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Stone Carving for the Rising Sun: A History of the Japanese Replicas of the Salamanca University Façade and New Cathedral Nativity Portal

Talla en piedra para el Sol Naciente: Historia de las réplicas japonesas de la fachada de la Universidad y del pórtico de la Natividad de la Catedral Nueva de Salamanca

Escultura em pedra para o Sol Nascente: Uma história das réplicas japonesas da fachada da Universidade e do portal da Natividade da Nova Catedral de Salamanca

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Abstract | Resumen | Resumo

In 1994 the Japanese government commissioned the construction of scale replicas of two sculptural landmarks of the Castilian city of Salamanca: the university façade and the Nativity Portal of the New Cathedral. The reproductions were carved by local sculptors in the same sandstone as the originals and installed as entrances to a concert hall in the Prefecture of Gifu on Honsu Island. Given the nature of the hall, the client required the replicas to include modifications relative to the originals, for which the craftspeople had to develop an analytical understanding of the logic of Plateresque and Late Gothic ornamentation. The Nativity Portal's intricacy and complexity made this task particularly challenging, as such work could not be automated. A team consisting of sculptors and an architect was formed to "think like the original builders" and deliver the replicas as specified.

En 1994 el gobierno japonés encargó la construcción de réplicas a escala de dos trabajos escultóricos emblemáticos de la ciudad de Salamanca: la fachada de la universidad y el pórtico de la Natividad de la Catedral Nueva. Las reproducciones las realizaron escultores locales con el mismo tipo de piedra caliza utilizada en las esculturas originales y se instalaron en la entrada de una sala de conciertos en la prefectura de Gifu, en la isla de Honsu. Dada la naturaleza de la sala de conciertos, el cliente exigió que las réplicas incluyeran modificaciones respecto a los originales, por lo que los artesanos tuvieron que hacer un estudio analítico de la lógica de la ornamentación plateresca y gótica tardía. Dada la complejidad del Pórtico de la Natividad, esta tarea resultó especialmente difícil, ya que el trabajo no podía hacerse con medios mecánicos. Se creó un equipo formado por escultores y un arquitecto capaces de "pensar como los constructores originales" y de entregar las réplicas según las especificaciones dadas.

Em 1994 o governo Japonês encomendou a construção de maquetes de dois marcos esculturais da cidade Castelhana de Salamanca: a fachada da universidade e o Portal da Natividade da Nova Catedral. As reproduções foram esculpidas por escultores locais no mesmo arenito que os originais, e instaladas como entradas para um salão de concertos na Prefeitura de Gifu, na Ilha de Honsu. Dada a natureza do salão, o cliente pediu que as réplicas incluíssem modificações relativas aos originais, o que exigiu que os artesãos tivessem de desenvolver uma compreensão analítica da lógica da ornamentação Plateresca e Gótica tardia. O caráter sofisticado e complexo do Portal da Natividade tornaram esta tarefa particularmente desafiante, uma vez que tal trabalho não podia ser automatizado. Foi formada uma equipa composta por escultores e um arquiteto, para “pensar como os construtores originais” e entregar as réplicas conforme especificado.

Introduction

The emergence of the Plateresque as an architectural style, along with the exuberance of Spanish Late Gothic ornamentation, owed largely to the suitability of the Salamanca's Villamayor sandstone for intricate carving, and this stone was used in the building of most of Salamanca's architectural heritage. The city's university is one of the oldest in Europe, and had its heyday in the sixteenth century, in the context of European humanism and the colonization and evangelization of vast overseas territories. The city contains several monumental landmarks that soar over the surrounding roofs: the New Cathedral (110 m), the Jesuit complex known as La Clerecía (61 m), and the College of Santo Domingo de la Cruz (44 m). It was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1988.

But Salamanca has a distinct feature that is often overlooked. Early in the Franco dictatorship, strict architectural styling guidelines were imposed across the country, resulting in public and private buildings in Salamanca being clad with local Villamayor stone and decorated with historicist motifs evoking the town's former glory, thereby preserving the historic quarter's aesthetic homogeneity. This sandstone cladding blended mediocre new buildings with historic ones, assuring a uniformity that is still appreciated by locals and visitors alike. Aside from political considerations, this practice facilitated the survival of local master stone carvers and the generational transmission of skills and experience to the present.

In 1994 the Japanese Prefecture of Gifu commissioned the construction of a replica of the front façade of the city's University and two replicas of the Nativity Portal of the New Cathedral (“new” only in the sense of being less old than the adjoining Old Cathedral). The former is in early Renaissance style (an imported trend known as *all'italiana* or Italian style) and the latter is Late Gothic, though the two buildings were built partly at the same time. The three sandstone replicas were to be carved in Salamanca and then shipped and installed as decorative reliefs in the foyer of a concert hall in Gifu. The local craftspeople involved (particularly the stone carver César Valle and the architect Francisco García) had been pupils of the sculptors and artisans of the post-war wave of historicist architecture, giving them a training that would have been harder to acquire in more prosperous nations, then engaged in industrialization (García Gómez 2014: 15).

Objectives

The project had several singular features: the cultural divide between the Japanese clients and the Salamancan contractors, the great reliance on traditional crafts, and the issues arising from the obscure symbolism and convoluted geometry of Plateresque ornamentation. Despite media coverage, the story of the Gifu replicas has not yet been told in all its complexity, probably because the accounts available are fragmentary. Rather than as an oddity, as it was portrayed by Spanish media in the nineties, we seek to apprehend the execution of these Plateresque reproductions as part of a developing history.

Methodology

We collected sundry written and spoken testimonials of artisans involved in the project and consulted original blueprints in the architect's files. Certain assertions, particularly those made when there were fewer online resources, were checked and expanded upon. The Japanese account, chiefly to be found in the memoirs of Hiroshi Tsuji, was also consulted.

The princess and the organmaker

The Japanese government's reasons for having elaborate replicas made of two Salamancon monuments is complex, linked to a reproduction that was made of the Epistle organ in the New Cathedral choir. This pipe organ was built in 1554 and refitted in 1778 and 1825 (Fig. 1), and is named after the Romanesque cathedral's "Epistle" nave.¹

The Japanese organmaker Hiroshi Tsuji (1933-2005), a world expert in the field, visited Salamanca and first heard the Epistle organ in 1974. Tsuji built a total of 81 pipe organs over his career and restored several in Europe. He worked regularly with the city of Pistoia in Tuscany and made several replicas of its Baroque organs in his workshop in Shirakawa.

To understand the impression that Salamanca may have made on its Japanese visitors, we may refer to the experience of another organbuilder, Greg Harrold, who attended a masterclass at the New Cathedral given by Guy Bovet and Montserrat Torrent in 1984. The organ and the music for which it was specifically designed were still largely unknown to international scholars. After a second visit to Salamanca, Harrold made a replica of it for the Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary in Berkeley:

The experience of being in Salamanca – the big meal at noon, the siesta afterward to avoid the intense sun, afternoon coffee in the plaza, shopping during the paseo, the fabulous dinners at midnight followed by a brandy, the language, the climate, the food and the glorious architecture – put the Spanish organ builder's art in context (Harrold 2019).

In his memoirs, Tsuji says he was struck by the Epistle organ's sound quality and amazed that it had not been tuned in almost a century (Tsuji 2007). Given his future engagement with Salamanca, the city must have left an impression on him similar to that described by Harrold. Then in February 1985 the relationship between Salamanca and Japan became closer with a visit by Crown Prince Akihito and his wife Michiko. This led to a series of cooperation initiatives and reciprocal honors that continue to the present.

Figure 1: The Epistle organ in the New Cathedral, 1544



According to those involved in the project, Princess Michiko's friendship and admiration for the reputed organmaker were vital to what followed. In 1988 the Salamanca dioceses asked Tsuji to restore the organ, which Tsuji called *Tenshi no utagoe* (the Chant of Angels).² With the help of the Hispanist Eikichi Hayashiya, who had also been Japanese ambassador to Spain, the necessary funds were raised over the following year (Tsuji 2007). The restoration started almost immediately and in March 1990 the refurbished organ was officially presented (Fig. 2).

This restoration was just a first step. A replica was then built in Japan, inaugurated four years later. Measuring 10.5x8.5m, it presides over a concert hall seating 708 people within a convention center designed by the firm Nikken Sekkei in the city of Gifu, some 130 km east of Kyoto. Its spectacular chandeliers, drawing on traditional Japanese crafts, were designed by Motoko Ishii. The organ case ornamentation was made by the Salamanca religious art workshop Orejudo.

Given the singularity of the venue, later renamed the "Salamanca Hall", an appropriate portal was to be built to usher visitors into the cultured realm of classical music.

In keeping with the origin of the organ, reproductions of two icons of Salamanca heritage that could easily be rendered in low relief were sought to adorn the hall's foyer, and presumably because of their rich decoration, the Salamanca University façade and the New Cathedral Nativity Portal were chosen. Unlike with the organ, there was no relevant expertise available in Japan, so recourse was had to local craftspeople. The quarrying and stone-carving company Sanchón Diego S.L., directed by Justino Sanchón, was hired in 1994 by the Gifu Prefecture to sculpt scale replicas in Salamanca, then to be disassembled and shipped to Japan. Sanchón Diego accordingly hired the architect Francisco García Gómez to survey the original buildings and supervise the construction process. Skilled stone carvers such as Santiago López, Juan Iglesias, César Valle, José Luis Pinto, Luis Alonso, Pedro Alonso or Ramón Baylón worked on the project for almost three years (Figs. 3-4). This team was supported by former students of the Salamanca Craft School selected for their modeling and drawing skills (García Gómez 2014: 16). The project was coordinated by Luis Alonso and Antonio Sanchón and assisted by the Salamanca-based translator Noriko Hamamatsu. The process was recorded in a documentary made by Carlos Triguero Mori (Mori 1998).



Figure 2: Organ by Hiroshi Tsuji in Salamanca Hall, Gifu Convention Center, 1994 (Salamanca Hall)



Figures 3 and 4: Images from the documentary by Carlos T. Mori *The Reproduction of the Façades of the University and the Cathedral of Salamanca*, 1998

The making of the Gifu replicas

The concert hall is accessed by two doorways at mezzanine level, and the university façade was to stand as a mere decorative element between them, 8 m high and 5 m wide, at a scale of 1 to 2.43. The two replicas of the cathedral Nativity Portal, on the other hand, were to frame the entrances, leaving pass-through openings of 2x2 m (García Gómez 2014: 10), 6 m high and 4 m wide at their perimeter. In short, the proportions rendered had to be substantially different from those of the actual façade and the cathedral replicas had to be scaled unevenly: 1 to 2.80 in height and 1 to 2.45 in width. Additional difficulties emerged: the Nativity Portal's paired doors had to be merged into single openings to facilitate evacuation and, most significantly,

the Gothic façade had to be flattened. Whereas the Nativity Portal's original gothic ribs and niches were hierarchically arranged in depth, echoing the cathedral's interior structure,³ the replicas had to be no deeper than 255 mm. Such unequal scaling would result in a distortion of the Gothic ornaments, with squares turning into irregular quadrilaterals and circles into ellipses. In order to preserve aesthetic quality, the replica ornaments and reliefs had to be redesigned and rearranged within the limits imposed, as shown in Fig. 5.

The Japanese were expected to have suitable technology to facilitate this task, but things proved less simple. The photogrammetry techniques available in 1993 were inadequate, and even where the intricate Plateresque

Figure 5: Left: plan and elevation of the original base of the New Cathedral Nativity Portal. Right: adapted proposal with reduced depth and simplified motifs designed by Francisco García Gómez

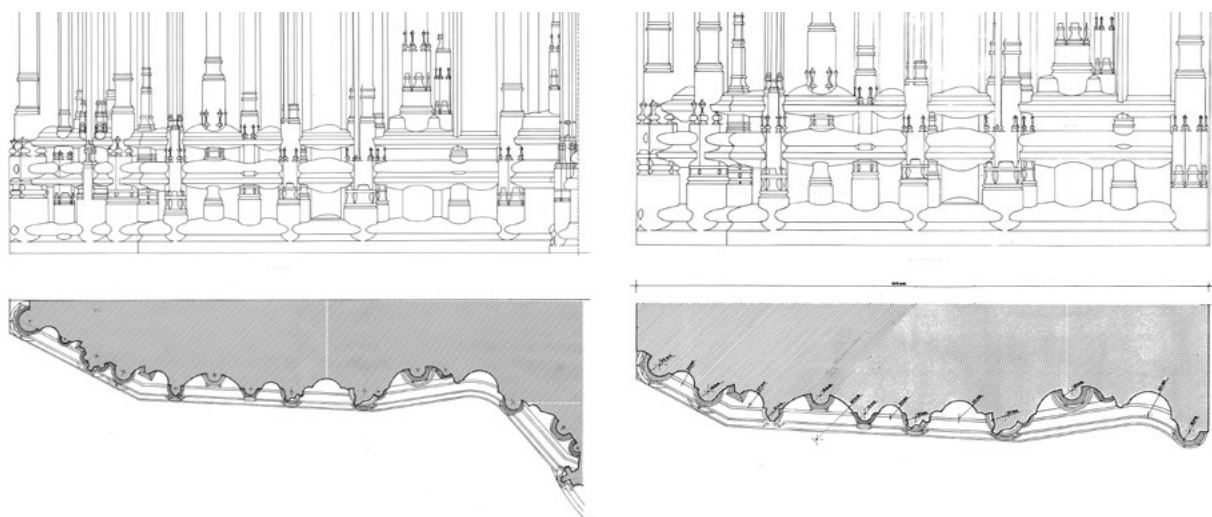




Figure 6: Architectural documentation of the gothic ornaments in the New Cathedral Nativity Portal by Francisco García Gómez, 1994

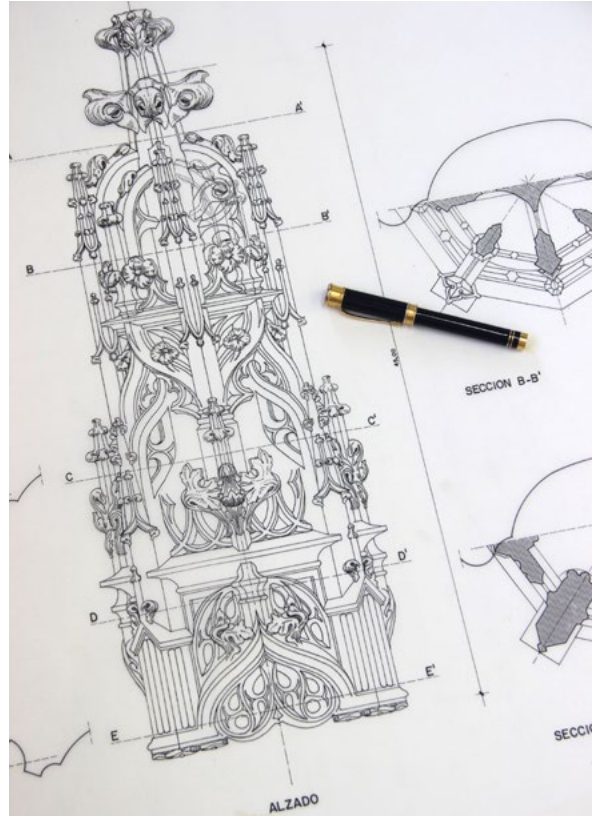


Figure 7: Detail of the blueprints of the replica portal by Francisco García Gómez, 1994

ornaments could be three-dimensionally plotted with sufficient resolution, the figures and motifs still needed to be modified by a human designer (García Gómez 2014: 12). It was necessary to interpret the Gothic ornaments' semantics, understanding how the figurative and abstract elements interrelated and delivering creative yet contextual solutions to the client's requirements.

This is where the team's drawing skills, acquired in various periods at the local craft school, were essential (Figs. 6-8). The flora and fauna populating the Gothic ornamentation had to be delimited precisely: first in ink on paper, then as multiview projections on each face of the sandstone blocks. The sculptural work was done in 1994-96 at the Sanchón Diego facilities in Villamayor, a few kilometers north of



Figure 8: Blueprints of the replica portal by Francisco García Gómez, 1994



Figure 9: The replicas at the Salamanca Hall in Gifu Prefecture (Salamanca Hall)

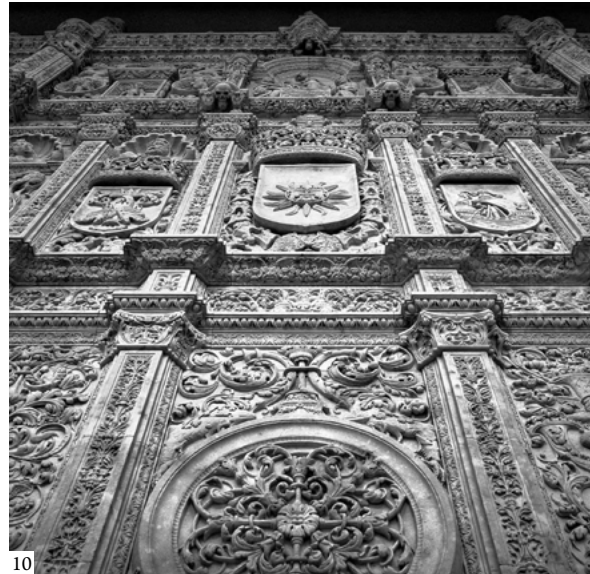
Salamanca, near the quarries. The university façade replica had 354 pieces – like the original – while the replicas of the Nativity Portal had 66 pieces each. After being carved and assembled in the factory, the blocks were packed and shipped to Japan, where their onsite erection concluded in March 1998 (Fig. 9).

Controversy over iconography

While the message of the Nativity Portal is clear, with familiar Christian motifs, the iconographic program of the university façade remains a mystery. It was built in a period of political turmoil⁴ and there are no records of bills, contracts or the like, and the year of construction can be reckoned only at some point between 1519 and 1529.⁵ There is no consensus even as to which pope is portrayed in the upper section: Alexander IV, Benedict XIII, and Martin V have all been proposed. The convoluted language and symbolic codes characteristic of the early sixteenth century make it hard for historians to offer more than “weakly founded” speculation (Sebastián 1977: 90). As recently as 2014, the historian and epigraphist Alicia Canto pointed to a hitherto unnoticed acronym signature in the second section that appears to identify the sculptor as Juan de Talavera (Canto 2014).

Figures 10 and 11: Replica of the university façade in Gifu, Japan, 1996 (Salamanca Hall)

Figure 12: Replica of the Nativity Portal in Gifu, Japan, 1996 (Salamanca Hall)



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This mystery had unforeseen implications beyond academia. The Japanese clients' brief made clear that there should be no religious or political imagery in the replicas, for Article 20 of the Japanese Constitution requires the State to refrain from any religious activity, and Article 89 states that no public funds shall be used to support any religious enterprise (Constitution of Japan 1946). Yet the traditional linkage between monarchy and religion has subsisted, and it has been practically impossible to separate imperial traditions from religious practice (Kobayashi 2010). The same paradox arose in the "erasure" of religious symbols from the Gifu replicas while historical features were preserved, so that Greek and Roman deities could be maintained while historical elements such as Christian symbols – given that Christianity is a living religion – had to be removed (Figs. 10-12).

So the reproduction went ahead. García Gómez opted to adhere to Santiago Sebastián's exegesis of 1977 (García Gómez 2014: 10), setting aside any iconographic interpretation not based on factual proof or historical record (Sebastián 1977), such as regarding the façade as an allegory glorifying the nascent reign of Charles V. All unequivocally political or religious symbols were by stylistic references. The medallion showing King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella was replaced by a plateresque rosette, a *botón charro* typical of the traditional local silverwork after which the Plateresque style is named (Fig. 13). The papal tiara in the top section was turned into a simple hat. The scene could now be seen as a professorial lecture without religious significance, albeit still relating to university life.

Figure 13: Left: medallion featuring the Catholic Monarchs in the original university façade. Right: modified proposal replacing Ferdinand and Isabella with a traditional plateresque rosette

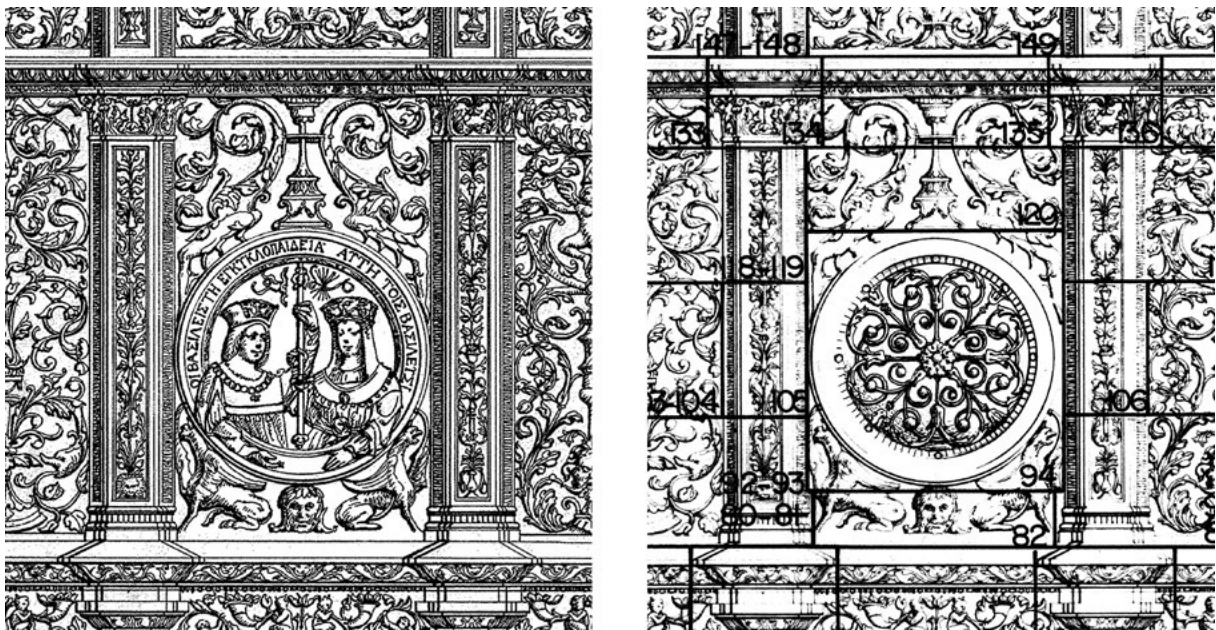
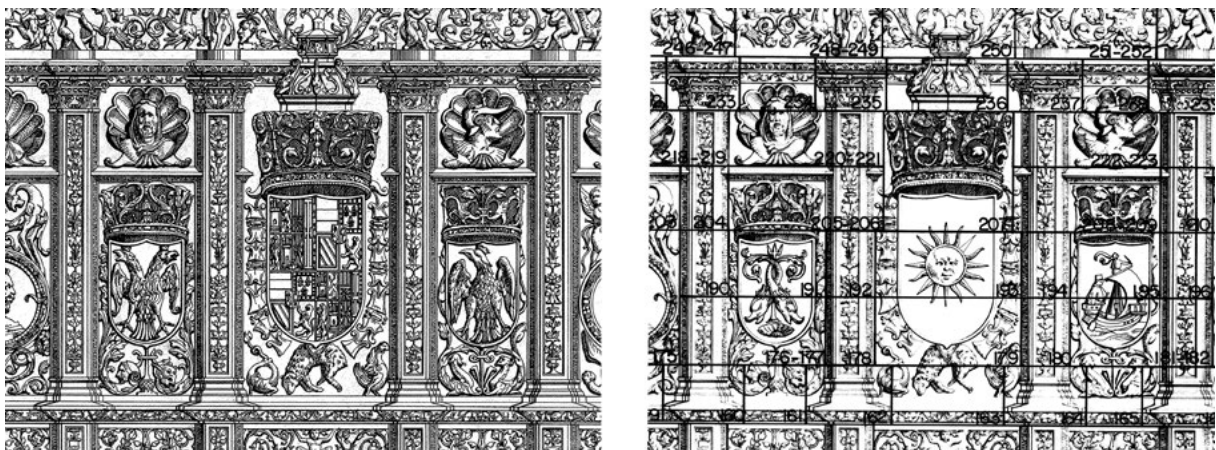


Figure 14: Left: imperial emblems in the original university façade. Right: modified proposal with coats of arms replaced by apolitical motifs



The royal emblems were replaced by “anonymous heraldic ornaments” inspired by Renaissance motifs (García Gómez 2014: 11). Charles V’s imperial coat of arms with the Habsburg double-headed eagle became a Renaissance anthropomorphic sun, a westernized reference to the *Nisshoki* (the Japanese Flag of the Sun) (Fig. 14).⁶ It is worth noting, though it is most likely a coincidence, that the same motif appears in the arms of the Solís family, still to be seen in their sixteenth-century mansions in Salamanca and Cáceres, and its use by the same family is recorded in Villaviciosa, Cervera and Solares (De Avilés 1999). The lower coats of arms were replaced by a ship, alluding to the shipping of the replicas to the far side of the globe. Interestingly, the ship as a symbol of enterprise and exploration is also present in another replica built in the United States in 1926, as we will see below.

Though geometrically more complex, the iconography in the Nativity Portal was easier to adapt. The central Nativity scenes were turned into a pottery market simply by means of replacing the Child Jesus with a clay pot, turning the Holy Family into merchants seemingly bargaining with the Magi. The many saints surrounding the scene were turned into musicians playing medieval instruments. Other emblems that would be less intelligible to a Japanese public, such as the seal of the Cathedral Chapter (its ruling body), were maintained.

These changes aroused some criticism in Spanish media once the project became public. Probably because the iconography of the Nativity Portal is relatively transparent, critical attention focused on the university façade. The project was dismissed by Spanish columnists as an Asian eccentricity, a “frivolous”, “vulgar” and extravagant exercise (Casado 1995). Well-known intellectuals such as Enrique de Sena Marcos were also critical, arguing that the iconographic program was an integral part of the artwork and that to distort it was to mutilate it.

The diocese was understandably not actively involved in the project, as it had been for the organ restoration. But this case could be seen as analogous to the widespread use of images of Buddha in nightclubs or in tattoos, sometimes regarded as offensive to the Buddhist faith. Such desacralization and decontextualization of symbols could be viewed as orientalism in reverse, with Western traditions being reinterpreted to satisfy a desire for exoticism in a remote country.

Reproductions around the world

This is not the only copy of the Salamanca University façade,⁷ and a look at two buildings that it inspired in the United States may give some perspective on the Gifu replicas. The Salamancan plateresque style became internationally known with the Spanish pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exhibition designed by José Urioste y Velada. This was an idealized version of the Palace of Monterrey from Salamanca – built in part by the Renaissance architect Juan Gil de Hontañón – merged with other coetaneous buildings such as the University of Alcalá de Henares and the Alcázar fortress in Toledo. Echoes of this appeared in buildings such as the Puerto Rico School of Tropical Medicine (1925), the Cavalry School in Valladolid, Mexico (1921) or Banco Hipotecario in Mendoza, Argentina (1926), all inspired to some extent by Monterrey Palace.

But “Spanish Colonial Revival” was a more festive, light-hearted approach that became popular after the San Diego Panama-California Exposition of 1915. It was a style suited to California’s growing opulence and benign climate, devoid of pious Castilian Renaissance gravity. The San Diego Museum of Art in Balboa Park, designed by William Templeton Johnson and Robert W. Snyder in 1926, features a replica of the Salamanca University façade as its



Figure 15: Facade of the San Diego Museum of Art in Balboa Park, San Diego, California (Bernard Gagnon, 2013)



Figure 16: Images from the opening sequence of Citizen Kane by Orson Wells, 1941

main entrance. About two-thirds smaller than the original, the twin doorway was replaced by a single entrance topped by a niche occupying the lowest of the three sections. The middle section, originally for the coat of arms of Charles V, contains three niches with statues of Velázquez, Murillo, and Zurbarán sculpted by Chris Mueller (Fig. 15). The upper section contains the coats of arms of the United States along with those of California and Castile and Leon. Other elements, such as the papal scene, were removed or relocated. The set-back side walls serve to visually enhance the façade's intricate surface, as in the original building. We should note that, in his vivid description of the San Diego Art Museum, William Davenport wrongly credits Salamanca as the *alma mater* of Cervantes (Davenport 1966: 27), and so caution should be used in interpreting the other ornaments, freely reconfigured according to contemporary aesthetic preferences. This ambiance of opulent extravaganza prompted Orson Wells to shoot the opening sequence of Citizen Kane (1941) in Balboa Park, as conceived by his art director Van Nest Polglase

(Carringer 1985). The university façade replica rears imposingly in a low-angle shot supposedly showing Xanadu, the protagonist's lavish residence (Fig. 16).

In 1926, shortly before Art Déco became a popular style for movie theaters, the architect Benjamin Marcus Priteca designed the San Francisco Pantages Theater (Fig. 17)⁸, whose upper section recreates the Salamanca University façade's composition and ornaments with its iconography transformed into a heathen festival. In a twist that may be seen as a celebration of paganism, the pope in the central scene is replaced by a minotaur. The figures' attire is largely Tudor, in keeping with the theater interior. But although the façade below is a conventional grid of windows stretching along the block, key elements such as the pilasters remain, intersecting with the modern features and reaffirming the original Salamanca layout. Unlike Snyder, who was a consistent exponent of the Spanish Colonial Style, Priteca employed various styles over his career depending on the circumstances.

Figure 17: Orpheum Theatre, 1192 Market Street, San Francisco, California, by Benjamin Marcus Priteca, 1926 (Andreas Praefcke, 2008)



The existence of these two replicas was unknown to the Spanish building team, and nothing points to their having any influence on the Gifu project. But they show how symbols and icons may be freely rearranged when original models are replicated in remote lands with foreign agendas, regardless of whatever obscure message the façade may have been conveying over its four-hundred year history.

The craft of sandstone carving has survived as a living tradition, both in monumental restorations⁹ and in vanity projects such as coats of arms or private portraits. With the experience gained and the training received through the making of the Gifu replicas, the sculptors and other

craftspeople continued to work in a range of local projects, from private homes to hotels and monuments. The main dancefloor of Cum Laude (1994), an upmarket nightclub designed by García Gómez in Salamanca, was designed as a two-level arcaded 1500s courtyard. The mythological and historical characters traditionally represented in medallions were substituted by sandstone music idols such as Michael Jackson, Freddy Mercury, Elvis or Marta Sánchez. Cum Laude was to enjoy great success partially thanks to its extravagant decor, much featured in the local media. The sandstone statuary was made by artisans trained at the same craft school as the builders of the Gifu replicas, within a tradition going back to post-war historicism. García Gómez



Figure 18: Architectural documentation of the Nativity Portal's Gothic ornamentation with the saints replaced by medieval musicians, by Francisco García Gómez, 1994

was then commissioned to design the Garamond Club in Madrid (1995). The idea was that the people queueing outside should feel as if they were about to enter an old Spanish mansion or a members' club in a Gothic Revival sandstone townhouse in Manhattan. In Calle Claudio Coello, the entrance is flanked by Gothic ribs which, despite their simplicity, hint at the architect's command of Gothic language acquired with the Japanese replicas.

The latest known replica of the university façade is on the gate of a four-star hotel in the outskirts of Salamanca, although it features only the lower quarter of the original artwork. It was also carved by Ramón Baylón and based on the blueprints used for the Gifu replica. In place of the Catholic Monarchs in the central medallion is a portrait of the parents of the hotel owner, a unique feature that will surely challenge future archaeologists.

A marvel of craft and drawing

The Gifu replicas belong to a long tradition of assimilation and assemblage of classical motifs, not far removed from the genesis of the facade itself and its early Italian lineage.

The replicas also show the potential of hand-drawing in managing levels of complexity which automated software cannot cater for. Even today, twenty years on and despite technological advances, commercially available tools would still lack the necessary capacity to handle such an endeavor.

Skills such as hand-drawing and stone carving survived due to sustained demand for artisans in post-war Salamanca. Drawing allowed modern sculptors to reconstruct motifs based on the blending of geometric and organic shapes as is characteristic of Gothic and Plateresque ornamentation, keeping close to the original builders' form-making techniques. As a result, a project that would have remained a mere mechanical reproduction of a historical artifact became a contemporary marvel of hand-drawing and traditional craft on a scale rarely seen today.

We have looked at some of the issues that may arise in a project as seemingly straightforward as building a scale replica of a historic building. Although the story of the Gifu replicas is recurrently shared on social media, always partially and inaccurately, the true story had to be told in its full complexity. Beyond the controversy over the distortion of the façade's iconography, we have contextualized the Gifu replicas within a series of reproductions of this plateresque monument. From the didactic program of Balboa Park to the frivolous world of the California movie industry in the roaring twenties, the series takes us most recently to the nineties wave of postmodern Spanish nightclubs.

Living craftsmanship that remains active in the contemporary world cannot stay pure as pristine heritage; it will inevitably be affected by the complexities and

contradictions of modern society and market conditions. Though manual working procedures survive as taught by previous generations, shifts in aesthetic preferences and consumer demands transform the way that a craft is applied. The issues raised by the Gifu replicas show a response by traditional crafts – sculpture and drawing – to such technological and cross-cultural challenges.

¹ This organ is often confused with the one made by Pedro de Echevarria two centuries later (1744), on the far side of the choir.

² Probably referring also to the small statues of angels at the top of the organ case.

³ Note that the building of Salamanca's New Cathedral started (in 1513) with the front gates rather than the altar and apse, as was common practice. See the analysis by Fernando Chueca Goitia and Gómez Moreno (Chueca Goitia 1951; Gómez-Moreno 1967).

⁴ The Comuneros Revolt, a failed uprising against the young Charles V, occurred in 1520-21 and had a great impact on Salamanca's social fabric and elites.

⁵ The historian Gómez-Moreno noted that this absence coincides with the gaps in the *Libros de Claustros* for 1513-25 (Gómez-Moreno 1967: 235). The first reference to the finished building dates from 1529.

⁶ Also an allusion to the founding myth of Japanese monarchy, descending from the sun empress *Amaterasu*.

⁷ Built replicas of the cathedral also exist, not addressed here because they are of the whole ensemble.

⁸ Today known as the Orpheum Theater, on Market Street in Downtown San Francisco.

⁹ See the famous astronaut carved in the north façade as part of the restoration of the New Cathedral in 1992 by Miguel Romero, also a former student of the Salamanca Craft School. Or the restoration of the tomb of Saint Teresa in Alba de Tormes by Ramón Baylón.

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