canon and teacher at the University of Notre Dame in Paris, and briefly Bishop of Paris one year before his death, Lombard published the final of his *Four Books of Sentences* in 1151. In it, he contended that Mary, by virtue of being human, was conceived in original sin. However, he went on, God purified her before her birth, thus leaving her able to give birth to Christ.\(^{39}\) Thus, in Lombard’s view, Mary was pure; yet, based on the hereditary principle of original sin, he rejected the notion of her immaculate conception.

Lombard was the first theologian to publicly write against the Immaculate Conception, but he soon found anti-Immaculist company. Most notably, St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) also denied the Virgin’s conception without original sin. Like Lombard, he also proposed that Mary was redeemed in her mother’s womb before birth.\(^{40}\) At the age of fifteen, Aquinas left his home in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, Rome, and went to Naples to study at the University of Naples Federico II. During these formative years, Aquinas encountered both the work of Aristotle and the

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\(^{40}\) Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 241. Many modern theologians still debate the true meaning of the beliefs of St. Thomas Aquinas regarding the Immaculate Conception, something apparent with even a general internet search using the keywords “St. Thomas Aquinas” and “Immaculate Conception.” While it is impossible to know what a person of the past explicitly thought, particularly on a matter of such theological complexity, his influence on the later beliefs of the Dominican Order remains evidence of the impact of his writings on others. Regardless of his actual intentions and actual beliefs (either for or against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception), Aquinas did inspire the Dominican Order to vehemently oppose the dogmatization of the doctrine and provided the theological basis for their rejection of the Immaculate Conception as Roman Catholic Dogma.
Dominicans.\textsuperscript{41} Founded in 1216 by Saint Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221), a Spaniard with noble heritage, the Dominicans received the title of the “Order of the Preachers” from Pope Honorius III in 1217.\textsuperscript{42} St. Dominic formed the new religious order in response to the extreme displays of wealth by abbots in the south of France. Practicing the “poverty of beggars,” he relinquished material goods and riches, relying instead on begging to meet basic needs for food and shelter. The Dominican order became one of the first of the mendicant orders, establishing the revolutionary practice of relying only on charity to survive, even though the Church had previously forbidden begging by clerics. With a heavy emphasis on Biblical study, the order’s focus on theology deeply influenced Aquinas, who joined the movement at the age of nineteen, a few years after his arrival in Naples.\textsuperscript{43}

Aquinas’ influence on the Dominicans was undoubtedly strong, particularly regarding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. He was canonized in 1323 and declared a “doctor of the church” in 1567.\textsuperscript{44} Under Aquinas’ teaching, the order opposed the dogmatization of the doctrine on the grounds that the Immaculate Conception does not appear in the Bible. For Aquinas, the notion that Jesus Christ saved all men from the stain of original sin was paramount. Mary, therefore, inherited original sin at the moment

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\textsuperscript{43} Pieper, \textit{Guide to Thomas Aquinas}, 23-29.

\textsuperscript{44} Pieper, \textit{Guide to Thomas Aquinas}, 18.
\end{footnotesize}
of her conception. This means that Mary, like all other humans, could be saved from sin by Jesus Christ. The Dominicans, however, had to solve the sticky point of how Mary could subsequently give birth to Christ without purity. Like Lombard, Aquinas also argued that Mary was sanctified (made pure) after her conception. That way, by the time she gave birth to Christ, she was free from sin. This notion allowed Aquinas to exempt Mary from original sin without going as far as declaring that she had been conceived free from original sin. Known as the theory of sanctification, Aquinas’s argument forms the theological basis for the rejection of the Immaculate Conception of Mary by the Dominican order.

The Franciscans, on the other hand, fully supported the idea that Anne conceived Mary without the stain of original sin. In fact, the order officially accepted the feast of the Immaculate Conception in as early as 1263, despite the writings of Thomas Aquinas and the opposition of the Dominicans. Interestingly, the two orders had very similar roots. Formed by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209 (almost simultaneously with the Dominicans), the Franciscans also belong to the voluntary poverty movement as a mendicant order of the Catholic Church. Their founder, originally named Giovanni di Pietro de Bernadone and nicknamed Francesco, was the son of an Italian merchant who, according to the


writings of his followers, eventually renounced his wealth, embraced poverty, and became canonized two years after his death in 1228.49

Despite their similarities in time of foundation and type of religious order, the Dominicans and Franciscans differed greatly on their interpretation of church teachings generally, and the teaching of the Immaculate Conception of Mary specifically. Due to the backgrounds of their founders, the two orders developed different approaches to Catholicism that influenced their perceptions of the legitimacy of the doctrine. Following the example set by Aquinas, the Dominicans had a more orthodox, or Bible-centered, understanding focused on specific acceptance of writings. Their intellectual bent thus caused the Dominicans to look to Church texts as their primary means of accessing God. The Franciscans, on the other hand, followed a more heterodox perspective that lent itself to a greater acceptance of church traditions rather than simple reliance on holy scriptures. The Franciscans paid more attention to popular religious beliefs and did not place such a large emphasis on religious texts, which predisposed them to accept the doctrine in a way that the Dominicans did not.50 Although few theologians can match the fame of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Franciscans, too, studied the subject of the Immaculate Conception with great interest.

The Franciscan John Duns Scotus (1266-1308) disagreed with Aquinas and his assessment of the Virgin’s sanctification. Scotus, an Englishman educated at Oxford,

49 Hussein Fancy, “St. Francis” (lecture, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, 25 March 2015)

50 Bireley, Refashioning of Catholicism, 26-28; Swanson, Religion and Devotion, 15; Fancy, “St. Francis.”
began teaching theology there and became one of the school’s most famous instructors. He eventually attained a position of prestige within the order of the Franciscans similar to that of Aquinas. He began his trajectory at Oxford, where he worked from at least 1300 to 1304. He then moved to the University of Paris, where he began to study and critique Aquinas’s writings. He challenged several of Aquinas’s doctrines, including for example, his analysis of God’s essence as well as the intersection between philosophy and theology. Yet, their disagreement over the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary became the most bitter point of contention, one that has been referred to as the “loudest controversy” between the two.\(^{51}\) Scotus defended the notion that Mary “was sanctified and cleansed from original sin before she was born” (my emphasis). He decisively affirmed that Mary “was under that very original sin for no instant.”\(^{52}\) “Christ was so perfect a mediator with regard to Mary,” Scotus argued, that “He preserved her from every actual sin, therefore in like manner from original sin. He ever preserved her more perfectly and immediately from original sin than from actual sin; Mary had neither actual nor original sin.”\(^{53}\) Here, Scotus reached even further than the early pro-Immaculate writings of Augustine.\(^{54}\) Thus, drawing on the tradition of Augustine and supported by the writings of Scotus against those of Aquinas, the Franciscans stood in

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\(^{53}\) Quoted in Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 3.

\(^{54}\) Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 238.
theological opposition to the Dominicans. This debate lasted for five more centuries, until the dogmatization of the doctrine in 1854 settled the dispute.⁵⁵

In 1540, the Franciscans found a powerful ally in a newly-formed religious order, the Society of Jesus. Founded by a Basque nobleman, Íñigo López de Loyola (1491-1556), better known as Ignatius of Loyola, the Jesuits eventually adopted the Immaculate Conception as an important Catholic tradition and tool in the fight against the Protestant Reformation. Ignatius served as a page in the court of King Ferdinand II of Aragon (r. 1474-1516) and served Ferdinand’s armies during the beginning of the conquest of Navarre in 1512. He continued to serve after Ferdinand’s death until a wound received in the Battle of Pamplona in 1521 ended his military career, after which he began his religious studies. He studied the lives of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and Jesus Christ, continuing his religious training at a Dominican monastery in Manresa, Catalonia. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1523 and engaged in several unsuccessful missionary expeditions before enrolling in a school in Barcelona and continuing his studies at the University of Alcalá and the University of Salamanca. After a brief encounter with the Inquisition, he enrolled at the University of Paris in 1528, where he

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⁵⁵ Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 3. Interestingly, St. Dominic also subscribed to the "Rule of St. Augustine." In fact, both Catholics and Protestants invoked the work of Augustine to support their respective sides during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. This stems, in part, from the production of many editions of Augustine’s work in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Editions were printed in a variety of languages, including French, Spanish, and Italian. In *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World*, A. D. Wright argues that this European preoccupation with Augustine stems from the conflicts between the Catholic religious orders on issues of the Christian faith (i.e. the Immaculate Conception). Wright also argues that the Jesuits brought the Augustinian conflicts from a doctrinal to jurisdictional debate involving the rights of the Church in Europe. For more information, see A. D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 6-7, 28.
quickly gained a small group of followers. Inspired by the military companies in Italy, Ignatius and his followers proposed a “Company of Jesus” (Jesuits) to fight for the church against heretics and infidels. After some petitioning, Pope Paul III authorized the order on September 27, 1540. Ignatius became the company’s first “general” in 1541, a post which he held until his death in 1556.56

Ignatius’ military background had a profound influence on the company he founded. Although the Jesuits fall into the classification of mendicant orders, like the Dominicans and Franciscans, the society’s constitution echoed the military experiences of its founder. While the Jesuits did not fit the category of an official “military order,” the Spiritual Exercises left by Ignatius reflect a distinct militaristic language and supreme interest in the defense of the faith.57 Some such as William Fanning have suggested that the Jesuits more accurately fit into the category of clerical religious orders due to their focus on the education of youth, missionary zeal, and the salvation of souls.58 The Society of Jesus became known for their great attention to public preaching and sermons, which allowed for them to spread their theological teachings through written and spoken

56 Walker, A History of the Christian Church, 377; Bireley, Refashioning of Catholicism, 29-33.

57 For more information on such militaristic language, see Mullett, Counter-Reformation, 24. Mullett suggests that Ignatius did not use the militaristic language as a “hostile, fighting response to the Protestant Reformation,” rather, he contends that the heavy militaristic leanings stemmed from Ignatius’ background as a soldier.

58 William Fanning, “Cleric,” The Catholic Encyclopedia, retrieved from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04049b.htm. The Jesuits were proclaimed a mendicant order by Pope St. Pius V in 1571. However, their intense focus on education places the Jesuits more comfortably in the category of clerics, as defined by William Fanning in the Catholic Encyclopedia. They share this designation with the military religious orders, such as the Knights Templar. However, the Jesuits do not fall under the category of a military order because they were not formed with an intention to crusade, and were not composed of individuals with the status of knighthood.
word both in Spain and the wider world.\textsuperscript{59} The Jesuits also distinguished themselves from other religious orders by taking a vow of loyalty and service to the pope.\textsuperscript{60} The founding of this religious order in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation also affected Ignatius’ intentions, as he served in the military during Martin Luther’s time in Germany. His subsequent religious training, therefore, made his future company a perfect candidate to fight against the Protestant heretics around the globe. In fact, by the late sixteenth century the Jesuits had spread throughout Spain, Portugal, and Italy and had formed reluctant but stable footholds in France and Germany, eventually becoming a major force in the Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation.\textsuperscript{61}

Although the Jesuits joined the debate about the Immaculate Conception of Mary relatively late in comparison to the other two mendicant orders, they became the doctrine’s most enthusiastic supporters. The Jesuits worked tirelessly to promote the doctrine in the face of Dominican’s opposition. Their efforts was part of a broader campaign of rooting out heretics throughout the world. The Jesuits formed the most integral part of the Counter-Reformation, particularly after the Council of Trent.

The Catholic Church met in northern Italy in 1545 to affirm its core beliefs, denounce Protestantism as heresy, and clarify its teachings. The Council of Trent, which lasted for eighteen years, produced a series of decrees regarding many Catholic beliefs

\textsuperscript{59} Bilinkoff, \textit{The Avila of Saint Teresa}, 90; Bireley, \textit{Refashioning of Catholicism}, 33.

\textsuperscript{60} Bireley, \textit{Refashioning of Catholicism}, 33.

\textsuperscript{61} Walker, \textit{A History of the Christian Church}, 377; Olin, \textit{Catholic Reformation}, 198-199. For more information on the importance of the Society of Jesus during the sixteenth century, particularly in education and number of members, see Delumeau, \textit{Catholicism Between Luther}, 34-36.
such as sacraments, indulgences, the Holy Scriptures, and, most importantly for this study, original sin and Church tradition. In fact, both of these critical aspects of Catholicism concerning the Immaculate Conception came under fire during the Reformation, thus making their proclamation by the Council especially important in post-Reformation Europe. Some of the most influential members of the Council of Trent were Spanish Jesuits who had contact with Ignatius and would have been familiar with his teachings. The theological experts put on the council by Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549), Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmerón, both belonged to the Society of Jesus and had Spanish origins. The presence and important position of such pro-Immaculate Jesuits in a council concerned primarily with definition of doctrine had a profound impact on the Council’s rulings regarding the Immaculate Conception.62

The Council addressed original sin fairly early during its deliberations. Proclaimed during the fifth session of the Council in June 1546, the decrees concerning original sin affirm Catholic theology that all humans are born with original sin, inherited from Adam, who “transgressed the commandment of God in Paradise.” However, the Council neither affirmed nor denied the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.63 This ambivalence could be found in the writings of St. Augustine and the


63 The Council of Trent, trans. J. Waterworth, “Decree Concerning Original Sin,” Fifth Session, 17 June 1546. https://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct05.html. “This same holy Synod doth nevertheless declare, that it is not its intention to include in this decree, where original sin is treated of, the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of God; but that the constitutions of Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory, are to be observed, under the pains contained in the said constitutions, which it renews.”
approach followed by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484).\textsuperscript{64} An avid Franciscan, Sixtus IV studied theology extensively and published several treatises about the division between the Franciscans and Dominicans.\textsuperscript{65} He approved the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1481.\textsuperscript{66} Perfectly familiar with the controversy, in which he participated directly, Pope Sixtus surely understood the impact that his approval of the feast was to have in bringing the doctrine closer to dogmatization. Despite Pope Sixtus’ approval of the feast day, the doctrine still faced enough opposition to prevent its dogmatization. Even a pro-Immaculist pope such as Sixtus did not go so far as to make the Immaculate Conception a dogma of the Church. The \textit{specific} exclusion of the Virgin almost seventy years later in the Council decrees further attests to the debates surrounding the doctrine in the mid-sixteenth century—much like Sixtus, the Council also neglected to give the Immaculists the final victory in the war over the conception of Mary.

The Council also proclaimed that Church traditions had the same doctrinal authority as Scripture. This became very important for Immaculists (particularly the more heterodox Franciscans), as the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception enjoyed a large traditional following but did not appear in the Bible. In the “Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures,” the Council acknowledged the importance of Catholic traditions “transmitted as it were from hand to hand” from Christ. Furthermore, it gives equal

\textsuperscript{64} Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 38.


\textsuperscript{66} Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 30.
importance to both tradition and scripture, treating traditions as the unwritten word of God. The *Catechism* also recognizes “two distinct modes of transmission” of God’s word. The first is the sacred scripture, “the speech of God as it is put down in writing under the breath of the Holy Spirit.” While the Immaculate Conception does not fall into this category, it does fall into the second: Holy Tradition, which “transmits in its entirety the Word of God which as been entrusted to the apostles by Christ the Lord and the Holy Spirit… so that, enlightened by the Spirit of truth, they may faithfully preserve, expound, and spread it abroad by their preaching.” By not explicitly denying the Immaculate Conception and reaffirming the importance of Church tradition, the Council of Trent gave the Immaculists an opening to further the campaign for their cause. Jesuit theologians, such as Johannes Molanus (1533-1585), for example, played an integral role in the formation of artistic iconography following the Council of Trent. He, along with other members of the Society of Jesus, worked to establish artistic traditions that reenforced the Immaculate Conception’s legitimacy, a topic discussed further later. Another prime example of Jesuit devotion to the doctrine is the main Jesuit church located in Rome,

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67 *The Council of Trent*, trans. J. Waterworth, “Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures,” Fourth Session, 8 April 1546. “…truth and discipline are contained in the written books, and the unwritten traditions which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even unto us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand; (the Synod) following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with an equal affection of piety, and reverence, all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions, as well those appertaining to faith as to morals, as having been dictated, either by Christ's own word of mouth, or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continuous succession.”


69 Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 39. For more information on the role of Jesuit theologians in the establishment of pro-Immaculate iconography following the Council of Trent, see Chapter 3.
Chiesa del Gesù, completed in 1575. Besides a side chapel exclusively dedicated to Mary, the church’s beautiful marble wall and floor inlays make plenty of references to her Immaculate Conception.70

The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits found themselves in an intense disagreement regarding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The main theological difference occurred over whether Mary was completely free of original sin or she became free immediately after conception. Although seemingly minute, this conceptual disagreement was a major point of contention. It engaged the religious orders in a bitter disagreement that gave way to theological debates. Although they had taken place through the medieval and early modern periods, disagreements over the Immaculate Conception reached a height in the seventeenth century. The conflict between the two sides began to involve both public preaching and artistic commissions in seventeenth-century Spain.

70 Warner, Alone of All Her Sex, 247.
CHAPTER 2. “RIOTS IN THE CHURCH:” CONFLICTING VIEWS ON THE DOCTRINE

The theological disputes between the Catholic religious orders regarding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception comprised a small part of a larger culture of competition among the orders, a tradition that characterized Franciscan-Dominican relations since their foundations and carried through to the early modern period. Founded only seven years apart, the Franciscans and Dominicans both embraced poverty, preaching, and education of the secular community. The two orders also vowed and oath of allegiance to the pope. The similarities between the orders in foundation and goals, as well as the need for papal approval, meant that they competed for papal favor and resources. The rivalry was such that in 1255, leaders from both orders proposed a truce. The agreement called for the construction of convents to be geographically distant from one another and that public denigration among the orders should cease. This written proposal did little to actually quell the rivalry.\textsuperscript{71} In spite of the competition, the two orders also learned from one another in ways that were beneficial. In order to keep up with the Franciscans, for example, the Dominicans continually reviewed their ideals and

poverty and shaped them closely to the Franciscan model. The Franciscans, on the other hand, learned much from their Dominican counterparts about how to effectively preach to the public.\textsuperscript{72}

The religious turmoil of the sixteenth century increased tensions between the orders and added a third player: the Jesuits. Upon its foundation, the Society of Jesus entered into the competitive world already occupied by the other mendicant orders. Although the Jesuits occupied a more unique space within the Catholic Church due to their later establishment, they too found themselves in competition for papal favor with the other orders. Under direct papal control, the Jesuits had to take a vow of authority to the Pope and submit to all papal orders, thus making them even more vulnerable to the opinions of Rome.\textsuperscript{73} The pressure on the orders to distinguish themselves came, in part, from the Council of Trent—as the church sought to organize and streamline its efforts, the orders sought to prove their worth and relevance in the post-Tridentine world. To do so, the orders focused on the development of corporate identities and the publication of histories to legitimize their roles and carve out a place at the top of the church hierarchy of religious orders.\textsuperscript{74} Thus, the preexisting theological differences between the orders and

\textsuperscript{72} Karen Melvin, \textit{Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain} (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 10. Melvin’s study tracks the competition among the mendicant orders in New Spain, another factor that added fuel to the rivalry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the orders competed for missions in the New World, they often clashed with one another in the race to save the souls of the indigenous peoples of New Spain.


\textsuperscript{74} McGrath, “Dominicans, Franciscans,” 186.
the need for papal approval combined with the pressure placed on them by the Council of Trent created an atmosphere of competition within the contexts of both the Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The debates surrounding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception became but one theatre for the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits to assert themselves, their theological premises, and their hierarchy within the Catholic Church.

By the seventeenth century, the question of papal support became an important factor in the debates over the doctrine. For example, the Dominican Pope Pius V continually favored the Dominican cult of the rosary over the Franciscan cult of the Immaculate Conception during his papacy from 1566 to 1572. He issued papal bulls that benefitted the Dominicans over the Franciscans at a rate two to three times higher than any of the preceding popes. Pius V also granted Thomas Aquinas the title of Doctor of the Church, a move that created an intense preference for the teaching of Thomist theology at Catholic universities throughout Spain. All of the religious orders understood the importance of education, and the Franciscans began at once to promote a revival of their own theological founder, Duns Scotus. The Jesuits’ preeminent role in education and teaching meant that they, too, played a central role in the teaching of theology.

Pius V only set the stage for the intensification of the competition by the seventeenth century; papal support and preference continued to play a role as the orders

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75 McGrath, “Dominicans, Franciscans,” 196.

fought to either legitimize or discredit the doctrine. In 1616, Pope Paul V banned discussions of the Immaculate Conception in churches due to the particularly venomous nature of the exchanges between the religious orders. Priests on either side had gone so far as to condemn one another to hell based on beliefs about the doctrine. A mere six years later, Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-1623) found it necessary to reaffirm the decree of his predecessor, and he reissued the ban due to disturbances and arguments pouring into the streets in the form of processions and public preaching, Gregory XV also probably found motivation to silence the issue due to his training under the Jesuits. The Dominicans later convinced the Pope to allow further theological research on the topic, but studies in pursuit of the truth were only permitted within the walls of Dominican convents.

The Pope remained involved throughout the later seventeenth century. In 1661, Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655-1667) passed a bull affirming the rulings of Sixtus IV, noting the growth of the cult of the Immaculate Conception, and renewing the decretals allowing for the celebration of the feast and mass of the Immaculate Conception in Spain. This bull, called *Solicitude omnium Ecclesiarum*, also forbade further discussion regarding Mary and her conception, although this aspect of the bull was often ignored by the

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77 Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 249. Significantly, Gregory XV was the first Jesuit-trained Pope in office. While in office, he also canonized Ignatius Loyola and Teresa de Ávila, another move that would cause a major religious and political turmoil in Spain during the seventeenth century. For more information, see Erin Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Theresa of Ávila and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011).

78 Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 249.

religion and Philip IV.\(^8^0\) Only sixteen years later, Pope Innocent XI (r. 1676-1689), too, forbade discussion of the doctrine in public, fearing that it would cause greater Catholic division and thus empower Protestants.\(^8^1\) Although the debate undoubtedly raged on despite these harsh and reaffirmed decrees, those expressly refusing to obey the Pope did face the threat of excommunication. This rather extreme form of punishment did not deter a large number of theologians, preachers, and friars. For example, Ippolito Maracci (1604-1675), a leader of Marian movements in Italy during the seventeenth century, faced excommunication after disregarding Gregory XV’s decrees and continuing to promote the doctrine.\(^8^2\)

Despite such measures to stop discussions about the doctrine, the debate raged on among the Immaculists and their Dominican rivals. Anti-Dominican writings appear particularly harsh and relatively organized. The orders used many different kinds of documents to voice their opinions, including sermons, poems, songs, and letters. Other writings are a little more obscure. For example, an anonymous manuscript dating from the seventeenth century lists “57 Points that should be remembered for the continuing defense of the cause of the [immaculate] conception,” consisting of four written pages highlighting the most important reasons to begin and continue fighting for the

\(^{8^0}\) Brown, *Painting in Spain*, 222.


dogmatization of the Immaculate Conception. Although this document does not fit easily into a category of other written works, it functions as an attempt to rally support of the Immaculist cause by succinctly presenting justifications for the doctrine. The 57 justifications reveal much about the mentality of the Immaculists. They also provide evidence of some of the Dominican arguments against the doctrine. Due to the defensive tone of the text, some information can be gleaned about the Dominican side of the debate based on the Immaculist responses contained in the points. Although the text is inherently biased against the Dominicans, and anti-Immaculists in general, the methods employed as well as the argument reveal much about the debate from both sides.

Throughout the 57 points, the author utilizes various tactics in an effort to promote the Immaculist cause and defend it against the presumed Dominican attacks. Lacking a discernible or specific order, together, the points form a comprehensive series of pro-Immaculist sentiments. Although the points work as a defense against those generally opposed to the doctrine, it mentions the Dominicans by name ten times, St. Dominic once, and St. Thomas Aquinas five times. The term “Dominican” or “Dominicans” appears in ten separate points and “St. Thomas” appears in five separate points. Additionally, 26 of the 57 points also counter Dominican criticisms, even if they do not mention the Dominicans by name, by adding on to previous points. Thus, the

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83 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion en que combiene estas para la contiua defensa de la causa de la concepcion, que son los que se han alegada en los memoriales de los por esta parte, MSS 9956 (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, seventeenth century). Although no exact date appears on this document, it has been dated by the archivists at the Biblioteca Nacional de España as a seventeenth-century manuscript and is held in a collection of manuscripts from the seventeenth century.
Dominicans and, by extension, Aquinas, clearly function as the enemy that the author must so vehemently defend against.

The defensive themes employed by the author of the text conform to the Franciscan’s penchant for church tradition as opposed to direct reliance on holy scriptures. Point 36 that simply reads, “since the beginning, the church has arrived at this opinion.” By referring to the doctrine as one of the traditions of the Catholic church, “since the beginning,” the author legitimizes its validity as a simple extension of a prevailing and well established church tradition. Point 47 follows that expands on this idea, claiming that Catholics have loathed the contrary opinion—the contrary opinion of the Dominicans that is—throughout the history of the church. In making such a claim, the author implies that the defense of the Immaculate Conception had the support of the Catholic Church historically. Interestingly, the document fails to provide a strong explanation as to why the doctrine had not been previously defined, particularly considering that it was part of such a longstanding church tradition. Simply stating “it is not important,” the author attempts to divert focus from the fact that the Church had never formally declared its support for the doctrine and instead emphasize the widespread

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84 This refers to the Franciscan’s more heterodox belief system in contrast to the Dominican’s orthodox belief system discussed previously in Chapter 1.

85 Anonymous, Puntos de recordación, 71. “36. Que desde el principio siempre en la iglesia se atenido esta opinion.”

86 Anonymous, Puntos de recordación, 71v. “47. Que siempre los catholicos an aborrecido la contraria opinion como contra por los historias.”
devotion to the Immaculate Mary. As a final means of defense by church tradition, the author compares the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to the belief that Mary continued to live without sin throughout the rest of her life. Point 29 states that “it is of faith that our Lady actually did not sin and yet they do not say it in writing.” The point asserts that although there is no written record of Mary’s sinlessness, the common faith dictates that it must be true. The comparison between the two suggests that the author sought to establish the legitimacy of the doctrine by using another widespread belief to show the power of popularity and pious tradition.

Other points more aggressively attack the doctrine’s detractors, going well beyond defending it from criticisms. Point 9, for example, accuses the Dominicans of having provoked “riots many times.” Although the document does not provide any specifics about these “riots,” this does suggest that the Dominicans did cause significant disturbances against the Immaculists. Particularly, the actions of the Dominicans “against the Company [of Jesus]” over the dispute over Immaculate Conception are also noted in Point 9. The doctrine “causes devotion and spiritual pleasure,” the author notes in Point

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87 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70. “6. Que no importa el no haberse definido antes de aora, etc.”

88 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70v. “29. Que es de fee que n[uestra] S[enora] no peuo actualm[ente] y con todo que no lo dijo escritura, y algunos Padres lo niegan, y después la Iglesia...”

89 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70. “9. Que los Dominicos han causado muchas uezes en la Iglesia alborotos. Lea se en 4 memorial año diendo lo que han hecho contra el Instituto de la Comp[ania] de diziendo que no es Religion como cano, y despues en tiempo de Gregorio XIII que fue necesario otra segunda bulla.”
48, while “the opposite [causes] restlessness.”\footnote{Anonymous, \textit{Puntos de recordacion}, 71v. “48. Que la pia opinion causa deuoción y gusto spiritual y la contraria inquietud etc[etera].”} Therefore, while citing the specific form of restlessness (the riots), the author juxtaposes the disruptive Dominicans with the more “spiritual” and “pleasurable” messages of the Jesuits and Franciscans. The text goes further. The Dominicans, the author argues in Point 13, disobeyed their own preaching manual in opposing the doctrine [\textit{Que en el manual Predicatora ellos mismos prohíben que no se defienda la contraria}].\footnote{Anonymous, \textit{Puntos de recordacion}, 71. “13.”} Although the author does not go so far as to claim that the Dominican preaching manual supported the doctrine, the fact that the manual apparently advised against overtly attacking the Immaculate Conception undermined Dominican resistance to the doctrine.

Besides these serious critiques, the text launches other accusations in order to discredit the Dominicans for failing to follow other key Catholic beliefs as well. For example, “some [Dominicans]” states Point 45, “say that God could not preserve Our Lady.” This idea thus equates anti-Immaculist attitudes with a form of doubt over God’s sovereignty, authority, and power.\footnote{Anonymous, \textit{Puntos de recordacion}, 71. “45. Que algunos dicen que Dios no pudo preservar a N[uestra] S[efora].”} It also suggests that those who refused to believe that God protected Mary from sin from the time of her conception also questioned God’s ability to preserve her holiness at all. Lastly, the text points out that “some of [the Dominicans] teach that the Pope cannot define, and would err if he would define, and that
he cannot give indulgences to this mystery [of the Immaculate Conception].”

Although questioning the authority of God had a more serious implication than questioning the authority of the Pope, speaking out against God’s supreme representative on earth was not taken lightly. After the Reformation, the concept of the infallibility of the Pope became a crucial component of Catholic belief. While Papal infallibility did not become dogma until the nineteenth century, it did become a theological tradition in the medieval period in part due to its support by notable Franciscan theologians. Thus, the assertion that the Dominicans challenged Papal authority held particular meaning in post-Reformation Spain, as the Church (and Pope) attempted to reassert its authority despite Protestant complaints and anti-Papal sentiment.

In addition to overt anti-Dominican assertions, the points also attempt to criticize the Dominicans for not obeying Papal mandate, or “lo decreto mandado poe el Papa” in Point 11. The author does not stop there. Point 19 moves away from papal justifications and instead turns to prophecy. St. Brigid of Sweden (1303-1373), a Franciscan nun, had a revelation that Mary was born untainted and free of original sin. Point 19 references Anonymous, *Puntos de recordacion*, 70. “14. Que algunos dellos dizen que el Papa no puede definir, y erraria si definiése y que no puede dar Indulg[encias] a este misterio, etc.”


Anonymous, *Puntos de recordacion*, 70. “11. Que embargante el precepto de la materia de auxilys los Dominicos no obedesen como en Flandes han escrito aora de auzilys contra el mandato de la opinion de la Comp[ania] y nomination a molina contra lo decreto mandado por el Papa.”
Brigid and her visions as evidence for Mary’s Immaculate Conception.96 Building on this, Point 20 briefly mentions several miracles attributed to Mary of the Immaculate Conception involving a thirteen-year-old boy and the bishop of Carthagena.97 When read in conjunction with Point 19, these two statements attest to the power and inevitability of the triumph of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The text ends up affirming that the Immaculate Conception is in effect “a canonization of Our Lady.” She has, after all, “no shortage of many proofs that are as effective, perhaps more so, than that of other saints who have been canonized.”98 This implies that the defense of the Immaculate Conception played a critical role in ensuring the Virgin Mary her rightful place with the saints of the Church. On the other hand, the continued refusal to define the doctrine placed Mary unfairly below the saints in the heavenly hierarchy.

The 57 points reveal a specific international concern of the cause, something that would have appealed directly to the Jesuits. As a religious order focused on the spread and maintenance of Catholicism across the world, the Jesuits had a keen awareness of the importance of the defense of the doctrine both on the peninsula and elsewhere. Asserting that the “whole world agrees and desires” for the definition of the Immaculate


97 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70v. “20. Que Dios aora ha hecho milagros, com oen el muchacho de trece mesas en Ecija y obispo de Carthagena en las Judias y otros etc.”

98 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70v. “25. Que esto es un Canonozar a N[uestra] S[enora], y que para ello no faltar prueuss tantas y tan efcaces, y quiça maiores que de otros Santos que se han canonizado.”
Conception, the points refer to places outside of Castile several times throughout the document. For example, Point 52 asserts that “it is not enough to remedy Spain alone.” “Scandals on the subject” of the Immaculate Conception take place in “so many states of the King in other kingdoms and lordships.”99 Supporters of the Immaculist cause had a clear awareness of the international scope of the issue. They felt a keen sense of opposition to the doctrine’s dogmatization in places further away from the seat of the monarchy.

Indeed, the Immaculists had an invested interest in promoting the cause within as well as outside the confines of the global Spanish empire. Point 21 mentions that “even outside of Spain they hear such [anti-Immaculist and heretical] nonsense,” explaining that Germany, Flanders, and Italy were precisely the places where the Dominicans had preached their side of the debate.100 There was also another important reason for promoting the cause: “credit and honor gained by defining” the doctrine, “particularly in France.”101 Gaining official status for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception would thus increase international prestige, particularly in Catholic France. Since a major aspect

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99 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70v. “18. Que no ay que hauer mudo de ruidos: pues todo el mundo consiente y lo de sea.”; Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 71v. “52. Que no hasta remedian a Spaña sola pues una de ella son tantos lo estados del Rey en otros Reynos y senorios en las cuales ta bien.”


101 Anonymous, Puntos de recordacion, 70. “3. El credito y honora que cobrara con definir y particolarm[ente] en Francia.”
of the controversy involved Papal approval of the doctrine, the ability of Spaniards to influence the decision would make a grand statement to Spain’s largest Catholic rival.

Although the fifty-seven points articulated in this seventeenth-century document have to be read carefully, particularly with regard to the actions and intentions of the much-hated Dominicans, they provide an excellent insight on the Immaculist cause. A reliance on church tradition as a means of legitimizing the doctrine and a simultaneous de-emphasis of written traditions became the basic foundation for the pro-Immaculist arguments. It is also clear that defending and promoting the doctrine both inside and outside of the Spanish empire was deemed critically important. The text, therefore, has a strong Jesuit leaning. It is also clear that the responses in many of the points of the text addressed Dominican critiques directly. This is why the text can be utilized, albeit carefully, to glean the Dominican side of the debate.

With such an intense rivalry among the religious orders surrounding the doctrine, it comes as no surprise that many seventeenth-century sermons centered on the topic of Mary’s Immaculate Conception. The debates between the Dominicans and Jesuits reached a fever pitch; preachers in neighboring churches openly proclaimed their views on the doctrine.\textsuperscript{102} The feast day of the Immaculate Conception on December 8 generated passionate sermons surrounding the doctrine. Many printed sermons have survived from the seventeenth century, including those in honor of the feast of the Immaculate Conception. Table 1 presents a small sampling of sermons from the seventeenth century

\textsuperscript{102} Warner, \textit{Alone of All Her Sex}, 249.
that focused on Mary’s Immaculate Conception. Several of these sermons were written expressly for the purpose of celebrating the feast of the Immaculate Conception, while the titles of others suggest that they had been written specifically to defend the doctrine.¹⁰³

Table 1: Sermons on the Topic of the Immaculate Conception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Order Affiliation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Length (Pages)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>Pedro de Ojeda</td>
<td>Informacion eclesiastica en defensa de la limpia concepcion de la Madre de Dios</td>
<td>Society of Jesus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>Miguel de Santiago</td>
<td>Sermon de la Inmaculada concepcion predicado el conuento grande de Nuestra Señora del*</td>
<td>Caramelite</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>Francisco de Espinosa</td>
<td>Sermon a la inmaculada concepcion*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>Miguel Ruiz</td>
<td>Sermon de la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Virgen Maria*</td>
<td>Trinitarian</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁰³ R 40458, (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional); “Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía,” Junta de Andalucía Consejería de Educación, Cultura, y Deporte, bibliotecavirtual@juntadeandalucia.es. Sermons with “fiesta” in the title indicate that the sermon was probably written to celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception, such as the anonymous sermon from 1622 in Seville, the sermon by Gregorio Arroyo Sarmiento from 1662 in Granada, and the seventeenth-century sermon by Francisco de Labata in Salamanca. Other sermons from the table were probably also written for the event as well, as the feast day provided an ideal time to discuss the purity of the Virgin Mary with a congregation and stirred up Dominican opposition to feast day activities. All of the sermons from this table are from the Biblioteca Nacional archives collection in Madrid. R 40458. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional except for those marked with an asterisk. The marked texts are from the Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía.
Table 1: Sermons on the Topic of the Immaculate Conception

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>Juan de Pineda</td>
<td>En el primer dia de Octauario votiuo a la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Santissima Virgen</td>
<td>Society of Jesus</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>Lorenço Gutierrez</td>
<td>Sermon predicado al al Magestad del Rey Catholico don Phelipe Tercero nuestro señor</td>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Diego de Cea</td>
<td>Sermon de la Inmaculada Concepcion*</td>
<td>Franciscan</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Berve instrucción del Misterio y fiesta de la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Virgen Santissima Nuestra Señora</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1625</td>
<td>Jerónimo Pancorvo</td>
<td>Sermon de la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Virgen Señora nuestra*</td>
<td>Carmelite</td>
<td>En Xerez de la Frontera (Cádiz)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1625</td>
<td>Francisco de la Cueva y Silva</td>
<td>Informacion en derecho, diuino, y humano, por la Purissima Concepcion de la soberana Virgen nuestra Señora</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626</td>
<td>Andrés de Bonilla Calderón</td>
<td>Sermon de la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Virgen*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baeza (Jaén)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from Table 1, Seville was an important seat for the pro-Immaculist cause. Although the religious order affiliation of the authors of the sermons is not always readily available, it is possible to ascertain the affiliations of at least nine of the sixteen authors. The sample suggests that a wide variety of Catholic mendicant orders

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>Pedro Francisco Esquex</td>
<td>Dos sermones del Reuerendissimo Padre Pedro Francisco Esquex, de la Campania de Jesus… en favor de la Purissima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora</td>
<td></td>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>Gregorio Arroyo Sarmiento</td>
<td>Oracion evangelica en la celebra fiesta que la Iglesia Catedral de Almeria celebro continuando la possession en que Maria S[an]tissima de halla de auerce celebrado siempre debaxo del titulo de Inmaculada en su Concepcion milagrosa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Granada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th C.</td>
<td>Antonio de Magdalena</td>
<td>Sermon predicado en el convento de nuestra gloriosissimo</td>
<td>Franciscan</td>
<td>Salamanca</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th C.</td>
<td>Francisco de Labata</td>
<td>Sermon que Predico en las mesmas fiestas</td>
<td>Society of Jesus</td>
<td>Salamanca</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
participated in the debates. It should be noted that even though the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits played the most visible roles in the debates, it extended to all of the other primary mendicant orders. Within the larger context, the Dominicans were the only ones against the Immaculate Conception of Mary; the rest of the orders, including the Carmelites, Augustinians, and Mercedarians, supported it. Finally, although the sermons recorded in the table represent only a small sampling of surviving writings on the doctrine from the seventeenth century, the sample illustrates how widespread the debate was in Spain during roughly three-quarters of a century. In short, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary was an important and controversial topic that involved religious and political elites. Seventeenth-century Spaniards heard about it in Spain’s many Catholic churches, where pulpits became the platform priests utilized to defend and attack the doctrine.

By analyzing seventeenth-century sermons, a deeper understanding of the ways in which the contested issue was presented to churchgoers emerges. As a rhetorical group, sermons inherently express biases and underlying assumptions and opinions of the author, the church, and the community. Written with a specific intention, sermons form a bridge between the ecclesiastical and the secular. Thus, a brief investigation into the content of several pro-Immaculist sermons from both Franciscan and Jesuit perspectives can reveal not only the language employed by preachers in an attempt to promote the


105 For more information on the importance of preaching to the mendicant orders during the seventeenth century, see Bireley, *Refashioning of Catholicism*, 100-101.
defense of the doctrine but also the messages that the two orders wished to impart on the Spanish populace during mass, particularly during the feast of the Immaculate Conception. One such sermon, entitled “Sermon Preached in the Convent of Our Glorious and Angelic Saint Francisco on the feast of the Pure Conception of the Virgin Mary our Lady,” provides an example of the content of pro-Immaculist sermons (in this case, a Franciscan sermon) during the seventeenth century.  

Written by Fray Antonio de la Magdalena, Lector of Theology and Preacher of the Salamanca’s Discalced Franciscan Convent of Calvary, the sermon spans twenty pages and is divided into four parts. Although the exact date of publication is unknown, several references to papal decrees included in the text place this sermon in the early seventeenth century. Fray Magdalena begins his sermon by acknowledging the long and difficult journey to dogmatization endured by the Immaculate Conception. He asserts, “at this point of the Immaculate Conception and the immaculacy of the Virgin, God has been gradually manifesting and discovering this matter.” He suggests that the slow progression and opposition to the doctrine has been a project of God, implying that the truth (that the Virgin Mary was born without the stain of original sin) would be revealed by God and prevail. This echoes the defense from the 57 points that directed attention away from the time taken to define the doctrine by deeming it “not important.” Both


sections read somewhat as a preemptive strike against perceived criticisms; the main idea being that the slow progression and absence of definition by the Pope did not invalidate the doctrine, it simply meant that the Immaculate Conception needed a more determined and comprehensive defense from its detractors, the Dominicans. By the grace of God, the truth would be revealed to the Pope and the doctrine would become church dogma.

Fray Magdalena follows this idea by referencing the population of the doctrine and the decree of Pope Paul V or Pope Gregory XV banning public discussion of the issue. He states, “by now it is more clear than the sun, since the whole world sees, the Pope orders that nobody publicly contradict that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without the stain of original sin.” Although the sermon itself does not contain a date, the reference to the decree forbidding public discussion of the doctrine helps to place Fray Magdalena’s work in the early seventeenth century. While it is impossible to determine which decree the sermon references, the close succession of the two in the early seventeenth century provide an approximate range as sometime after or around 1620. This passage also shows the ways in which the Immaculists used a decree that forbade discussion on the doctrine to defend and support the Immaculate Conception. Although the Pope’s intent was to stop debates about the doctrine from disturbing the peace and causing a commotion in the streets, it also had the effect of preventing the

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108 Magdalena, *Sermon predicado*, 22. “Ya esta mas clara q[ue] el Sol, pues fuera de que el mundo todo la vee, manda el Po[n]tifice q[ue] nadie en publicidad la co[n]tradiga, sino que fe lea, fe defie[n]do y se predique…”
Dominicans from preaching against the doctrine outside of their convent walls. This tactic may not have been one used exclusively by the Franciscans and Jesuits, but it did work as a means of persuasion and explanation as to why public debates about the doctrine had ceased while the cause still lived in the minds and hearts of its defenders.

Sermons also provide an interesting clue as to how preachers interpreted theological issues and communicated them to the general listener. In the seventeenth century as in the twenty-first century, sermons did not consist of complicated theological writings and ideas. As a form of performance and communication, sermons must convey ideas easily and clearly, while also providing some form of entertainment or interest to hold the attention of the audience. In seventeenth-century Spain, a sermon on the very contentious issue of Mary’s Immaculate Conception obviously needed to both convince and captivate the audience, to ensure that the importance of the doctrine’s defense reached the proper audience. Fray Magdalena therefore employs very visual and dramatic language in his description of Mary’s conception for the “glory and honor of God and the good of souls.”

He states, “we make these feasts, and in them it has been my place to preach this sermon, so that the service is what we always aim, which is the glory and honor of God

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109 Such decrees probably also facilitated the widespread use by Jesuits and Franciscans of artistic images to portray theological ideas in favor of the Immaculate Conception. While the Pope had forbidden debates on the Virgin’s purity before her conception, no similar ban on pro-Immaculate images existed. In fact, images became a vital piece of Immaculist propaganda in spreading and defending the cause throughout Spain and its empire.

110 Magdalena, *Sermon predicado*, 22. “que es la gloria y honra, de Dios, y el provecho de las almas, es bie[n] menester el favor y gracia del Espíritu Santo…”
and the good of souls” citing the necessity of the “favor and thanks of the Holy Spirit” and that “the sanctified Virgin reach us, telling the Angelic salutation [prayer to Our Lady] of Ave Maria.” Here, Fray Magdalena connects the feast of the Immaculate Conception and his role in preaching sermons on the feast day to honor God and save souls through the power of the Holy Spirit and the sanctified Virgin. He also references the Ave Maria, or Hail Mary prayer, a common Catholic prayer asking for the intercession of the Virgin Mary. Perhaps the most recognizable prayer to Mary, Ave Maria “unites [those praying] in the Church with the Mother of Jesus.” The Church bases this prayer on the cooperation between Mary and the Holy Spirit, an idea that Fray Magdalena invokes when he mentions the work of both the Holy Spirit and Virgin Mary through the Ave Maria. Thus, by praying to Mary, “the perfect Orans (pray-er),” and celebrating the feast day of her conception, Fray Magdalena suggested (by connection) that the Virgin herself would help the cause as an intercessor.

Although the most contested aspect of the issue, the actual conception of Mary, presented several problems in fully communicating the theological basis of Franciscan thought, Fray Magdalena did not shy away from addressing the moment of conception in his sermon. In this portion of his sermon, he becomes his most descriptive and least technical. He also uses allegorical phrases that help to associate the defense of the

111 Magdalena, Sermon predicado, 22. “que es la gloria y honra, de Dios, y el provecho de las almas, es bie[n] menester el favor y gracia del Espiritu Santo… y á la Virgen santíssima nos la alcance, diziendole la salutecion Angelica del Ave Maria.”

112 Catechism of the Catholic Church, 642. 2673.
Immaculate Conception with a sincere religious battle for the truth. Fray Magdalena starts off strong, clarifying that he is speaking of “the purity and cleanliness of the Virgin… before her conception and the beginning of her being.” He urges the congregation to “take God’s hand in attending to and cleaning the Virgin’s stain of original sin,” presumably enlisting the help of the listeners to fight for the cause of the Immaculate Conception’s dogmatization and definition by the Pope. Although Fray Magdalena does not use the theological rhetoric of the Immaculists, he does convey their position on the conception of Mary. His care to insist on Mary’s cleanliness by God’s will before her conception comes directly from the theology of Scotus.\footnote{Specifically, that Mary was “sanctified and cleansed from original sin before she was born.” See footnote 48 in Chapter 1.}

After confirming his basic argument in favor of Mary’s purity before conception, Fray Magdalena goes on to discuss her conception by St. Anne and Joachim. To this point, he describes “an Angelic army, with their swords and knives in their hands, guarding and escorting her [Mary] for the crude introduction point of the soul.” This “introduction point of the soul,” or Mary’s conception, thus received a heavily-armed Angelic guard to protect her for “when the devil comes armed and the stain of original sin is contracted” at conception. Instead of receiving the stain of original sin, however, the devil “did not have part in that [Mary’s] conception, that evil beast,” and Mary was spared. Here, Fray Magdalena presents his more detailed case for the defense of the doctrine. He, rather theatrically, depicts Mary’s conception as guarded and escorted by Angels, thus suggesting that God planned for Mary’s exemption from original sin before
“the introduction point of her soul.” As not to leave any doubt, Fray Magdalena goes on to affirm that the “conjugal bond… of her parents… did not have the ardor of lust of others… if not much before her conception, and the beginning of her being.”

Again, Fray Magdalena invokes the theological premise of Scotus. The sermon’s fixation on the timing of Mary’s conception reflects the crux of the argument between the religious orders: timing. By reaffirming and reasserting that Mary had no sin even before her conception, the Franciscan preacher highlighted the main difference between the Immaculist and anti-Immaculist camps—the moment of conception. Proving one over the other also legitimized and proved the superiority of his own order’s belief system.

The Society of Jesus also preached in celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception. Like the Franciscans, the Jesuits also hoped to tap into the popularity of Mary of the Immaculate Conception and utilized sermons to spread their ideas in defense of the cause. A Jesuit sermon in celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception from the same time period, again not dated but from the early seventeenth century, follows a similar approach to Fray Magdalena. The author of this piece, Padre Francisco de Labata of the Company of Jesus of Salamanca, was the son of one of the most famous lawyers in the Kingdom of Aragon. Originally from Zaragoza, he wrote a volume of platitudes, entitled *Apparatus concionatorum*, and was considered by at least one

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114 Magdalena, *Sermon predicado*, 25. “Tú de atrás (dice) tomo Dios la mano en tratar de la puridad, y limpieza de la Virgen, para sacar la limpia y su mancha de pecado original, que no solamente dispuso sus padres con un fervoroso espíritu, para que aquella junta conjugal no tuviese este los ardores de concupiscencia, que las otras, sino que antes mucho de su Concepcion, y principio de su ser; tuvo dios a punto si soldado sea; y ejercito Angelical, con sus espadas, y cuchillos en las manos, haciendola guarda y escolta para que al punto crudo de la introduccion del alma, que es cuando viene armado el demonio, y se contraje la mancha del peccado original, no tuviese part en aquella concepcion, tan mala bestia.”
contemporary to be a very well respected preacher who brought “a thousand blessings” to his region due to his reputation.\textsuperscript{115} His sermon reveals another pro-Immaculist perspective and strategy to communicate the defense of the cause to the larger congregation. Although the two sermons deal with similar issues, Padre Labata’s celebratory sermon focuses more directly on the Immaculate Conception than did Fray Magdalena’s.

Declaring “it is the cornerstone of the conception of the Virgin to be without original sin,” and that God said the cornerstone “was founded with rejoicing through the land,” Padre Labata approaches the topic of Mary’s Immaculate Conception more boldly than his Franciscan counterpart.\textsuperscript{116} In this sermon, the Immaculate Conception and its celebration take center stage. Padre Labata invokes a matter-of-fact and celebratory tone, continuously using the word “regozijo” (rejoicing) throughout the piece. After centering his sermon on the celebration of the Immaculate Conception, Padre Labata turns to justifying his support of the cause. He argues that men do not remember their conceptions or births due to the curse of original sin. Instead, there exists a “black veil of perpetual oblivion… because they were born and conceived in sin.” However, it is God’s will to

\textsuperscript{115} Diego Murillo,\textit{ Fundación milagrosa de la Capilla angelica... de la Madre de Dios. del Pilar}, (Barcelona: Sebastian Matevad, 1616), 445. “El Padre Francisco Labara de la Compañía de Jesus, natural de Çaragoça, y hijo de vno de los mas famosos Aduogados q\[ue\] tuuo este Reyno, escriuió vn grande tomo de lugares comunes, que intitulu \textit{Apparatus concionatorum}. Donde como Predicador tan auentajado da a los Predicadores materia para illustrar sus sermones con doctrina ingeniosa, y graves y a todos los que la leyeren, ocasion de alabar a Dios, y dar mil benediciones a su Patria, porque produze tales sugetos.”

\textsuperscript{116} Francisco de Labata, \textit{Sermon que predico en las mesmas fiestas}, R 40458 (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional), 165. “El la puso co[n] su mano y assi sera como de su mano y pues se precia dello, y es la primera piedra la concepcion de la Virgen sera sin pecado original, y assi tambien dize que se fundara con regozijo de todo la tierra.”
“celebrate the conception of the Virgin with rejoicing, and merriment of all of the earth.”

For Padre Labata, then, the “black veil” surrounding conception does not exist in the conception of the Virgin because the stain of original sin was also absent. Mary’s conception, so widely and popularly celebrated, is remembered precisely because the “black veil” of sin did not obscure the event.

The major theme of Padre Labata’s sermon is God’s sovereignty and thus ability to preserve Mary from the stain of original sin. He sets up his argument in opposition to Aquinas to whom he refers to as “El Doctor Angelico Santo Thomas.” The text, therefore, goes against Dominican theology. Labata does not quote Aquinas directly, but paraphrases him as questioning Christ’s ability to do all things. Although this theological argument is a confusing passage involving the abilities of God, it boils down to His ability to preserve Mary (but not others) from original sin. While this invokes the more complicated theological question in the vein of “if God says that all men are born with original sin, can God subsequently defy Himself?” Padre Labata does not linger on the complex problem of God’s sovereignty. Instead, this leads him to signal out Mary as particularly divine, and thus deserving of such an honor as an immaculate conception. To do so, Padre Labata focuses on the relationship between Mary and Jesus Christ,

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117 Labata, *Sermon que predico*, 165. “Pierdase la memoria del dia de mi nacimiento, y de la noche de mi concepcion, corras sobre vno y vn velo negro de perpetuo oluido. La razon desta maldicion es, como dize Seueriano, porque eran nacimiento, y concepcion en pecado, y assi pues quiere Dios, que se celebre la Concepcion de la Virgen con regozijo, y almazara de toda la tierra.”

118 Labata, *Sermon que predico*, 167. “Disputa aqui el Doctor Angelico santo Thomas, si puede Dios hazer mejores cosas de las que haze, y responde, que entre otras cosas, la dignidad de Madre de Dios, no puede ser mejor en su genero, por tocar en el bien infinito, que os Dios, y con esto ser ella infinita.”
introducing the notion that the glory and dignity of the mother grows with the glory and dignity of the son. Thus, just as “the mother of the King” is greater than “everyone else in his Kingdom,” the mother of Christ is greater than all others in Christ’s kingdom. This rationalization justifies the special treatment given to Mary due to her role in giving birth to Jesus Christ. Because of her son, Mary holds a special place below him yet above other humans, signified by her Immaculate Conception.

To further legitimize the doctrine, Padre Labata relies on an interpretation of St. Augustine. In doing so, he follows the teachings of Scotus, much as Fray Magdalena did. However, he uses St. Augustine and the influence of Scotus slightly differently. In order to prove the legitimacy of the Immaculate Conception, Padre Labata first references another somewhat controversial doctrine of the Catholic Church: the Assumption of Mary. This doctrine attests that Mary was taken bodily into heaven upon her death due to her sinlessness, this included her being free from original sin. St. Augustine responded to those who doubt Mary’s Assumption that Christ had the ability to do all things, including rising Mary’s body into heaven an action that is “befitting the dignity of his

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119 Labata, *Sermon que predico*, 167. “La razón es clara, porque quanto crece la dignidad de hijo, tanto crece la dignidad de Madre. Mas es ser Madre se vn Cauallero illustre, que no da vn pastor villano, u mas ser madre de vn Señor de titulo que de vn cauallero ordinario, y mas de vn grande de España, q[ue] no de vn titulado ordinario, y mas ser madre del Rey, que de todos los demas en su Reyno, porque crece tanto la dignidad de madre, quanto crece la dignidad de Hijo, pues si la dignidad de Hijo llega hasta el mismo Dios infinito la dignidad de madre…”

120 *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 966. The connection between the two dogmas stems from the idea that Mary’s sinlessness allowed her to be bodily taken into heaven upon her death. This is articulated in the modern Catechism of the Catholic Church, which states, “Finally the Immaculate Virgin, preserved free from all stain of original sin, when the course of her earthly life was finished, was taken up body and soul into heavenly glory, and exalted by the Lord ad Queen over all things…”
mother.” Labata then states: “now I make the same argument, with more force, about the conception of the Virgin. Christ could preserve his mother from original sin. Thus he did because it suited the honor and dignity of his mother.” This simple statement sums up Labata’s main point in his sermon: all things are possible through God’s will, including the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

This idea tapped into early modern Spanish culture on several levels which helped to make it an effective argument for the dogmatization of the Immaculate Conception. Firstly, it paralleled the elevated place mothers occupied in Spanish society. The idea that Christ would protect the dignity of his mother made sense in a social system that saw parental reverence as natural and desirable. Secondly, and more importantly for this study, Christ’s ability to do anything, and especially give Mary a prominent and special position in His Kingdom, factored heavily into Catholic and Counter-Reformation values and ideals. The issue of the dogmatization of Mary’s Immaculate Conception was thus part of both reform movements: it was a point of contention and debate long before the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, and also gained substantial momentum as

121 Labata, *Sermon que predico*, 171-172. “En argumento que aqui hace el bien aventurado S. Augustin, es este: cosa justa y digna que el cuerpo sanctissimo de la Virgen no se convirti este en poluo, sino que resucitaste y subiesse luego al Cielo, esto bien lo pudo hazer Christo, como todo poderoso: luego hizo lo, pues conuenia a la dignidad de su madre.”

122 Labata, *Sermon que predico*, 172. “Agora hago yo el mesmo argumento, y con mas fuerça de la Concepcion de la Virgen.” Christo pudo preservar a su madre de pecado original. Luego hizo’o porque assi conuenia a la honra, y la dignidad de su madre.”

123 For more information on cultural respect for mothers, particularly in Habsburg Spain, see Silvia Z. Mitchell, “Habsburg Motherhood: The Power of Mariana of Austria, Mother and Regent for Carlos II of Spain,” in *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and María Stampino (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).
a fighting point against Protestantism in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation. As one of the most powerful figures in Catholicism, Mary’s dignity and honor deserved to be defended by Spain, her most faithful servant.

While the Jesuits and Franciscans spent much time producing sermons and texts defending the Immaculate Conception, they also realized that the cause could spread through other avenues of communication. Although sermons could reach the congregation in the convents and churches of the Franciscans and Jesuits, images had the potential to promote Marian devotion on an even larger scale. Able to communicate even with the illiterate, images also allowed the Immaculists to avoid blatantly disobeying the orders of Popes Paul V and Gregory XV, making the visual arts perhaps the most important form of propaganda during the Immaculate Conception controversy of the seventeenth century.
CHAPTER 3. ICONOGRAPHY AND CHURCH TRADITION: THE DOCTRINE IN SPANISH ART

During the seventeenth century, the Immaculate Conception became a very popular subject in Spanish art. The existence of hundreds of paintings depicting Mary’s conception, called inmaculadas, attest to the doctrine’s importance and permanence in early modern Spanish culture. Just as they used sermons to convey Immaculist fervor to congregations, the Franciscans also commissioned artwork as a form of propaganda to support the dogmatization of the doctrine. Such works responded to Dominican criticisms of the Immaculate Conception by presenting the doctrine in a powerful and systematic manner. In the aftermath of the Council of Trent, artwork became an important tool to disseminate Catholic beliefs in post-Reformation Europe. For the pro-Immaculists, the creation of a formulaic image of the Immaculate Conception became an important goal due to Dominican rejection of the doctrine. Pro-Immaculists commissioned some of the most prolific painters of the Spanish Golden Age to create pieces of art to adorn the walls of convents and monasteries throughout Spain. The Habsburg monarchs used portraits to demonstrate their devotion to Mary of the Immaculate Conception, making an analysis of Spanish inmaculadas essential in understanding the full impact of the doctrine’s controversy in seventeenth-century Spain.
The Development of *Inmaculada* Iconography

The rise of Protestantism had a distinct impact on the history of art in Europe. Many Reformers disapproved of not only Catholic theology, but also Catholic means of expressing and transmitting such theology through art. The Baroque style of painting that developed in Spain after the Reformation clearly reflected a persuasive style that emerged as the Catholic Church responded to Protestants such as Martin Luther and John Calvin. To defend their faith, Catholics increased the production of images found most controversial by the Reformers, including the Immaculate Conception.\(^{124}\)

Early modern Spanish art was heavily influenced by the Council of Trent, as the leaders of the Catholic Church used their meeting in Italy as an opportunity to organize, define, and streamline religious iconography following the Protestant Reformation. Artists utilize iconography, or a specific set of symbols with specific meanings that represent abstract ideas, to help viewers understand the larger meanings behind images. The Catholic Church was well aware of the power and importance of iconography in conveying complex theological ideas in a more understandable way.\(^{125}\) Because of the potential role images could play in spreading Catholic doctrine, the Council devoted substantial time to the defense of religious images in addition to its rulings on original sin and church tradition, as discussed in Chapter 1. During its last session in December of

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\(^{125}\) Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 34-45, 47-50.
1563, the Council proclaimed decrees concerning the veneration and invocation on saints, relics, and sacred images. In doing so, the Council responded to Protestant accusations of image worship by defining image use for veneration and reverence only. The careful distinction between “worship” of an image and “honour and veneration” of an image articulated Catholic ideology that images “instructed and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolved in the mind the articles of faith,” particularly among the illiterate.\textsuperscript{126} Thus, the Church saw images as a vehicle for teaching Catholic doctrine. According to the \textit{Catechism of the Catholic Church}, “Christian iconography expresses in images the same Gospel message that Scripture communicates by words. Image and word illuminate each other.” Further, the Catholic Church “preserve[s] intact all the written and \textit{unwritten traditions} of the Church” (emphasis mine).\textsuperscript{127} The Council of Trent laid the groundwork for the production of \textit{inmaculadas}, images that would preserve and present the unwritten traditions of the Church for all to see. Such proclamations in the Council of Trent meant that those devoted to the doctrine could, and did, commission the image of Mary of the Immaculate Conception to both venerate as well as transmit the purity of the Virgin. The rulings of the Council concerning original sin, Church tradition, and the transmission of said tradition through religious images set

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{The Council of Trent}, trans. J. Waterworth, “On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images,” Twenty-Fifth Session, 3-4 December 1563. “Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them.”

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{The Catechism of the Catholic Church}, 300.
the stage for the new Immaculate iconography that deeply influenced Spanish painting in the seventeenth century.

On to this stage emerged Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644). Following the recommendations of the Council of Trent, Pacheco wrote the most important treatise in the regulation and standardization of religious iconography in seventeenth-century Spanish art, *Del Arte de la Pintura*. Taking almost thirty years to complete and eleven years to publish, *Del Arte de la Pintura* was available in print for the first time in 1649. The treatise contains biographies of important seventeenth-century artists as well as detailed instructions regarding the painting of religious subjects. Pacheco and his treatise influenced the most important artists of the seventeenth century. Although Pacheco never lived to see his treatise published, he did work throughout his lifetime to spread his iconographical approach, particularly around his workshop in Seville. By 1600, he and his workshop had achieved widespread popularity in part due to his student and son-in-law, Diego Velázquez.

Along with instructions on painting a variety of religious subjects, *Del Arte de la Pintura* includes a remarkably detailed description of proper Immaculate Conception iconography. In fact, the time and detail dedicated to the iconography of this doctrine surpasses that of almost every other chapter. Pacheco devotes so much attention to the

128 Kagané, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, 7-8.


Immaculate Conception not only due to the popularity of the doctrine as an artistic subject, but also because he was at the forefront of an important iconographic shift to help legitimize the doctrine. For a “Pintura de la Puríssima Concepción de nuestra Señora,” Pacheco suggests that Mary should appear “in the prime of her age of about twelve or thirteen years old… with pretty and serious eyes, and most perfect nose and mouth, rosy cheeks and beautiful golden hair.”\footnote{Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 482. “A se de pintar, pues, en este a sea dissimo Misterio esta señora en la flor de su edad de doze a treze años, hermosissima niña, lindos i graves ojos, nariz i boca perfectissima, rosadas mexillas, los bellissimos cabellos tendidos de color de oro, en sin fuere possible al un mano pinzel,”} She should wear a “white tunic and blue mantle,” in accordance with the wishes of Beatriz de Silva, the founder of the cult of the Immaculate Conception and the first convent dedicated to the doctrine. Pope Julius II (r. 1503-1513) confirmed the cult (and the attire selected by Silva) in 1511.\footnote{Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 482-483. “A se de pintar con tunic a blanca, y manto azul, que assi a pareció esta señora a doña Beatriz de Silva Portuguesa que se recogió despues en santo Domingo Real de Toledo, a fundar de Religion de la Concepción puríssima; que confirmó el Papa Julio Segundo año de 1511.”} Pacheco then describes several important symbols associated with the Immaculate Conception: Mary should be “crowned with stars and have the moon beneath her feet… dressed and surrounded with the sun,” with her “crown of stars” visible “in a clear circle between the blazes.”\footnote{Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 481-483. “No tiene niño en los braços, antes tiene puestas las manos, cereada del Sol, coronada de Estrellas, i la Luna a sus pies…” and “Vestida del Sol, un Sol ovado de ocre i blanco, que cerque toda la imagen unido dulcemente con el cielo, coronada de estrellas, Doze estrellas compartidas en un circulo claro entre resplandores…”}

The image of the Virgin Mary standing on the moon, surrounded by light, wearing a crown of stars and a white tunic with a blue mantle bears no resemblance to paintings

\footnote{131}{Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 482. “A se de pintar, pues, en este a sea dissimo Misterio esta señora en la flor de su edad de doze a treze años, hermosissima niña, lindos i graves ojos, nariz i boca perfectissima, rosadas mexillas, los bellissimos cabellos tendidos de color de oro, en sin fuere possible al un mano pinzel,”}

\footnote{132}{Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 482-483. “A se de pintar con tunic a blanca, y manto azul, que assi a pareció esta señora a doña Beatriz de Silva Portuguesa que se recogió despues en santo Domingo Real de Toledo, a fundar de Religion de la Concepción puríssima; que confirmó el Papa Julio Segundo año de 1511.”}

\footnote{133}{Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 481-483. “No tiene niño en los braços, antes tiene puestas las manos, cereada del Sol, coronada de Estrellas, i la Luna a sus pies…” and “Vestida del Sol, un Sol ovado de ocre i blanco, que cerque toda la imagen unido dulcemente con el cielo, coronada de estrellas, Doze estrellas compartidas en un circulo claro entre resplandores…”}
of the Immaculate Conception from the sixteenth century. During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel I of Castile and Fernando II of Aragon, paintings of the Immaculate Conception depicted the story through images of her parents, Anne and Joachim. Following the more dramatic scene in the apocryphal Protoevangelium of James, artists represented Mary’s conception as an embrace between Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. This artistic tradition, which had already become trendy in Italy and elsewhere, rose to popularity in the fifteenth century in Spain, particularly in Toledo. While the Catholic church never officially sanctioned images of Anne and Joachim’s embrace as emblematic of the Immaculate Conception, a significant number of altarpieces depicting the scene painted during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries attest both to devotion to the Immaculate Mary as well as the Church’s tolerance of the interpretation. Prominent examples such paintings include the Embrace at the Golden Gate by Juan de Borgoña in the Cathedral of Toledo, an altarpiece for the Convent of the Concepción Francisca by Antonio de Comontes, and a fresco in the Convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes by Juan Correa de Vivar, all commissioned in the early sixteenth century. Likely due to the popularity of the doctrine, the use of such iconography to depict the Immaculate Conception caught on and spread throughout the

134 Stratton, Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art, 21.

135 The Book of James, IV: 1-3.

136 Juan de Borgoña, Embrace at the Golden Gate (Toledo: Cathedral of Toledo, early sixteenth century); Antonio de Comontes, Embrace at the Golden Gate (Toledo: Cathedral of Toledo); Juan Correa de Vivar, Embrace at the Golden Gate (Toledo: Convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes); Stratton, Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art, 23-24. Precise dates are not available for these paintings, although Stratton indicates that they were all probably painted in the sixteenth century.
peninsula. By 1530, the iconography of the embrace must have been relatively well-known, as a painting by Vincente Macip for the Cathedral of Segorbe in Castellón did not even include the Golden Gate, focusing instead on a simple image of Anne and Joachim.\textsuperscript{137} The fact that the artist chose to remove even the gate from the piece, one of the most recognizable parts of images depicting the embrace, suggests that Macip assumed that his audience would recognize the two figures as symbolic of the Immaculate Conception without many additional visual cues.

Although this iconography had been used previously as a literal representation of the conception of Mary without original sin, Pacheco drew on another Biblical image for the new official iconography of Mary of the Immaculate Conception in \textit{Del Arte de la Pintura}: the Woman of the Apocalypse. He developed his iconographic program on the work of Jesuit theologian based in Seville, Luis de Alcázar. The images recommended by Pacheco and his Jesuit advisor actually stem from the Book of Revelation. Revelation 12:1-6 states,

\begin{quote}
And a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. She was with child… And another sign appeared in heaven: and behold, a great red dragon having seven heads and ten horns, and on his heads were seven diadems. And his tail swept away a third of the stars of heaven and there them to earth. And the dragon stood before the woman who was about to give birth, so that when she gave birth he might devour her child. And she gave birth to a son, a male child, who is to rule all the nation with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up to God and His throne. The women fled into the wilderness…\textsuperscript{138}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{137} Stratton, \textit{The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 23-26.

\textsuperscript{138} The Bible, Revelation 12:1-6, New American Standard Bible.
All of Pacheco’s recommendations, including the crown of stars, the sun, and the moon beneath Mary’s feet, appear in this passage. Catholics popularly considered Mary the woman from Revelation 12 despite not mentioning her by name. Based on interpretations by St. Bernard (1090-1153), the Apocalyptic Woman’s victory over the “great red dragon” of Satan represented Mary’s triumph over the stain of original sin.\(^{139}\)

Within the context of the Counter-Reformation, an image depicting the strong and triumphant woman of Revelation 12 bolstered the Catholic cause more than the image of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate. Furthermore, the defeat of Satan by Mary also easily symbolized the defeat of Protestants by Catholics or the defeat of heresy by faith (here, Catholicism). Therefore, the shift represents not only a change of focus from Mary’s physical conception to her glorified figure but also allows Mary of the Immaculate Conception to function as a Counter-Reformation symbol of strength, power, and triumph over sin (here, Protestantism).

Pacheco’s iconographical description includes intricate details that expand upon the woman described in Revelation. For example, he specifies that the proper method for painting \textit{inmaculadas} was to depict the downward-facing crescent moon underneath the Virgin Mary. This arrangement was favored by Alcázar and Galileo as it, in theory, would

\(^{139}\) Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 48.
enable the moon to reflect the most light upon Mary’s holy figure. The light reflecting upon Mary from the moon also serves to keep attention on her as the central figure of the piece—the focus is on the Virgin alone, not her parents. Pacheco also recommends that the Virgin appear without the accompanying figure of the infant Jesus. This again emphasizes Mary’s singularity and maintains her position as the most powerful figure in the image. Despite his attention to iconographical cues of Mary as a strong central figure, Pacheco does concede that the presence of Jesus (popular in many earlier paintings of the scene) supports the idea of Mary’s purity before giving birth, thus benefiting the Immaculist cause. Therefore, he refrains from explicitly condemning the inclusion of the Christ child in paintings of the Immaculate Conception. Such concessions gave artists some freedom of expression while still ensuring that the paintings adhered to the iconography decreed by the Church and transmitted through Pacheco’s treatise.

Due to Pacheco’s treatise, images of the Immaculate Conception in the seventeenth century closely resembled paintings of the Assumption of Mary from the fifteenth century. The Assumption doctrine describes Mary’s bodily ascent into heaven upon her death as a result of her sinlessness both during her conception and during her

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140 Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 483. “En la Luna especialmente e seguido la docta opinio[n] del Padre Luis de Alcazar, ilustre hijo de Sevilla, coyas palabras son estas: ‘Suelen los pintores poner la Luna a los pies de esta Muger hazia arriba. Pero es evidente entre los doctas Mathematicos, que si el Sol, a la Luna se carean, ambas puntas de la Luna en de ver se hazia abaxo; de fuerte que la Muger no estava sobre el concavo sin o sobre el convexo.’ For more information on the work of Galileo in relation to the moon’s position in the iconography of the Immaculate Conception, see Eileen Reeves, Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 184.

141 Pacheco, Del Arte de la Pintura, 481. “Pero sin poner a pleito la pintura del niño en los braços [para quié[n] tuviere devoción de pintar la assi] nos co[n]formaremos con la pintura que no tiene niños porque esta es la mas comun…no tiene niño en los braços, antes tiene puestas las manos…”
lifetime. This means that Mary’s body as well as her soul entered heaven, leaving no trace of her behind on earth. This contrasts with the deaths of other humans, in which the body remains behind on earth while the soul leaves the earthly realm. Padre Labata also drew connections between the two doctrines in his sermon from the early seventeenth century. By tying the doctrines together, the Immaculists strengthened the cause of the Immaculate Conception through association with another popular doctrine of the Church. The Assumption indirectly provides proofs for Mary’s sinlessness, as she could not have gone bodily into heaven without an immaculate conception. While never painted with such frequency as the Immaculate Conception in seventeenth-century Spain, Mary’s Assumption was another popular artistic subject that supported the Immaculist cause informally.

Because of the many similarities in the iconography of the two doctrines, especially in the late sixteenth century, some paintings have been incorrectly identified as portraying the Assumption when they, in fact, depict the Immaculate Conception. One example of a misidentified image from the later seventeenth century is *The Walpole Immaculate Conception* by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, painted in 1680. Confusion about the painting was so extensive that even the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg misidentified the painting in their catalog as *The Assumption*. Art historian Aureliano de

142 *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 966. The Assumption of Mary explains why no relics of Mary’s body exist within the Church. Marian relics include her hair, breast milk, and pieces of her clothing, but never parts of her body.

143 For more information on connections between the two doctrines in sermon form, see Chapter 2.

Bueret corrected the problem in the early twentieth century upon visiting the museum and noting the mistake. However, the painting remained listed as *The Assumption* until as late as 1976 due to a lack of consensus from the art history community. The similarities in iconography have even caused at least one nineteenth-century French writer, Louis Viardot, to presume that the “Immaculate Conception” was simply another name for “the Assumption” in Spain. The issue was further complicated by Protestant opposition to the Immaculate Conception, which caused the names of several paintings to be purposely changed to the Assumption to avoid controversy. How, then, can a painting be properly identified as an Immaculate Conception an Assumption? According to art historian Suzanne Stratton, the simplest clue is the date of the piece. During the sixteenth century, the Assumption was represented by the Lady of Revelation, the same inspiration used by Pacheco to represent the Immaculate Conception in the seventeenth century. At this time, the Immaculate Conception was represented by the embrace at the Golden Gate. At the turn of the century, the representation becomes more confusing during the iconographic shift following the Council of Trent. During this time, artists often included symbols of Mary’s purity to help identify the image as an Immaculate Conception rather than an

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145 Kagané, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, 150-154. Kagané concludes that the painting is indeed an *inmaculada* based on its similarities to other paintings of the subject by Murillo dating from the 1650s. She cites several other art historians who agree with her including Bueret, Elías Tormo y Monzó, K. Malitsakaya, and N. Mac Laren.


Assumption. The similarities between visual representations of the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception became less apparent later in the period, after the new Immaculate iconography was definitively established following the publication of Del Arte de la Pintura. The Immaculate Conception became the official doctrine represented by the Apocalyptic Woman, and the confusions between the two ceased to be an issue for contemporaries. As the iconographies of the two subjects became more rigorously and carefully defined, the two representations of Mary became more easily distinguishable.

While Pacheco’s most important contribution to the Spanish artistic Golden Age was his treatise, he worked as an artist as well as a teacher. His Immaculate Conception with Miguel Cid, probably painted around 1621, shows that his careful attention to iconographical details regarding the doctrine were established well before Del Arte de la Pintura’s publication. Now housed in the Catedral de Sevilla, Pacheco’s inmaculada corresponds to his recommendations almost exactly— the young Virgin Mary, crowned with twelve stars and surrounded by the sun, stands atop a downward-facing moon and gazes at a portrait of Miguel Cid, a famous Spanish poet form Seville, in the bottom left corner. Miguel Cid’s son, a close acquaintance of Pacheco, commissioned the painting several years after his father’s death. Interestingly, the only obvious deviation from his

148 Stratton, Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art, 48-54.
149 The Golden Age of Spanish Painting (Great Britain: Royal Academy of Arts, 1976), 39.
150 Pacheco, Inmaculada Concepción con Miguel Cid (Seville: Catedral de Sevilla, 1621).
151 The Golden Age of Spanish Painting, 39.
recommendations concerns the Virgin’s attire—although her mantle is correctly blue, her tunic is incorrectly red (instead of the recommended white). The color choice very likely reflected a decision made by Miguel Cid’s son. As in the case of the inclusion of the infant Jesus, Pacheco allowed for slight iconographical changes that could accommodate the wishes of patrons of art or special circumstances in his treatise. As a painting of the Immaculate Conception including a portrait of a famous poet of Seville, the piece already fit into a slightly different category than simple ecclesiastical painting of the Virgin’s Conception alone. Meant to glorify not only the Immaculate Virgin but also its subject, Miguel Cid, the painting takes on another dimension as a commissioned piece in honor of a deceased patron of the arts. Additionally, the painting’s commission in 1621 also indicates that Pacheco’s iconography, while very similar to his recommendations in Del Arte de la Pintura, may have been slightly incomplete when he completed this painting. Because the writing of the treatise took almost thirty years and is suggestive of intense attention to detail, it is possible that Pacheco’s iconography regarding the doctrine remained a work-in-progress in 1621. While the reasoning behind Pacheco’s departure from the clothing selected by Beatriz de Silva is unclear, his close attention to other iconographical details indicates a strong sense of iconographic awareness almost thirty years before Del Arte de la Pintura.  

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152 Pacheco, Inmaculada Concepción con Miguel Cid.

153 The Golden Age of Spanish Painting, 39.
Due to Pacheco’s fame as both an artist and a teacher, Spanish artists (and particularly those in Seville, able to visit Pacheco’s workshop and see his work in person) were heavily influenced by his iconographic style even before the publication of Del Arte de la Pintura. Although he surely influenced the artistic scene in the first decade of the seventeenth century, several events conspired to ensure his reputation both inside and outside of the city increased dramatically after 1618. Firstly, his daughter, Juana, married his student, Diego Velázquez. While Velázquez was only nineteen years old at the time and had just begun his career, his work was already receiving significant attention in Seville and Madrid. Pacheco’s connections to such a rising star undoubtedly enhanced his credibility as the preeminent source on Spanish art in the seventeenth century.154 Secondly, Pacheco received appointment to the post of official artistic censor of the Inquisition in 1618. This position enhanced Pacheco’s credibility immensely, especially concerning iconographical and doctrinal works such as the Immaculate Conception.155

Franciscan Commissions

The status of painters and artists in Spain underwent a significant change from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Socially ranked with craftsmen during the late medieval period, painters had relatively little freedom to deviate from the requests of

154 Brown, Painting in Spain, 103, 108.

their patrons, much like their craftsman counterparts in the fields of barbers, builders, and tailors. However, Spanish artists of the seventeenth century began working to improve their social status and advance painting from the status of a craft to an art, a distinction that emphasized a higher degree of intellectual prowess. This distinction also entitled Spanish painters to significant tax exemptions under Spanish law. While these changes would have certainly increased the social status of painters, it also resulted in intense competition between artists, causing more strict rules about apprenticeship and examinations for guild status. The consequences of ignoring such changes could be severe. For example, artists selling paintings in Barcelona without a license were fined ten ducats in 1596. In Seville, even great and established artists such as Francisco de Zurbarán felt the effects of this movement—in 1630 several artists petitioned (unsuccessfully) to prevent him from working until he took the required exam and obtained a painter’s license.¹⁵⁶

During this period, Seville became a center of religious devotion dedicated to the Immaculist cause. Accordingly, the Immaculate Conception became the most sought-after and painted religious subject in Seville, probably due to its history of intense Marian devotion.¹⁵⁷ Several painters, including Pacheco, began producing inmaculadas in


support of the doctrine’s dogmatization. For example, in 1615, Juan de Roelas painted a tribute to the Immaculate Conception and participated in a grand procession in Mary’s honor. This procession came in response to the actions of an unnamed Dominican preacher in 1613. On September 8, the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin, the preacher publicly refuted the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, instead insisting that the Virgin was purified after her birth. This pronouncement resulted in substantial backlash from the Immaculists in the city, causing an intense pro-Immaculate campaign in the city that lasted for several years and consisted of processions, feasts, and even the construction of a pro-Immaculate statute at the University of Seville in 1617.\footnote{Reeves, \textit{Painting the Heavens}, 196.}

The enthusiasm and Marian devotion in Seville led authorities to petition Philip III to contact the Pope and seek proclamation of the doctrine as dogma.\footnote{Enrique Valdivieso, \textit{Murillo: sombras de la tierra, luces del cielo} (Madrid: Silex, 1991), 203-204.} Throughout the reign of Philip IV, Seville continued to champion for the cause, repeatedly pressing the King to work for the dogmatization of the doctrine. In fact, Immaculist devotion was so ingrained that by 1660, artists were required to pledge an oath of allegiance to the Immaculate Conception before applying for admission into the academy of painting.\footnote{Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 108.}

As demands for the dogmatization of the doctrine increased during the first half of the seventeenth century, the conflict between the pro-Immaculists and opposite side intensified. In addition to preaching or writing about the doctrine, the pro-Immaculists

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\footnote{Enrique Valdivieso, \textit{Murillo: sombras de la tierra, luces del cielo} (Madrid: Silex, 1991), 203-204.}
also began to turn to art as a means of expressing their side of the debate. Commissions of paintings depicting the Immaculate Conception grew exponentially in the seventeenth century, and the Franciscans of Seville naturally became one of the largest consumers of Immaculist art. They commissioned paintings that sought to bring less of a focus to the actual physical circumstances regarding Mary’s conception (the embrace of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate) and more emphasis on Mary herself. Table 2 displays thirty-six well known artistic depictions of the Immaculate Conception from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These paintings do not include those representing the doctrine through the embrace of Anne and Joachim; instead, the table is limited to only those paintings depicting Mary alone.\footnote{Although thirty-six paintings seems like a small number for over one hundred years of sampling, the table is designed to only account for major artistic works by Spanish artists or those associated with Spanish themes (such as those works by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro de Po), not the many hundreds of smaller replicas created by the artist’s workshops as well as lesser known craftsmen. When examined in this context, the large amount of \textit{inmaculadas} produced and commissioned during the seventeenth century testifies to the importance of the doctrine and debates on early modern Spanish society and religious culture.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1580s</td>
<td>El Greco</td>
<td>Vision of Saint John on Patmos</td>
<td></td>
<td>236 x 118 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Crostóbal Gomez</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Church of El Salvador, Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Unknown (traditionally ascribed to Francisco Pacheco)</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Catedral de Sevilla, Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Some Important Examples of the Immaculate Conception in Art

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Juan Pantoja de la Cruz</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with a Donor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607-1613</td>
<td>El Greco</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1610s)</td>
<td>Juan de Roelas</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Fernando de Mata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>Juan de Roelas</td>
<td>Seville Honoring the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in 1615</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1619</td>
<td>Diego de Velázquez</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td></td>
<td>135 x 101.6 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620s</td>
<td>Pedro de Valpuesta</td>
<td>Philip IV Vowing to Defend the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Hospital de la Latina, Madrid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Francisco Pacheco</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Mateo Vázquez de Leca</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Francisco Pacheco</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Miguel Cid</td>
<td>Catedral de Sevilla, Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1628-1629</td>
<td>Peter Paul Rubens</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td></td>
<td>198 x 137 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Francisco de Herrera the Elder</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631-1632</td>
<td>Peter Paul Rubens</td>
<td>Franciscan Allegory in Honor of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1632</td>
<td>Francisco de Zurbarán</td>
<td>The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Two Youths</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1633</td>
<td>Andrés Marzo</td>
<td>Philip IV and Pope Alexander VII with the Virgin Immaculate</td>
<td>Madrid, Museo del Prado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>Francisco de Zurbarán</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Saint Anne and Saint Joachim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 1640</td>
<td>Francisco de Zurbarán</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>139 x 104 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early 1650s</td>
<td>Alonso Cano</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650s</td>
<td>Juan de Valdés Leal</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Saint Andrew and Saint John the Baptist</td>
<td></td>
<td>234 x 167 cm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Some Important Examples of the Immaculate Conception in Art

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Artist</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (de los Franciscans, La Colosal)</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>436 x 297 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid 17th C.</td>
<td>José Antolínez</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>201 x 149.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1652</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Fray Juan de Quirós</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1652-1664</td>
<td>Alonso Cano</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Cathedral of Granada, Granada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661</td>
<td>Francisco de Zurbarán</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661</td>
<td>Francisco de Zurbarán</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661</td>
<td>Juan de Valdés Leal</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Two Donors</td>
<td></td>
<td>190 x 204 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa</td>
<td>The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception venerated by the Municipal Authorities of Valencia</td>
<td>Valencia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td>Pietro del Po</td>
<td>Apotheosis of the Virgin with the Family of Philip IV</td>
<td>Toledo Cathedral, Toledo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca 1665</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Esquilache Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>235 x 196 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1665</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with the Crescent Moon</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1665</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (for the Church of Santa María la Blanca)</td>
<td>Church of Santa María la Blanca, Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Juan de Valdés Leal</td>
<td>The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>319 x 201 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after 1660</td>
<td>Francisco Rizi</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660-70</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Inmaculada del Escorial</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>206 x 144 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (por los Venerables)</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>274 x 190 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1680</td>
<td>Bartolomé Esteban Murillo</td>
<td>Walpole Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>195 x 145 cm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows a sample of Immaculist art produced during the century, particularly in the 1650s and 1660s. It also demonstrates the importance of Seville as both an artistic and
Immaculist center, as at least seventeen paintings were produced and displayed in the city. The existence of so many paintings, especially by such well-known Spanish masters, attests to the doctrine’s influence on Spanish society during the seventeenth century. During this period, the Franciscans clearly intensified their campaign, commissioning art featuring Jesuit iconography as a means of demonstrating their support for the Immaculate Conception as well as popularizing the cause for dogmatization in response to Dominican criticisms. Thus, the eruption of artwork featuring the Immaculate Conception had a direct connection to the pro-Immaculists: the Jesuits developed the iconography with Pacheco and the Franciscans paid for the production of the paintings by famous and skilled artists.

By the end of the sixteenth century, Pacheco had created an ideal environment for the production of pro-Immaculist artwork. Although he had been working on his treatise since the Council of Trent’s clarification of Church policy toward images, the development of a completely new iconographic tradition could not happen overnight. As the images gained popularity, particularly after the publication of Del Arte de la Pintura in 1649, the debates between the orders intensified. Thus, the popularity of the doctrine as an artistic subject provided the fuel for the dogmatization of the Immaculate Conception to be one of the most highly contested theological issues of the seventeenth century.

Although his work in Seville, on his treatise, and as part of the Inquisition helped to establish iconographical standards for the Immaculate Conception, Pacheco did not paint a significant number of immaculadas during his lifetime. One of the painters of the
Spanish Golden Age most commonly associated with paintings of the Immaculate Conception is Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682). During his lifetime, he and his studio produced over fifty works dedicated to the subject of the Virgin Mary’s Immaculate Conception.\textsuperscript{162} He personally painted over two dozen versions of the subject throughout his lifetime, many a result of commissions from prominent religious officials and churches in Seville.\textsuperscript{163} Murillo and his \textit{inmaculadas} represent the apex of pro-Immaculist artistic production in seventeenth-century Spain, a position made possible by not only the timing of Murillo’s emergence into the profession but also his location in pro-Immaculist Seville.

Orphaned by the age of ten, Murillo was raised by his brother-in-law. In response to the changes in the artistic professions, he started a painting apprenticeship under the guidance of Juan de Castillo, a relative, in 1633. Although Castillo did not possess much fame as an artist in Seville, he did teach Murillo the basics of painting, and the apprenticeship was crucial to establish his legitimacy as a skilled artist and possibility for future guild membership. Working in Seville ensured that the young Murillo was exposed to the work of several key artistic figures including Roelas, Francisco Herrera the Elder (founder of the Seville school of painting), Zurbarán, and Velázquez.\textsuperscript{164} Because he lived, worked, and apprenticed in an artistic center, Murillo had the opportunity to view artistic

\begin{footnotes}
\item[164] Mallory, \textit{El Greco to Murillo}, 221.
\end{footnotes}
styles from around the peninsula and Europe. In fact, Murillo used some of his earnings to travel to Madrid to see the works of other European masters in 1655.\textsuperscript{165} Closer to home, the *inmaculadas* of Roelas and Zurbarán helped to establish the artistic traditions surrounding Marian iconography in Seville in the early seventeenth century and, consequently, influenced Murillo’s later works on the subject.\textsuperscript{166} After working as an apprentice for five years, Murillo began planning to travel to the New World. No evidence remains of his trip, if he took it at all, but by 1640 he was back in Seville and producing his first paintings.\textsuperscript{167}

Seville’s monastery of San Francisco el Grande commissioned what became the first of Murillo’s *inmaculadas*. The church ordered eleven paintings depicting the lives of significant and exemplary Franciscans.\textsuperscript{168} In addition to these narrative depictions, the monastery also ordered a painting of the Franciscan coat of arms and one Immaculate Conception. Although both the coat of arms and Immaculate Conception no longer exist (and have been described as low quality), the record of their existence prove that Murillo, from the first, was engaged in painting *inmaculadas* for the Franciscan order.\textsuperscript{169} The remaining paintings of the Franciscan collection are now dispersed and housed in various

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[165] The Golden Age of Spanish Painting, 17.
\item[166] Valdivieso, Murillo, 203.
\item[167] Brown, Painting in Spain, 202.
\item[168] Brown, Painting in Spain, 202.
\item[169] Mallory, El Greco to Murillo, 222.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
museums in Madrid, Dresden, Paris, and the United States.\textsuperscript{170} Examples of the Franciscan and Catholic use of images to transmit doctrinal principles and Church beliefs to the lay population, Murillo’s \textit{inmaculadas} functioned as propaganda for the doctrine’s dogmatization. The paintings, hung in the monastery, would have been visible to the Franciscan friars and any visitors and provided a visual affirmation of the Franciscan’s support of the doctrine and as a means of reenforcing the history of the order (especially when combined with the coat of arms and paintings of exemplary Franciscans). This tactic of visual affirmation was not unusual during the early modern period. In fact, the Franciscans became some of the largest commissioners of Immaculist artwork—although the iconography came from Jesuit teachings, it was the Franciscan order that made the image of Mary of the Immaculate Conception iconic in Spanish art. The Franciscans commissioned \textit{inmaculadas} in response to the Dominican push against the doctrine and the indecision from Rome. Just as their sermons could legitimize the Immaculate Conception verbally, paintings of the triumphant Woman of Revelation symbolizing Mary’s freedom from original sin could communicate the same ideas visually. This became particularly important in rallying support for the doctrine from a wider, illiterate audience.

The Franciscans of Seville also commissioned Murillo’s second known \textit{inmaculada}, painted in 1650. Intended to hang above the church altar, the painting features the Virgin looking down to compensate for its placement high above the

\textsuperscript{170} The Golden Age of Spanish Painting, 77.
faithful.\textsuperscript{171} While its official name is simply \textit{Inmaculada Concepcion}, it is also known as \textit{Concepción de los Franciscanos, Inmaculada Concepción Grande}, and \textit{La Colosal}.\textsuperscript{172} This enormous painting measures over fourteen feet tall and just under ten feet wide, and would most certainly have impressed anyone entering the Church of San Francesco in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{173} This early example of Murillo’s work incorporates many of the iconographical cues recommended by Pacheco, but also ignores several details. In line with Pacheco, the Virgin looks very young, is clothed in blue and white, and has the glow of the sun around her. However, she has no crown of stars and stands on a full moon rather than a crescent. These alterations in iconography probably stem from the painting’s early date. As a young painter, Murillo may have also been attempting to stand out from the crowd with one of his first major pieces.\textsuperscript{174} Unfortunately, the loss of Murillo’s first Franciscan \textit{inmaculada} prevents a close comparison of the iconographical themes of his two earliest works, which could shed more light on his early influences and themes.

\textsuperscript{171} Valdivieso, \textit{Murillo}, 204.

\textsuperscript{172} Stratton, \textit{Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 107-108; Valdivieso, \textit{Murillo}, 204; Mallory, \textit{El Greco to Murillo}, 226; “Inmaculada Concepción (La Colosal),” \textit{Portal de Museos de Andalucía}.


\textsuperscript{174} Valdivieso, \textit{Murillo}, 204-205. Valdivieso suggests that the irregularities and breaks from tradition in this painting were part of the renewal of Immaculate iconography in Seville, sparked by the publication of \textit{Del Arte de la Pintura} in 1649.
The Brotherhood of Vera Cruz commissioned Murillo’s next *inmaculada* in 1652, entitled *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Fray Juan de Quirós*. A Franciscan friar and member of the Brotherhood of Vera Cruz, Quirós defended the Immaculate Conception of Mary in treatises and two volumes entitled *Las Glorias de María*, published in 1650 and 1651. The portrait, meant to hang in the Brotherhood’s chapel in Seville’s convent of San Francisco, depicts Quirós in the foreground, writing. His two completed books sit on the table in front of him. Quirós peers out at his audience, seemingly not noticing the Virgin as she appears behind him, sun streaming in behind her. She stands on a full moon, much like *La Colosal*, and does not have a crown of stars. However, her eyes look upward and her hands rest at her chest on her blue mantle, a pose recreated again and again in Murillo’s *inmaculadas*. Although the audience that would have witnessed this painting is smaller than for other Murillo pieces such as *La Colosal*, members of the Brotherhood of Vera Cruz could see the painting upon entering their chapel at the convent. The visual connection between a glorified friar famous for his writings and defense of the doctrine and the Immaculate Conception meant that those who entered the chapel were immediately reminded of the defense of the cause and its role in the history of the Franciscans and Brotherhood.

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Although the Franciscans commissioned artwork to adorn the walls of their churches and commemorate the devotion of individual Franciscans to the doctrine, they also needed artwork for religious celebrations. Often, such festivities were tied to what were seen as Immaculist “victories.” For example, the bull *Solicitude omnium Ecclesiarum* passed by Pope Alexander VII in 1661 reaffirmed the feast and mass of the Immaculate Conception in Spain and forbade further debate on the topic.¹⁷⁸ Four years later, the Franciscan Church of Santa María la Blanca celebrated the bull in Seville, erecting a large altar in front of the church. To adorn the altarpiece, the church commissioned an *inmaculada* by Murillo. This piece of Immaculist artwork, visible to the general public, also included placards written in Spanish depicting the attributes of the Immaculate Virgin. Such writings could be seen by anyone in Seville during ceremonies both before and during the actual festivities at the church.¹⁷⁹ This important record of Immaculist artwork on display outside of a Franciscan church meant that even those not attending church with a painting of doctrine would have had the opportunity to view an artist’s representation in the streets of Seville. This particular work, therefore, had potentially the largest audience of any of Murillo’s pieces at the time. Anyone passing by the church could see a large visual representation of the Franciscans’ devotion to the cause in the form of a stunning painting by a Spanish master. The use of the combination of poem and image to transmit the doctrine and its virtues to the public sphere reflects

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¹⁷⁸ For more information, see Chapter 2, page 37-38.

both the pro-Immaculist atmosphere in Seville as well as the battles of the Franciscans and Jesuits against their Dominican rivals waged through artistic mediums.

As a result of both the ruling by Alexander VII as well as the publication of *Del Arte de la Pintura*, paintings of the Immaculate Conception became more uniform and triumphant, reflecting the iconographical emphasis on the Woman of Revelation.\(^{180}\) Murillo’s own work reflects this, as he began to use the crescent moon and, only occasionally, the crown of twelve stars. A prime example of a Murillo *inmaculada* reflective of this period is *Inmaculada del Escorial*, painted sometime between 1660 and 1670.\(^{181}\) Originally hung in the Casita del Príncipe in El Escorial, the beautifully-designed architectural masterpiece built by Philip II as a political and religious center, the painting now appears in the Museo del Prado in Madrid.\(^{182}\) Hung in the famous royal palace, the *Inmaculada del Escorial* had a very different audience than the piece painted to celebrate the Bull of 1661 in Seville. This painting would have only been visible to the royal court, the King and Queen, and any foreign visitors invited to the palace. Although the audience for the painting was small, it provides a significant connection between the doctrine and the Spanish monarchy. Often regarded as Murillo’s most famous and popular Immaculate paintings, the *Inmaculada del Escorial* shows the influence of Pacheco and Alexander VII’s bull. The Virgin, youthful and gazing upward, stands on a

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\(^{180}\) Brown, *Painting in Spain*, 223.

\(^{181}\) Brown, *Painting in Spain*, 223; Valdivieso, *Murillo*, 208. Various sources place the painting in the early part of the decade as well as in the later part of the decade. I have averaged the two estimates and thus refer to the date of the painting as “ca 1665” in my references and elsewhere.

\(^{182}\) *The Golden Age of Spanish Painting*, 77
crescent moon. The putti surrounding Mary, holding symbols of her virtue, have a much less prominent presence in this version as compared to Murillo’s earlier work. This less defensive artistic strategy therefore celebrates Mary as a single triumphant figure rather than one in need of support by the putti. In fact, many of the additional figures fade into the background.\textsuperscript{183} Surviving proprietary sketches of this \textit{inmaculada} indicate that Murillo struggled somewhat with the placement of the putti and the elements in their hands. In the end, he settled for the roses, lily, palm, and olive branch, all symbols of the litanies, or prayers, of the Virgin.\textsuperscript{184} While he does not entirely omit these traditional symbols, the secondary role played by the putti, a deliberate result of Murillo’s many sketches for this painting, indicate a distinct move by the artist to emphasize Mary on her own. This change in Murillo’s iconography is important for several reasons. First, the lack of traditional symbols indicates that the Woman of Revelation and the iconography of Pacheco had, by this time, established itself as symbolic of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. No further symbols were necessary to distinguish the painting from earlier renditions of the Assumption. Second, the \textit{Inmaculada del Escorial}’s strong and triumphant Mary presents a figure standing against the Dominicans within the context of the controversy between the religious orders. The Mary in this \textit{inmaculada} does not shy away from her role as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception; instead, she encourages the Immaculists with her presence independent of the putti and Marian

\textsuperscript{183} Murillo, \textit{Inmaculada del Escorial} (Madrid: Museo del Prado, ca 1665).

\textsuperscript{184} \textit{The Golden Age of Spanish Painting}, 77; Mallory, \textit{El Greco to Murillo}, 231.
symbols. Although he continued to create other variations on the theme of the Immaculate Conception, all of Murillo’s later works, in one way or another, echo this famous *inmaculada*.

Seville’s Hospital de los Venerables commissioned one of Murillo’s final paintings of the Immaculate Conception in 1680. Originally constructed as an asylum for retired clergy members, the Hospital was completed in 1698 and provided Murillo with one the last commissions of his career.\(^{185}\) Featuring an almost overwhelming number of putti escorting the Virgin into the sky, this painting shows just how much Pacheco’s iconography could change in a mere thirty years. Murillo had no need to include symbols in the hands of the crowd of putti— instead, they playfully float around the Virgin and dissolve into the clouds. His confidence that the audience would recognize his work as an Immaculate Conception piece attests to the success of Pacheco’s efforts in *Del Arte de la Pintura*. The sunlight surrounding Mary’s head, while much less pronounced, remains and draws attention to the Virgin’s face and heavenward gaze. The crescent moon, draped with Mary’s white tunic and blue mantle, has shrunk to a sliver of a much smaller size than in any of Murillo’s previous work.\(^{186}\)

The *inmaculadas* of Murillo had many different customers, locations, and audiences. They hung in monasteries, on the streets of Seville, and even in royal palaces such as El Escorial. Spaniards from many walks of life observed their beauty and saw the

\(^{185}\) Brown, *Painting in Spain*, 224.

\(^{186}\) Murillo, *Inmaculada de los Venerables* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, ca. 1680).
white tunic, blue mantle, and twelve stars of Mary of the Immaculate Conception.
However, these observers also witnessed a visual form of propaganda supported and commissioned by the Immaculist cause. Following the iconography of Pacheco, the *inmaculadas* of the seventeenth century communicated a strong image of the doctrine that legitimized the Immaculate Conception and the work of the Jesuits and Franciscans against their Dominican detractors.

**Habsburg Devotion and Royal Portraits**

While Murillo and his *inmaculadas* formed a distinct genre of painting in seventeenth-century Spain, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception also appeared in other artistic categories. Of these, portraiture had the most symbolic and political meaning, and the Immaculate Virgin appeared in several portraits of key figures throughout the period. Much like the *inmaculadas*, portraits often featured symbolic objects and gestures with important iconographical meanings. Thus, portraits followed specific artistic conventions for the same reason that religious paintings did: in order to establish an iconography and convey meaning to the audience through symbols invoking particular ideas, identifications, and social roles.\(^{187}\)

Portraits, in particular, have distinct significance due to their personal nature. Often commissioned by the subject, artists painted portraits with a distinct meaning or purpose in mind. Just as Murillo and Pacheco carefully chose the iconography of Mary of

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the Immaculate Conception, painters of portraits and their subjects also carefully selected the symbols embedded in the artwork. This often meant that portraits sought to portray the subject in the most favorable manner possible, surrounded by iconographic symbols enforcing the subject’s status, power, familial affiliations, or political alliances.\textsuperscript{188} During the seventeenth century, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception appeared in the portraits of several key members of the Habsburg dynasty, a symbol that not only indicated the devotion of individuals to the doctrine, but also emphasizing the widespread nature of the controversy during the reign of Philip IV.

The first important portrait featuring the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception actually appeared before Philip IV took the throne: an official portrait of his mother, Margaret of Austria (r. 1599-1611). Juan Pantoja de la Cruz painted his *Portrait of Margarita de Austria* around 1605, only a few years before Margaret’s death during childbirth.\textsuperscript{189} Margaret of Austria passionately supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, encouraging both her husband and her son to defend Mary’s exemption from original sin and writing letters to Rome in favor of the doctrine’s dogmatization.\textsuperscript{190} In the painting, Margaret appears front and center, standing in a three-quarters pose and gazing squarely at the viewer. In her left hand, she holds a handkerchief. Her right hand holds open a book of hours, turned, quite obviously, to a page featuring a representation of

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\textsuperscript{188} Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 26.
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\textsuperscript{189} Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Portrait of Margarita de Austria* (The Royal Collection of Queen Elizabeth II, ca. 1605-1608).
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\textsuperscript{190} Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 92.
\end{flushright}
Mary of the Immaculate Conception. Apart from Margaret’s elaborate dress, the book of hours stands as a focal point of the painting due to its vibrant color scheme as well as the line of the queen’s arm, which directs the eye down to the book in her hand.\(^{191}\) This depiction of Margaret in a devotional act to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception clearly demonstrates her support for the Immaculist cause. The final destination of the portrait, as a gift to James I of England, also indicates that Margaret (and, very plausibly, Philip III) intended to demonstrate the devotion of the Spanish queen to one of the Counter-Reformation’s most controversial rallying points.\(^{192}\) The full international and political implications of this gift to a Protestant king in the high-stakes religious atmosphere of seventeenth-century England, is out of the scope of this study.\(^{193}\) However, the intention of this royal portrait, as a gift to another monarch, does provide some clues to analyzing the meaning behind its pro-Immaculist iconography. Such an act would have had obvious religious significance in the European-wide conflict between the Catholics and Protestants after the Reformation. While the structure of the painting closely resembles other portraits of Margaret by Pantoja de la Cruz during this period, no other versions by the artist feature the explicit reference to the doctrine of the Immaculate

\(^{191}\) Pantoja de la Cruz, *Portrait of Margarita de Austria*.

\(^{192}\) “Margaret of Austria,” *Royal Collection Trust*, 20 January 2015.

\(^{193}\) For more information on religion during the reign of James I as well as the relations between England and Spain during this time, see Pauline Croft, *King James* (New York: Plagrave Macmillan, 2003), 103-110.
This further indicates that the portrait sent to James I included the Virgin because it held special religious and dynastic meaning.

Fifteen years after the Virgin appeared in Margaret’s portrait, Pedro de Valpuesta depicted Margaret’s son, King Philip IV, engaged in similar Marian piety. *Philip IV Vowing to Defend the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception* (ca. 1620) does not follow the traditional conventions of an official portrait. Traditionally, royal portraits featured a three-quarters pose (like the aforementioned portrait of the Queen), with the subject at the center, often holding a symbol of power and diplomacy such as a slip of paper or a sword. Instead, Philip IV kneels in front of the Bible, pledging his devotion to Mary of the Immaculate Conception in front of witnesses. The Immaculate Mary gazes at Philip IV from the wall behind, featured in a painting of Franciscan St. Bonaventure in a similar pose to Philip IV. Mary appears as a miniature version of Pacheco’s recommendations, standing on a crescent moon with light behind her. This painting, part of a series of paintings for the Hospital de la Latina in Madrid, provides another example of the ways in which the ties of the House of Habsburg to the Immaculate Conception appeared in a visual form during the reign of Philip IV. The miniature Immaculate Virgin gazing

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194 Other versions include: Pantoja de la Cruz, *Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1605), showcasing the Queen pictured in the same dress, holding the handkerchief in her right hand, and Pantoja de la Cruz, *Portrait of Margaret of Austria* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1606), featuring the same dress and a closed book, presumably the book of hours, in her right hand.


196 Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 89. The hospital was dedicated to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in the sixteenth century.
down at Philip IV, complete with Pacheco’s iconographic recommendations (including
the light emanating from behind her figure, the blue mantle and white tunic, and crescent
moon peeking out from underneath her robes), ensures that the audience of Valpuesta’s
painting would not only recognize their monarch, but also the importance of the “painting
within a painting” as symbolic of the doctrine.197

An oil sketch by Peter Paul Rubens titled *Franciscan Allegory in Honor of the
Immaculate Conception* appeared late in Philip IV’s reign, around 1631. The sketch,
which was engraved by Paulus Pontius, ties both the Habsburgs and Franciscans to the
cause of the doctrine. In the image, St. Francis stands in the center, holding three spheres
upon his shoulders in an Atlas-esque pose. Upon the top of these spheres stands the
Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, with the topmost sphere reminiscent of the
traditional crescent moon beneath her feet. Much like in the later paintings by Murillo,
the Virgin appears light, without much need of support. Nonetheless, St. Francis bears the
burden of the Immaculate Virgin. More figures appear to either side of St. Francis. The
Virgin looks down on the figures to St. Francis’ left: Philip IV, Cardinal-Infante
Ferdinand (the king’s youngest brother), Infante Don Carlos (the king’s younger brother),
and Balthasar Carlos (the king’s eldest son and heir to the Spanish throne). Above this
group of surviving Habsburg men, their great ancestors—Charles V, Philip II, and Philip
III—sit in a chariot. On the opposite side of St. Francis, John Duns Scotus appears
holding a weapon. The famous Franciscan defender of the Immaculate Conception from

197 Valpuesta, *Philip IV Vowing to Defend.*
the thirteenth century stands amid a group of Franciscan monks. Art historians have suggested that the monks are busily engaged in the process of throwing heresy into hell. Rubens also framed the sketch in ropes reminiscent of the belts worn by Franciscan friars in their traditional religious habits, another nod to the Franciscans as the basis of his work. The juxtaposition of this condemnation of heresy and glorification of the Immaculate Virgin creates a clear message in favor of the doctrine.

Rubens was a Dutch Baroque artist famous for his works on post-Reformation altarpieces. He had an apparent fascination with the apocryphal writings, as apocryphal scenes (including the Immaculate Conception) frequently appear in his work. Although his family fled the Netherlands during the turbulent sixteenth century due to religious conflict, Rubens joined the Catholic church in his early childhood shortly before the death of his father. He later became famous for his religious artwork and received several artistic commissions from the Jesuits. Rubens also acted as a diplomat in negotiations between the Spanish Habsburgs and the French and English during the early seventeenth century. Rubens’ connections with the House of Habsburg began when he served as a court painter in the court of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, the daughter of Philip II and


200 In fact, Rubens’ first large commission entailed painting the ceiling of a new Jesuit church in Antwerp in 1620. Upon his completion of this project, the young artist was well-versed in Counter-Reformation iconography and, in the words of art historian Kristin Lohse Belkin, “the most famous and successful painter in northern Europe.” For more information, see Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens* (London: Phaeton Press, 2010), 161-170.
wife of Archduke Albert VII of Austria, in 1609. He thus established important relationships with the Austrian Habsburg court in the Netherlands. He also spent time in Madrid, where Philip IV gave him a noble title and knighted him in 1630. While in Madrid, Rubens also met and befriended the famous court painter Velázquez.201 These prestigious relationships make Rubens an important figure during the seventeenth century.

Paulus Pontius used Rubens’ Immaculate Conception sketch as a basis for an engraving. Pontius, a Flemish engraver, shared a close personal and professional relationship with Rubens. The friendship between the two is evident when looking at Pontius’ work. Pontius created many engravings of the Spanish Habsburgs based on Rubens’ sketches, including his portraits of Philip IV, Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, Elizabeth of Bourbon (Philip IV’s first wife), Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (daughter of Philip II, thus Philip IV’s aunt), and Gaspar de Guzmán (the Count-Duke of Olivares and Philip IV’s minister-favorite).202 Engravings, unlike sketches or paintings, were used to create prints of the image for widespread consumption. More durable than woodcuts, engravings gave the artist the ability to create intricate and detailed designs, something essential in the reproduction of an image with as much symbolism and detail as this creation by Rubens. The durability of engravings allowed printers to use the same plate several hundred times before the image began to show signs of wear. Although Pontius’

201 Belkin, Rubeus, 6, 18, 96, 103.
choice to produce the image as an engraving rather than a woodcut or etching (another less durable but more nuanced intaglio technique) probably resulted from his personal preference as an engraver, the fact that this image appeared in a medium capable of such large reproduction shows that this representation of Habsburg and Franciscan devotion to the Immaculate Conception had the potential to reach a large audience. The engraving could have created artwork for one or several Immaculist treatises in the 1630s, although no surviving treatises have been linked to this particular image. If the engraving was used in a treatise, it could have been seen by almost anyone in a large urban center where such treatises were distributed.

An undated painting by the Italian Baroque artist Pietro del Po, titled *Apotheosis of the Virgin with the Family of Philip IV*, also ties the entire royal family to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The painting shows Philip IV, Mariana of Austria, and their son, the future Charles II, all kneeling under the Immaculate Virgin. Philip IV’s finger

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203 “Franciscan Allegory,” *Philadelphia Museum of Art;* James Knapp and Jennifer Waldron, “Newberry Workshop for Early Career Graduate Students: Word and Image in the Renaissance,” workshop at the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, 13 February 2015. Engravings allow the artist to produce finer detail because engravings are made using the intaglio process instead of the relief process (used to make woodcuts). The intaglio process, which involves cutting lines into a metal plate which are then filled with ink that transfers to the paper when pressed into the grooves, produces finer lines than woodcutting. Relief techniques involve cutting away all of the material except for the intended image, like a stamp. Because most reliefs used wood as the main material, the lines produced are thicker and often slightly more jagged than the lines produced by engravings, which are usually made using one long stroke into the metal plate. Engravings require more pressure to transfer the ink to the page than woodcuts, meaning that the printing process required a more advanced press and thus a more sophisticated printing house.

204 Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art,* 89; Knapp and Waldron, “Newberry Workshop.” Often, images produced for a specific purpose were often reused as illustrations in other prints for a similar (or, sometimes, dissimilar) production. This means that the engraving by Pontius could have appeared in several different treatises in support of the Immaculate Conception throughout the period.
points up to the figure of the Virgin, who encompasses the entire top half of the image.\textsuperscript{205} Although the exact date of the painting has been lost, Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez has dated the image, which now hangs in the Cathedral of Toledo, as painted around 1665 or 1666.\textsuperscript{206} Sánchez also contests that the portraits of the royal family are based on the official portraits of Velázquez.\textsuperscript{207} Cardinal Pascual de Aragón, the Viceroy of Naples and Archbishop of Toledo in the second half of the seventeenth century, commissioned the painting. Reflective of this commission, Cardinal Pascual appears in the painting as well, kneeling behind the figure of Philip IV.\textsuperscript{208} The dates attributed to the piece by Sánchez indicate that Cardinal Aragon commissioned the painting upon his appointment to either the office of Viceroy of Naples or that of Archbishop of Toledo. Since it was not commissioned by the royal family, this image does not necessarily reflect a specific intention by Philip IV or his family to demonstrate devotion to the doctrine. However, it does indicate a perception that the Spanish Habsburgs had a deep connection to the Immaculate Conception on Mary. Thus the association of the royal family with the

\textsuperscript{205} Pietro de Po, \textit{Apotheosis of the Virgin with the Family of Philip IV} (Toledo: Toledo Cathedral, ca. 1664-1666).

\textsuperscript{206} Sánchez reached this date by determining the relative age of Charles II, who looks around four or five years old in the painting.

\textsuperscript{207} Stratton, \textit{The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 159.

\textsuperscript{208} Pietro de Po, \textit{Apotheosis of the Virgin}. 
doctrine had been established by the birth of Charles II, at least in the eyes of someone of a noble and cleric background such as Cardinal Aragon.\textsuperscript{209}

The Power of Propaganda

The iconography of Pacheco, the \textit{inmaculadas} of Murillo, and the Habsburg portraits featuring the Immaculate Conception all worked together to present the Immaculist support of the doctrine to people both within and outside the Spanish Empire. Pacheco’s Woman of the Apocalypse drew attention away from the physical circumstances of Mary’s conception as pictured in the Golden Gate paintings, instead presenting her as a destroyer of heresy and champion of Catholicism. The intense production of \textit{inmaculadas} by great Spanish painters such as Murillo allowed for Franciscans to both show their support for and popularize the doctrine in Seville and elsewhere. Portraits depicting Philip IV and his family with the Immaculate Mary expressed the devotion of the House of Habsburg to the cause for dogmatization and reaffirmed Spain’s Catholic faith in the face of Protestant rebellion. Ultimately, the iconography and art surrounding the doctrine in the seventeenth century emerged largely due to the conflict between the religious orders regarding the doctrine’s dogmatization. Although the reformation of the iconographic tradition began after the Council of Trent in

\textsuperscript{209} Suzanne Stratton also indicates that the figures in the foreground of the painting represent the “four corners” of the world held by the Spanish crown during the reign of Philip IV. She contests that the painting also symbolizes the Habsburg’s devotion to Mary as “protectress of the Spanish realm,” an interesting notion. For more information, see Stratton, \textit{The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art}, 89.
the sixteenth century, the efforts of Pacheco began to be felt most powerfully during the seventeenth century as the traditions became more popularized among Spanish artists. Once the new iconography was established, an explosion of pro-Immaculist art during the latter half of the seventeenth century attests to the preeminence of the debate in Spain’s artistic and religious centers such as Seville. The pro-Immaculists justified their cause with artistic propaganda designed to undermine Dominican resistance and achieve their goal of making the Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic dogma. Even though they did not get dogmatization, the popularity of the art indicates that they did succeed in spreading the doctrine.
The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception presented a significant problem to the Catholic religious orders during the medieval and early modern periods. Although the theological issues over Mary’s conception seem minor, the disputes that lasted for over five centuries attest to the large difference between the absence of original sin and Mary’s sanctification immediately after conception. Basing their positions on the work of their major theological founders St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, the Dominicans and Franciscans found themselves on opposite sides of the issue that would continue to provoke bitter arguments until the doctrine’s dogmatization in 1854. A key player in the controversy, the Jesuits, worked tirelessly to promote the doctrine during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the Protestant Reformation added another layer to the complex issue and raised the stakes for Catholicism. Through the work of the Jesuits, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception became a true rallying point for the Counter-Reformation. During the seventeenth century, the most important artists of the Spanish Golden Age painted the doctrine in large numbers. The Habsburg dynasty also joined the discussion, resulting in the creation of royal portraits featuring the image of Mary Immaculate and a strong pro-Immaculist Habsburg identity. As Dominicans and
Franciscans condemned one another even to hell over the doctrine, the Jesuits counted on influential artistic leaders to create a pro-Immaculist iconographic program. Pacheco effectively developed a new iconography that would invoke the power of the Immaculate Conception in its own right. Finally, the doctrine emerged as a pillar of Spanish and Habsburg piety worthy of status as Roman Catholic Dogma.

As a part of both Catholic Reform and the Counter-Reformation, the issue of the dogmatization of the doctrine reached a boiling point during the seventeenth century due to pro-Immaculist artistic propaganda. The images created by Spanish masters captured the ideas present in pro-Immaculist sermons and presented them through images as the triumphant Woman of Revelation. Although this iconographic design had sixteenth-century roots, its association with the Immaculate Conception solidified during the seventeenth century as a result of the work of Pacheco and the production of masterpieces by artists such as Murillo and Velazquez. These images appeared in churches as well as in the streets of Madrid and Seville during pro-Immaculist processions. In this way, the argument took on both textual and visual dimensions as it grew in importance during the seventeenth century.

The controversy did not just stay within the confines of the Iberian peninsula; as a major component of Counter-Reformation religiosity, it also crossed the Atlantic and found its way to the Spanish colonies in the New World. Preliminary research indicates that the debate did reach the colonies and cause significant disturbances as the religious
orders fought for influence and control in the Americas. For example, a letter from Don Diego de Acuña, the Governor and Captain General of Cartagena (in present day Colombia), dating from the reign of Philip III complains of the Dominican friars refusing to participate in a procession in honor of the Immaculate Conception by the Franciscans and other mendicant orders. Future research to explore the implications of this spread is essential to place the controversy within the context of the global Spanish Empire.

The debates surrounding the Immaculate Conception involved more than just the religious and political elite; sermons, processions, and art produced by the Franciscans and Jesuits in response to their Dominican detractors all moved the issue onto the streets of Seville, Madrid, and other urban centers. Despite papal mandates against it, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits continued to argue, even in the face of excommunication. Although the seventeenth-century popes struggled to silence the discussion, the doctrine became one of the most controversial theological issues of the century, becoming emblematic of the Counter-Reformation and Habsburg monarchy. Mary of the Immaculate Conception, on the lips of numerous preachers and staring down from the walls of Franciscan convents, was an integral part of Spain during the seventeenth century. Her presence in Spain remains very much alive, although she is no

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210 For more information on the competition between the religious orders for influence and souls in the New World, see Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities.*

211 Acuña, Don Diego de, v. MSS 9956 (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional), 100-100v. “La opinion contraria fueren los frayles Dominicos que teniendose por ofendidos han hecho demostraciones estanca los as de su sentimiento ayudando en ellas el obispo Don fray Pedro de la Vega entrante grado o que panando una noche por lo puerta una procesion de pueblo frayles Franciscos, agustinos y Pechendados con una bandera para toda en ella la Imagen de la Concepcion de nra sra.”
longer controversial. Instead, she gazes down from atop the crescent moon in the streets and museums of Seville and Madrid if one knows where to look.
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