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Urban Communities and Dominican Communities in Medieval Castile-León: a Historiographical Outline

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Este trabajo pretende dar a conocer las principales líneas de investigación de la historiografía hispánica sobre la Orden de los Dominicos, y muy especialmente con relación a su vinculación con las comunidades urbanas de la Corona castellano-leonesa durante la Edad Media, al tiempo que se evidencian los aspectos que todavía deben ser objeto de un análisis más profundo.

En la primera parte se analiza de forma crítica la evolución de la historiografía hispánica sobre los frailes dominicos en la Corona castellano-leonesa, partiendo de un análisis crítico sobre el trabajo realizado por Vicente Beltrán de Heredia en 1965, seguido de una presentación de la producción posterior. Se puede afirmar que hubo un predominio de los trabajos de los historiadores pertenecientes a la propia Orden de los Dominicos hasta los años ochenta del siglo XX, cuando irrumpieron algunos historiadores ajenos a la misma.

La segunda parte del trabajo está dedicada a la historiografía hispánica sobre las monjas dominicas de Castilla y León, bastante limitada teniendo en cuenta el escaso interés generado por el desarrollo del conventualismo y del monacato femenino, sobre todo en lo referente a la época medieval.

A continuación se exponen los principales temas investigados con relación a la vinculación entre comunidades urbanas y comunidades de monjas y frailes dominicos de Castilla y León durante la Edad Media, como son los procesos de fundación e instalación en las diferentes ciudades castellano-leonesas, el papel de los frailes en las comunidades urbanas (promoviendo la conversión de musulmanes y judíos, colaborando en el desarrollo de la Inquisición, participando en las instituciones universitarias), y sobre todo, los conflictos existentes entre los dominicos y el clero laico de las ciudades.

El trabajo concluye con una presentación de aquellos aspectos que todavía deben ser objeto de investigación, tales como un análisis más completo de los procesos de fundación e instalación, pero relacionándolos con la transformación de las comunidades urbanas, el reclutamiento de monjas y frailes o la labor social de los miembros de la Orden hacia los pobres. Igualmente sería interesante estudiar el cuidado de las comunidades monásticas femeninas a cargo de frailes o clérigos urbanos, y el papel de las monjas en las ciudades medievales desde el punto de vista espiritual, económico y social. Finalmente, también sería necesario abordar la conflictividad entre dominicos y laicos, y sobre todo, profundizar en la evolución general durante la época bajo-medieval.

INTRODUCTION

The mendicant orders liked to establish themselves in urban settings in the Middle Ages, and the Dominican friars were no exception. According to the *De eruditione Praedicatorum* of Humbert of Romans, preaching was not only more effective in the cities, because there were more people, but also more necessary, given that behaviour was worse; moreover, preaching in town had an influence on the surrounding countryside, since the country tended to imitate the city¹.

In any case, religious orders that depended on organised mendicancy could be successful only in the cities. Country people had hardly enough for bare subsistence: the only places where there was a surplus that could be donated to the mendicant friars were the towns². But there were some differences: the Franciscan friars liked smaller towns, while the Dominicans settled in the bigger cities. As the famous medieval poem said:

Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Dominicus urbes³.

Study of the mendicant communities is fundamental in understanding the evolution of the medieval urban world, and this paper examines earlier historiographical work, aiming to show some of the key aspects of this relationship in the kingdom of Castile-León, and focusing on the Dominicans, including their female branch. My main interest is to show the most important aspects that have been studied up till now, and the issues that are still waiting to be explored in greater depth.

HISTORIOGRAPHY ON DOMINICAN FRIARS IN MEDIEVAL CASTILE-LEÓN

Spanish historiography has paid very little attention to the mendicant order movement in general, and the Dominicans in particular; while this does not imply a lack of studies, those that exist are clearly insufficient. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia's interesting work (1965) was presented as a critical examination of Dominican historiography for the Province of Spain up till that time, mainly related to Castile⁴. But the article turned out to be a simple commentary on pre-19th century work, mostly a description of the context of the early historiography of the Dominicans in Spain, namely the concern of the general and provincial masters for the history of the whole Order of Preachers.

The first chronicles appeared during the 16th century, and their authors presented them as works related to the history of the whole Order, although they were in practice a compilation of assorted news related to the different kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, including Castile-León. The most outstanding was the *Historia de la Orden de Santo Domingo* by Fray Hernando del Castillo, the first part published in 1584 and the second in 1592, with a continuation by Juan López appearing in 1613. The chronicle by Hernando del Castillo inspired the writers of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, who made few new contributions⁵. The material covered included hagiography, bibliographical works of the Dominicans, biographies of different provincial masters, and publication of chapter acts. But relationships between the Dominican communities

and the urban world were not reflected, even though the processes of foundation in Castilian cities have always been of interest.

Furthermore, Beltrán de Heredia's article was not complete. He did not refer to the work of Martínez-Vigil, published at the end of the 19th century, following the traditional tendency of aiming to write the history of the whole Order⁶. Nor did he mention the important "La Ciencia Tomista", a theological review on Dominican history published since 1910, nor the most recent bibliography on Dominic de Guzman, the founder of the Order of Preachers, or other friars from the kingdom of Castile-León⁷. References to Aureliano Pardo Villar's works on the Galician area were also missing⁸. But his main omission was the research that he himself, and Manuel María de los Hoyos, another Dominican, were doing from the middle of the 20th century⁹. These researchers were principally concerned with the reformation of the Order during the 15th and 16th centuries, the organization of the different provinces, and the foundation of the monastic communities in the cities.

Despite these efforts, trends in the historiography of the Dominican Order did not really develop, as far as we can see from research into historiographical works of the eighties and nineties. There were a few references to the Order of Preachers, for example Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada's work on Spanish historiography between 1939 and 1984 related to the Middle Ages. There was also the bibliographical and methodological synthesis of monastic studies by Juan Ramón Romero (1987), and José Luis Martín's article on the historiography of the Church and the religious life (1999)¹⁰. Ladero Quesada's paragraph on ecclesiastical history did not mention studies on the Dominican Order. Romero, who assembled references to different monastic orders, barely mentioned new work on the processes of foundation¹¹, and José Luis Martín did not even quote the traditional historiography.

But there was an improvement, thanks to Dominicans such as Ramón Hernández Martín, who did important work on retrieval of sources, mainly the acts of the provincial chapters and some documents about the reformation of the Order, thus following the general trend. Venancio D. Carro, another Dominican friar, worked on Dominic de Guzman. But there were also some Franciscans, like José García Oro, who aimed at a comparative analysis between both Mendicant Orders, mainly with regard to reformation¹². Finally the *Instituto Histórico Dominicano de San Esteban*, a Dominican institute for historical research, founded the review "Archivo Dominicano", a publication that has become the main dissemination channel for the history of the Order of Preachers in Spain since 1980.

Furthermore, some historians not involved in the Order became interested in the history of the Dominican friars. The first was Antonio Linaje Conde, who produced several works on the installation of the Mendicant Orders in the Iberian Peninsula, mainly the Dominicans. José Sánchez Herrero, a specialist in ecclesiastical history, also researched the Dominicans. María Teresa Barbadillo produced a doctoral dissertation on Dominic de Guzman, while several other scholars have produced monographs on particular monasteries¹³.

These three historians show that a change was taking place around that time. Up to the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, the history of the Order of Preachers had been the work of Dominican historians, and the main characteristic had been that they served some specific interests – to praise the main figures of the Order, to emphasise the characteristics of the Dominican way of life, to define the foundation process in the main cities and the provincial organization, and to describe the process of reformation in the Order. Concern with these issues gave rise to a history of the Order centred in itself, as if it had been an isolated institution without relationships with medieval society – as if the Dominican had lived apart. But the non-Dominican historians who were now beginning to research the topic brought about a change. They were still interested in the installation processes and in the history of some communities, but connected with the evolution of the surroundings, and that means bearing in mind the characteristics of the cities where the friars lived.

The outlook has been improving in the last fifteen years, thanks to lay historians interested in religious and ecclesiastical history, particularly in the history of the Dominicans. Work has increased, both on Dominic de Guzman and also on other Dominican friars who played an important role in medieval Castile¹⁴.

Work on the Mendicant Orders as a whole has also improved, examples being the studies of Javier Peña Pérez, the different articles included in the *Proceedings* of the 6th Medieval Studies Week of Nájera, the study by Santiago Aguadé Nieto, or those by Ignacio Álvarez Borge, María del Mar Graña Cid and Rita Ríos¹⁵. Peña Pérez has approached the appearance of Franciscans and Dominicans in the general context of religious reformation during the High Middle Ages, and their installation in the main cities of Castile and León in the 13th century. While Aguadé has analysed the role of the different Castilian monarchs and members of the royal family in the processes of foundation, Álvarez Borge has dealt with Mendicant Orders and feudalism in Castile, and Rita Ríos has analysed their political role during the 13th century. The above mentioned *Proceedings* include a variety of subjects, including those related to urban communities, such as work on the processes of foundation from a regional point of view, the function of the monasteries in the urban setting and in architectural development, the role of the friars in intellectual and academic development, and the relationship between the friars and the spread of religiosity and spirituality, especially in the cities.

Some other scholars are only interested in the Dominicans, examples being José Salvador y Conde, who wrote a history of the Spanish Province, or Francisco García Serrano, who firstly analysed the relationship between the Dominicans and Don Juan Manuel, one of the main literary figures in medieval Castile, and later the relationship between Preacher friars and cities in Castile-León¹⁶. Serrano's main interest was the relation between the foundation processes of different communities and urban growth; he mentioned some of the conflicts caused by such processes, and also noted the contacts between Dominicans and the universities, urban oligarchies, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the nobility, without, however, going deeply into these issues.

Some historians have studied not the whole of the kingdom of Castile, but particular regions. Such is the case of Jesús María Palomares Ibáñez, Carmen Manso Porto or María del Mar Graña Cid for Galicia, J. Toledano Galera, Álvaro Huerga and José María Miura Andrades for Andalusia, and Carlos Ayllón for Murcia¹⁷. Comparative analysis of Dominicans and Franciscans is the main characteristic of their studies, although interest settles again on the foundation processes of the different communities of friars. There are some differences, however. For example, Palomares offers some concrete data on the history of different monasteries, including documentary information, mainly on economic aspects, while Graña includes the conflicts between the friars and their surroundings, and their relationship with the monarchy. Miura presents a broad report of sources, a list of Dominican bishops and archbishops who occupied the palaces of Andalusia, and a roll of Andalusian friars assisting the monarchy; he also analyses Dominican privileges among the urban population, and their role in Andalusian cities (spiritual care for the Christian communities, missions to the Muslims, participation in war, custody of municipal documents), including conflicts related to services and pastoral care.

Finally we must mention that work devoted to specific communities of Dominican friars has increased in recent years. Studies tend to describe the social insertion processes in certain cities, architectural and artistic aspects, conflicts in the urban world, economic relationships, and cultural issues¹⁸.

But much remains to be done. Beltrán de Heredia's lament of 1965 is still relevant, when he complained about the lack of a general history of the Dominican friars for the Spanish Province¹⁹, not to mention a history of the Dominicans in Castile-León during the Middle Ages, or their role in the cities. We have seen that the historians of the Dominican Order were traditionally more interested in the relationships of each community with the Order in general, rather than in their links with the surroundings, despite the fact that cities were where Dominican communities were usually located. But this has been changing in recent years, and there is no doubt that this is the route that research must take.

At the same time we must abolish the boundary between historians working on religious issues and on those dealing with the transformations of the cities. A methodological change is also needed in research into the cities of the medieval Spanish kingdoms: this has largely ignored the development of monastic communities and the role of Dominicans in the cities. The *Proceedings* of the 29th Medieval Studies Week of Estella in 2003 are proof of this. They presented the work of a whole week devoted to urban societies in medieval Spain, but did not include even one article about urban monastic communities, not to mention the monasteries of Dominican friars, nor any reference to the problems caused by their installation, even though some of the papers refer specifically to urban conflicts²⁰.

The historians of the Order and the historians of the cities have worked in isolation until now, when it would be logical to work together to arrive at a thorough knowl-

edge of the situation; for, as Juan Ramón Romero has said, “(un monasterio) es, ante todo, una reducción a escala del mundo circundante y una de las pocas instituciones que permite, gracias a la conservación de sus documentos, acercarse al conocimiento de ese mundo”²¹ [(a monastery) is above all a reduction to scale of the surrounding world and one of the few institutions that allows us to approach the knowledge of this world through conservation of its documents]. So study of the Dominican friars’ monasteries is an essential element in understanding the life of Castilian cities in the Middle Ages.

SPANISH HISTORIOGRAPHY ON DOMINICAN NUNS’ COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL CASTILE-LEÓN

The first studies on women’s history appeared in Spain in the seventies, and even though research into contemporary history predominated at the beginning, studies on other historical periods gradually appeared²². However, Spanish historians have touched little on some topics related to women’s history, such as their role in the monastic world, a common problem with European historiography²³. It seems incredible that these historians have tended to ignore the significance of the development of female spirituality in medieval Europe from the 12th century.

Little research has been carried out into female conventualism in Spain²⁴. For example, there are no articles on this topic in the historiographical review of women’s history by María Isabel del Val Valdivieso and others²⁵. Only in two more recent works, by Margarita Cantera Montenegro and Isabel Morant, do we find some mention of studies devoted to the religious life of Spanish women²⁶ – and this despite some recent conferences on the history of female monasticism²⁷. But there is no doubt that the insufficient impact of these conferences on research into medieval female monasticism result from chronological restriction (1492-1992), which clearly marginalized most of the work related to the Middle Ages.

However, there have been some essays improving this situation, especially in the case of the Dominican nuns of medieval Castile, and this despite the fact that access to sources is very difficult, given that a lot of the communities are still in existence and the nuns are reluctant to show their documents. But researchers must overcome this impediment if they want to understand the urban phenomenon, given the special relationship between the female institutions of the Dominican Order and their surrounding urban communities. This is mainly evident in the case of the smaller towns, because these were regularly chosen as sites for Dominican convents²⁸.

Clara Rodríguez Núñez has dedicated some studies to the Dominican nuns in Galicia, following the work of Aureliano Pardo, while José María Miura Andrades has studied Andalusian nuns, who were closely connected to the communities of Beguines, and Carlos Ayllón has researched the communities of Murcia²⁹. But there is not as yet any work on Dominican nuns in the kingdom of Castile-León during the Middle Ages as a

whole, largely because the local history of most of the female monasteries of the Order of Preachers has not been completed.

Historians have traditionally been interested in the first Dominican nuns' communities. The Convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid has been most studied, with editions of sources, the origin of the institution, architecture and sculpture, comparative analyses between it and other mendicant communities, and more recently some studies that show the relationship with the urban surroundings from a economic and social point of view, such as Carlos Duart's article on the relationships with the *alfoz* [medieval county borough], Manuel Montero's research into the origin of the prioresses, the work by María Isabel del Val and Rita Ríos, and especially Juan Ramón Romero's doctoral dissertation³⁰.

There is also much detailed work on the Convent of Santa María la Real in Zamora – the third institution that the Dominican Order founded in Castile – analysing its origin, the relationships between it and the communities of *beatas* [Beguines], and conflicts with the religious authorities³¹. I shall omit here work on the Convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Caleruega, the second female monastery of the Dominican Order in Castile, given the rural character of its setting. But mention should be made of monographs and articles on other convents of Dominican nuns founded in Castilian cities during the Middle Ages, that have appeared more recently, mainly in the nineties³².

The picture is slowly being completed, therefore, although some institutions are still awaiting research, while others that have been studied still have unsolved questions, like the origin of the nuns, or the recruitment of the friars and the clergy with responsibility for the *cura monialium*, a very important aspect related to the cloister. The processes of the creation and development of each monastic patrimony, the relationships between the communities and the urban population, lay or ecclesiastical, the religious, welfare and educational functions of each community, the conflicts caused by the installation processes or the fulfilment of those functions, are all issues to be analysed. All of these elements are useful for defining the influence of each community and its relationships, not only with the nearby city but also with others located in different parts of Castile and León.

SOME RESEARCH TOPICS RELATED TO URBAN COMMUNITIES AND DOMINICAN COMMUNITIES

In spite of the lack of work on the relationships between monastic communities of the Dominican Order and the urban world of medieval Castile, some interesting topics can certainly be traced in the bibliography mentioned above.

The first interesting point for Spanish historians has been the establishment of a chronology for the foundation of the Dominican monastic communities in the main Spanish cities, starting with the arrival of the first friars in 1217 – an event which happened even before Fernando III united the two kingdoms in 1230 to form Castile-León. The

chronology is rather confused, because most of the monasteries claimed to have been founded by Dominic de Guzman himself, in his travels around the Iberian Peninsula during the autumn of 1218. It is clear, however, that these monasteries were set up on the outskirts of flourishing cities, towns with political or cultural prestige, where industry and the trade were growing activities³³.

Royal patronage was very important during the 13th century, especially under Alfonso X, when the network of monasteries extended to the small towns as well; large monasteries were built here, especially for female communities. Some convents were also located in the cities of regions that had previously been left out, such as Galicia or Andalusia, where the expansion took place at the same time as the Spanish Christian Reconquest from the Muslims³⁴. So when the Dominican Provincial Chapter met in 1299, the Order had 44 male monasteries located in the whole Iberian Peninsula, half of them in Castile³⁵; but there were only three communities for nuns, those in Madrid, Caleruega and Zamora³⁶.

The situation during the 14th and 15th centuries has not much interested scholars up to now. The only figures for the Late Middle Ages are from Hoyos, who counted 65 male communities and 27 female ones in Castile-León³⁷. But these figures must be checked, because at least 36 female communities have been located for the beginning of the 16th century³⁸.

Another topic of interest for Spanish historians has been the role of the Dominicans in Castilian urban communities during the Middle Ages, which they usually shared with the Franciscans.

Firstly the spiritual functions must be mentioned. It seems that the friars managed the main dioceses; they were responsible for the pastoral care of the Christian population, and also for the work of conversion of Muslims from the 13th century onwards. The Dominicans began to enlarge this activity to the Jews during the 15th century, when friars like Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican from Valencia, preached in the cities of Castile-León in an attempt to convert the Jewish population. Dominicans would later play a significant role in the treatment given to Jews and converts, and in the development of the Inquisition³⁹.

Dominican participation in the universities has also attracted the attention of scholars. The Preachers had *studia generalia* and provincial institutions in cities such as Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela, Burgos and Valladolid⁴⁰. They did important work here, which benefited not only members of the Order but also other students. In this way, too, they could take part in university life; for example, the Dominican prior was a member of the court that solved disputes between the members of the University of Salamanca⁴¹.

The most common topic of research in Spanish historiography is that related to the conflicts between the Dominicans and the secular clergy of the cities where they lived, in which laymen also sometimes participated. This was not a phenomenon unique to the

Castile-León kingdom, but was common to the whole of Europe⁴². But it was especially serious in Castilian cities, where the Church had lost wealth due to the agrarian crisis of the second half of the 13th century, so that the friars had to compete with parish clergy, bishops, the clergy of the cathedrals and the older religious orders⁴³. When the Dominican friars settled in the cities, the traditional clergy lost some of the gifts and the income from work done by priests, while the relationship between Dominicans and the urban population in non-religious matters was increasing. This situation was largely beyond the bishops' control, since the friars were under purely Papal jurisdiction⁴⁴. The secular clergy blamed the Dominicans for the economic situation and the reaction was often very violent.

Spanish historiography has recorded numerous examples, mainly from the 13th century. The Dominicans of Palencia confronted Bishop Tello and the cathedral clergy in 1233⁴⁵. There was also a dispute in Burgos, where conflicts between friars and cathedral clergy began in 1250, when Pope Innocent IV gave the Preachers permission to bury laymen in their churches and cemeteries; they also fought in subsequent years, because the Dominicans wanted to build their new monastery near the cathedral⁴⁶. The bishop of Zamora, Suero Pérez de Velasco, defied the friars, who were not allowed to preach, to have relationships with laymen, or to minister to the Dominican nuns of the city; some nuns were also expelled from their convent⁴⁷.

There were also some conflicts in the cities in Galicia. The bishop of Tuy threatened those helping to build the Dominican monastery with excommunication, and the clergy of Lugo cathedral stopped the construction of the Dominican monastery and expelled the friars in 1276. The clergy of Santiago de Compostela cathedral rejected the appointment of Rodrigo González as archbishop, because he was the Dominican provincial master⁴⁸.

Finally it is interesting to mention the intervention of Pope Honorius IV in September 1285, when the Preachers of the Spanish Province complained about some bishops who persecuted them⁴⁹, and that of King Sancho IV, who had to place the Dominican communities of the Castile kingdom under the protection of the Monastery of *San Pablo* in Burgos in 1288, in order to avoid the improper attitudes of bishops and secular clergy⁵⁰.

CONCLUSION

This description of Spanish historiography on Dominican and urban communities in Castile-León shows that much work remains to be done.

Studies need to be carried out on the foundation and installation processes of Dominican monasteries and convents and their characteristics, including their relation to changes in urban communities. Another point of interest is the recruitment of nuns and friars. Historians have paid very little attention to Dominican duties such as social work with the poor, to the care of female communities by friars or urban clergy, or to

the role of nuns in the medieval cities from a spiritual, economic and social point of view – all questions of great interest. Also requiring study are the conflicts between Preachers and laymen. Finally, although the situation during 13th century is quite well-researched, analysis of the situation in the following centuries, with the significant late medieval crisis, remains to be studied.

These new topics of research would help us to define the changes in the relationship between Dominicans and urban society. It would, in short, be a way to better understand the urban phenomenon in medieval Castile-León.

NOTES

- ¹ J. Le Goff, *Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale*, “Annales E.S.C.”, 25, 1970, p. 929.
- ² C.H. Lawrence, *El monacato medieval. Formas de vida religiosa en Europa occidental durante la Edad Media*, Madrid 1999, pp. 304-305.
- ³ J. Le Goff, *Les ordres mendiants*, in *Moines et religieux au Moyen Age*, Paris 1994, p. 232.
- ⁴ V. Beltrán de Heredia, *Examen crítico de la historiografía dominicana en las Provincias de España y particularmente en Castilla*, “Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum”, 35, 1965, pp. 195-248.
- ⁵ The work of J. de Marieta, J. de la Parra and A. de Lorea stood out in the 17th century, those of J. Sarabia y Lezama, M. de Medrano, T. de Aróstegui and P. de Larrainzar in the 18th century, and finally those of M. Herrero and J. M. Suárez in the 19th century. They were all members of the Dominican Order.
- ⁶ R. Martínez-Vigil, *La Orden de Predicadores. Sus glorias, su santidad, apostolado, ciencias, artes y gobierno de los pueblos, seguidas del ensayo de una Biblioteca de Dominicos españoles*, Madrid-Paris 1884.
- ⁷ About Dominic de Guzman: L. González Alonso-Getino, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán escrita por el Beato Jordán de Sajonia*, Vergara 1916; Id., *Los nueve modos de orar del señor Santo Domingo*, “La Ciencia Tomista”, 70, 1921; Id., *Origen del rosario y leyendas castellanas del siglo XIII sobre Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, Vergara 1925; Id., *Santo Domingo de Guzmán, prototipo del apóstol medieval*, Madrid 1939; Id., *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, Madrid 1939; R. Castaño, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, Barcelona 1909; F. Díez Pardo, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, Vergara 1935; D. Díez de Triana, *Santo Domingo, apóstol universitario*, Barcelona 1945; R. Fernández Álvarez, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán. Consideraciones históricas sobre su vida*, Buenos Aires 1946; M. Gelabert - J.M. Milagro - J.M. de Garganta, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán visto por sus contemporáneos*, Madrid 1947; J.M. Macías, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán, fundador de la Orden de Predicadores*, Madrid 1979. About other Dominican friars: L. González Alonso-Getino, *Capítulos provinciales y priores provinciales de la Orden de Santo Domingo en España*, “La Ciencia Tomista”, 13, 1916, pp. 67-96, 210-244; Id., *Dominicos españoles confesores de reyes*, “La Ciencia Tomista”, 14, 1916, pp. 374-451; Id., *Vida y obra de fray Lope de Barrientos*, Salamanca 1927; M. Gaibrois, *Fray Munio de Zamora*, in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften. Eine Festgabe zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag Geh. Rat Prof. Dr. Heinrich Finke*, Münster 1925, pp. 135-154.
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- ⁴³ P. Linehan, *La iglesia española y el papado en el siglo XIII*, Salamanca 1975, p. 195.
- ⁴⁴ García Serrano, *Mundo* cit., p. 267.
- ⁴⁵ Aguadé, *Alfonso X* cit., p. 282.
- ⁴⁶ Linehan, *Tale* cit., pp. 83-88. García Serrano, *Preachers* cit., pp. 83-85. García Serrano, *Mundo* cit., p. 268.
- ⁴⁷ Linehan, *Ladies* cit., pp. 2-3, 7, 11-23, 45-55, 60, 64, 78, 105.
- ⁴⁸ Graña Cid, *Franciscanismo* cit., pp. 247-248.
- ⁴⁹ Linehan, *Ladies* cit., p. 2.
- ⁵⁰ Hoyos, *Doña María* cit., p. 655.

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