

# The Role of the Mendicant Orders in the Political Life of Castile and León in the Later 13th Century

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Los frailes mendicantes, cuya presencia en Castilla y León fue previa a la unificación de ambos reinos, en el año 1230, intervinieron activamente en la vida política del mismo durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, tal y como pone de manifiesto el análisis de algunos de los asuntos políticos más importantes de ese período.

Por un lado, en el fecho del Imperio, expresión que hace referencia a las aspiraciones del rey Alfonso X al trono imperial alemán. Franciscanos y dominicos actuaron como mediadores y embajadores ante la Santa Sede al servicio del rey castellano-leonés, aunque sin mucho éxito.

Por otro lado, en el problema de la sucesión de Alfonso X. El monarca dudaba entre sus nietos, los hijos de su primogénito, el malogrado Fernando de la Cerda, y el infante Sancho, que fue el que finalmente accedió al trono. En líneas generales, la mayoría de los frailes, sobre todo los dominicos, se mostraron siempre al lado del rey Sabio, y prueba de su influencia es que incluso fueron utilizados por el Papa Nicolás III para mediar en el conflicto.

Finalmente, con relación a la legitimación del matrimonio entre Sancho IV y María de Molina, que no podían contraer matrimonio por el grado de parentesco existente entre ambos. El monarca se sirvió de los franciscanos para negociar ante el Papado, mientras que algún dominico se vio implicado en la elaboración de una bula falsa que reconocía dicho matrimonio, aunque todos ellos fracasaron.

De todos modos, y a pesar de su éxito desigual, franciscanos y dominicos obtuvieron su recompensa: los diferentes monarcas no dudan en cederles privilegios y bienes, prueba del grado de influencia que habían alcanzado estas dos órdenes mendicantes.



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## INTRODUCTION

The presence of Mendicant Orders in Castile and León, particularly Franciscans and Dominicans, dates back to the unification of the two kingdoms in a single political body in 1230. Castile and León became united in the person of Ferdinand III. He had inherited the Castile

Kingdom through his mother, Queen Berenguela, and when Alfonso IX, his father, died, Ferdinand became King of León. It was during Ferdinand's reign that the presence of Franciscans and Dominicans became more evident. The number of monastic foundations of both orders increased; their members showing up as preachers, working at Universities, occupying some Episcopal Sees and in some cases, acting as confessors to the royal family<sup>1</sup>.

Little by little, the Friars made their presence felt in court and on the royal scene, especially during the second half of the 13th century, coinciding with the reigns of Alfonso X "the Learned" (1252-1284) and Sancho IV (1284-1295), and with Ferdinand's IV minority (1295-1301). By that time the rulers turned to the services of Franciscans and Dominicans in the course of their political activity.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the degree of participation and involvement of Franciscans and Dominicans in three main aspects of the political activity of the kingdoms of Castile and León in the second half of the 13th century: the *fecho del Imperio*, the succession of Alfonso X, and the legitimisation of the matrimony between Sancho IV and Mary of Molina. This way we hope to achieve our main aim, i.e. to define the main features of the political collaboration between the Castile and León monarchy and the Franciscan and Dominican Friars during the second half of the 13th century.

## THE FECHO DEL IMPERIO

The expression *fecho del Imperio* refers to Alfonso's claims to the throne of the Holy Rome Empire. The monarch of Castile and León tried to uphold a right acquired through his mother Beatriz Hohenstaufen, daughter of Emperor Philip of Swabia and granddaughter of both Frederic I Barbarossa and the Byzantine Emperor, Isaac II. Alfonso's first opportunity to claim the Imperial Throne was in 1254. That was when the German Emperor, Conrad IV, the son of Frederic II, died. But the Pope appointed William of Holland as Emperor, and Alfonso had to wait for William's death in 1256 to defend his own rights forcefully<sup>2</sup>.

The cities of Pisa and Marseille, with which he negotiated in 1256, were Alfonso's first allies. He first dealt with Bandino Lancia, Pisa's ambassador in Soria in March, and afterwards, in September and in Segovia with Marseille's representatives<sup>3</sup>. In those negotiations two persons were involved; on the one hand the Dominican Friar Esteban, and on the other hand, the Franciscan Friar Lorenzo of Portugal, bishop of Ceuta, in charge of preaching the Crusade in Spain<sup>4</sup>. We may note that from the outset, mendicant friars took part in one of the most important political affairs of the second half of the 13th century in the Kingdom of Castile and León.

Further on, in 1257, prince electors gathered in order to appoint the new German Emperor. Part of them chose Alfonso X, while the rest chose Richard of Cornwall. Thus the dispute of the election lasted 15 years<sup>5</sup>. During that long period, the role of Franciscans and Dominicans in the service of the ruler of Castile and León became more obvious. Alfonso X entrusted them with missions to Rome to obtain the support of the various Popes. The monarch entrusted the whole negotiation with the papacy to certain members of the most important mendicant orders, because of their presence and influence in the papal Curia.

Among those chosen, one stood out: Friar Domingo Suárez, a Franciscan who first travelled to Rome in 1258 to defend the rights of the king of Castile and León against Pope Alexander IV. He travelled again in 1263 but in that case in order to get the support of pope Urban IV<sup>6</sup>; he by then occupied the Holy See of Avila. In neither of those occasions did he succeed in his intent; the highest authorities were never favourable to Alfonso's claims. Pope Clement IV went even further, trying to convince the 'Learned King' to desist from his project. For that purpose he engaged the archbishop of Seville, the Dominican Raymond of Lausanne, in 1265<sup>7</sup>.

Despite the Pope's refusal, Alfonso insisted on defending his ambitions, oddly and from then on, through the intercession of a Dominican friar. The monarch thought that, as Clement IV had made use of a Friar Preacher (Raymond of Lausanne), that Order enjoyed greater influence over the Pope. In future negotiations he would never again turn to Franciscans but rather to a Dominican, Friar Aimar, who later became bishop of Avila. This Friar Preacher was a member of the delegation sent to Rome, first in 1271 to deal with Pope Gregory X and again, for the same purpose, in 1274<sup>8</sup>.

However, the intercession of the Dominican was no more effective than that of his predecessor, the Franciscan ambassador, as in 1273 the imperial electors appointed Rudolf of Habsburg Emperor (Rudolf had been personally chosen by the Pope when Richard of Cornwall died). That did not deter Alfonso from trying: he even had a personal interview with Gregory X in Beaucaire in 1275, but he never was able to impose his rights. In fact, and again through the archbishop of Seville, Raymond of Lausanne, the Pope begged the King to put an end to his attempts, and Alfonso had no alternative but to give up, specially because some other matters back in the kingdom of Castile and León required his attention, the main one being the problem of the succession to the throne<sup>9</sup>.

We can then conclude that the first participation of Franciscans and Dominicans in the political framework of the Kingdom of Castile and León occurred in the context of the *fecho del Imperio*, even though their duties were merely to serve as mediators and Alfonso's ambassadors. They succeeded when dealing with some cities, but failed in convincing the different Popes. They complied with their role of mediators, but their achievements were limited.

## STRUGGLE FOR THE SUCCESSION OF ALFONSO X

Though the system of succession to the throne of Castile and León had been based on inheritance since the 10th century, until the middle of the 13th century this rule had never been written down. It was king Alfonso X who registered it in his famous law code, *Las Siete Partidas*. However, the ruler introduced several changes regarding what up to then had been usual<sup>10</sup>. This gave rise to a serious and long political struggle, in which Franciscans and Dominicans performed a very important task.

In contrast to what had become the traditional right of succession, in which the rights of the deceased monarch went to his brother, Alfonso X introduced a novelty, the so-called Representative Right. The heir's children would then be included in the line of succession, even though the heir might have been dead before becoming King<sup>11</sup>. The Learned King

could have never imagined that, in 1275, he would be forced to apply that principle, as his heir, Prince Ferdinand de la Cerda, died during Alfonso's life. Following *Las Siete Partidas*, Ferdinand's rights had to be transferred to his eldest son, Prince Alfonso, but the monarch himself decided to break the law that he had codified.

We must bear in mind that the nobility of the kingdom of Castile and León preferred another one of Alfonso's sons, Prince Sancho, who had recently led an important victory over the Benimerin Muslims. In order to avoid an uprising of the nobles, the King decided to recognise Sancho as his heir in the Cortes at Burgos in 1276. However, the children of Ferdinand de la Cerda also had their allies, among them, their uncle Philip III, King of France. Alfonso X negotiated with the King of France the surrender of the kingdom of Jaén to his first-born grandson in order to avoid confrontation. Sancho objected, and the relationship between father and son deteriorated. Finally Sancho decided to call the Cortes at Valladolid in 1282 to depose his father <sup>12</sup>.

Most of the Friars supported Alfonso X. These were Franciscans such as Friar Ferdinand, Bishop of Burgos, as well as a long list of Dominicans: Friar Munio of Zamora, prior in the province of Spain; Raymond of Lausanne, Archbishop of Seville; Friar Patella, the Dominican prior of Palencia; Friar Domingo, the Dominican prior of León; Friar Suero, bishop of Cadiz, and Friar Aimar, by then bishop-elect of Avila <sup>13</sup>. Others, however, such as the Franciscan Friar Ferdinand of Covarrubias, bishop of Burgos, after first supporting Alfonso X, changed sides, moving closer to Sancho <sup>14</sup>.

It is obvious that, in general, the Dominicans supported Alfonso's party. Sancho was not unaware of that, so in 1282 he took under his protection all the Dominican Friar Preachers under his protection, probably with the intention of getting favour and help from the Order; however he did not succeed in his attempt <sup>15</sup>.

The collaboration between Alfonso X and the Dominicans had always been very close. The ruler had established a very special bond with the Dominicans since the very beginning of his reign, as he wished to lay the foundations of an incipient Castilian nationalism. The Learned King had given Castile supremacy over all his kingdoms and indeed St. Domingo, the founder of the Friar Preachers' Order, was born in that kingdom, to be exact, in the villa of Caleruega. In that town the Learned King founded in 1266 a female monastic community, the convent of St. Domingo of Caleruega, as a place dedicated to the ideological celebration of his lineage <sup>16</sup>.

We must not forget that the monarch of Castile and León had entrusted the Friar Preachers with the negotiation with the Pope regarding the *fecho del Imperio*; besides, he had also asked Franciscans and Dominicans to deal with bishops and noblemen in troubled situations such as that in the Cortes at Burgos in 1272. On that occasion three Friars Minor were chosen: Friar Tello, Friar Diego Ruiz and Friar John Reveca, as well as two Dominicans: Friar Martin and Friar Domingo, both of them from the Palencia monastery <sup>17</sup>.

Thus Sancho's rebellion against Alfonso X strengthened the existing close alliance between the monarch of Castile and León and the Mendicant Orders, especially with the Order of the Friar Preachers, whose members did not hesitate to support the King. It is hardly surprising then that Pope Nicholas II, when taking part in the conflict, chose mem-

bers of those two Orders. He tried to solve the confrontations between father and son through the most representative ambassadors of both institutions: Jerome of Ascoli, the Franciscan General; and John of Vercelli, the Dominican General Master <sup>18</sup>.

But not even the Pope managed to solve the problem. In fact, King Alfonso X imposed his authority on Sancho with the help of the Benimerin Muslims and some other loyal cities. He took the designation as his heir away from his son, returning all succession rights to the children of Ferdinand de la Cerda. However, this decision did not take effect in reality, since it was Sancho who was finally crowned when his father died on 4 April 1284 <sup>19</sup>.

We can then conclude that both Franciscans and Dominicans played an important role in the struggle for Alfonso's succession, especially in the confrontation between the ruler and his son Sancho IV. They took part not only as mediators, but they, Franciscans and Dominicans, took sides. Most of them took up a favourable stance towards the Learned King, especially the Dominicans, due to the special link between the King and the Order, which was helping the monarch to promote Castilian supremacy. Thus, despite Sancho's continuous attempts, the Friars decided to help the King, as they had so many times before.

## LEGITIMATING THE MATRIMONY OF SANCHO IV

Prince Sancho married Mary of Molina in 1282, before succeeding to the throne. The matrimony took place without the King's permission and without the papal dispensation, both necessary in view of the close degree of kinship between the couple. Mary was the daughter of Prince Alfonso of Molina, brother of Ferdinand III; hence she was Alfonso's cousin. Besides, she had been the godmother of Violante, Sancho's illegitimate daughter. And what is more, the Pope had not yet revoked Sancho's previous marriage with Guillermina of Montcada. It is hardly surprising then that Martin IV ordered them to leave each other. However the spouses refused to do so, and that, along with Sancho's rebellion against his father, forced the Pope to excommunicate them in 1283 <sup>20</sup>.

Once crowned, one of Sancho's main concerns was to obtain the Pope's dispensation in order to remove all obstacles to his union with Mary of Molina. Without this dispensation, their children's legitimacy and the dynasty's future were in doubt. Sancho's heir, Prince Ferdinand, born by the end of 1285 <sup>21</sup>, could never rule if he were considered the offspring of an unlawful marriage. In that case the crown would go to his nephew, Alfonso, heir of Ferdinand de la Cerda, from whom Sancho had already seized the throne.

To avoid this, Sancho IV looked for the Franciscans' help. He had always felt a special devotion to St. Francis of Assisi, maybe because Friar John Gil of Zamora, a Franciscan, had been in charge of his education. The monarch liked to use Franciscan monasteries as a residence, and immediately after being crowned he renewed all the privileges this Order had in Galicia and Castile. He also warned the bishops of the kingdom not to disturb the Friars Minor. He allowed them to hear confession and preach at liberty <sup>22</sup>. It is not surprising then that after the fruitless negotiations carried out with Martin IV and Honorius IV to obtain the marriage dispensation, and due to the fact that in 1288 the former Franciscan General, Jerome of Ascoli, occupied the throne of St. Peter as Nicholas IV <sup>23</sup>, Sancho IV decided to increase his traditional politics of promoting and protecting the Friars Minor Order, so as to favour the new Pope's ideals.

In February 1288 when the Pope occupied the throne of St. Peter, the ruler of Castile and León confirmed all the privileges that the Franciscan monasteries in Castile possessed, probably with the intention of winning the Pope's favour. Besides that, the ruler decided to entrust the negotiating process at the Holy See to two Franciscan Friars from his kingdom: Friar Gonzalo and Friar Nicholas, whom he sent to Rome in November 1289. The following year, while dealing with the King of France, a traditional papal ally, Sancho confirmed the Friars Minor their rights to preach, confess and bury<sup>24</sup>. But none of these moves had a positive effect on the Pope, and the dispensation never arrived. Nevertheless, that did not prevent Sancho IV from wearing the Friars Minor habit when he died on 25 April 1295<sup>25</sup>.

The Dominican Friars also tried to solve Sancho's problem. We must bear in mind that, despite Sancho's devotion to St. Francis, he did not forget about protecting the Dominicans. In 1285 he granted the Friars Preacher Order with a general confirmation of their privileges as well as certain exemptions specific for the Dominicans kingdom of León. Further on, he granted the Friars Preachers of the kingdom of Castile a very important privilege in 1288: that of inheriting from their relatives. He confirmed all their real and ecclesiastic privileges, forbidding any attempt to harm them. In 1290 he granted the Dominicans of Castile the same privileges that those of León had<sup>26</sup>.

In the concession of all these privileges, the personal friendship relation between Sancho IV and Friar Munio of Zamora was decisive. Friar Munio had been the Dominicans Provincial Prior since 1281 and Friar Preachers General Master since 1285. He took the chair at the General Chapter of the Order held at the request of the Monarch in Palencia in 1291. The King defrayed all the expenses and was present. Further on, when friar Munio was deposed as General Master, Sancho gave him an allowance. The King also sent him on a diplomatic mission to France in 1294, in order to arrange the marriage between Princess Beatriz of Castile and Louis, son of the French ruler. At the same time Friar Munio was pressing the Palencia Chapter to elect him Bishop of the diocese. He occupied that post until 1296, when, once the King Sancho died, Pope Boniface VIII made him resign<sup>27</sup>.

Queen Mary of Molina also showed a very protective attitude towards the Dominicans. She ordered the building of two Dominican monasteries, one in Toro, where one of her children, Prince Henry, was buried, and the other one in Valladolid, where Prince Alfonso, another of her sons, was buried in 1291. She also favoured the monasteries of St. Paul in Burgos and St. Domingo in Benavente<sup>28</sup>.

The Dominican Friars' fear of losing that protection made them fight in the Roman Curia to get the long-desired dispensation for Sancho and Mary's union. In this respect, the performance of Friar Nicholas of Terviso, Friar Padrón, and the Dominicans from Monastery of St. Paul in Burgos was remarkable<sup>29</sup>.

But what most strikes our attention regarding the Dominicans' performance in this issue, was the involvement of one of their members, Friar Peter Hispanus, along with three other people, in the making up a false Bull, on 25 March 1292, to legitimate the King's marriage. The Bull was attributed to Nicholas IV. Peter, a Friar of Hispanic origin, lived in the Roman Monastery of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, and considered himself to be the King's solicitor. It seems he had persuaded a priest and a Papal Chancellery official to take part in

the forgery, carried out after Nicholas IV died, sometime during that period of more than two years that the Holy See was vacant. Friar Peter Hispanus himself then took the Bull to Seville in order to show it to Sancho IV, who spread the news of its existence all across the Kingdom. This circumstance aroused the Roman Cardinals' suspicions, and they started questioning the Papal Chancellery officials. At the same time a priest was arrested, and soon confessed the fraud: the document turned out to be false. The Dominican instigator of the forgery was never arrested, but Boniface VIII invalidated the supposed Bull on 21 March 1297, two years after Sancho's death <sup>30</sup>.

In 1295 Sancho's and Mary's son received his subjects homage in a ceremony where the Dominican friar Munio of Zamora, Bishop of Palencia, was present <sup>31</sup>. However, the legitimacy of the new King, Ferdinand IV, was still in doubt. The King's position, as a child under age, continued to be questioned, and the Friars tried to consolidate it. When the representatives of the cities forming the Hermandad [Brotherhood] of Castile decided in 1296 to join together to show their support to Ferdinand IV, as opposed to the claims of his uncle Prince John, they chose to hold their meeting at Dominican Monastery of St. Paul in Palencia <sup>32</sup>.

Finally, and in order to avoid bigger problems, Pope Boniface VIII decided to legitimate the children born from Sancho and Mary's union, in a Bull granted on 6 September 1301 <sup>33</sup>. From a canonical point of view, the problem was then solved, but the children of Ferdinand de la Cerda kept claiming their rights to the throne of Castile and León. Even some of King Alfonso's brothers tried to take advantage of the situation to claim their rights. For example, prince Henry, who dealt with the confessor of Mary of Molina, the Franciscan Friar Peter Ruiz, put forward a claim in 1303 <sup>34</sup>. But none of these opponents managed to get hold of the throne, and Sancho's descendants continued to be kings of Castile and León.

The help given by Franciscans and Dominicans in the process of legitimising Sancho's and Mary's marriage was not very effective in resolving the struggle. However, Queen Mary of Molina never forgot their collaboration and included both Orders in her various wills <sup>35</sup>. In the first of them, drafted in 1308, the Queen ordered the celebration of a series of masses for her soul's salvation in the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in Valladolid and Toro. She also ordered a 300 *maravedies* donation for the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in cities of Castile and León: Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, Toledo, Salamanca, Toro, Ciudad Rodrigo and Palenzuela. In her second and final will, drafted days before her death, in 1321 in the St. Francis of Valladolid monastery, she left some income for the Toro and Valladolid Dominicans, so they could finish building their monasteries. She also ordered the Toro friars to celebrate an anniversary for the salvation of her soul. She left them money for food and clothing; and donated 2,000 *maravedies* for the works in the Toro monastery of the nuns of St. Clare. Besides, she specified that she should be buried in the Dominican habit. Even though she died in the Franciscan Monastery of Valladolid, this wish was fulfilled <sup>36</sup>.

In conclusion, Sancho IV wanted to involve the Franciscan Friars in the defence of his marriage's legitimacy, and for that purpose he did not hesitate to give them all privileges in order to obtain their backing, especially that of Pope Nicholas IV, who had belonged to that Order. But their success was not great. The Dominicans, who did not want to lose their privileges, also fought to obtain the marriage dispensation, to the extent of taking

part in the production of a forged Bull. But neither of the Orders achieved the monarchs' final aim, though both saw their efforts rewarded, as Queen Mary of Molina's will shows.

## CONCLUSION

It is obvious, then, that after the arrival of two of the main mendicant Orders, the Friars Minor and Friar Preachers in the Kingdom of Castile and León during the second half of the 13th Century (including the reigns of Alfonso X, Sancho IV and Ferdinand III, as well as the minority of Ferdinand IV) their role in the political activity of the Kingdom, always in the service of the monarchy, was very important.

The first relevant political affair in which they took part was the *fecho del Imperio*, when they acted as ambassadors for the Learned King, mainly to the Holy See. Probably this was due to the influence of both the Franciscans and the Dominicans in the Papal Curia. They quickly exchanged their role of mediators for a more active one. They took part in the confrontation between Alfonso X and Sancho IV because of Alfonso's succession, and largely supported the Learned King. And finally they, especially the Dominicans, tried to solve the problem of the lack of papal dispensation for the marriage between Sancho IV and Mary of Molina. However in this matter they did not achieve much success and they always acted in return for the monarchy's protection.

The participation of Franciscans and Dominicans in the political life of the Kingdom of Castile and León started to have an important role during the second half of the 13th century, showing to what extent both mendicant Orders' influence had gained ground since their introduction in the Kingdom. Their participation afterwards increased, although those future developments lie chronologically beyond the limits of this chapter.



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For general information about Dominicans in Castile and León, see L. González Alonso-Getino, *Dominicos españoles confesores de reyes*, in "La Ciencia Tomista", XIV, 1916, pp. 374-45; F. García Serrano, *Preachers of the City. The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217-1348)*, New Orleans 1997. For general information about Franciscans in the kingdom of Castile and León, see J. García Oro, *Francisco de Asís en la España medieval*, Santiago de Compostela 1988; *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, del 31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1995. Espiritualidad y franciscanismo*, Logroño 1996. There is general information about both in S. Aguadé Nieto, *Alfonso X y las órdenes mendicantes*, in "Saxonia Franciscana", 10, 1998, pp. 277-302.
- <sup>2</sup> J.F. O'Callaghan, *El Rey Sabio. El reinado de Alfonso X de Castilla*, Seville 1996, pp. 243-245.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245. See also in this same series, from the Pisan point of view, E. Salvatori, *Pisa in the Middle Ages. The Dream and the Reality of Empire*, in S. Ellis (ed.), *Empires and States in European Perspective*, Pisa 2002, pp. 13-34.
- <sup>4</sup> A. Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, Barcelona 1963, p. 155. P. Linehan, *La Iglesia española y el Papado en el siglo XIII*, Salamanca 1975, p. 177.
- <sup>5</sup> O'Callaghan, *El Rey Sabio* cit., p. 246.
- <sup>6</sup> J.M. Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y poder real en Castilla. El episcopado. 1250-1350*, Madrid 1988, pp. 54-55.
- <sup>7</sup> O'Callaghan, *El Rey Sabio* cit., p. 255.
- <sup>8</sup> Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y poder real* cit., pp. 55-56. Domínguez Sánchez S., *Documentos de Gregorio X (1272-1276) refer-*



- entes a España, León 1997, 35, pp. 139-144, 109, pp. 238-240.
- <sup>9</sup> O'Callaghan, *El Rey Sabio* cit., pp. 259, 278, 280.
- <sup>10</sup> L. García de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de las Instituciones españolas. De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media*, Madrid 1968, p. 434.
- <sup>11</sup> *Las Siete Partidas*, Partida 2, Title 15, Law 2 (ed. Juárez Blanquer A. Rubio Flores A., Granada, 1991).
- <sup>12</sup> O'Callaghan, *El Rey Sabio* cit., pp. 285-287, 299 y 309-311.
- <sup>13</sup> See information about Friar Aimar's role in Source 1.
- <sup>14</sup> Linehan, *La Iglesia española* cit., p. 196; *The Ladies of Zamora*, Manchester 1997, pp. 110-111. Ballesteros, Alfonso X el Sabio, pp. 967 y 997. S. Domínguez Sánchez, *Documentos de Nicolás III (1277-1280) referentes a España*, León 1999, docs. 160-165, pp. 414-422.
- <sup>15</sup> Linehan, *La Iglesia española* cit., p. 195.
- <sup>16</sup> Aguadé Nieto, Alfonso X cit., pp. 289-292. See Source 2.
- <sup>17</sup> *Crónica del rey don Alfonso décimo*, chapter XXVI, in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. Rosell C., Madrid 1953.
- <sup>18</sup> S. Moreta Velayos, *Notas sobre el franciscanismo y el dominicanismo de Sancho IV y María de Molina*, in *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, del 31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1995. Espiritualidad y franciscanismo*, Logroño 1996, p. 174.
- <sup>19</sup> O'Callaghan, *El Rey Sabio* cit., p. 320.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 311-316. Moreta Velayos, *Notas sobre el franciscanismo* cit., p. 173. E. Jaffé. H. Finke, *La dispensa de matrimonio falsificada para el rey Sancho IV y María de Molina*, in "Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español", IV (1927), pp. 299-301.
- <sup>21</sup> C. González Mínguez, *Fernando IV de Castilla (1295-1312). La guerra civil y el predominio de la nobleza*, Valladolid 1976, p. 29.
- <sup>22</sup> J.M. Nieto Soria, *Sancho IV (1284-1295)*, Palencia 1994, pp. 34, 106 y 160. Linehan, *La Iglesia española* cit., p. 195. García Oro, *Francisco de Asís*, p. 548.
- <sup>23</sup> Moreta Velayos, *Notas sobre el franciscanismo* cit., p. 174.
- <sup>24</sup> M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Sancho IV de Castilla*, Madrid 1922, vol. 1, p. 213, vol. 2, p. 55. Moreta Velayos, *Notas sobre el franciscanismo* cit., pp. 174-175.
- <sup>25</sup> See Source 3.
- <sup>26</sup> Linehan, *La Iglesia española* cit., p. 195. Gaibrois, *Sancho IV*, vol. 3, doc. 51, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV, doc. 78, p. L, doc. 296, pp. CLXXV-CLXXVI. Records of the Monastery of St. Domingo el Real in Caleruega, case 5, number 22.
- <sup>27</sup> M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Fray Munio de Zamora*, en *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften. Eine Festgabe zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Geh. Rat Prof. Dr. Heinrich Finke*, Münster 1925, pp. 102-114, 130-135 y 142; *Sancho IV*, vol. 2, pp. 278, 307 y 351. M.M. Hoyos, *Doña María de Molina*, in "Boletín de la Institución Fernán González", LI, 180 (1973), p. 646. A. Benavides, *Memorias de Fernando IV de Castilla*, Madrid 1860, vol. 2, pp. 54 y 56-58. See information about Sancho IV and the Palencia Chapter in Source 4.
- <sup>28</sup> M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *María de Molina. Tres veces reina*, Madrid 1967, pp 62 y 151. Hoyos, *Doña María de Molina*, 1972, pp. 294, 311 y 315, 1973, p. 663. See information about Mary of Molina and the monasteries of Toro and Valladolid in Source 5.
- <sup>29</sup> Hoyos, *Doña María de Molina*, 1972, p. 303.
- <sup>30</sup> Jaffé y Finke, *La dispensa de matrimonio falsificada*, pp. 307-308.
- <sup>31</sup> Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y poder real* cit., p. 151.
- <sup>32</sup> González Mínguez, *Fernando IV de Castilla*, pp. 48-49.
- <sup>33</sup> Gaibrois, *María de Molina*, p. 125. Moreta Velayos, *Notas sobre el franciscanismo*, p. 177.
- <sup>34</sup> González Mínguez, *Fernando IV de Castilla*, p. 162.
- <sup>35</sup> Moreta Velayos, *Notas sobre el franciscanismo*, pp. 182-184.
- <sup>36</sup> See Source 5.



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1. C. Rosell (ed.), *Crónica del rey don Alfonso décimo*, Madrid 1953, chapter LXXV.

*É despues el rey don Alfonso fabló con los de su consejo que si avia y alguno que le quisiese cometer este pleito de don Alfonso su nieto al infante don Sancho, é ninguno de los suyos nunca le quiso acometer nin se atrevió a gelo decir. É avia y un fraile predicador que avia nombre frey Aimar, que era electo de Avila, é dijo al Rey que él gelo quería decir de sy parte si él quisiese, é dijo el Rey que le placia, é este frey Aimar fué al infante don Sancho é fabló con él en su poridad.*

And then King Alfonso talked with his council to see if any of them wanted to present the dispute with his grandson Alfonso to prince Sancho, but no one even wanted to do so nor dared to tell him. And there was a Friar Preacher, called Friar Aimar, who was [Bishop-] elect of Avila and who said he would do it in the name of the King if the King want him to do so. The King liked it and this Friar Aimar went before Sancho and talked to him straightforwardly.

2. Records of the Monastery of St. Domingo el Real in Caleruega, case 1, document 1.

*Connosciendo la grand piedat que Él (Dios) ouo a Espanna, e sennaladamente al Regno de Castiella, en querer que nasciesse y, e fuesse ende natural el bienaventurado Santo Domingo, que fue Padre e fazedor de la Orden de los Frayres Predicadores, por quien Nuestro Sennor Ihesu Christo mostró muchos e maravillosos miraglos en el mundo, Nos, cobdiçando fazer algún serviçio que a Dios ploguiesse, e otrossí por que reçibiesse alguna onra este bienaventurado Santo (Domingo de Guzmán) en nuestro sennorio, e sennaladamente en aquel logar o el nasció que ha nombre Caleruega, fazemos y monasterio de duennas de su Orden misma, que siruan a Dios en él, e a este santo glorioso, e que rueguen a Dios sennaladamente por las almas del muy noble Rey don Ferrando, nuestro padre, e de la muy noble Reyna donna Beatriz, nuestra madre, e por los otros Reyes onde nos uenimos, e otrossí que rueguen por nos e por la Reyna, mi mugier, e por nuestros fijos, e por los otros de nuestro linage que de nos uernân.*

Knowing the immense mercy he (God) had showed on Spain, and especially on the Kingdom of Castile, where he wanted the blessed St. Domingo to be born, he, who was Father and founder of the Friar Preachers Order, for whom our Lord Jesus Christ showed many and marvellous miracles in the world. We [Alfonso X], wishing to carry out any service to please God, and trying to do any dignity to his blessed Saint in dominions, and especially in the place where he was born, called Caleruega, we build there a convent for nuns of his Order, to serve God and this Saint in glory. And to praise God especially for the souls of the very noble King Ferdinand, our father, and the very noble Queen Beatriz, our mother, and for the souls of those kings from whom we come. And to pray for us and for the Queen, and for our children, and for others from our lineage who will arrive in the future.

3. Jofré de Loaysa, *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla Fernando III, Alfonso X, Sancho IV y Fernando IV*, A. García Martínez (ed.), Murcia 1982, chapter CCXXIV.

*Después se fue a Madrid (el rey Sancho) y luego, ya muy débil, a Toledo donde le llegó su último día en la era 1333 (año 1295), el 25 de abril. Fue sepultado en la iglesia catedral de esta última ciudad, en la misma iglesia que, hacía tiempo, había sido coronado, y en su propia capilla en regio sepulcro, habiendo tomado antes de morir el hábito de la orden del bienaventurado Francisco.*

Afterwards (King Sancho) went to Madrid, and feeling very weak, to Toledo, where his last day arrived in 1333 of the era [that is according to the Spanish dating system in use at the time, the year 1295], on 25 April. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of that city, in the same Church where he had been crowned a long time before, and in that Chapel, in a royal grave, wearing the habit of the Order of the blessed Francis.

4. C. Rosell (ed.), *Crónica del rey don Sancho el Bravo, hijo del rey don Alfonso décimo*, Madrid 1953, chapter VIII.

*En el mes de Abril, que comenzó el ochavo año del reinado deste rey don Sancho, que fué en la era de mill e treientos é veinte é nueve años, é andaba el año del nascimiento de Jesu Cristo en mill é doscientos é noventa é un años, el Rey salió de Toledo é vínose para Búrgos ...; é el rey don Sancho vínose para Palencia al cabildo general que se facia y de los Predicadores; é estando en el cabildo aviendo muy grand placer porque viera y muchos frayles ayuntados ...*

In April, when the eighth year of the reign of that King Sancho, in 1329 of the era, the year 1291 after the birth of Jesus Christ, began, the King left Toledo and came to Burgos...; and King Sancho came to Palencia to the General Chapter held there by the Preachers, and being in the Chapter he was very happy to see so many friars together...

5. C. Rosell (ed.), *Crónica del muy alto et muy católico rey don Alfonso el Onceno deste nombre, que venció la batalla del río Salado, et ganó a las Algeciras*, Madrid 1953, chapter XXVII.

*Et luego la Reyna (María de Molina) se confesó muy devotamente, et recibió todos los Sacramentos de la Iglesia como Reyna muy católica, et vistióse el hábito de los frayles predicadores, et así dió el alma á Dios su Criador ... Esta noble et muy virtuosa Señora falleció mártres primero dia de Junio. Morió en el monesterio de Sanct Francisco de Valledolit; enterróla don Fray Guillen, obispo de Sabina, Legado del Papa. Et viendo como esta Reyna ficiera muchos bienes en toda la tierra, ca ficiera los monesterios de los Predicadores de Valledolit et de Toro, et otros muchos monesterios, et muchas buenas obras, este Legado otorgó muchos perdones á quien le rezase cinco Ave-Marías con cinco Pater noster, con requiem por su ánima.*

And then the Queen (Mary of Molina) devoutly confessed and received the last sacraments of the Church as a very Catholic Queen, and she wore the habit of the Friar Preachers, and so gave her soul to God, her Creator ... This noble and very virtuous lady died on Tuesday, the first day of June (1321). She died in the Monastery of St. Francis of Valladolid; Friar Guillén, Bishop of Sabina and Pope's legate, buried her. And bearing in mind that this Queen had done good in all the land, as she founded Preacher Monasteries in Valladolid and Toro, as well as other monasteries, and (had done) very good works, this Legate granted many pardons to anyone who would pray five Hail Marys and five Paternosters with requiem for her soul.

