

Between the City and the Cloister Saints, Liturgy and Devotion in the Dominican Nunneries in Late Medieval Castile

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Female Cloisters in the City or a City inside the cloister. Enclosure versus Permeable Boundaries

Despite the great efforts made by the master general Humbert of Romans in the middle of the 13th century in order to end the previous confusion and heterogeneity in the Order of Preachers, the yearned *uniformitas* remained an utopia. Regional and local peculiarities on issues such as legislation, jurisdiction, observance of enclosure, liturgy and also architecture lingered on for a long time. Romans himself was aware of this failure and he admitted this lack of homogeneity, even in their buildings, as well as the dependence of local models:

Habent namque ecclesias et officinas ejusdem formae, et eodem modo dispositas: nos autem fere quot domos tot varias formas et dispositiones officinarum et ecclesiarum habemus¹.

1 Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita Regulari*. Edited by Joachim Joseph Berthier, Turin 1956, vol. 2, p. 5, cit. in Costantino G. Gilardi, "Ecclesia Laicorum e Ecclesia Fratrum. Luoghi e oggetti per il culto e la predicazione secondo l' Ecclesiasticum Officium dei Frati Predicatori", in: *Aux Origines de la Liturgie Dominicaine: Le Manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1*. Edited by Léonar Boyle and Pierre Marie Gy, Paris - Roma 2004, p. 379-443, here 384. For instance, the convent of San Pablo de Burgos had a three aisle church, following the local custom. José Antonio Casillas, *El convento de San Pablo de Burgos, Historia y Arte*, Salamanca 2003, p. 162. The layout of Santo Domingo de Toledo was also likely influenced by the local architectural context, but, in this case, the cause could have been also the close relationship of the nunnery with the royalty from its origins, through the lineage of the

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As well as the architectonic solutions, functions of monastic spaces were largely determined by the influence of the local religious context, but, on the contrary, Dominicans also exerted a strong influence in the cities in which they settled². As a consequence, there was a difficult balance between the aspiration of universality of the Order and the various local identities, as evidenced by some texts, e.g., the *Vitae Fratrum* written by Gerard of Frachet³. Both this heterogeneity and the dependence of local models were even more outstanding in the case of Dominican nunneries, as a result of the complex panorama of these nunneries, which contrasts with the oversimplified view given by some historians, still relying on the idealised interpretations given in the Dominican chronicles. However, the study of Dominican nunneries in Castile has revealed the complexity of both the processes of foundation and the mechanisms to join at the Order, as a consequence of the different patrons and protectors, and the diverse origin of the religious women: from pious or penitent communities – *beatas* –, from Dominican tertiaries, or from nuns belonging to other orders – Premostratensian or Augustinian canonesses –, and finally the ones created *ex novo* with nuns from other Dominican nunneries. Moreover, the master general Humbert of Romans was not successful in bringing order, and ending the previous confusion in affiliations of women to the Order of Preachers, and far from being settled in 1267, the *cura monialium* controversy carried on and the legal status of nunneries remained variable at least until the Council of Trent⁴.

Castilla, to which belonged the prioresses Teresa de Ayala and her daughter Maria de Castilla.

- 2 Panayota Volti, *Les couvents des ordres mendiants et leur environnement à la fin du Moyen Âge: le nord de la France et les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Paris 2003, p. 8.
- 3 Cécile Caby, “Couvents et espaces religieux chez Gérard de Frachet et Bernard Gui: une topographie légendaire des origines dominicaines?”, in: *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e–XV^e siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44 (2009), p. 357–388, here 362.
- 4 About these problems see Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Uniformitas vs diversitas en los monasterios femeninos de la Orden de Predicadores en Castilla (siglos XIII–XV)”, in *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder* 8 (2013), p. 133–152; and *Idem*, *Arte y Arquitectura de los monasterios de la Orden de Predicadores de la “Provincia de España”. Desde los orígenes hasta la reforma (1218–1506)*. PhD dissertation, University of Oviedo, 2013, unpublished, vol. 1, p. 90–118.

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Fig. 1: Santo Domingo de Toledo at the beginning of the 16th century (author's reconstruction over the ground plan of the Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1881).

Lastly the introduction of the observance varied from one nunnery to another, and it gave way to an intricate net of dependencies among Dominican nunneries in Castile, although, again, this has not been hitherto studied by scholars. Indeed, Spanish historiography still relies on the aforementioned Dominican chronicles which sought to conceal any type of problem or even confrontation⁵. Together with the *vita communis*, and the observance of the Constitutions, the

5 In the case of Poor Clares we are slightly more fortunate, as we have the works of Tarsicio de Azcona, "Reforma de las clarisas en Cataluña en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos", in: *Collectanea Franciscana* 27 (1957), p. 10; Ignacio Omaecheverría, *Las clarisas a través de los siglos*, Madrid 1972, p. 90–102; José García Oro, *Cisneros y la Reforma del Clero Español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid 1971; Idem, "Conventualismo y Observancia. La reforma de las órdenes religiosas en los siglos XV y XVI", in: *Historia de la Iglesia en España*. Edited by Ricardo García Villoslada, Madrid 1980. vol. 3, p. 211–345; Carmen Soriano Triguero, "La reforma de las clarisas en la Corona de Aragón (ss. XV–XVI)", in: *Revista de Historia Moderna* 13/14 (2005), p. 185–198. In this case is clear how the first centres of the reform were nunneries: Santa Clara de Gandía and Santa Isabel de los Ángeles de Córdoba, and conflicts were documented, e.g., in San Antonio de Barcelona, Santa María de Pedralbes or Santa Clara de Villafranca del Penedés.

enclosure was one of the main aims of reform. However, before and after their introduction, enclosure was not always an imposition, but it seems to have been often negotiated or even embraced voluntarily, and, on the contrary, in other cases, strongly rejected, and it was not observed until the pass of the *Circa Pastoralis* in 1566. Thus, as Creytens did in the case of Italy, in Castile we can clearly distinguish between “closed nunneries” and “open nunneries”, without it being correlative to a distinction between nuns and tertiaries. Moreover, in many instances tertiaries embraced enclosure in a much more strict way than nuns did, and, in some cases, they even became nuns by their own will⁶.

Obviously, the Nuns’ relationship with the environment depended largely on the observance of enclosure. Among the “open nunneries” were included not only many of the tertiaries’ houses, but also some nunneries, which considered themselves exempted of enclosure, because they have never observed it, or had particular concessions about it. In Castile nuns of the wealthier convents – like Santo Domingo de Madrid or Santo Domingo de Toledo – enjoyed great freedom of movements, and a great permeability of enclosure. Physical boundaries, i.e., the monastic wall *alta et fortis*, was not built in some nunneries until late dates, as well as the compulsory separation between the church and the choir, established in the Constitutions of 1259⁷. For instance, in Santo Doming de Madrid, the monastic

6 Raymond Creytens, “La Giurisprudenza della Sacra Congregazione del Concilio nella Questione della Clausura delle Monache (1564–1576)”, in: *Apollinaris* 37 (1964), p. 252–285; Idem, “La riforma dei monasteri femminili dopo i Decreti Tridentini”, in: *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina*, Roma 1965, vol. 1, p. 45–85, here 46–49.

7 Ante omnia detur opera quod clausura sit ualde alta et fortis: ita ut egrediendi uel ingrediendi per clausuram opportunitas nulli detur. Non sit autem in clausura sororum. nisi unum hostium forte et bonum: quod cum duabus clauibus uel pluribus. quantitate et forma differentibus. claudatur cum una interius. et cum alia exterius. Interior autem custodiatur exterius. uel intus: secundum dispositionem prioris prouincialis. uel uicarii eius: exterior uero intus secundum dispositionem prioris et conuentus/Aptetur autem in aliquo loco conuenienti ipsius clausure. in ipso muro inseparabiliter adherens. ipsi aliquod instrumentum rotundum. quod rotam uocamus: per quod ita possint res necessarie dari. et accipi. quod dantes et accipientes nullatenus possint se uidere. In ipsa uero ecclesia. in aliquo loco interme-

wall was not built until 1301, when a path that crossed the nunnery, connecting the Puerta de Valnadú with the nearby benedictine monastery of San Martín, was closed with the authorization of Fernando IV. In this way, the new building – “labor nueva” – was linked with the houses in the other side, belonging also to the nunnery⁸. Similarly, in 1396 the city council of Toledo allowed the nuns of Santo Domingo – founded in 1364 – to close a street leading from the Francisca Gudiel’s houses to the Mercedarian monastery, in order to build the church⁹. Nevertheless, even when the construction of the monastic wall was completed, this was frequently also a permeable boundary, as we can see, e.g., in a drawing of the Dominican nunnery of Oetenbach in Zürich, dating back to 1520¹⁰.

Likewise, in some cases, the separation between choir and church was probably done in a more open way, i.e., with walls not reaching the ceiling or maybe even with an altarpiece, as could have happened in Toledo¹¹. Moreover, nuns would abandon cloister temporarily for

dio inter sorores et exteriores aptetur aliqua fenestra ferrea competentis magnitudinis. in qua fiant sermones: et in aliquo loco apto due fenestre paruule ferrate ad confessiones audiendas / Poterit autem haberi aliquod locutorium ad loquendum cum extraneis in aliquo loco conuenienti. ubi aptetur fenestra ferrata simili modo sicut dictum est de fenestra maiore in ecclesia: uel in ipsa ecclesia ad fenestram maiorem poterunt fieri locuciones cum extraneis. “De edificiis, Constitutiones sororum ordinis fratrum praedicatorum (1259)”, p. 2, in: *Constitutiones et Acta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Berlin 2002, p. 150 (cf. Const O-P1259, p. 346–347).

8 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Parchments 1358/ 8, 6^o; María Isabel Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, “Madrid en la Documentación de Santo Domingo el Real”, in: *En la España medieval* 7 (1985), p. 991–1010, here 1005.

9 Toledo, Archivo de Santo Domingo el Real, Doc 299; Antonio Sierra Corella, “Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Noticias sobre su fundación y suerte”, in: *Revista española de arte* 4/7 (1935), p. 304–308, here 304. Transcription of the text in Balbina Martínez Caviro, *Mudéjar toledano. Palacios y Conventos*, Madrid 1980, p. 348.

10 *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, vol. 1. Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter, Zürich 1995.

11 The passing of the *Circa Pastoralis* in 1566 coincided with the start of the construction of a new church, and also of a wall between it and the choir decorated with the coat of arms of Felipe II, firm supporter of the tridentine reform. Taking into account that the construction of this wall obstructed the western door of the church, as well as other features of the internal life in this nunnery, it seems likely that before Trent the separation between choir and church would have been done in a more open way. Elías Tormo y Monzó, “Informe acerca de expediente sobre

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specific liturgic processions, and also friars and some laywomen entered into the cloister, or even the choir in special occasions¹².

The “closed nunneries”, i.e., those which embraced enclosure, especially after the reform, developed both penance practices and a series of liturgies, paraliturgies, and representations, and they re-used pre-existing spaces, or built new spaces *ex professo* for those celebrations. These practices not only convey a particular meaning and defined the collective identity and memory of these nuns, but, even more, they sometimes recreated within the cloister some urban processions, as well as some places of pilgrimage which nuns' could not reach. By doing so, they built inside the cloisters a kind of *heterotopia*, which represents a subtle form of reasserting nuns power over the nunnery, after the reformers' attempts of depriving them of it, as will be seen below¹³.

declaración de monumentos histórico-artísticos de las iglesias de San Justo y San Miguel y los conventos de Santo Domingo el Real y Capuchinas de Toledo”, in: *Boletín de la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* 107, year XXVI (1933), p. 90–121, here 108.

- 12 Friars entered the enclosure to perform masses, funerary offices, processions, and other ceremonies, like the extreme unction and the bringing of the *viaticum*. Likewise, nuns went out to perform some processions, like the one held in the Corpus Christi's feast. Moreover, in some cases some women, foundresses or benefactors had houses communicated with the nunnery, and they could enter the enclosure, like happened in the Dominican nunneries of Salamanca, Toro, Santo Domingo de Toledo, Medina del Campo and Santo Domingo de Madrid, but also in some Poor Clares foundations, like Pedralbes, Calabazanos or Medina del Pomar. Most of these women did never professed as nuns, with the exception of Constanza de Castilla, prioress of Santo Domingo de Madrid, who had her own rooms around a secondary cloister, and who enjoyed great freedom of movements outside the cloister, with the appropriate permissions.
- 13 Following the definition of heterotopia by Foucault: Il y a également, et ceci probablement dans toute culture, dans toute civilisation, des lieux réels, des lieux effectifs, des lieux qui ont dessinés dans l'institution même de la société, et qui sont des sortes de contre-emplacements, sortes d'utopies effectivement réalisées dans lesquelles les emplacements réels, tous les autres emplacements réels que l'on peut trouver à l'intérieur de la culture sont à la fois représentés, contestés et inversés, des sortes de lieux qui sont hors de tous les lieux, bien que pourtant ils soient effectivement localisables. Ces lieux, parce qu'ils sont absolument autres que tous les emplacements qu'ils reflètent et dont ils parlent, je les appellerai, par opposition aux utopies, les hétérotopies. Michael Foucault, “Des espaces autres (conférence au

Passion inside the Cloister

The most popular of these recreations was the enacting of the Passion, which was also frequently associated with virtual pilgrimages to Jerusalem or Rome. Indeed, these performances were granted by papal bulls with the same privileges of real pilgrimages¹⁴. However, they were even more complex, as they reproduced inside the monastic walls other local recreations of the Passion, like the devotion to the Falls of Christ, well spread in northern Europe and which frequently had seven stations, but sometimes more, up to thirty-two¹⁵.

Cercle d'études architecturales 14 mars 1967)", in: *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (october 1984), p. 46–49.

- 14 Dominican nuns of Saint Catherine of Augsburg received a papal bull in 1487, by which Innocence VIII conceded the same indulgences obtained by pilgrims traveling to the Seven Basilicas of Rome to the nuns who prayed three *Pater Noster* and three Hail Mary in three different places of the enclosure, appointed by the prioress. Indications to these processions were taken from the *Indulgentiae ecclesiae urbis Romae and the Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae*. Moreover, as a consequence of this concession, nuns from Saint Catherine of Augsburg commissioned to Hans Holbein, Hans Burgkmair the Older and another painter identified with the initials L.F seven panels for the Chapter House, with depictions of the Seven Basilicas of Rome, as well as some saints especially worshiped by nuns, Pia. F. Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early Renaissance Augsburg", in: *Women's Art Journal* 19 (1998), p. 21–25; Marie Louise Ehrenscheidtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg", in: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60/1 (January 2009), p. 45–73, here 65–68. Likewise, a papal brief of Alexander VII to the Dominican nuns of Segovia gave the same privileges as those received by the pilgrims to Rome to those who visited a chapel or altar in the cloister four times a year, praying for the removal of heretics and the glory of the church. Segovia, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Breve de Alejandro VII a la priora y monjas del monasterio. Dado en Roma, en Santa María la Mayor, bajo el anillo del Pescador el día 15 de septiembre de 1661. Año séptimo de nuestro pontificado. About these issues Cf. Kathryn. M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent, Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2011.
- 15 Amédée Teetaert da Zedelgem. *Saggio storico sulla devozione alla Via Crucis. Evocazione e rappresentazione degli episodi e dei luoghi della Passione di Cristo*. Edited by Amilcare Barbero and Pasquale Magro, *Evocazione e rappresentazione degli episodi e dei luoghi della Passione di Cristo*, Ponzano – Casale Monferrato 2004 (Original edition in French, 1949), p. 86.

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Fig. 2: Santo Domingo de Toledo. Claustro del Moral. Room in which nuns would do penance (Photo: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo. Fondo Rodríguez.01A-281).

Sometimes, a panel painting depicting all the stations, served as a guide for religious women, as was the case of a panel preserved in the Poor Clares nunnery of Madre de Deus in Lisbon and also probably of a small triptych from San Juan Bautista de Quejana¹⁶. In Lisbon this procession was performed every Friday of Lent by the nuns, carrying an image of Christ with the Cross, and singing various antiphons and the *Miserere*¹⁷.

¹⁶ It was probably donated by the king of France and it depicts the Seven Hours of the Passion: the Judas's Kiss, the Flagellation, Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixión, the Deposition of Christ, the Entombment and the Resurrection. Maria Soledad Silva Verástegui, "El Tríptico gótico de la Pasión procedente de Quejana", in: *La formación de Álava. 650 Aniversario del Pacto de Arriaga (1332-1982)*, Vitoria 1985, p. 921-932; Ángela Franco Mata, "Tríptico de la Pasión de Cristo", in: *Canciller Ayala (Catedral Nueva María Inmaculada, Vitoria, 18th April-26th July 2007)*, Vitoria 2007, p. 436-439. According to this author, the triptych can be related to the funerary chapel of Pedro López de Ayala, but also to the paraliturgical representation of the Passion from the Palm Sunday to the Holy Saturday. In my opinion, this representation could have been a recreation of the Passion through different stations, i.e., a precedent of the *Via Crucis*.

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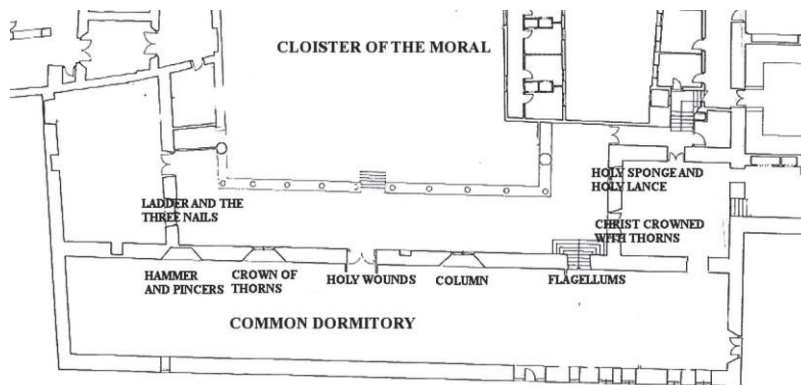


Fig. 3: Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Cloister of “el Moral” with the *Arma Christi* (author’s reconstruction over the ground plan of the Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1881).

In Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo, nuns would also do penance every Friday of Lent in a room located in the upper storey of the Moral cloister, singing the *Miserere* in front of an image of Christ – called “Cristo de las Aguas” – or a Pietá (fig. 2)¹⁷. Moreover, each window and door of the lower storey of this cloister was decorated with the *Arma Christi* and the Five Holy Wounds (figs. 1 and 3). The *Arma Christi* were frequently associated with a funerary context, together or not with the Mass of Saint Gregory, but they could be also linked with extreme penitential practices, like those performed by Saint Catherine of Siena and Blessed Henry Suso. As is well-known, the last one included several examples of these exacerbated practices commemorating the Passion in his *Vita*, written as spiritual guide for Dominican

¹⁷ Lisboa, Museu Nacional do Azulejo, *Práticas na fogueira*, fol. 226v–227v, cit. in Alexandre Pais et Alexandra Curvelo, “Memórias da Fogueira. O primitivo mosteiro da Madre de Deus”, in: *Casa Perfeitíssima: 500 anos da Fundação do Mosteiro da Madre de Deus, 1509–2009*. Edited by Alexandra Curvelo, Lisboa 2009, p. 75–83, here 78.

¹⁸ Antonio Sierra Corella, “Santo Domingo el Real” (cit. n. 9), p. 307.

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nuns¹⁹. Moreover, he related how he performed a kind of *Via Sacra* through different altars located in the cloister, the chapter house and the choir, which symbolized as many places of the Holy Land. This *Via Sacra* was performed in two different ways: every night after maitins, and following the singing of the *Salve Regina* after Compline²⁰. We have also evidences of the use of the *Arma Christi* by some nuns enacting the Passion, as a cistercian nun from Córdoba – Sor Lucía de San Ambrosio – related in ther biography:

Procuraba cada religiosa elegir para sí la más penosa parte del aparato doloroso que estaba dispuesto para este fin en un rincón del claustro. Allí sobraban cruces varias, coronas de espinas, sogas nudosas, disciplinas gruesas y otras diversas insignias²¹.

In the case of Toledo, these depictions of the *Arma Christi* and the Holy Wounds, as well as the aforementioned penances and the documented complexity of processions performed in this wing of the Moral cloister, should be linked, in my opinion, to the Spanish reformer *Beata de Pidrahita*. Moreover, it is also striking to note how the dates of the moving of the *Beata* to Toledo, in order to introduce reform, in 1507, and the subsequently veto of her reforms by the Master General one year after, completely fit with the beginning and conclusion of the construction of this range of the cloister²².

19 The *Vita* was included in the *Exemplar*, probably written between 1362 and 1363, in collaboration with Elsbeth Stagel, prioress of Töss, and in which were also included other books, like *The Little Book of Truth* and *The little Book of Eternal Wisdom*, eleven letters and an introduction. Jeffrey. F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary, Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, Cambridge 1998, p. 198–200.

20 Henry Suso, *The Life of the Blessed Henry Suso* by himself. Translated from the original German by Thomas Francisc Knox, London 1865 (reedited by Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Grand Rapids), p. 51–56.

21 Felisa Cerrato Mateos, *El Císter de Córdoba. Historia de una clausura*, Córdoba 2005, p. 224.

22 The spirituality of Sor María de Santo Domingo was strongly influenced by Savonarola's piety and focused on the prayer and contemplation of the Passion, which leads to mystical ecstasy, as it was described in the *Beata's Book of Prayer*. Mary. E. Giles, *The Book of Prayer of Sor María of Santo Domingo. A Study and*

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Fig. 4: Altarpiece from St. Gertrud Köln (1460–1470).Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Nr. WRM 0342 (Photo: RBA, Nr. Co20465).

Translation, Albany 1990, p. 169–177. The first Spanish translation of Savonarola, la *Devotísima exposición sobre el psalmo de Miserere mei Deus*, was indeed ordered by the Beata's protector Cardinal Cisneros and published in Alcalá de Henares in 1511. Moreover, in this same year, the cardinal also commissioned the first translation into Spanish of the Life of Saint Catherine to friar Antonio de la Peña, a follower of the Beata de Piedrahita. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "Las corrientes de espiritualidad entre los dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI", in: *Miscelánea Beltrán de Heredia*, Salamanca 1971–1973, 3, p. 519–672, here 528; Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, "La creación de la Observancia regular en el convento de San Esteban de Salamanca durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos", *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 80 (2006), p. 91–126, here 114. The influence of Savonarola mysticism was also documented in the Portuguese Court of Manuel I, through the sister of the king, Leonor, and we found also the *Arma Christi* in the decoration of the cloister of the Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon. Paulo Pereira, *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos*, Londres, 2007, p. 95–113.

Furthermore, taking into account all the aforementioned elements, from the decoration and architectonic features to the penitential practices during Lent, the devotional works encouraging them – like the *Vita* of Suso, or the Life of Saint Catherine of Siena –, or the probable influence of the exacerbated spirituality of Beata de Piedrahita, it is not unlikely that nuns of Toledo performed here a kind of *Via Crucis* following the stations marked with the *Arma Christi* and the Holy Wounds²³.

Coming back to depictions of these penitential practices enacting the Passion, Dominican nuns were sometimes represented as pilgrims, as in the chapter house of Saint Catherine of Augsburg, or as active participants in the Passion, like in the chapter house of Saint Niccolò di Prato, where the Virgin was depicted as a Dominican nun, or even carrying the cross, like in one of the panel paintings of an altarpiece of Saint Gertrud of Cologne (fig. 4)²⁴. In this last one, two Dominican nuns were carrying the Cross in front of a Resurrected Christ with the flag, who welcomes the nuns with the words *komt in mynen wyngart*. Moreover, above the Cross we can read the motto: *Gehorsam, Reynlickeit, woyllich Armoyt*, which refers clearly to the reform.

²³ About the decoration of this cloister and the performance of processions after Compline see Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Devociones, prácticas espirituales y liturgia en torno a la imagen de Cristo Crucificado en los monasterios de Dominicas en la Edad Media”, in: *Los Crucificados, religiosidad, cofradías y arte* (Proceedings of the Symposium, 3/6-IX-2010). Edited by Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, San Lorenzo del Escorial 2010, p. 195–212, here 201–205; Idem, “Compline and its Processions in the Context of Castilian Dominican nunneries”, *Life and Religion in Middle Ages*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing (in press); Idem, “La liturgia procesional de Completas en el ámbito de los monasterios femeninos de la Orden de Predicadores en Castilla”, in: *Hispania Sacra* 2015 (forthcoming).

²⁴ About St. Catherine of Augsburg see note 14. The chapter house of San Niccolò di Prato was painted in 1509 by Girolamo Ristori. He depicted the Crucifixion in the center with the Climb to Calvary on the left, and the Lamentation of Christ on the right. As the Virgin was depicted wearing a Dominican habit, the nuns of Prato could easily identify themselves with the suffering of the mother of Christ. We must remember that in the *Orto del Gosto* of this nunnery was still preserved one of the few examples of reproduction of the *Scala Santa*, which was likely a station of an enactment of the Passion, and virtual pilgrimage. G. Morini – S. Niccoli – D. Palamedi, “Un edificio da riscoprire: la Scala Santa in San Niccolò”, in: *Prato Storia e Arte* 90–91/38 (1997), p. 117.

Indeed, the painting is dated 1460–1470 and the introduction of the observance in St Gertrud took place, after years of struggle, on the 6th of November of 1466²⁵.

In Castile, apart from the aforementioned examples of Quejana, Toledo and Segovia, we have also evidences of these performances in Santa María de Medina del Campo, and maybe also in Madrid²⁶.

Thus, although these virtual trips were better known in the case of Poor Clares and Cisterican nuns, we must bear in mind that one of the first examples was included in the *Vita* of Blessed Suso. This and the aforementioned examples highlight the role of the Order of Preachers, even from the 14th century, in the shaping and spreading of these devotions, true antecedents of the *Via Crucis*, the creation of which had been so far attributed to Franciscans.

The influence of the local context on these performances inside the cloister is clear in the case of Santo Domingo de Lekeitio, where nuns followed the local custom of climbing the mount Lumentxa, a local reproduction of the Calvary, on Good Friday²⁷. Likewise, according to different features, a *Stabat Mater* as liturgical sequence in a gradual-

25 Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Nr. WRM 0342. Cf. Jutta Prieur, *Das Kölner Dominikanerinnenkloster St. Gertrud am Neumark*, Köln 1983, p. 111.

26 In the case of Medina del Campo, the Liber Q of the AGOP includes the description of fr. Gaspar de Alarcón of five chapels located in the cloister, dedicated to as many episodes of the Pasión: the Agony in the Garden, the Climb to the Calvary, and the last with a painting known as the *Santo Cristo de la Vestidura*, which probably depicted the disrobing of Christ. We must add another chapel dedicated the Crucifixion, which was initially located in the chapter house and then moved to the choir, and we can not exclude the existence of more chapels. Rome, General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Serie XIV, *Liber Q*, second part, f. 1040. In Santo Domingo de Madrid, the prioress Constanza de Castilla included in her Book of Devotions a long prayer of the Life and Passion of Christ. Although its forty four chapters could seem to many to be related to a similar practice in the nunnery of Madrid, we must remember, as we have seen above, that the devotion to the Falls of Christ sometimes had a high number of stations. Moreover, we have the example of the Poor Clares of Villingen, who arranged an astonishing number of altars to commemorate both the Passion and the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Rome. Similarly, given the magnitude of the nunnery of Madrid, it may well also have a large number of altars, chapels or stations. Constance. L. Wilkins, *Constanza de Castilla, Book of Devotions-Libro de devociones y oficios*, Exeter 1998, p. 1–48.

kyrial of Santa María Magdalena di Val di Pietra in Bologna, dating back to the third decade of the 14th century, could be also linked with the reproduction inside the cloister of the complex of churches of Santo Stefano, the Sette Chiese, or the *Gerusalemme bolognese*, and the processional liturgy related to them²⁸.

Finally, nuns performed also virtual pilgrimages to other places, and shrines of different saints, like the virtual travel to the tomb of Saint Peter of Verona in Saint Eustorgio of Milan, performed by the Dominican nuns of Oetenbach²⁹.

Local saints versus Dominican saints

Dominicans were reluctant to accept the incorporation of new saints in their calendar. Already in the 13th century, an anonymous friar admonished the nuns in his care and prohibited special devotions to saints beyond those prescribed in the official calendar, stating: *Nulla*

27 Jaione Velilla Iriondo, "Origen y evolución de la Villa de Lekeitio", in: Cuadernos de Sección. Historia-Geografía 21 (1993), p. 115-134, here 130; Lekeitio, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Crónica de Santo Domingo de Lekeitio, vol. II, Chapter XXI, p. 48.

28 It was a *contrafactum* on the melody of *In caelesti Ierarchia*, a sequence in honor of Saint Dominic and this proves the importance of the festivity or occasion in which the *Stabat Mater* was sung. The A containig a miniature with Saint Helena in front of the Cross and the *Arma Christi* and a group of five nuns beneath has led musicologists to relate the sequence with the Invention of the Cross (May, 3rd), or the Exaltation of the Cross (September, 14th), but the *Alleluia* verse with mentions to the Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns and the Crucifixion does not fit with any of these feasts. Ruini has pointed out that the *Stabat Mater* could have been sung in a particular or votive feast of this nunnery. Finally, I suggest that the *Stabat Mater* as sequence could have been sung by nuns in procession through different chapels located the cloister, duplicating inside the nunnery the *Gerusalemme bolognese*, i.e., the group of churches of Santo Stefano. Bolonia. Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 518. Estefania Roncroffi, Psallite Sapienter. Codici Musicali delle Domenicane Bolognesi, Firenze 2009; Cesarino Ruini, "Un' antica versione dello *Stabat Mater* in un Graduale delle domenicane bolognesi", in: Philomusica on-line, 9/3 (2010), p. 212-234.

29 Jeffrey. F. Hamburger, "La Bibliothèque d' Unterlinden et l' art de la formation spirituelle", in: Les Dominicaines d' Unterlinden (Musée Unterlinden, Colmar, 10th of December to 10th of June of 2001), Paris 2000, vol. 1, p. 110-159, here 154-155.

*tamen fiat diversitas vel difformitas*³⁰. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 15th century the resistance of Dominicans to the ever growing invasion of the *Temporale* by feast of saints gradually wore down, and new saints were introduced in their liturgy, while the number of *totum duplex* feast increased significantly³¹. Moreover, also as a consequence of the influence of local context some saints were venerated inside the Dominican nunneries, although they did not belong to the Order's tradition. This was probably one of the reasons for the multiplication of altars, not only in the nuns choir but also in the nave, in the cloister and in other monastic buildings.

They were entitled to different saints and Marian Patronages, occurring a certain liturgical and cultural exchange among several of them. Moreover, they served as focal points for the nuns' *orationes secretae* – which could not be recited in the church –, constituted stations for the processional liturgy, and had, obviously, also a funerary function³².

30 Edmund Ritzinger – Heribert Christian Scheeben, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Teutonia in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts”, in: Archiv der Deutschen Dominikaner 3 (1941), p. 11–95, here 26. Le sanctoral du Archetype has been edited and studied in Anne-Élisabeth Urfels-Capot, Le sanctoral du lectionnaire de l'office dominicain (1254–1256): édition et étude d'après le ms. Rome, Sainte-Sabine XIV L1 Ecclesiasticum officium secundem ordinem fratrum Praedicatorum, Paris 2007.

31 William Bonniwell, A history of the Dominican Liturgy (1215–1945). Second Edition. Revised and enlarged by Joseph. F. Wagner, New York 1945, p. 254.

32 However, in contrast with the documented proliferation of altars in some Dominican nunneries, some authors have pointed out that nuns would not have needed so many altars, as they were no priest and “the whole churches for mendicant women did not serve as burial place for the laity”. Ann Roberts, Dominican Women and Renaissance Art. The convent of San Domenico of Pisa, Hampshire 2008, p. 60. According to Roberts, although nunneries received many pious foundations for masses and chantries, burials and funerary chapels were not frequent in them, and they would have been even banned. However, we must be careful as this author follows the work of Saint Antoninus of Florence, *Summa Theologica Moralis* (Venice, 1477), which exerted a strong influence in Italy, and specially among nunneries attached to the reform, but which should not be extrapolated to other geographical and cultural contexts.

Confraternities inside and outside the Cloister

Some altars were related to confraternities as they were documented also in nunneries, like in Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo, where nuns were divided between those devoted to Saint John the Baptist – *señoras Bautistas* –, and those to Saint John Evangelist – *señoras Evangelistas* –, as well as also happened in St. Katharinen in Zürich³³. In both the cases, both the factions produced several images of these saints. In Toledo, nuns' choir had two altars dedicated to the Baptist, in the Gospel side, made in 1571, and another to the Evangelist, in which remains are preserved. Moreover, both the saints were depicted in two panels located to the west of the choir³⁴. In Santo Domingo de Madrid existed also both altars dedicated to the Baptist and the Evangelist, on two chapels or ante-choirs situated respectively on the Epistle and the Gospel side of the nun's choir (fig. 8)³⁵. In Medina del Campo two images of these saints, dating back to the 16th century, are preserved and they probably belonged to

33 María Jesús Galán Vera, "La devoción de los Santos Juanes en Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo", in: *El culto a los santos: cofradías, devoción, fiestas y arte* (Proceedings of the Symposium, 2/5-IX-2008). Edited by Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, El Escorial 2008, p. 251-268. The "krieg" among the nuns adherents of St. John the Baptist and the ones devoted to the Evangelist in St. Katharinen was related in the life of Clara Anna Von Hohenburg, the first prioress of Schönsteinbach, in the chronicle of Johannes Meyer, *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*. Edited by Benedictur Maria Reichert (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland 2/3*), Leipzig 1908-1909, vol. 2, bk. 3, chap. 4, p. 61-62, cit. in Jeffrey. F. Hamburger, *The Visual* (cit. n. 18), p. 440-441.

34 Isabel Mateo Gómez, *Retablo del Coro de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo*, Madrid 1999, p. 7-12 and 31-45; Palma Martínez-Burgos García, *Dominicas VIII Centenario*, Toledo 2007, p. 182-192.

35 Madrid, *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero*, Book, 7338, *Libro de las memorias, fiestas y missas perpetuas que el convento de Santo Domingo el Real de esta villa de Madrid, tiene obligación de hacer y decir en cada un año para siempre jamás*, s.f.; Corona de Jesús Vidal, *Breve reseña histórica del convento de Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, desde su fundación por el mismo Santo Patriarca, año del Señor de 1218*, Santiago de Compostela 1946, p. 48, 61-64. However, in the case of Madrid the cult of Saint John Evangelist was apparently not as important as the devotion to the Baptist, and the chapel of the Gospel side was probably not built until the 16th century.

a disappeared altar. Finally, both the saints had an outstanding place in the liturgy of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de Salamanca, as their festivities were appointed by the Master General Thomas Turco in 1647 among those in which nuns could gain indulgences, praying before an altar located in the enclosure³⁶.

Lay confraternities do not seem to have existed in the Dominican nunneries in Castile until well into the Early Modern period³⁷. However, the influence of the celebrations of confraternities in nearby male convents inside nunneries can sometimes be traced, mainly from the 16th century onwards. Despite what Lekeitio's chronicle says about the foundation of a confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary by San Vicente Ferrer in 1412, this is obviously impossible, as the first confraternities were founded much later³⁸. On the contrary, in Benavente the influence of the confraternity of the Rosary settled on the convent of the friars, has probably contributed to the spread of this cult in the neighbouring nunnery of Sancti Spiritus, whose main altar had an altarpiece of Our Lady of the Rosary, now in Jaén³⁹.

36 Esteban García Chico, *Catálogo monumental de la Provincia de Valladolid*, Medina del Campo, Valladolid 1973, vol. 3, p. 176–179, here 178. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Leg. 5893.

37 As example of the existence of lay confraternities in nunneries we can mention the one founded in 1661, with the authorization of Alexander VII, to St. Cecilia in the Madre de Dios of Toledo. As we can read in the book of the confraternity, not only the nuns of Madre de Dios were members, but also some friars of San Pedro Mártir, as well as several ecclesiastical dignities and lay men and women. Toledo, Archivo del Monasterio de Santo Domingo el Real, Libro de la Cofradía de la Señora Sta. Cecilia Virgen y Mar. Sita en el conv. de la Madre de Dios de Toledo, Año 1662, s/f.

38 Lekeitio, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, *Crónica de Santo Domingo* (cit. n. 27), Book II, fol. 64. As happened in other cases during the Castilian campaigns of Saint Vincent Ferrer, his alleged presence is based on the local hagiographic tradition, with nothing to back it up. Pedro María Cátedra, *Sermón, Sociedad y Literatura en la Edad Media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411–1412)* estudio bibliográfico, literario y edición de los textos inéditos, Valladolid 1994, p. 25.

39 Rafael González Rodríguez, "El monasterio de Sancti Spiritus de Benavente. Aventuras y desventuras de dos retablos zamoranos en Marmolejo (Jaén)", in: *Brigecio: revista de estudios de Benavente y sus tierras 18–19* (2008–2009), p. 301–305.

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Fig. 5: Santo Domingo de Toledo. South range of the cloister of the Moral (Photo: AHPT, Fondo Rodríguez F-020-01).

An altar or chapel devoted to this marian advocacy existed also in the churches of Santo Domingo de Madrid, San Juan Bautista de Quejana, Santo Domingo de Lekeitio and Santa María de la Encarnación de Bilbao, whereas in Santa Catalina de Valladolid, Santa María de Medina del Campo, Sancti Spiritus de Toro and Santo Domingo de Toledo the altar of the Rosary was located in the nuns' choir⁴⁰.

40 In Valladolid a confraternity of the Rosary was settled in the friars' convent at the end of the 15th century, and, as a consequence, a chapel devoted to the Rosary was built in the nuns' choir in Santa Catalina de Siena, which was subsequently

Moreover, in some cases, both the processions and the litanies sung by confraternities were reproduced inside the female cloisters, frequently inserted into the processions after Compline, and also related to the liturgy of the Dead⁴¹. In Santo Domingo de Toledo, they were probably performed in the aforementioned cloister, decorated with the *Arma Christi* and the *Holy Wounds*, as is suggested by some elements, specially an inscription with the antiphon *O lumen*, and several altars dedicated to Saint Dominic, Saint Thomas Aquinas and probably also to the Blessed Virgin (figs.5 and 6)⁴². Moreover, the Five Holy Wounds were, together with the psalm *Miserere mei* – which, as we have seen, was sung by nuns each Friday during Lent in this range of the cloister – the emblem of the Rosary, since the foundation of the confraternity of Cologne by Jakob Sprenger⁴³.

enlarged in 1555. Rome, General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Serie 12, 388000, Copia de la Crónica conventual de Santa Catalina de Sena, fol. 25–29. Dominigo de Montemayor's preaching in the Basque Country spread the devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary and this resulted in the creation of many confraternities dedicated to her. Fermín Labarga García, "La devoción del Rosario: datos para su historia", in: *Archivo Dominicano* 24 (2003), p. 225–277, here 224–239.

- 41 A book published in Rome in 1593 included music composed by Palestrina for the letany of the Virgin "which is sung everywhere in chapels of the Rosary Society", and which was divided into five parts corresponding to the five decades of the Rosary. Willian Bonniwell, *A history of the Dominican* (cit. n. 31), p. 328. We must bear in mind that among the functions of the Rosary's confraternities was the celebration of masses and funerary offices for their members. This assistance to the confraternities' members after their death was closely linked to the Virgin, not only through the weekly prayer of the Rosary, but also by the celebration of an office of Maitins with nine lessons, and a Mass sung for the dead in the Marian feast days. According to the statutes of the confraternity of Colmar, after these masses the psalms *Miserere mei* and *De profundis* should be sung. Jean Claude Schmitt, "La confrérie du Rosaire de Colmar (1485). Textes de fondation, *Exempla* en allemand d' Alain de la Roche, listes des Prêcheurs et des sœurs dominicaines", in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 40 (1970), p. 97–120, here 110; Henri Dominique Saffrey, "La fondation de la Confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475. Histoire et iconographie", in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001), p. 143–164.
- 42 About this see the aforementioned papers Mercedes Pérez Vidal, "Compline and its processions" (cit. n. 23), and idem, "La liturgia Procesional de Completas" (cit. n. 23).
- 43 They were interpreted in term of numbers, as the Five Wounds represented the five *Pater Nosters* and the *Miserere Mei* the fifty *Ave Marias*, following the exhortation

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In the case of Toledo, a confraternity of the Rosary was founded in the nearby male convent of San Pedro Mártir, between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the next century. Its rich endowment included a *corpus* of ten liturgical books, made between 1490 and 1510, which disappeared during the Civil War. However, Lorenzo Candelaria has recently indentified a Kyrial and several leaves, preserved in American Libraries, as belonging to this confraternity. All of them are decorated with the Knight of Cologne, and the emblem of the Five Wounds along with the inscription *Miserere Mei*⁴⁴.

of Sprenger to confraternity members, which should pray three full cycles of the Rosary. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 144, ChL 316, Jakobus Sprenger, Erneuerte Rosenkranz-Bruderschaft, Augsburg 1476, fol. 3-3v, cit. in Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral. Ritual and Social Design in Chantbook from Early Renaissance Toledo*, Rochester 2008, p. 70.

- 44 The Kyrial is nowadays preserved at the Beinecke Library of the Yale University (Ms 794), and Lorenzo Candelaria has identified independent leaves coming from graduals in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Detroit Public Library and the Getty Museum. All of them share the same feature: the Five Holy Wounds were repeated three times on the opening leaves, thereby representing the complete praying of the Rosary. Moreover, this author has pointed out how the adoption of this emblem and the illuminations displaying “The knight of Cologne” reflect the foreign influences of the confraternity of Toledo. Indeed, he mentions how in other confraternities in Spain, like in Zaragoza, the emblem were the seven red roses. Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral* (cit. n. 41), p. 75-76.

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Fig. 6: Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. St. Thomas praying before a crucifix disappeared (Photo: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo Fondo Rodríguez. F. 49).

In Madrid, the urban procession of the Immaculate Conception, held every year since 1348, in gratitude for her help against the plague, was also reproduced and performed inside the Dominican nunnery of this town⁴⁵. Also in this case, there was a cultural contamination between the celebration of Compline and other Marian devotions, as this procession was held indeed after Compline⁴⁶.

45 A document of this year related in detail the institution and development of this procession and another devoted to Saint Sebastian. Madrid, Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, Secretaria, sig. 2-272-16. cit in: Ángela Muñoz Fernández, "Fiestas laicas y fiestas profanas en el Madrid medieval. Un primera acercamiento al tema", in: *El Madrid medieval: sus tierras y sus hombres*, Edited by Juan Carlos de Miguel Rodríguez, Madrid 1990, p. 151-175, here 160-162.

46 Mercedes Pérez Vidal, "Compline and its processions" (cit. n. 23). In this case, given the official maculist position of the Order of Preachers, the celebration of the Immaculate feast could seem an oddity. However, we must take into consideration, as

Dominicans and the Spread of the Devotion to the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Castile

As well as happened with this marian devotions the veneration or not of some saints inside the cloister, was also closely linked to the local, diocesan or even national religious environment. The Eleven Thousand Virgins were highly revered by the Order of Preachers, they were commemorated in the Dominican calendar on the 21st of October, and their feast became *totum duplex* between 1419 and 1421⁴⁷. In some nunneries, the devotion to them is well documented in early dates, as happened in Unterlinden, where an altar dedicated to them was created in 1288, or in San Domenico di Pisa, where there was a small altarpiece of Saint Ursula in the choir, which must be linked to the liturgy of the nunnery and to the local importance of this saint, as she was a protector and patron of Pisa. Furthermore, Dominicans in Tuscany promoted Ursula's cult and her martyrdom was connected with nuns' monastic life in a sermon of fray Giordano di Pisa⁴⁸.

However, in contrast to that, in Castile, with the exception of Caleruega, Zamora and Madrid, we only have belated notices of this cult in Dominican nunneries. Even in the case of Santo Domingo Caleruega, which was closely linked to the cistercian monastery of Gumiel de Izán, where the relics of the Virgins of Cologne were preserved since the 1223, we only have notice of their worship from the 16th onwards. According to the dominican Marieta, in this century an

I have mentioned above, the importance of the influence of local religious context in nunneries. Moreover, from the beginning of the 14th century onwards there were some supporters of the Immaculate among Dominicans, as it is proved by the inclusion of this feast in some liturgical books of this century, as well as by some treatises written in her defense by dominican friars, like Nicolas Eymerich or Juan de Torquemada. Cf. Adeline Rucquoi, "Mancilla y limpieza: la obsesión por el pecado en Castilla a finales del siglo XV", in: Os "últimos fins" na cultura ibérica dos séculos XV-XVIII: colóquio, Porto, 19th-21st of October 1995, Porto 1997, p. 113-135.

47 *Ordinarium iuxta ritum sacri ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, 1256, reedited by the Master General Ludovicus Theissling, Rome 1921, p. 264.

48 Catherine Leroy, "Retable des vierges martyres", in: *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden* (cit. n. 29), vol. 2, p. 34-35; Anne Roberts, *Dominican Women* (cit. n. 32), p. 129.

office for Saint Orofrigia – whose body was supposedly preserved in the nuns' choir – was included in the liturgy of this nunnery, to be celebrated on the 22nd of October, one day later of the Eleven Thousand Virgins' feast⁴⁹. Indeed, this saint was incorporated among the Virgins of Cologne into the Spanish *flos Sanctorum* on this moment and this devotion seems to have been a peculiarity of Caleruega, as we do not have evidences of Saint Orofrigia's devotion in the rest of nunneries studied. At the end of the 17th century, friar Balthasar Quintana considered that this devotion would have been introduced by Alfonso X, although we do not have documentary evidence for this assertion⁵⁰.

It is also worth to note that the general chapter convened at Salamanca in 1551 tried to remove apocryphal elements from the office, especially from the lessons of the breviary, many of them taken from lives of saints, like the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine. Among the lessons removed or revised were the nine belonging to the office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which were restricted to one lesson, whereas the other were taken from the Book of Wisdom, a homily on the Ten Virgins and a sermon on the Forty Martyrs⁵¹. However, popular devotion was an strong obstacle to these reforms, and, as the example of Caleruega shows, some nunneries rather preferred to follow it than the breviary's reforms established by the Order of Preachers.

The devotion to the virgins of Cologne is also documented from the 16th century onwards in Santa María de Zamora, as well as in the male convent of San Pablo de Burgos, where a chapel dedicated to them was built between 1499 and 1506, and in Santo Domingo of Madrid⁵². This last nunnery received in 1524 some relics donated by the prince Ferdinand, belonging not only to the Eleven Thousand

49 Juan de Marieta, *Historia eclesiástica y flores de Santos de España en la qual se tata de todos los Santos martyres que ha avido en ella, desde el tiempo de los Apóstoles hasta ahora y de los Santos Confesores Pontífices del mismo tiempo*, Cuenca 1594, vol. 3, Chapter LIII, fol. 109.

50 Adolfo Robles Sierra, "El P. Baltasar de Quintana y su información sobre Caleruega", in: *Santo Domingo de Caleruega. Contexto Cultural III Jornadas de Estudios Medievales*, Edited by Cándido Aniz Iriarte – Luis V. Díaz Martín, Salamanca 1995, p. 361–380, here 369–70.

51 William Bonniwell, *A history of the Dominican Liturgy* (cit. n. 31), p. 281–282.

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Virgins, but also to the Ten Thousand Martyrs, the Saints Maures of Cologne and St. Maurice⁵³.



Fig. 7: Saint Acacius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs. Ca. 1400. From the dominican Nunnery of Belvis (Photo: Museo de Pontevedra).

Nevertheless, we have earlier evidences of this cult. An altarpiece of Saint Ursula probably existed in San Pablo de Palencia since the beginning of the 15th century, and the panels were subsequently reemployed in another Barroque altar, dedicated to Saint Pius V, in the friars' church. Nowadays, they are preserved both in the Port Sunlight

⁵² The previous sacristy of San Pablo de Burgos was transformed into a chapel dedicated to the Eleven Thousand Virgins between 1499 and 1506. Juana de Aragón and her husband Bernardino de Velasco, Constable of Castile, were subsequently the patrons of the chapel, which was given in 1563 to Andrés an Francisco de Maluenda. José Antonio Casillas García, *El convento de San Pablo de Burgos: historia y arte*, Salamanca 2003, p. 238–242.

⁵³ Madrid, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Bulls, 30, cit. in Juan Ramón Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, Salamanca 2008, p. 260.

collection and in the Prado Museum in Madrid⁵⁴. The personal relationship between saint Dominic and Engelbert of Berg, Archbishop of Cologne was used to explain a probably early devotion to Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Palencia⁵⁵. Following this consideration, in my opinion, and notwithstanding the lack of earlier evidences, at least in the nunnery of Caleruega the devotions to Saint Ursula and her companions probably existed earlier, either by the influence of Saint Dominic himself or the cistercians of Gumiel de Izán⁵⁶.

54 Four panels are preserved in the Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid), four in the Lady Lever Art Gallery of Port Sunlight, whereas other fragments of the predella are scattered in various collections. Post confirmed that these panels belonged to the aforementioned altar in San Pablo de Palencia, and Frenchina has recently assigned the panels to Jaime Mateu, disciple of Pere Nicolau, dating them around 1400 ca. Gutiérrez Baños has suggested that they could have been commissioned for the chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the cathedral of Palencia, in relation with a donation of the bishop Juan de Castromocho (m. 1397), being later transferred to the Dominican convent. Chandler. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge 1953, reprinted, 1970, passim; María Victoria Rodríguez López y Fernando Pérez Suescún, "Iconografía de Santa Úrsula en Palencia: el retablo de San Pablo de Palencia", in: *Actas del III congreso de Historia de Palencia*, 30, 31 de marzo y 1 de abril de 1995. Coord. by María Valentina Calleja González, vol. 4, 1995 (*Historia de la lengua y de la creación literaria e Historia del arte*), p. 763-772; José Gómez Frenchina, "El gótico internacional en Valencia", in: *Obras maestras restauradas. El retablo de San Martín, Santa Úrsula y San Antonio abad*. Museo de Bellas Arte de Valencia, Madrid 2004, p. 70-73. Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, "La corona en la encrucijada: corrientes pictóricas en la Corona de Castilla en tiempos del infante don Fernando de Antequera", in: *Artígrama* 26 (2011), p. 381-430, here 426-427.

55 Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, *La leyenda de las once mil vírgenes*, Murcia 1991, p. 101.

56 During his travel in Germany in 1223, where he had been sent in diplomatic mission by Ferdinand III, the abbot Pedro of Gumiel de Izán received a document of the archbishop Engelbert of Cologne, which certified the authenticity of the relics collected in this city by the abbot. The document in latin is preserved in the archive of the Burgo de Osma's cathedral, and its importance was first pointed out by Wilhelm Levison, who, however, was not able to offer a transcription of this document. Years later Ferreiro Alemparte published it, as well as the transcription of a copy in romance language preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. Wilhelm Levison, "Eine Urkund Engelberts des Heiligen in Spanien (Kleinere Beiträge)", in: *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere das alte Erzbistum Köln* 125 (1934), p. 108-111; Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, "España y Alemania

In Galicia, the cult of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, as well as the Ten Thousand Martyrs were established in early dates. Altars were documented in the Cathedral of Lugo, from the beginning of the 14th century, and also in Santiago in 1341⁵⁷. Maybe this context can explain the existence of an altar devoted to the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the friars convent of Bonaval and to the Ten Thousand martyrs in the nunnery of Belvis. From this last, a panel painting has survived and it is preserved in the Museum of Pontevedra (fig. 7)⁵⁸. It has been dated in the last quarter of the 15th century, before 1489, when Innocence VIII issued a bull, which is the only remaining documental source for this panel⁵⁹.

Saint Dominic. Memory, Liturgy and Penance

Obviously, Saint Dominic occupied a central role both in the liturgy and devotions of Dominican nunneries, especially in those which, according to tradition, were directly linked to the holy founder. This

en la Edad Media”, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 170 (1973), p. 319-376, 467-573; 171 (1974), p. 77-91, 267-295 and 479-521.

57 In 1288 a solemn procession of the Ten Thousand Martyrs was held in the cathedral of Lugo and in 1309 a chapel dedicated to them was built in the cloister, in order to serve as a burial place for the cathedral's dignities. In turn, in 1341 another chapel devoted to these saints was founded in the Santiago de Compostela's cathedral, near the Epistle choir's door, and with two altars devoted to Saint Jorge and to the Ten Thousand Martyrs and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. Both basilicas must have had depictions of these saints, which could have inspired the altars of Bonaval and Belvis. About Lugo: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, codex 1402 B, fol. 39r and 47r. According to this codex the office of the Ten Thousand Martyrs was already included in a Breviary coming from the cathedral of Lugo, and dating back from the 13th century. About the chapels and the altars in Santiago: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Carp. 1332 G, n 17 bis, and Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa a. m. iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 6, 1903, Appendix. 25, p. 119-122.

58 Museo de Pontevedra, Retablo de San Acacio y los Diez Mil Mártires del Monte Ararat, ca. 1400, Inv 017605. Carro García, “Unha táboa do convento de Belvis”, N, n. 101 (1932), p. 74-77; Aureliano Pardo Villar, “El convento de Santa María de Belvis”, in: *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos* 15 (1945), p. 32-100, here 49; Carmen Manso Porto, *Arte gótico en Galicia. Los dominicos, La Coruña*, 1993, vol. 2, p. 589-591.

59 Belvis, Archivo del monasterio de Santa María, Leg. 1, n. 12.

was the case of Santo Domingo de Madrid, where a chapel, supposedly built by the Saint himself, was preserved for centuries within the walls of the enclosure⁶⁰. According to monastic tradition, Saint Dominic celebrated Mass and did penance here, in the same way as he was depicted in the third of the Nine Ways of Prayer, which were subsequently copied in the so called *Codex Matritensis*, written at the end of the 14th century, and preserved in this nunnery. The vernacular lives or *legendae* of Saint Dominic, Saint Peter Martyr and Saint Thomas Aquinas, as well as the vernacular offices for the two feast of this last one, were also included in this *Codex*, and used in the nuns' liturgy⁶¹. The *legendae* were intended to be read or sung, being frequently inserted in the office of Matins, and they were probably

⁶⁰ Rome, General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Serie XIV, *Liber Q*, Parte Seconda, f. 1007. As well as the corporals, the chalice and the portable altar in which he celebrated Mass, a fragment of bone and another of his cloak, a piece of leaf from his prayer book with some words from the office of St. Agatha Martyr, a link of the chain used by Saint Dominic in his penances, and the letter sent to the nuns of Madrid in 1220. Most of these relics disappeared during the Civil War. Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid. Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España*, Madrid, 1623, p. 276; Luis. G. Alonso Getino, "Centenario y cartulario de nuestra comunidad", *Ciencia Tomista* 19 (1919), p. 5-20; 127-143; 253-272; here p. 14. Moreover, according to the monastic tradition, also the *Madona* de Madrid, have been donated by Saint Dominic, although the image clearly dated back to the 14th century. Finally, in the 17th century arrived at the monastery from Caleruega the baptismal font of Saint Dominic.

⁶¹ The codex included, first, the Life of Saint Dominic, which would have been written by a dominican friar, who partly translated the *Legenda Sancti Dominici* of Humbert of Romans, – widely spread as it was included in the dominican lectionary –, but taking also some elements of the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine as well as the *Flowers* of Saint Francis of Assisi. María Teresa Barbadillo de la Fuente, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán. Edición y estudio*, Madrid 1985, Vol I, p. 2-13; Fernando Baños Vallejo, *Las Vidas de Santos en la literatura medieval española*, Madrid 2003, p. 90-91. The *legenda* of Saint Dominic is followed by the Nine Ways of Prayer, and then, a section dedicated to Saint Thomas Aquinas. This includes the *legenda* of the Saint as well as the offices – *Estorias responsorias* – written in vernacular language for both the festives of the saint (March, 3rd and 28th January). They were written in the 14th century and were probably intended for theatrical representation. Luis. G. Alonso Getino, *Leyenda de Santo Tomás de Aquino, Siglo XIV*, Madrid 1924, p. 177-198, here 186. Finally, the codex includes a life of Saint Peter of Verona and a poem to the Blessed Virgin. Pedro María Cátedra, *Liturgia, poesía y teatro en la Edad Media*, Madrid 2005, p. 15, 136-142.

linked to images and several altars. Indeed, apart from the chapel of Saint Dominic, we have documentary evidence of the existence of both altars dedicated to Saint Peter Martyr and Saint Thomas Aquinas (fig. 8)⁶².

Likewise, another chapel was built by the Blessed Manés, according to tradition, in the birthplace of Saint Dominic, Caleruega, and it was subsequently incorporated into the nunnery's building, at the end of the 16th century, playing also an outstanding role in the celebrations of the Saint's feast, and on the processions after Compline. Indeed, according to fr. Baltasar Quintana's account, nuns climbed to the tower attached to the monastic church of Santa María from which they were able to see the little church of Saint Dominic and, facing it, they sang *O spem miram*⁶³. However, assuming that this account is post-Tridentine and considering the consequences of the Council decrees over the enclosure of nuns, we must take under consideration the possibility of a development of this procession not to the aforementioned tower, but outside the monastery walls, to the church of Saint Dominic, as is documented in other cases⁶⁴.

62 These altars were located around the ante-choir of the Epistle side and their documented existence makes me consider this space not as a place intended for the preparation of the office, as it was settled by the Constitutions, but as a space for the celebration, performing of the Office. However, the altar of Saint Thomas, which, initially was probably also here located, was subsequently moved to a chapel dedicated to him by Pedro de Castilla and built at the end of the 15th century, which was also granted with several indulgences in 1497 by Alexander VII. Madrid, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Bulls, n. 26; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Book, 7338, Libro de las memorias (cit. n. 35).

63 Adolfo Robles Sierra, "El P. Baltasar de Quintana" (cit. n. 49), p. 361–380. The protracted responsory *O Spem Miram*, belonging to the matins of Saint Dominic's feast was sung in a procession performed after Compline on the fourth Sunday of each month to an altar devoted to the founder of the Order, between the singing of the *Salve* and the *O lumen*. Alexandre Vicent Jandel, *Caeremoniale iuxta ritum sancti ordinis praedicatorum*, Mechelen 1869, p. 523.

64 From the Early Middle Ages onwards there are documentary evidences of processions to chapels and other churches located outside the nunneries. Gisela Muschiol, "Time and Space. Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages" in: *Crown and veil. Female monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth centuries*. Edited. by Jeffrey. F. Hamburger – Susan Marti, New York 2008, p. 191–206, here 198.

Dominicans of the 15th century seem to have been against hermitism, and thus, images of both of Saint Dominic Penitent and other hermit saints, are supposed to have been avoided in Castile until well into the 16th century, when they were spread in the wake of Counter Reformation. However, Saint Dominic was represented doing penance in the aforementioned *Nine Ways of Prayer*, dating from the beginning of the 15th century⁶⁵. Moreover, he was probably also depicted in this way in a disappeared altarpiece painted by Pedro Berruguete to Santa Cruz la Real de Segovia, which has been recently reconstructed by Francisco Egaña, who has dated it around 1485, following the chronology proposed by Eduardo Carrero for the church's building⁶⁶. We have also the examples of Álvaro de Córdoba, in the early 15th century and of a panel of Ambrosius Benson, now in the Prado Museum (ca. 1530), and coming from the altarpiece of Santa Cruz's of Segovia's church, in which we can see the saint doing penance in the background⁶⁷.

65 The *Nine Ways of Prayer* are preserved in three different codices: the *Codex Rossianus* 3, of the Vatican Library, the *Codex Bononiensis* of Bologna – which was stolen in 1982 –, and the *Codex Matritensis*, preserved in Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. The text of this last one was edited in Luis G. Alonso Getino, “Los nueve modos de orar del Señor Santo Domingo”, in: *Ciencia Tomista* 24 (1921), p. 5–19; Cf. Simon Tugwell, “The Nine ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic. A Textual and Critical Edition”, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1958), p. 94–103.

66 Francisco Egaña Casariego, “El Cristo crucificado de Berruguete del convento de Santa Cruz de Segovia y el primitivo retablo de la Cueva de Santo Domingo de Guzmán”, in: *Estudios Segovianos* 103 (2003), p. 107–128; Idem, “Una obra desconocida de Pedro Berruguete en Segovia: el primitivo retablo de la cueva de Santo Domingo en Santa Cruz la Real”, *Goya* 309 (2005), p. 323–338; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, “El convento de Santa Cruz la Real de Segovia. De los orígenes románicos a la fábrica tardogótica” in: *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 91 (2003), p. 146–164.

67 Blessed Álvaro de Córdoba constitutes an isolated example of the eremitic way or reform. He retired with some friars to Escalaceli in the mountains near Córdoba, here he founded a convent, recreating also the topography of Holy Land. Álvaro Huerga, Escalaceli, Madrid 1981.

Between the City and the Cloister

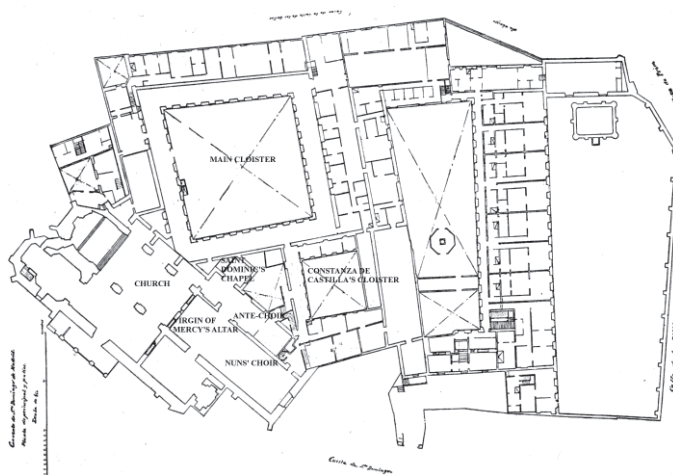


Fig. 8: Ground plan of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid in the 16th century (author's reconstruction over the ground plan of the Museo Municipal de Madrid. IN. 2695).

In any case, the devotion for the penitent and hermit saints is related to a generalised obsession with sin that characterised the Castilian society in the transition to the Modern Era, and it greatly spread from the 16th century onwards⁶⁸. A secondary cloister which a chapel devoted to Saint John the Baptist and maybe also to the Magdalene was built in Santa Catalina de Valladolid on the second half of this century⁶⁹.

At the western end of the southern range of the cloister of Caleruega, there is a little altar or niche, which was constructed by commission of the prioress María de Sandoval in the 1545. Moreover, we can read also the incomplete names of San Jerome, on the right side, and Saint Mary of Egypt, on the left. In my opinion, we can relate them to the likely influence of the reformer Juan Hurtado de

68 Adeline Rucquoi, "Mancilla y limpieza" (cit. n. 46), p. 113-135.

69 Here existed probably also another chapel devoted to the Magdalene, as the one existed in the garden of las Descalzas Reales of Madrid. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Arte y mentalidad religiosa en el Museo de las Descalzas Reales", in: *Reales Sitios*. Año XXXV, 138 (fourth trimester of 1998), p. 13-24, here 23.

Mendoza, which around 1540 founded the nearby friary of Sancti Spiritus in Aranda de Duero⁷⁰.

The Magdalene and the Magdalenes in the Shaping of Nuns Idyiosincrazy

The Magdalene, was the prototype of penitent and hermit saints. Her penitential character was not a creation of the Counter Reformation, but had a medieval origin and it had been spread in the north of Europe between the 12th and the 13th centuries, by the sermons aimed not only at *religiosa mulieres*, like Beguines or tertiaries, but also to the nuns, and lay people, as a model of contrition⁷¹. Nevertheless, on the southern regions, this image of penance and repentance became popular later, in the wake of the Counter Reformation. Between the 13th and 16th centuries both in Spain and Italy, the Magdalene was considered mainly a religious model of the Poor Clares and Dominican nuns, becoming the paradigm of the contemplative life, next to the Virgin. Dominicans had undoubtedly an outstanding role in the rise of the devotion of the Magdalene through sermons and accounts, especially the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus of Voragine, but also the sermons of Humbert of Romans, and, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, in the 15th century, Saint Vicent Ferrer's sermons⁷².

70 Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, "Incorporarse a Jesucristo: prácticas sacramentales y penitenciales entre los dominicos castellanos en el siglo XVI"; in: *Hispania Sacra* 58-117 (January-June 2006), p. 39-67, here 55.

71 Michael Lauwers, "Noli me tangere, Marie Madeleinte, Marie d' Oignies et les pénitents du XII^e siècle", in: *Mélanges de l' Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge, Temps Modernes*, 104/1 (1992), p. 209-268.

72 Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: Preaching and popular devotion in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton, 2000. Unfortunately, as happens more often than desired, this study did not consider the Iberian Peninsula, which was studied in: Alfonso Espronera Cerdán, "Algunos materiales sobre la vinculación de los dominicos con Santa María Magdalena a lo largo del a Historia", in: *Teología Espiritual* 29 (2005), p. 282-303. About the sermons of Saint Vincent see also: Alberto Ferreiro, "St. Vicent Ferrer's Catalán sermon on Saint Mary Magdalene", in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40/1 (2010), p. 415-433.



Fig. 9: Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. *Noli me Tangere*. Remains of frescoes in the choir. Second decade of the 15th century (Photo: Archive of Santo Domingo de Toledo).

In the 15th century Mary Magdalen had an active role in the transmission of the revealed truth, of the Word, e.g., in the work of Isabel de Villena. She is the *apostola apostolorum*, the first preacher, a controversial role, if we take into account that preaching was forbidden to women⁷³. This was represented by the episode of *Noli me tangere*, that

73 María del Mar Graña Cid, "Teólogas de una nueva memoria evangélica en el Renacimiento hispano. Jesucristo como defensor de las mujeres (Isabel de Villena y Juana de la Cruz)", in: *Memoria e Comunità Femminili. Spagna e Italia sec. XV-XVII. Memoria y comunidades femeninas. España e Italia, siglo XV-XVII*, Florence-Madrid 2011, p. 49-72. However, the problem of women preaching was solved by establishing a distinction between public preaching and private preaching or "exhortatio". The *licentiam exhortandi* was conceded to women, lay people and even some converted from heresy. However this was limited to the *aperta* of the Scriptures.

we found in a surviving fragment of the mural frescoes of the choir of Santo Domingo of Toledo, dated on the first quarter of the 15th century (fig. 9)⁷⁴. She wears luxurious garments, according to her aristocratic origin, which has been already assumed by Humbert of Romans, who quoted her as example in a sermon delivered to noble women in the middle of the 13th century⁷⁵. She was also depicted in this way in another painting dated between the 1560 and th 1580, coming from this nunnery, providing a model for the noble nuns of Toledo⁷⁶. They had little to do, therefore, with repentants of *Convertite* houses for which representations of Magdalene doing penance were preferred. This type of representation was probably a deliberate choice of the Dominican nuns of Toledo, who built their identity and idiosyncrasy essentially regarding their previous membership of a particular social group, rather than their religious status⁷⁷. Moreover, also in this case, the influence of the *Beata de Piedrahita*, the “New Magdalene” in the words of Surtz, should not be dismissed. Indeed, despite of her life of penance and mortification, she was accused by her detractors of wearing rich robes and wear long hair⁷⁸.

Even the representation of the Assumption of the Magdalene on a panel painting in the west wall of the Choir of this nunnery, dating back to the beginning of the 16th century, exemplifies the model of the contemplative life, as we can read in the incipit: *O BONE IHV LAUS TIBI / VENI, DILECTA MEA*, which are the *incipit* of two antiphons. The

74 St. Marc 16:9 and St. John 20:14–18. Previously, Martínez Caviro had considered this a depiction of the queen Catherine of Lancaster. Balbina Martínez Caviro, “El arte en el monasterio toledano de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Los monasterios de Madre de Dios y de Jesús y María”, in: *Dominicas* (cit. n. 34), p. 60.

75 However, Romans proposed also the Magdalene as model for the prostitutes. H. Romans, “De eruditione praedicatorum”, in: T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, Roma 1975; Carla Casagrande, *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII. Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borone*, Milán 1978, reedited in 1997, p. 11, 28–32.

76 Palma Martínez-Burgos García, “La meditación de la muerte en los penitentes de la pintura española del Siglo de Oro. Ascetas, melancólicos y místicos”, in: *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 1999, p. 162–163; Idem, *Dominicas* (cit. n. 34), p. 240.

77 As has been pointed out Gilchrist regarding the English nunneries. Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The Archaeology of Religious women*, London – New York 1994, p. 19, 169.

first belong to laudes of the Office of Saint Mary Magdalene⁷⁹. The second is probably a bad transcription of the responsory of the maitins of the office for female saints not virgins, which is supposed to have been a paraphrase of the text from the Song of Songs: *Veni de Libano, sponsa, mea, Veni de Libano, veni, coronaberis*⁸⁰. Moreover, this responsory is also associated to the feast of the Assumption, as, according to the *Golden Legend*, this were the words pronounced by Christ when he welcomed her mother into Heaven. As a consequence it was also frequently used in sermons delivered to nuns for praising the enclosure, and simbolized the Mystic Marriage between the nun and Christ⁸¹.

In conclusion, as we have seen, it seems clear that the devotion to the holy penitents and hermits in Castile was delayed with respect to the Italian context, probably because the reform took place also on later dates. In any case, their presence in devotional books or iconographic representations, and also their influence on the penitential practices of the nuns seems to have been closely linked to the observance or, and perhaps more importantly, to the reform movements of the late 16th century and early 17th⁸². In contrast to what happened in northern Europe, and among *convertite*, for nuns Magdalene was a model of contemplation as well as the *apostola apostolorum*.

78 Ronald, E. Surtz, *Writing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, p. 88, 100.

79 *O bone Jesus, laus tibi: remisiste peccatrici multa peccamina, quia te dilexit multum.c. Benedic. Euouae*. Alexandre Vicent Jandel, *Antiphonarium iuxta ritum sacri ordinis praedicatorum*, Mechelen 1862, vol. 2, p. 458.

80 *Veni electa mea, et ponam in te thronum meum; quia concupivit rex speciem tuam*. Alexandre Vicent Jandel, *Antiphonarium* (cit. n. 80), vol. 1, p. 111.

81 We found it also in sermons, like one deliverd by San Vicente Ferrer. "Sermón de la Asunpción de Santa Maria. RAE 294, fol. 93v in, Pedro María Catedra, *Sermón, Sociedad y literatura* (cit. n. 38), p. 431. This was the title of a sacred drama, allegorical, which was sung in the nunnery of Santa Clara of Balaguer. *Veni sponsa mea dilecta, veni libano, veni coronaberis: drama sacro, alegórico que se canta en el religiosissimo y real convneto de Santa Clara de Balaguer*, Imp. de la Real Universidad 1780.

82 About these movements among Castilian Dominicans Cf. Guillermo Nieva Ocampo "La creación de la Observancia" (cit. n. 22).

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Finally, regarding this cult and others we must consider also the outstanding role of some women in the development of liturgy and devotions inside the cloisters, and also outside of them. This was the case of Constanza de Castilla in Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid or Chiara Gambacorta, in Santo Domingo di Pisa. This last one had a special devotion to Saint Bridget of Sweden. Notwithstanding the saint was not included in the Dominican calendar, due to the influence and efforts of Chiara, she was especially celebrated in the Pissan nunnery. Moreover, she contributed to spread her worship in the city⁸³. In conclusion, Dominican nuns seem to have had both inward and outward interaction, as they not only imitated urban liturgy inside the cloister but they had sometimes fostered the spreading of some devotions outside the walls, into the city.

⁸³ Ann Roberts, *Dominican Women* (cit. n. 32), p. 84–91; Celeste Aida Cruz-Carandang, *Divine Intervention: Visionary Imagery and authority in the Convent of San Domenico of Pisa*, Honor Thesis at the Washington and Lee University, 2011. <http://annie.wlu.edu/record=b1781892> (consulted on the 8th of January 2014).