SHRINE MADONNA

Theme: *Shrine Madonna, Vierge ouvrante* or Triptych Virgin are almost synonymous.

French scholars prefer the term *Vierge ouvrante*, since they insist on the *opening* character of the sculpture through wings or doors[1]. This term has been translated into other Roman/Latin languages: *Virgen abridera* in Spanish, *Virgem abrideira* in Portuguese, and even *Virxe abrideira* in Galician. The name is not wrong but inaccurate, since there are other Marian sculptures with doors or wings, such as reliquary or tabernacles under the shape of the Virgin.

By contrast, German scholars prefer *Schreinmadonna*, which means Virgin-reliquary or Virgin-box, because they believe that some *Shreinmadonnen* were used to contain relics and others were used to contain symbolically the Trinity[2].This term has been very successful in Northern Europe, so that it has been translated into English as *Shrine of the Virgin* or *Shrine Madonna* and into Swedish as *Skrinmadonna*[3]. However, it is difficult to prove that all those sculptures had relics inside or were containers of the Trinity. Some of them had inside just the iconographic cycle of the Life of Christ and/or the Virgin. Thus, this term is not precise enough.

Another term, less repeated, is *Triptych Virgin*, which means that once opened, the sculpture becomes a triptych[4]. Nonetheless, *Triptych Virgin*[5] could be confusing, since it can be understood either as a Triptych devoted to the Virgin or as a *Vierge ouvrante*. In conclusion, all the terms are ambiguous and scholars should choose the one that is most suitable for their essays.

Keywords: *Vierge ouvrante*, Triptych Virgin, Shrine Madonna, Virgin Mary, Christian iconography, New Testament.

Summary: The Shrine Madonna is a sculpture of the Virgin Mary with two doors or wings in the front part of her body. Once opened, the sculpture becomes a triptych with

---

[1] The term was used by CLÉMENT, J. (1909) « Vierges ouvrantes ». En: *La représentation de la Madonna à travers les âges*. Paris: Bloud et Cie, pp. 36-42 ; SARRÈTE, J. (1913): *Iconographie mariale. Vierges ouvertes, vierges ouvrantes et la vierge ouvrante de Palau-del-Vidre.* Lézignan: Loupiac ; FABRE, Abel (1917) « Vierges ouvrantes ». In: *Pages d'art chrétien. Études d'architecture, de peinture, de sculpture et d'iconographie.* París: Prix Montyon, pp. 336-350; RÉAU, Louis (1957): « Vierges ouvrantes ». In : *Iconographie de l'art chrétien.* París: Presses Universitaires de France. vol. II, pp. 92-93.

[2] The term was used by FRIES, Walter 81928-29), « Die Schreinmadonna », *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1928-1929, pp.5-69; BAUMER, Christopher (1977): „Die Schreinmadonna in geographischer und chronologischer Ordnung". En: *Marian Library Studies*. University of Dayton, vol. IX, pp. 237- 272; RADLER,Gudrun (1990), "Die Schreinmadonna "Vierge ouvrante" : von den bernhardinischen Anfängen bis zur Frauenmystik im Deutschordensland : mit beschreibendem Katalog". In: *Frankfurter Fundamente der Kunstgeschichte.* Frankfurt am Main: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, vol. VI.

[3] See the data base of *Historiska Museet of Stockholm*- Medieval Sculpture Section (available on July 2006 in http://www.historiska.se/, nowadays not available online).

[4] This term was used for the first time by Sarrète (1913), op.cit. and TRENS, Manuel (1947): "Virgen abridera". In: *Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, pp. 481- 524.

[5] Translation of Melissa R. Katz, scholar of the Brown University.

different iconographical cycles around the Trinity, the Life of Christ, or the Life of the Virgin[6].

From a symbolic point of view, their importance lies not on every single topic depicted outside and inside their sculpted body, but on the extraordinary and new interrelation of all the topics involved. If one examined the scenes and symbols found in the Shrine Madonnas, one would notice that all of them belong to the sacred thematic corpus of the Christian church. However, if one linked all the topics involved, the symbolism would become more complex, and new notions such as Mary Temple of the Trinity would appear. Therefore -for the first time in Art History- Marian sculptures were transformed into a new structure with changeable symbolism and changeable functions.

Attributes and types of representation: The variety of sculptures produced between 1275 and 1540 was such that, according to the subjects depicted inside, at least six different groups can be recognized: 1) sculptures with the Joys of Mary (in the west of the Iberian Peninsula), 2) sculptures with the Trinity and the Annunciation (in France and the Holy Roman Empire), 3) sculptures with the Trinity and angels (in the margins of the river Rhine), 4) sculptures with the Trinity and the life of Christ (in France and the Holy Roman Empire), 5) sculptures with the Trinity and the congregation (in Western Prussia and the neighbouring regions), 6) and sculptures with the Passion of Christ (in France and Switzerland):

- *Shine Madonnas with the Joys of Mary*: this group is formed by three examples located at the present time in Allariz, Salamanca, and Évora. These sculptures have in the outside the image of the Virgin with the Child in her lap, the *Sedes Sapientiae*. Inside her body, there are several events from Christ's and Mary's life, such as: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Announcement to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Virgin's Death, Assumption, and Coronation. The source and meaning of all these topics is linked to the cycle of the Joys of the Virgin, which was spread between the 13th and 16th century by writers and musicians.

- *Trinitarian Shrine Madonnas:* this group was the most frequent one in Late Middle Ages. In accordance to the subjects depicted inside the triptych, this group may be divided into four subgroups: 1) the Trinity and Annunciation, 2) the Trinity and angels, 3) the Trinity and the life of Christ, and 4) the Trinity and the congregation. The four subgroups shared a common symbolism. From a symbolic point of view the combination of the Virgin (outside) and the Trinity (inside) expressed the late medieval concept of Mary as the Temple of the Trinity[7]. Lets see now the differences between the four subgroups:

  o *Shrine Madonnas with the Trinity and the Annunciation inside*. It can be found examples placed in the ancient reign of France (Alluyes, Autun, and Massiac) and the Holy Roman Empire (Berlin, Bouillon, and Pozzolo Formigaro). From a symbolic point of view, these Shrine Madonnas combined the image of the Virgin with the Child (outside) and the Trinity flanked by the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary (inside). With regard to the general interpretation of this group of Shrine Madonnas, the

---

[6] Similar descriptions have been made by Clément (1909), op.cit., Sarrète (1913), op.cit., Réau, op.cit. (1957), among others.

[7] GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007): "Religiosidad cristiana: algunas reflexiones en torno al concepto de Templo de la Trinidad", *Medievalismo*, num. 17, pp. 3-15.

association between the two interior themes pointed out the role of the Trinity in the Incarnation. The placement of the Trinity between Gabriel and Mary meant that it was present and did take part of the mystery of the Annunciation. Besides that, those sculptures explained the paradoxical but frequent relation between two Christian notions: the childhood versus the death of Christ (evoked inside by the Annunciation and the Cross held by God the Father), and the maternity versus the virginity of Mary (evoked by the Virgin with the Child outside and the Annunciation inside).

o *Shrine Madonnas with the Triniy and angels inside.* Almost all the examples wer located around one of the most important trade routes in those days: the south-north route which went along central Europe, from Geneva to Amsterdam, crossing the Alps and following the bed of the Rhine River (sculptures of Kaysersberg, Eguisheim, Marsal, Trier, Zurich, Antagnod). The Virgin with the Child was depicted outside while the Trinity flanked by angels was depicted inside. It is not difficult to conclude that the meaning of these sculptures was in the margins of orthodoxy. When opened, the congregation could see Mary housing inside her body not only the divinity but also all the celestial court. That is the reason why, some time during the Counter-Reformation, the Trinity was eliminated and the new interior empty space was employed for new religious practices appropriate to the spirituality of that moment. Consequently, after those changes, some sculptures lose their original iconographical program (ex. Eguisheim).

o *Shrine Madonnas with the Trinity and the Life of Christ inside.* Two examples of this group are the Virgin of Morlaix and the Virgin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. They have in the outside an image of the Virgin Mary supporting the Child while she is feeding him. She has a melancholic expression, probably because she has a premonition about the future death of her son in the cross. In the interior there is the Trinity between scenes of Christ's Infancy and/or Passion. A popular song devoted to the Virgin of Morlaix, quoted by Stéphan in 1895, could be the key for the general interpretation of the iconographical program. Whenever the congregation saw the open image, they understood the strong spiritual life of the Virgin. Her soul was full of beliefs and sorrows about Christ. In addition, her soul was so pure that it became the perfect temple for the Trinity. Because of her perfection, Mary became at the same time the mother of Christ and the house of the Trinity.

o *Shrine Madonnas with the Trinity and the Congregation inside.* All the sculptures are dated to circa 1400-1450 and most of them come from the ancient Teutonic State in Western Prussia (ex. Pelplin-Klonowken, Pelplin-Liebschau, Sejny, Nürnberg, Elbing-Vacha, Viena, Copenhagen, Misterhult, Övertornea, Musée au Moyen Âge-Hôtel et Thermes de Cluny)[8]. From a symbolic point of view, this group of sculptures were really complex. The *Sedes Sapientiae* was depicted outside while the Madonna of Mercy spreading her mantle and protecting the congregation, who in turn flanked

---

[8] GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2010): "La reinterpretación de la herencia artística bajo-medieval: el caso de las Vírgenes abrideras trinitarias impulsadas por la Orden Teutónica", *Anales de Historia del Arte,* volumen extraordinario; GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007) "Kalamazoo Roundup 2007: Cultural activities of the Teutonic Knights' military Order: the sculptures of Shreinmadonnen", *AVISTA Forum Journal: Medieval Science, Technology and Art*, vol. 17, num. 1/2 (Fall 2007), pp. 67-68.

the Trinity Throne of Grace, was depicted inside. The general interpretation of all the subjects involved could have been related not only to the concept of Mary Temple of the Trinity, but also to the female mysticism of the Rhine area during the 14th and 15th century, and more specifically to the notion of the Triple Nativity of Christ, an idea spread by the work of Johannes von Marienwerder (1343-1417). This theologian stated that Christ was born thanks to the Father (notion depicted through the image of the Trinity Throne of Grace), thanks to the Mother (notion depicted through the image of the *Sedes Sapientiae*), and inside the heart of humanity (notion depicted through the image of the praying congregation).

- *Shrine Madonnas with the Passion of Christ*. It is a heterogeneous group regarding their chronology but, for this reason, with continuity in Modern Ages (see *precedents, transformation and projection*). It had in common the representation of the events related to the Passion of Christ. Those events were usually accompanied either by Christ's Childhood, Last Judgement, the Virgin Mary's life before Christ's birth, or the saints. A general interpretation of the image of Mary in the exterior of the sculpture and the scenes of the Passion in the interior shows at least three important notions of Christian theology: 1) the spiritual martyrdom of the Virgin who suffered the passion of her son (her sorrow was prophesied by Simeon in the Presentation in the Temple), 2) the identification of Mary as tabernacle of Christ (notion supported by Guillermo Durand among others), and 3) the key role of Mary in the Redemption (without her consent or *fiat,* Christ would have never entered in this world and he would have never died to save humanity). Two examples come from Middle Ages: the sculptures of Cheyres-Yvonand and of Guern.

Primary sources: many written texts made it possible the generation of the complex iconographical programs of Shrine Madonnas. Let's see now some of them:

- The **Joys of the Virgin** appeared, among others, in: the first *Cantiga de Santa María* (13th century), verses 118-122 of "IV Milagro: Galardón de la Virgen" included in the compilation *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* by Gonzalo de Berceo (13th century), the *Coblas del Roser* by Vicens Ferrer (1350-1419), the *Goigs a la Verge del Roser* by Bernat Fenollar (1435-1516), the "Gozos de Santa María" included in the *Libro del Buen Amor* by the Arcipestre de Hita (14th century) and the *Gozos de Nuestra Señora* by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza (1430-1490). As an example, we quote some of them which could be read online:

  o *Cantigas de Santa María*, by Alfonso X el Sabio: http://brassy.club.fr/PartMed/Cantigas/CSMtext/c1.html
  o "IV Milagro" included in *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, by Gonzalo de Berceo: http://www.dudasytextos.com/clasicos/berceo_milagros.htm
  o "Gozos de Santa María" included in *Libro de Buen Amor*, by Juan Ruíz Arcipreste de Hita: http://www.los-poetas.com/e/hita1.htm
  o *Gozos de Nuestra Señora*, by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/4686039710402661740 0080/p0000001.htm#I_0_

- The notion of **Mary Temple of the Divinity/Trinity** appeared in different texts such as: the *Liturgy* by Saint Basil (6th century), the *Homilies of the Virgin Mary* by German of Constantinople (6th- 7th century), the *Hymns Apolytikion* and *Kontakion* by Leone Magistro (9th century), the *Dominum Tecum* by Seifried Helbling (13th century), the writings of the *Cancionero* by Juan Álvarez Gato (1440-1509) and

Pero Vélez de Guevara (1352-1414), etc. All the texts and comments on them could be read through GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007): "Religiosidad cristiana: algunas reflexiones en torno al concepto de Templo de la Trinidad", *Medievalismo*, num. 17, pp. 3-15.

- The concept of **spiritual martyrdom of the Virgin or *Compassio Mariae***, linked to Passion Shrine Madonnas appeared in the *Lignum Vitae* by Saint Bonaventura (13th century) and in the *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony (14th century). The biblical origin of that notion is Simon's prophecy in the temple, wrote by Luke 2, 34-35:

  "Then Simeon blessed them and said to Mary, his mother: "This child is destined to cause the falling and rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be spoken against, so that the thoughts of many hearts will be revealed. And a sword will pierce your own soul too."

Other sources, non written sources: Shrine Madonnas were linked to an extensive variety of religious practices. First, it can be connected to the Marian, Christian, and Trinitarian festivities (for example Holy Friday). Second, it can be related to the collective prayers of the congregation (such as the Salve Regina). Third, it can be used in popular practice as a symbol of protection for pregnant women and the spiritual salvation of death-born children. And finally, it can be use for private meditation. The link between iconography and religious function was very strong, which means that sometimes topics determined functions and sometimes functions determined the iconographical program[9].

Geographical and chronological framework: The Shrine Madonnas were commissioned between 1250 and 1830 ranging from Portugal in the west to Poland in the east, and from Spain in the south to Sweden in the north. However, they reached the biggest success in Late Middle Ages.

Traditionally, the oldest Shrine Madonna is believed to be the Virgin of Baltimore-Boubon. It is of medium size (43 cm. high), carved in ivory, with several relieves inside focused on the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ. It is thought to come from a French monastery of the Limousine region and to have been made around the year 1180. If this hypothesis is accepted, the origin of the Shrine Madonna typology would be linked to the Limousine ivory craftsmen of central France at the end of the 12th century. Nevertheless, that hypothesis seems to be more a legend than a real fact. It was popularised at the end of the 19th century by French archaeologists and art historians who were pushed by strong economic interests. They tried to get the Virgin of Baltimore-Boubon to become a medieval antiquity with a high value in the art market and, consequently, attractive to wealthy collectors such as Jacques Seligman, Thomas Gibson Carmichaël, George Harding or Henry Walter, who would be the future owners of the Virgin. Later on -during the 20th century- curators, restorers, and scholars discussed the chronology of this sculpture without reaching a final consensus. That

---

[9] A good example is Bergara Virgin. For more details, see GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007) "Andra Mari de Burinondo o Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación", *Exposición Canciller Ayala (catálogo)*, Diputación Foral de Álava, p. 248; GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2006) "La Virgen de San Blas de Buriñondo en Bergara: ejemplo y excepción de Virgen abridera trinitaria", *Anales de Historia del Arte*, num. 16, pp. 59-78.

makes caution necessary when dealing with the date of this figure, and also the precise place and year when this first Shrine Madonna was carved[10].

Setting aside the controversial date of the Virgin of Baltimore-Boubon, it is more interesting to determine the heyday of the Shrine Madonnas. The real blossoming of these sculptures started around the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. The most prolific period concerning the carving of the Shrine Madonnas lasted around three hundred years. It took place approximately between 1275 and 1540. The Virgins of Salamanca and Allariz are believed to be the oldest ones of that period, since they are linked to a cathedral inventory of 1275 and a royal will by Violante of Castile in 1292. By contrast, the sculpture of Alluyes is thought to be the latest one of that period, because it is related to Florimont Robertet I and II who were Barons of Alluyes and commissioned works of art during the fist half of the 16th century. From the 13th century to the Council of Trent the Virgin Mary played a central role, which made easier the development and spreading of the Shrine Madonnas. Notions such as intercession and mediation, virginity and purity, royal dignity, Incarnation, or the role of Mary in the life of Christ -relevant topics of the theological debate of the time period- were perfectly explained and discussed through the Shrine Madonnas. These sculptures succeeded because they answered common questions and doubts of the Christian community.

Nevertheless, Shrine Madonnas did not disappear at the end of Middle Ages, but they were recreated and adapted to new requirements of Modern Ages, as it can be seen in *precedents, transformation and projection.*

Artistic media and techniques: no more than 10% of Shrine Madonnas were carved in ivory, alone or in combination with wood (Baltimore-Boubon, Salamanca, Allariz, Évora). Ivory is an organic but strong material, difficult to obtain, sumptuary, with a deep symbolic meaning related to the Virgin's chastity, and -for that reason- perfect for Marian sculpture. Vivid brilliant saturated colours were applied to the surface; colours that were related to notions such as beauty, spirituality, eternity, and divinity. Nevertheless, there are only few traces of those colours remaining today. Maybe the most important colour used was the deep blue, which was a symbol of Mary and royalty during the Late Middle Ages. Finally, gold leaves were usually applied to the surface emphasizing the connexion between gold, light, and God.

However most of the late medieval Shrine Madonnas were not made of ivory but of wood. Actually wood was used in the 90% of the sculptures, since wood was cheaper and easier to obtain than ivory. On the other hand, unlike ivory, wood was susceptible to damage caused by xylophages insects, which dig holes on the surface of the material, and damage caused by fluctuations in the level of humidity or temperature that caused colour cracks. Both types of damages can be noticed in the sculptures that have been preserved up to the present time. Nonetheless, from a technical point of view, the empty space inside the Shrine Madonnas was able to avoid the accumulation of humidity and reduces the contraction and dilation movements of the wood. Moreover, the sort of wood often used was half-hard (i.e. tile, walnut, and oak) which is easy to engrave and resilient to mild damages caused by insects or fluctuations of humidity and temperature. As with ivory, wood was usually covered by brilliant colours and abundant and good-quality gold leaves. In a few occasions silver was used to cover part of the surface, for

---

[10] GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2006) "Un ejemplo de Virgen abridera de la Pasión: la Virgen de Boubon y la polémica en torno a su autenticidad medieval", *Medievalia*, num. 38, pp. 57-64.

example in the Antagnod Virgin. Obviously, the use of these materials was mostly related to wealthy and prestigious patrons.

Precedents, transformations, and projection: There are no precedents of Shrine Madonnas in Antiquity. It seems that the development of Shrine Madonnas is due exclusively to the rise of Marian devotion in Late Medieval Europe. The variety of Shrine Madonnas made in that period has been explained in *attributes and types of representation.*

Nevertheless, Trent Council (1545-1563) determined a deep change in the making of Shrine Madonnas. From a religious and cultural point of view, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) meant the end of late medieval spirituality and the beginning of the Counter-Reformation feelings. Taking into consideration the strong theological debates of the previous years, the Council stated new principles and became the event that divided definitely Christianity into two different groups: Catholic Christians and Protestant Christians. The Counter-Reformation had direct and indirect effects over Catholic cultural production of later years, and of course it had an effect in relation to the conception of the Shrine Madonnas. There was a purge, change, and adaptation of these works of art. The Joyful Shrine Madonnas were extinguished in silence, maybe because of a change of interests. The Trinitarian Shrine Madonnas disappeared because of a great theological controversy[11]. The Shrine Madonnas of the Passion had to be adapted to this new period and spirituality obtaining tremendous popularity in Spain. In the Late Middle Ages there was not a unique centre of production, but several places and areas where Shrine Madonnas were commissioned and carved: the Holy Roman Empire, France, the Iberian Peninsula, Prussia, and Sweden. But during the Counter-Reformation, Spain became the main centre of production of these images, even though it avoided all controversial topics and encouraged only those adapted to the new type of spirituality. Consequently, in the Counter-Reformation two different beliefs coexisted. On the one hand, there was a deep controversy surrounding the Trinitarian Virgins. On the other hand, there was a clear support for the Shrine Madonnas with the Passion inside.

Withal, the number of Shrine Madonnas in Modern Times was smaller than in the Late Middle Ages. Compared to the medieval sculptures, the modern Shrine Madonnas were more private, smaller in size, and more appropriate for individual devotion. Moreover, this group was limited in terms of geography and political framework since it was focused almost exclusively in Spain. Yet, it had a relevant role because it meant the continuity and adaptation of late medieval creations to the new religious and cultural beliefs supported by the Counter-Reformation. Deep analysis of the Shrine Madonnas questions several historiographical myths, such as the radical division between art before and after the Council of Trent. Even though this event meant the adaptation and prohibition of controversial sacred images, it also meant the consolidation of those images which were appropriate and moderate, as it later happened to the Shrine Madonnas of the Passion.

In the 19th century, it seemed that the Shrine Madonnas were in decline. But, in that moment, the interest for these images reappeared among French archaeologist and antiquaries. Inside a society focused in science and laic values, there was a renewal of attention on one of the most complex aspects of Christian theology, although now these sculptures were seen more as curiosities than as devotional objects. It was on those days

---

[11] GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2006) "La Virgen de San Blas...", op.cit.

that three identical sculptures were carved, which are today preserved in the museums of the Louvre in Paris, Fine Arts in Lyon, and Antiquities in Rouen. The three sculptures are equal to the previously mentioned Shrine Madonna of Baltimore-Boubon, whose chronology is still controversial. Some authors mention the 12th century as the date for the creation of the Baltimore Virgin while others mention the 19th century as its origin because of the similarities with the three sculptures made in this time period. Putting aside the controversy, all those sculptures are really important because they attracted the interest of the scientific community to a forgotten topic.

Typology and related themes: Shrine Madonnas are *per se* complete iconographical programs. Thus the related themes are inside the sculptures and not outside.

Images:

- Shrine Madonna of Allariz, Museo de Arte Sacro of Convento de Santa Clara in Allariz (Spain), by the end of 13th century, ivory carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Antagnod, Church and Museum of Saint-Martin in Antagnod (Italy), mid of 14th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Bergara, Church of San Blas de Buriñondo in Bergara (Spain), 15th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Buenos Aires, Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano Isaac Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires (Argentina), 17th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Fribourg-Marly, Musée d'art et d'histoire Fribourg (Switzerland), 15th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Misterhult, Church of Misterhult (Sweden), mid of 15th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of New York, Metropolitan Museum New York (USA), 14th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Paris-Musée au Moyen Âge, Musée au Moyen Âge Thermes & Hôtel de Cluny (France), mid of 15th century, wooden carving.

- Shrine Madonna of Pozzolo-Formigaro, Town Hall of Pozzolo-Formigaro (Italy), second half of 14th century, wooden carving.

Bibliography:

BAUMER, Christopher. „Die Schreinmadonna in geographischer und chronologischer Ordnung". En: *Marian Library Studies*. University of Dayton, 1977, vol. IX, pp. 237-272.

CHABANOL, Renée. « Les Vierges ouvrantes où à volets, ou statues triptyques », *Revue de la Société d'Histoire et d'archéologie de la Plaine de l'Ain (SHAPA)*, 2001, núm. 19, pp. 31-35.

CLÉMENT, J. « Vierges ouvrantes ». In: *La représentation de la Madonna à travers les âges.* Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1909. pp. 36-42.

ESTELLA MARCOS, Margarita. "Vírgenes abrideras". In: *La escultura del marfil en España. Románica y Gótica*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984. pp. 128-146.

FABRE, Abel. « Vierges ouvrantes ». In: *Pages d'art chrétien. Études d'architecture, de peinture, de sculpture et d'iconographie.* París: Prix Montyon, 1917. pp. 336-350.

FRIES, Walter. « Die Schreinmadonna », *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1928-1929, pp.5-69.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2010): "La reinterpretación de la herencia artística bajo-medieval: el caso de las Vírgenes abrideras trinitarias impulsadas por la Orden Teutónica", *Anales de Historia del Arte,* volumen extraordinario.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2009) "Nº 44. Virgen Abridera", en MAÑUECO SANTURTÚN, Carmen (dir.), *Mecenazgo y poder en la España del siglo XVI. Colecciones del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, Caja Segovia, Segovia, p. 260.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2008) "Las Vírgenes abrideras en la Baja Edad Media y su proyección posterior"*,* en GARCÍA MAHÍQUES, Rafael y ZURIAGA SENENT, Vicent (ed.), *Imagen y cultura: la interpretación de las imágenes como historia cultural*, volumen I, Biblioteca Valenciana, Valencia, pp. 817-832.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007): "Religiosidad cristiana: algunas reflexiones en torno al concepto de Templo de la Trinidad", *Medievalismo*, num. 17, pp. 3-15.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007) "Kalamazoo Roundup 2007: Cultural activities of the Teutonic Knights' military Order: the sculptures of Shreinmadonnen", *AVISTA Forum Journal: Medieval Science, Technology and Art*, vol. 17, num. 1/2 (Fall 2007), pp. 67-68.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2007) "Andra Mari de Burinondo o Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación", *Exposición Canciller Ayala (catálogo)*, Diputación Foral de Álava, p. 248.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2006) "Un ejemplo de Virgen abridera de la Pasión: la Virgen de Boubon y la polémica en torno a su autenticidad medieval", *Medievalia*, num. 38, pp. 57-64.

GONZÁLEZ HERNANDO, Irene (2006) "La Virgen de San Blas de Buriñondo en Bergara: ejemplo y excepción de Virgen abridera trinitaria", *Anales de Historia del Arte*, num. 16, pp. 59-78.

MOONS, Geert. *De trinitaire « Vierges Ouvrante » : materie en geest een iconologische studie van ees middeleeuws beeldtype.* Tesis inédita, Leuven, 1984.

RADLER,Gudrun. "Die Schreinmadonna "Vierge ouvrante" : von den bernhardinischen Anfängen bis zur Frauenmystik im Deutschordensland : mit beschreibendem Katalog". In: *Frankfurter Fundamente der Kunstgeschichte.* Frankfurt am Main: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1990. vol. VI.

RÉAU, Louis.: « Vierges ouvrantes ». In: *Iconographie de l'art chrétien.* París: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. vol. II, pp. 92-93.

SARRÈTE, J.: *Iconographie mariale. Vierges ouvertes, vierges ouvrantes et la vierge ouvrante de Palau-del-Vidre.* Lézignan: Loupiac, 1913.

TRENS, Manuel.: "Virgen abridera". In: *Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1947. pp. 481- 524.

Author and email address: Irene González Hernando irgonzal@ghis.ucm.es