



Edited by Francisco García-Serrano

The Friars and their Influence in Medieval Spain

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The Friars and their Influence in Medieval Spain

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Abbreviations

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón/Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Barcelona)
AEM	<i>Anuario de Estudios Medievales</i>
AHDE	<i>Anuario de historia del derecho español</i>
AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AIEG	<i>Annals de l'Institut d'estudis Gironins</i>
AST	<i>Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia</i>
BMCL	<i>Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law</i>
BRABLB	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona</i>
BRAH	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia</i>
BSCC	<i>Boletín Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura</i>
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1953–)
CF	<i>Cahiers de Fanjeaux</i>
CHE	<i>Cuadernos de Historia de España</i>
CHR	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
CMR	<i>Christian–Muslim Relations</i> , ed. D. Thomas and A. Mallett, 7 vols (Leiden, 2009–15)
DDC	<i>Dictionnaire de droit canonique</i> , ed. R. Naz, 7 vols (Paris, 1935–65)
Diago, <i>Historia</i>	Francisco Diago, <i>Historia de la Provincia de Aragón de la Orden de los Predicadores</i> (Barcelona, 1599)
DRP	<i>El Diplomatarium de Sant Ramon de Penyafort</i> , ed. F. Valls Taberner (Zaragoza, 1991 [1929])
EV	<i>Escritos del Vedat</i>
Friedberg, <i>Corpus iuris canonici</i>	<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–81)
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
MDH	<i>La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)</i> , ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1965)
MDI	<i>La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)</i> , ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1955)
MOPH	<i>Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica</i> (Rome, 1896–)
<i>Pothast</i>	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno 1198 ad</i>

- annum 1304*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols (Graz, 1957)
- PL* *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina (Patrologia latina)*, 221 vols, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1841–64)
- Praedicatores Inquisitores* *Praedicatores Inquisitores I: The Dominicans and the Mediaeval Inquisition: acts of the first international seminar on the Dominicans and the inquisition, Rome, 23–25 February 2002*, ed. W. Hoyer (Rome, 2004)
- RABM* *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*
- RHCE* *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas* (Salamanca, 1967–)
- SCH* *Studies in Church History*
- TC* X. Renedo Puig, *Edició i estudi del 'Tractat de Luxúria' del Terç del Crestià de Francesc Eiximenis* (Bellaterra, 1992)
- Vose, *Dominicans* R. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009)
- Zurita, *Anales* J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. A. Canellas López, 8 vols (Zaragoza, 1967–86 [1562–80])

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Acknowledgements

The project that now comprises this volume started a few years ago, in April 2013, when a select and enthusiastic group of international historians met at Saint Louis University, Madrid Campus for the conference ‘The Friars and their Influence in Medieval Spain’, in order to exchange ideas, as well as research and promote further studies in the field. The two days of intensive work, excellent papers, and camaraderie were highly inspiring and exhorted us to compile this volume. I want to express my gratitude to my colleague Damian Smith, without whom this project would never have come to fruition. The generous support of the different institutions of Saint Louis University in Missouri and in Madrid, as well as of the Mellon Foundation, made our task much more viable. Thanks to all the authors who have contributed to this volume, and special thanks to those who helped edit it. Nicole Koopman and Margaret Mary Lagarde read through the text, and Anjouli Janzon helped with translations. I truly appreciate their support, collaboration, and patience.

Francisco García-Serrano
Madrid, January 2018

Introduction

Francisco García-Serrano

The mendicant orders arrived in the Iberian Peninsula during the early thirteenth century and from then on they had a great impact on Church and society in all of the Spanish kingdoms. In particular, the Dominicans, whose founder was an Augustinian canon of Osma in Castile, and the Franciscans, who during Francis of Assisi's lifetime were already very active in the Peninsula, were to have an enormous influence, pervading almost every aspect of the society of late medieval Spain. Due to the peculiarity of the Iberian frontier, where religions coexisted, the dynamic expansion of the friars was not restricted to Christian territory; the papacy sent Dominicans and Franciscans to al-Andalus, Morocco, and Tunisia, where they became the first bishops, evangelizing the Muslims and serving the spiritual and material interests of Christian kings, merchants, and mercenaries.¹

The northern territories of the Iberian kingdoms, in tune with the medieval West, were undergoing a significant transformation. As a result of the commercial revolution of the High Middle Ages, Western European society changed dramatically and the urban centres, led by an active emerging merchant community, became dominant for the first time since the end of the Roman Empire. The general amelioration of the economic situation allowed the inhabitants of cities, towns, and important villages to change their living patterns by altering their values and by providing new channels for social interaction. While the inhabitants of small rural villages maintained close relations with one another, human interaction in urban centres became more complex and anonymous, and a new spirituality began to surface alongside the more diversified material and social expectations brought about by commerce. Following this tendency, Francesc Eiximenis,

¹ For comprehensive studies in English of Iberian mendicants see J. Webster, *Els Menoretts* (Toronto, 1993); J. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain* (Philadelphia, 1986); R. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009); F. García-Serrano, *Preachers of the City* (New Orleans, 1997).

the Aragonese Franciscan, described the city as the perfect setting for human life, a sort of earthly paradise.²

The friars also contributed to the transformation of urban life in many Iberian towns, becoming themselves an essential part of the fabric of the late medieval city. It was in the urban space that the friars intertwined with the merchant class and nascent bourgeoisie by preaching and teaching them how to counteract the worldly vitality associated with the cities. Correspondingly, the inhabitants of these urban centres were eager to accept the new spirituality brought about by the friars, a spirituality that justified their wealth and that was better suited to those who lived in a profit economy. Dominicans and Franciscans were not only preaching in vernacular languages using *exempla* to convey their message more efficiently; they also practised a palpable poverty. This allowed them soon to gain the devotion and the financial support of the urban population in the form of charity, an appropriate way to legitimize the increasing wealth of the merchant classes.³

As a consequence, the religious needs of artisans, merchants, financiers, and urban professionals evolved quite differently from those of the predominantly rural communities of the early Middle Ages. Hence the Church, a leading element in medieval society, was compelled to adapt its structure to match the demands of the expanding socioeconomic spectrum. Here the friars were much better prepared than their secular counterparts who were still suffering the rigid consequences of the Gregorian reforms aimed at establishing a stricter discipline among the lax clergy in an effort to secure the position of the Church. Nonetheless, power no longer resided solely in the rural and feudal castle or in the palace, or in the Church for that matter; it also resided in the highly autonomous city councils such as those of Flanders, Germany, Italy, and Spain; and the friars became influential players within them.

In a revolutionary break from the Church's past these religious men were heavily engaged with the world, preaching the message of the Gospel to the laity and actively participating in education. Noteworthy are the many great scholars of that time who became the intellectual leaders in the *studia* and in the newly created universities that flourished alongside cathedral schools. Adeline Rucquoi dedicates her chapter to the Hispanic origins of Saint Dominic by explaining how the Castilian city of Palencia, already

2 A. Antelo Iglesias, 'La ciudad ideal según fray Francesc Eiximenis y Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo', *En la España Medieval*, 6 (1985), 19–50.

3 L.K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1983).

an important centre of learning by the late twelfth century, provided the scholarly opportunities that drove him to rise in the Church as founder of the Order of Preachers. Equally so, in the Crown of Aragon other friars such as Ramon Penyafort, Ramon Marti, and Francesc Eiximenis also exercised great influence in the late medieval intellectual world that would transcend the ecclesiastical realm. Damian Smith's chapter explains the great intellectual achievements of Ramon Penyafort, not only as general master of the Dominicans, but also in terms of his preoccupation – as it was narrated in the *Summa de paenitentia* and the *Liber Extra* – with the idea of converting the 'non-believers', namely heretics, Jews, and Muslims. Likewise, Thomas Burman, in evaluating the work of the Dominican Ramon Marti, demonstrates his shifting interest from Muslim to Jewish texts, as shown in his *Pugio fidei*. He did so in order to explain the Trinity and to connect with the scholastic tendencies of northern Europe. Finally, Víctor Farías Zurita explains how Francesc Eiximenis spread his ideas about work and moral and ethical values in the complex urban culture of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The energetic incorporation of the mendicant orders in medieval society and their leadership in the intellectual world allowed them to transform the hierarchy of the Church, often taking up key positions in the episcopate and beyond. The friars, who were very articulate and well prepared, were prominent in the establishment of the Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon and, for very similar reasons, played a major part in attempting to teach the Gospel message to the Muslims as the Christian kingdoms expanded to the south. Robin Vose illustrates the crucial role of Dominican friars in the early establishment of the inquisition in Aragon and how their involvement in inquisitorial affairs had served them to acquire higher ecclesiastical offices, a matter which caused division and jealousy among the preachers. On the other hand, friars such as Vincent Ferrer, with much greater personal protagonism, avoided inquisitorial offices altogether and took a more singular approach to fulfil their spiritual life.

Very soon the friars connected with the Castilian and Aragonese monarchies and their respective nobilities. As was the case with Saint Louis in France, in Spain the friars greatly influenced the policies of many monarchs. Of course, the support of the elites was not totally disinterested since the Preachers and the Minors were of great assistance to the crown. Allegedly, King Ferdinand III entered reconquered Seville in 1248 accompanied by two Dominican friars, Pedro Gonzalez Telmo and Saint Dominic the Young.⁴

4 A. Quintanadueñas, *Santos de la ciudad de Sevilla y su arzobispado* (Seville, 1637), 337; García-Serrano, *Preachers*, 14, n. 44.

Similarly, Miguel Fabra, a personal companion of Saint Dominic, participated in the conquest of Mallorca and was selected by King James I of Aragon to evangelize reconquered Valencia. There he founded a Dominican convent in 1239, just a few months after the conquest. Another Dominican Friar, Andreu d'Albalat, was appointed first bishop of Valencia and second chancellor of James I from 1247 to 1257.⁵ María del Mar Graña Cid explains the close relationship between King Ferdinand III and the mendicant orders. These extremely valuable religious organizations served both the interest of the crown and the nobles, especially by sponsoring female convents where royal and noble ladies could fulfil their religious needs while still keeping close links with the centres of power.

The temporal support of queens and kings was, as was to be expected, reciprocated by spiritual comfort and advice from the friars. Several Dominicans appear as confessors of kings and queens in Castile. For instance, Friar Domingo de Robledo was the confessor of Kings Sancho IV, Ferdinand IV, and Queen María de Molina. In 1291, Queen María de Molina had her son Alfonso buried in San Pablo of Valladolid, an act that guaranteed royal patronage in years to come. As a sign of allegiance to the Preachers, she herself asked to be buried, dressed in the Dominican habit, in the monastery of Las Huelgas.⁶

By the second half of the thirteenth century the friars also secured the friendship of the high nobility, as in the well-known connection between Don Juan Manuel and the Dominicans. Friar Alfonso appears in the *Libro enfenido* as a close friend giving advice to Don Juan Manuel and his son Fernando. Friar Alfonso was probably Don Juan Manuel's confessor and prior of the convent of Peñafiel, founded by the powerful Castilian nobleman.⁷

Both Pablo Martín Prieto and Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez in their contributions to this volume clearly support the royal association by analysing the intricate relationship between King Alfonso X and the powerful Guzmán family in founding and supporting the monastery of Santa Clara

5 R.I. Burns, *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: the registered charters of its conqueror Jaume I, 1257–1276. I: society and documentation in crusader Valencia* (Princeton, 1985), 31.

6 L.G. Alonso Getino, 'Dominicos españoles confesores de reyes', *Ciencia Tomista* 14 (1916) 380–90; C. Palomo, 'Confesores dominicos de los reyes de España', *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, vol. I (Madrid, 1972), 600; A. López, 'Confesores de la familia real de Castilla', *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 31 (1929), 5–75; M. De Castro y Castro, 'Confesores franciscanos de los reyes de España', *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, Suplemento I (Madrid 1987), 219–21.

7 García-Serrano, *Preachers*, 101.

in Alcocer. Cañas Gálvez provides clear examples of the important political activity that took place in Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo, and how the prioress Teresa de Ayala had great influence in the court of King Peter I of Castile.

The spiritual care of women, *cura mulierum*, was never an easy mission for the friars. While they could not deny pastoral care to the nuns, material and economic engagement with nuns caused quite a few conflicts in the early history of Dominicans and Franciscans. They could only solve this problem by gradually removing themselves from the direct care of the nuns. As is shown in my chapter, the Dominican convent of Madrid provided the order with great economic resources.

To be sure, their missions in the towns and their educational role, as well as their strong associations with the papacy and the crown, often led the friars into conflict with other clergymen and with secular society. However, they proved themselves to be extremely skilful, and in most cases they were successful in their endeavours. They also suffered internal tensions and major splits. While the high ecclesiastical spheres and the papacy generally welcomed them, they had to compete and find their own space within the framework of the Church. They were to be both widely admired and the subject of sharp literary satire. In need of souls and ambitious for material support, other clergy competed with the friars for the *cura animarum*. The well-known conflict within the University of Paris in the mid thirteenth century epitomized this opposition. In addition, the Dominicans had to compete against other mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans, to gain influence and support. In her chapter, Emily Graham sheds light on the conflict of the Spiritual Franciscans in the Crown of Aragon and how they were able to solve their differences and reach a pragmatic solution. While there was conflict and confrontations among religious men, there was nonetheless also cooperation. In the frontier society of the newly conquered Valencia, as clearly elucidated by Taryn Chubb, the Dominicans resorted and connected with Hospitallers and Carthusians in the exegesis of the Last Judgement to encourage the conversion of non-believers and to reinforce the faith of Christians in a frontier society.

In the multiconfessional society of Jews, Muslims, and Christians of medieval Iberia, the individuals of the three religions often shared living space in the cities and in the rural areas, consequently influencing each other. Non-Christians, however, were required to live in special quarters, the *aljamas*, where they were usually protected by the monarchy. In general the Castilian kings did not enforce the papal orders to mark Jews and Muslims with distinctive clothing, and the *Partidas*, the Code of Law of King

Alfonso X, clearly defended Jews from forced conversion.⁸ The climate of tolerance was somewhat reciprocal; Christian *mozárabes* lived in Muslim lands while Muslim *mudéjares* lived in Christian territories.

Although the general climate of the so-called *convivencia* or coexistence was changing in thirteenth-century Castile and Aragon, Jews were still highly regarded and were close to the royal court. While the Dominicans' most active spiritual crusade against the heretics was taking place in the economically favoured lands of southern France and northern Italy, changes were occurring in Castile as well, though shaped by a distinct historical context. Due to the multiplicity of cultures, religions, and kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, the Dominicans and Franciscans found it more challenging to convert Muslims and Jews than Christian heretics, since they were, after all, outside the realm of the Church. As an example, with a great illustration of pragmatism and mimesis, Linda Jones demonstrates the similarities between the Muslim orators and the Christian mendicant preachers who spoke in front of mixed audiences of Muslims and Christians, and how they emulated each other in order to be more effective in their sermons.

The story of late medieval Spain cannot possibly be told without understanding the great impact of the friars. As a consequence, historians are paying increasing attention to the mendicant orders in the medieval Iberian world. To this end we bring together a collection of studies written by international scholars from Spain, the United States, Canada, England, and France to explore several critical aspects of the influence of the friars in medieval Spain. While the volume is not comprehensive, we believe that it includes key historical topics of great value which should encourage further research.

8 *Partidas* (VII, 25, 2), trans. J. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, 1975), 463.