

PREACHING TO THE MASSES: THE VISUAL PRESENCE OF THE  
DOMINICAN ORDER IN VALENCIA, 1350-1500

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Taryn Chubb

January 2013

© 2013 Taryn Chubb

PREACHING TO THE MASSES: THE VISUAL PRESENCE OF THE  
DOMINICAN ORDER IN VALENCIA, 1350-1500

Taryn Chubb, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2013

By the late fourteenth century, Iberian Dominicans had established convents throughout the Peninsula from which they set forth to fulfill their mission to preach. The friars were particularly active in the region of Valencia, where they were led by a native Valencian, Vicente Ferrer. Vicente and his fellow friars were a visible presence throughout Iberia and beyond, preaching to prepare believers and unbelievers alike for what they believed was the imminent end of the world. During the early years of the fifteenth century, the friars' preaching and the texts they published brought the spiritual focus of the Dominican Order out of the convents and into the public eye. These works of art brought their words to life and the combination of words and images made the Dominicans' message even more effective. This study is a comprehensive analysis of the friars' historical significance that brings historical, textual, and visual evidence together to reveal the ways in which the Dominicans, with Vicente Ferrer leading the way, made themselves and their ideas known in late medieval Valencia.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Taryn E.L. Chubb graduated with honors from Hood College in Frederick, Maryland in 2003, receiving her Bachelor of Arts degree in Art and Spanish. In 2005, she was granted her Master of Arts degree in art history from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. She received a doctorate in the History of Art from Cornell University in 2013.

For dad, mom, and Mark

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I began working on Vicente Ferrer as a graduate student at Southern Methodist University in 2003, I quickly realized that there was much work to be done not only on the Valencian saint, but also on the Dominicans of medieval Iberia more broadly. Many thanks to my thesis advisor at SMU, Dr. Pamela Patton, who first took me to see a panel painting of Vicente Ferrer at the Meadows Museum and who provided guidance and support throughout the research and writing process. Her encouragement and friendship have been invaluable as the project has progressed.

Thanks are also due to my dissertation advisor at Cornell University, Dr. Cynthia Robinson, for her assistance in facilitating the expansion of my Master's thesis into this dissertation and to the two other members of my committee, Dr. Annetta Alexandridis and Dr. Simone Pinet. All three have provided important advice in regard to my research, methodology, and writing, but above all, they have helped me learn to navigate the complex world of academia and academic publishing.

This project would not have been possible without the assistance of several organizations, including Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University, the Department of the History of Art and the Graduate School at Cornell University, and my current academic home, East Central University in Ada, Oklahoma. Research travel funding was provided by the Frank and Gretel Dechert Goldring Fellowship, granted by the Department of the History of Art at Cornell University, The Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University, The Society for the Humanities at Cornell University, and the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family and friends for their support throughout the seven years that I have been working on this project. I could

not have done any of this without them and I owe particular thanks to Maile, Leah, Mark, Neesa, my brother, and most of all, my parents.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Biographical Sketch.....	iii
Dedication .....	iv
Acknowledgements .....	v-vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Figures .....	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction and State of the Field .....	1
Chapter 2: A Brief History of the City and Region of Valencia .....	19
Chapter 3: Dominican Formation, Education, and Mission .....	32
Chapter 4: The Convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia.....	57
Chapter 5: The Dominicans Beyond the Convent of Santo Domingo .....	86
Chapter 6: Conclusion .....	116
Figures.....	120
Bibliography .....	160

## LIST OF FIGURES

### Maps

1. The city of Valencia at the beginning of the fourteenth century.....120
2. The city of Valencia in 1391 .....121

### Figures

1. First *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....122
2. Second *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....123
3. Third *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....124
4. Fourth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....125
5. Fifth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....126
6. Sixth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....127
7. Seventh *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....128
8. Eighth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition .....129
9. Ninth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition.....130
10. First *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....131
11. Second *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....132
12. Third *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....133
13. Fourth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....134
14. Fifth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition.....135
15. Sixth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....136
16. Seventh *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....137
17. Eighth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition .....138
18. Ninth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition.....139
19. Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia .....140
20. Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia .....141
21. Plan of the Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia .....142
22. Cloister of the Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia .....143
23. The chapter room (“Sala de las Palmeras”)  
in the Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia .....144
24. Lonja de la Seda (Silk Market), Valencia .....145
25. *Scenes from the Life of St. Dominic of Guzmán*, Pere Nicolau, c. 1403 .....146
26. *Retablo de la Santa Cruz* (*Retable of the True Cross*), Miguel Alcanyis, early 15<sup>th</sup> c.....147
27. *Virgen de la Leche* (*Virgin of the Milk*), Juan Sivera, early 15<sup>th</sup> c. ....148
28. *Annunciation*, Jacomart, c. 1440-1450 .....149
29. *St. Vincent Ferrer*, Jacomart, c. 1455-1461 .....150
30. Star of David Window, Valencia Cathedral.....151
31. Pulpit of St. Vincent Ferrer, Valencia Cathedral .....152
32. *Transfiguration*, Jacomart, c. 1450 .....153

33. <i>St. Vincent Ferrer</i> , Joan Rexach, c. 1455.....	154
34. <i>Retable of St. Lawrence and St. Peter Martyr</i> (Catí altarpiece), Jacomart, c. 1460, Chapel of Joan Spigol in the parish church, Catí.....	155
35. <i>St. Vincent Ferrer</i> , Church of San Juan del Hospital, Valencia .....	156
36. <i>Retable of Sts. Vincent and Giles</i> (incomplete), Gherardo Starnina or Miguel Alcanyis, c. 1420, Church of San Juan del Hospital, Valencia .....	157
37. <i>Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer</i> , Gherardo Starnina, late 14 <sup>th</sup> c., Cartuja de Portaceli.....	158
38. <i>The Trinity Adored by All Saints</i> , Anonymous painter, early 15 <sup>th</sup> c., Cartuja of Valdecris.....	159

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND STATE OF THE FIELD

#### *Introduction*

The story of the Dominicans of Valencia begins in 1217, when the first friars were sent from France to Iberia. They had obtained a papal document of privilege in 1215 establishing them as an official monastic order under the leadership of Dominic (Domingo) of Guzmán and two years later, they were sent to work in Dominic's native Iberia.<sup>1</sup> From the beginning, the mission of the Dominican Order was to save souls through education and preaching. Long before his order was officially established, Dominic had dedicated his life to combatting heresy. En route to complete a diplomatic mission to Denmark in 1203, Dominic and his companion, Diego, Bishop of Osma, passed through Toulouse. There, they learned of the Albigensian heresy and Dominic, in particular, began to engage in debates with Albigensians, preaching against their ideas in the hope of convincing them to return to Roman Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> From 1206 until his new order was founded in 1215, Dominic preached throughout Languedoc. He often had companions on his journeys, although records are not clear about their origins. There is some evidence that local canons

---

<sup>1</sup> As John Van Engen points out in "Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers:" "The privilege, addressed initially to those 'preaching in Toulouse' was visibly altered to read 'preachers in Toulouse'—that is, from a verbal to a nominative form, from a task to a type. The privilege of 1217 had to be hand-corrected to identify its recipients not as clerics licensed to preach but as a new type called simply 'preachers.' John Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers," *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* eds. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph P. Wawrykow (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers," 19-20. On the Albigensian heresy, see, among others, Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1998), Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1992), Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity: The Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (New York: Oxford, 2008), and Mark Gregory Pegg, "On Cathars, Albigenses and Good Men of Languedoc," *Journal of Medieval History* 27/2 (2001): 181-95.

served as Dominic's assistants, although by the time the order was officially recognized, he had several Iberian companions as well.<sup>3</sup>

Following the establishment of the Order of Preachers, Dominic's mission was expanded to include areas outside of France. As a result, in 1217, Iberian Dominicans Suero Gómez, Pedro de Madrid, Domingo de Segovia, and Miguel de Ucerro made their way across the Pyrenees from France into their native land in order to fulfill the mission of the Friars Preacher by establishing convents throughout a region where military conflicts were frequent and religious tensions high.<sup>4</sup> The order expanded and gained strength during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, becoming famous for combating heresy and extolling the virtues of Christianity to unbelievers.<sup>5</sup> By the fourteenth century, the Dominicans had founded convents throughout the Iberian Peninsula, building them along the walls of cities, where the austere architecture favored by the order stood out among the more elaborate cathedrals and parish churches located nearby.<sup>6</sup> Within the walls of these convents, the friars pursued their studies, preparing to fulfill their mission, and they also invited the public into their cloisters to confess, attend Mass, and participate in other community gatherings. In the years following their arrival on the peninsula, the Dominicans were involved in much more than

---

<sup>3</sup> Simon Tugwell, ed. and trans, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York, 1982), 11-3.

<sup>4</sup> Francisco García-Serrano, *Preachers of the City: The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217-1348)* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1997), 1. The history of medieval Iberia has been the subject of several publications including: Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London: MacMillan, 1977), Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and Larry J. Simon, ed. *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> *Expositio magistri Humberti super Constitutiones fratrum Praedicatorum*, in Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier, II (Turin, 1956), 38 and M. Michèle Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study..." *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998), 3-4.

<sup>6</sup> For the regulations regarding the appearance of Dominican convents, see section XXXV of the constitution in Francis C. Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents* (Washington, D.C.: Thomist Press, 1964), 209-251.

simply saving souls; they became allies to both the monarchy and the greater church and, as a consequence, important actors in the history of medieval Iberia.

As will become apparent in the survey of the state of the field included here, little has been written about the Dominicans in Iberia, aside from a few histories of the order and publications on the writing and preaching of specific friars.<sup>7</sup> The scholarship is largely silent on the subject of the early texts that informed the Dominicans' ideas and the works of art produced for Dominican contexts or as a result of their preaching.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, there are no studies that consider the depth and breadth of the Dominicans' historical presence in Iberia. Precisely what role did they play in the medieval history of the peninsula? For the Iberian Dominicans in particular, what texts informed their preaching? What kinds of images were present in their convents? Did the Dominicans develop and employ a specific visual language for works of art that was similar to the language they used in their preaching and writing? How did they engage with established visual and religious traditions? What was the nature of their visual presence in Iberia and what impact did that presence have on the surrounding community, both secular and religious?<sup>9</sup> Focusing on the region of

---

<sup>7</sup> These histories include: Hernando de Castillo, *Primera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores* (1584-1592), Juan de la Cruz, *Corónica de la Orden de Predicadores, de su principio y suceso hasta nuestra edad* (Lisbon, 1567), *Historia de la Provincia de España de la Orden de Predicadores* (Madrid, 1725-1734), Juan López, *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores* (Valladolid, 1613), and Michael Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers: Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-Century Dominican Convents* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Francisco García-Serrano includes an excellent critical survey of the available sources as well as a partial explanation for the paucity of scholarship on the Dominicans in: García-Serrano, 4-5. For medieval Iberian Dominican writing and preaching, see Celedonia Fuentes, *Escritores dominicos del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia, 1930) and Laureano Robles, *Escritores Dominicanos de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)* (Salamanca, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> There are, of course, the notable exceptions of M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study": Dominican Education Before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998) and Simon Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York, 1982).

<sup>9</sup> I specifically use the term "visual presence" in this text to indicate the multi-faceted nature of friars' existence in Valencia. The Dominicans made themselves known not only in the physical presence of the friars as they went about their daily lives in public places, but also in art and architecture. Even the texts they produced existed in material and, therefore, visual form. As one of the first monastic communities to live among the general population and carry out

Valencia, where the friars were particularly active during the late medieval period, and bringing primary textual and visual sources together, this project will provide a comprehensive analysis of their historical significance and the ways in which they made themselves and their ideas known in late medieval Valencia. This study will thus be a significant contribution to the scholarship on the religious practices and artistic production of the period, about which little has been written.

### *Methodology*

In a recent article for *History Compass*, Donald S. Prudlo offers a useful, albeit brief, discussion of the state of the field for Dominican studies in which he addresses everything from the publication of primary sources to scholarship on specific aspects of Dominican life and practice, including liturgy, art, and gender studies, among others.<sup>10</sup> Prudlo's article includes an extensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources, but he does limit the article to the first hundred years of the order's existence. As an "outline for comprehensive studies of the Friars Preachers," Prudlo's article is understandably general, but one of his goals is to point out potential avenues for future research, including the importance of contextualizing any discussion of the order. In fact, his concept of a "comprehensive study" of the Dominicans parallels my own conviction that the only way we can truly begin to understand both the members of the order and their relationship to others is through focused case studies.

---

active roles within secular society, the complex nature of their presence, which was highly visible, is important to bear in mind.

<sup>10</sup> Donald S. Prudlo, "The Friars Preachers: The First Hundred Years of the Dominican Order," *History Compass* 8/11 (2010): 1275-1290.

A handful of such comprehensive case studies on the Dominicans have been undertaken, although none of them address medieval Iberia.<sup>11</sup> The most well-known are Jeffrey Hamburger's publications on Dominican nuns' convents, including *Nuns As Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*, which primarily focuses on the Abbey of St. Walburg in Eichstätt, Germany, and his edited volume, *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of St. John the Evangelist at the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest*.<sup>12</sup> Hamburger's methodology is an example to anyone who claims to take an "interdisciplinary" approach. Joanna Cannon has also contributed important case studies on the Dominicans in Italy in such publications as "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Sieneese Polyptych," and "Dominic *alter Christus*? Representations of the Founder in and after the *Arca di San Domenico*."<sup>13</sup> As art historians, both Hamburger and Cannon demonstrate the richness that is to be found in considering text, image, and context together, concentrating on a specific place or group of people at a particular time in history. Although it is an idea perhaps not commonly accepted or even considered at all, texts are not the only primary sources left for us to study. Works of art and architecture, like texts, were produced by and for medieval audiences and each person who was part of the creation and use of such works imbued them with additional

---

<sup>11</sup> Jeryldene M. Wood has written case studies on the Poor Clares that are also useful methodological examples. See Jeryldene M. Wood, "Breaking the Silence: the Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (Summer, 1995): 262-86 and *Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of St. John the Evangelist at the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008). Other of Hamburger's publications are also important contributions to the field, although not all are extensive case studies. See, for example *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland ca. 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, (New York: Zone, 1998), and Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds., *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> Joanna Cannon, "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Sieneese Polyptych," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 69-93 and "Dominic *alter Christus*? Representations of the Founder in and after the *Arca di San Domenico*" in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, eds. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1998).

significance, whether personal or corporate. If, as both Hamburger and Cannon have so eloquently demonstrated for Germany and Italy, we attempt to learn as much as possible about medieval Iberian Dominicans, we might better understand their lives, ideologies, and actions through the texts and images they left behind.

### *State of the Field*

Over the past twenty-five years, there has been an increased interest in the patronage, production, and use of medieval images, pushing art historical scholarship on the medieval period beyond the discussions of attribution and iconography that characterized many early studies. David Freedberg's *The Power of Images*, published in 1989, was one of the first steps in this direction, although it is not exclusively concerned with medieval art. Freedberg's text focuses on reception theory and it is organized by types of responses rather than chronology; therefore, his analysis of the response to medieval images is scattered throughout the book. Of particular note for the purposes of the present study is the eighth chapter, "*Invisibilia per visibilia: Meditation and the Uses of Theory*," in which Freedberg discusses, among other things, "image-assisted meditation."<sup>14</sup> More specifically speaking to the functions of religious images in the medieval period is Michael Camille's *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art*. Since its publication in 1989, Camille's book has challenged art historians to think about the multiple ideologies and meanings that were

---

<sup>14</sup> David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

infused into individual works of art and how those images were deployed for particular purposes.<sup>15</sup>

A similar body of scholarship that took up the issue of the history and use of “devotional” images, specifically, emerged in the 1990s. Such publications have been helpful in considering the contexts in which certain kinds of texts and images were commissioned and used, but many of them cover a broad range of dates, generalize about “all of medieval Europe,” or focus exclusively on Northern European or Italian examples. Furthermore, the use of the term “devotional” to describe religious images is problematic and rarely addressed by such scholars. Two of the best known of these publications are Hans Belting’s 1990 *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages* and his 1994 *Likeness and Presence: A History of Images before the Era of Art*, which are almost exclusively concerned with the use of so-called devotional images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and saints and do not include any Iberian images.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann’s 1998 edited volume, *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, is an attempt by a variety of scholars to specifically consider late medieval devotion through the analysis of Passion-focused texts and images.<sup>17</sup> This volume is somewhat more useful for the purposes of the present study primarily because it does define “devotion” in broad terms as a reaction and a response to Christian texts and images with the ultimate goal of achieving a “direct and

---

<sup>15</sup> Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages* (Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990) and *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998).

personal relationship with the crucified Christ.”<sup>18</sup> In addition, the volume includes several case studies and, although none of them is specific to medieval Iberia, Michael Camille’s “Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Double-sided Panel by Meister Francke” does include a discussion of an image likely made for Dominicans in Germany.<sup>19</sup> More recently, in 2004, Beth Williamson’s article, “Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion,” reviewed much of the previous scholarship on Christian devotional imagery and offered some ideas for future research. Williamson points out that for medieval images, detailed contextual analysis is not always possible and she argues that such images are still ripe for other kinds of analysis. She also warns against the strict categorization of religious images as *either* liturgical or devotional because many images likely served multiple purposes in their original contexts.<sup>20</sup>

Jeffrey Hamburger’s *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* was published in 1998 and, although the title of the book reveals its relative specificity when compared to the aforementioned publications, Hamburger, too, takes up the issue of “devotion.”<sup>21</sup> By examining texts and images within the specific context of a late medieval German audience of religious women, his analysis of medieval devotion is more thoughtful and nuanced than the generalizations made by previous scholars. Although these publications do not address medieval Iberia specifically, no one denies that medieval

---

<sup>18</sup> MacDonald et al., 14.

<sup>19</sup> MacDonald et al., 183-210.

<sup>20</sup> Beth Williamson, “Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion,” *Speculum* 79 (2004): 341-406. Like much of the previous scholarship, Williamson’s article is broad in scope and does not address Iberia or the Dominicans specifically. For another example of generalization about medieval devotion, see Richard Kieckhefer, “Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion,” in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation* eds. Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, John Meyendorff (New York: Routledge, 1987): 75-108.

<sup>21</sup> Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998). For his introductory remarks on “devotion,” see page 19.

Iberians were also religious and, as such, that they must have developed some way of practicing their faith, both in communal worship and private devotion. What is less clear, however, is the precise nature of medieval Iberian Christian religious practice. Certainly, there is evidence of the kinds of activities one would expect: private patronage of religious institutions in the form of both texts and works of art and architecture, commissions of personal prayer books and other religious writings by wealthy patrons, as well as the expectation of regular attendance at Mass and receiving other Sacraments, but a complete understanding of medieval Iberian Christianity has yet to be realized. Within the last decade, a few scholars have emerged who have begun to look critically at Iberian images and the contexts in which they were produced and used, including Joan Molina, Felipe Pereda, and Cynthia Robinson.<sup>22</sup> As such scholarship proves, the best method for addressing the issue of Iberian medieval religious practice is to consider specific cases. The present project takes such focused analyses as models for the study of the Dominicans of medieval Valencia. With few extant documents from their archives and only a handful of works of art that can be connected to the medieval convent, it is difficult to reconstruct the context of the friars' daily lives and work as well as the impact they had on the larger community in which they lived. Nevertheless, it is clear that they played an important and highly visible role in medieval Valencia, so even the faintest sketch of their experiences and activities is important,

---

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Joan Molina Figueras, *Arte, devoción, y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999) and "La imagen y su contexto. Perfiles de la iconografía antijudía en la España medieval," *Els jueus a la girona medieval (XII ciclo de conferències Girona a l'Abast)* (Girona: Bell-lloc, 2007), 33-85, Felipe Pereda, *Las Imágenes de la Discordia* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), Cynthia Robinson, *Imag(in)ing Passions: Christ, the Virgin, Images and Devotion in a Multi-Confessional Castile, 14th-15th c.* (Penn State University Press, 2013), "Preaching to the Converted: Valladolid's 'Cristianos Nuevos' and the 'Retablo de Don Sancho de Rojas (1415 A.D.),' *Speculum* 83/1 (Jan. 2008): 112-63, "El Retablo de Miraflores romanizado o, ¿qué significa ser un Van der Weyden en Castilla?," in Rocío Sánchez Ameijeira, ed., *Gótico y Frontera. En busca de nuevos paradigmas para el estudio del gótico hispano* (Murcia: Nausícaa, 2010).

not only for our understanding of the history of Valencia, but also for the history of medieval Iberia more broadly.

Today, the complex that once housed the Dominicans of Valencia is a parish church with only a few remaining references in its art and architecture to its original purpose and inhabitants.<sup>23</sup> In a city full of architectural monuments that are open to both tourists and scholars, the convent complex is only open to the public for a few hours each week during peak tourism months and most visitors to the complex are only able to see a single chapel and the nave of the main church. Such limited access requires scholars to rely heavily on published materials, which are not plentiful. These consist of a few monographs on the convent, most notably Vicente Gascón Pelegrí's *El Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo*, published in 1975, and Arturo Zaragoza Catalán's *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia*, published in 1995. While Gascón Pelegrí treats the medieval history of the Dominican convent in some detail, including references to documentary evidence, Zaragoza Catalán dispenses with it in a few pages. Neither book contains much information about the works of art that the Dominicans possessed or what the interior or exterior of the convent looked like prior to the renovations that took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>24</sup>

Looking further afield for information on the art and architecture of medieval Valencia, including works that may have belonged to the Dominicans, brings one to a somewhat more abundant body of scholarship. Prior to the 1980s, most of the studies on

---

<sup>23</sup> These include sculptures of St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, and St. Vincent Ferrer near the main entrance to the complex as well as seventeenth-century paintings depicting some of the same figures on the ceiling of the nave of the church. The Dominican convent in Valencia will be discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter. Arturo Zaragoza Catalán, *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995), 4 and 14.

<sup>24</sup> Vicente Gascón Pelegrí, *El Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo* (Valencia, 1975) and Arturo Zaragoza Catalán, *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995).

medieval Iberian art and architecture consisted of general surveys, museum catalogs, and the occasional monograph about a famous artist or work of art.<sup>25</sup> If one carefully mines some of the Spanish journals of the period, such as the *Archivo Español de Arte* and the *Archivo de arte Valenciana*, there are brief mentions of lesser-known works of art, but these short articles primarily address issues of style, attribution, and provenance. What is absent from this scholarship is substantive analysis of the art and architecture. Questions of context, such as patronage, function, and audience have largely been left unasked. Unfortunately, following the dissolution of many monastic communities in mid-nineteenth century Spain, the majority of the documents and works of art relating to the Convent of Santo Domingo were transferred to other institutions or have completely disappeared.

Although medieval Iberians produced works of art in a variety of media from manuscripts and panel paintings to sculptures and textiles, manuscripts and paintings have survived in far greater numbers and are, therefore, the best studied. Few medieval manuscripts produced or used by Iberian Dominicans survived the dissolution of the convents in the nineteenth century; therefore, this study will primarily focus on painting.

---

<sup>25</sup> These include J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Pintura spagnola del period omanico a "El Greco"* (Barcelona, 1964), José Camón Aznar, "Pintura medieval española," *Summa Artis* 22 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1966), James Clifton, *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain, 1150-1800* (Munich: Prestel, 1997), Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *La pintura española fuera de España* (Madrid, 1958), José Gudiol Ricart, "Pintura gótica," *Ars Hispaniae* 9 (Madrid: Ed. Plus Ultra, 1955), José Gudiol Ricart, *Spanish Painting* (Ohio: Museo de Arte de Toledo, 1941), E. Guré Trapier, *Catalogue of Paintings (14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century) in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1930), *The International Style. The Arts in Europe Around 1400* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve historia de la pintura española* (Madrid, 1953), Elie Lambert, *El arte gótico en España* (Barcelona: Arte Gótico, Historia del Arte Labor, Vol. VII, 1932), Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispánico*, Vol. III (Barcelona, 1940), August Mayer, *Historia de la pintura española* (Madrid, 1928), Juan José Martín González, "Tipología e iconografía del retablo español del renacimiento," *Boletín del seminario del estudios de arte y arqueología de Valladolid* 30 (1964): 5-66, Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* 14 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930-66), G. Richert, *La pintura medieval en España. Pinturas murals, tablas catalanas* (Barcelona, 1926), José Sanchis Sivera, *La Catedral de Valencia. Guía histórica y artística* (Valencia: F. Vives Mora, 1909), José Sanchis Sivera, "Pintores medievales en Valencia," *Archivo de Arte Valenciana*, 1930-1931, and José Sanchis Sivera, *Pintores medievales en Valencia* (Barcelona: Tip. L'Avenç, 1914).

For decades, the principal study of Iberian painting was Chandler R. Post's fourteen-volume *A History of Spanish Painting*, published between 1930 and 1966. A traditional survey of medieval Iberian painting, Post's *opus magnum* is almost exclusively concerned with attribution and stylistic analysis, offering very little in the way of contextual inquiry. Judith Berg Sobré's *Behind the Altar Table*, published in 1989, stimulated interest in a subject that had not been addressed substantively since Post's multivolume series several decades earlier. Sobré's book, although it lacks detailed contextual analysis and focuses only on retables, or altarpieces, identifies the basic forms and functions of Iberian altarpieces and analyzes some of the extant contracts for these works.<sup>26</sup> In the ensuing decades, a handful of monographs have been produced, in addition to numerous exhibition catalogs. These publications have taken small steps toward addressing some of the aforementioned issues of context, patronage, function, and audience for medieval Iberian painting, but much work remains to be done.<sup>27</sup>

Founded in France in 1215 by a native Iberian, Dominic de Guzmán, the Dominicans almost immediately made their way to their leader's homeland to begin

---

<sup>26</sup> Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia, MO, 1989).

<sup>27</sup> These include Ana Avila, "La imagen del retablo en la pintura española del primer Renacimiento," *Goya* 219 (November/December 1990): 149-55, José María Azcárate, *Arte Gótico en España* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), Ximo Company i Climent, *La Pintura Hispanoflamenca* (Valencia: Ediciones Alfons el Magnànim, 1990), Ximo Company i Climent, *La pintura del renaixement* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987), Ximo Company i Climent, *La pintura del renaixement al ducat de Gandia* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1985), Francesca Español and Joaquín Yarza, *Catàleg d'escultura i pintura medieval* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1991), Barbara Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez and Juan Manuel Bonet, *La pintura española*, (Milan: Electa, 1995), *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo*, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001), *Reyes y mecenas. Los Reyes Católicos, Maximilio I y los inicios de la casa de Austria* (Toledo, Museo de Santa Cruz, 1992), Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table. The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989). Particularly noteworthy recent publications include Begoña Alonso Ruiz, et al., *Patronos y coleccionistas: los condestables de Castilla y el arte (siglos XV-XVII)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2005), Joan Molina, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999), Joan Molina, *Bernat Martorell i la tardor del gòtic català: el context artístic del retaule de Púbol* (Girona: Museu d'Art de Girona, 2003), and Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007).

establishing convents.<sup>28</sup> Although they are no longer present in great numbers on the peninsula, the Dominicans played an important role in its history and they were a visible and active presence in cities, towns, and villages. While there is no single chronicle of the Dominican presence in medieval Iberia, the Dominicans did leave evidence of their presence behind in the texts they read and wrote and in the works of art and architecture they commissioned, used, and inspired.

Recent scholarship on the Dominicans in Iberia is limited to Francisco García-Serrano's *Preachers of the City: The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217-1348)* and Michael A. Vargas' *Taming a Brood of Vipers: Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-Century Dominican Convents*. García-Serrano's book is a useful historic survey of the presence of the Dominicans in Castile, which is well-written and well-researched. Unfortunately, the scope of the book is too limited in both subject and date range to be applied specifically to this project beyond providing foundational material. Vargas' study offers insight into the activities of the Dominicans in the Province of Aragón during the fourteenth century, although it is historical rather than art historical and also limited to a single century.<sup>29</sup>

Iberian Dominican preaching and writing, including that of the famous Valencian friar Vicente Ferrer, on the other hand, has been examined by several scholars, but none have addressed the magnitude of the historical importance of this evidence or the ways in which the ideas presented in sermons and other publications may have been put into

---

<sup>28</sup> For the Dominicans in general, see R F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans* (Cambridge, 1937), Kent Emery and Joseph P. Wawrykow, eds., *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (New York: Alba House, 1975), C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London, 1994), and Simon Tugwell ed. and trans., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York, 1982).

<sup>29</sup> Francisco García-Serrano, *Preachers of the City: The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217-1348)* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1997) and Michael A. Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers: Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-century Dominican Convents* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

practice. Even fewer of these sources deal with images of Dominicans or images that might be connected to their ideas. Scholarship on Vicente Ferrer, in particular, focuses on his life and work in general and on his ties to political and ecclesiastical affairs, specifically.<sup>30</sup>

There are only a few early hagiographies of Vicente Ferrer, most notably Pietro Ranzano's *Life of St. Vincent Ferrer*, written shortly after his canonization, and Francisco Diago's *Historia de la vida, milagros, muerte y discipulos del bienaventurado predicador apostolic valenciano san Vicente Ferrer de la Orden de Predicadors*, written in the sixteenth century. Many more hagiographic texts have been published in the subsequent centuries, especially in the years surrounding the fifth centenary of Vicente Ferrer's canonization in 1955. The connection of these works to the Roman Catholic Church results in a somewhat one-sided picture of the saint's life, in which his good deeds and miracles are highlighted, while the motivations behind his actions and the consequences of those actions are minimized or ignored. Furthermore, many of these works were written several hundred years after Vicente's death and rely heavily on legend rather than on factual information. Although these hagiographies lack reliable historical information about the saint's life, they do provide valuable insight into the ways in which Vicente has been perceived by Christians and are important for the study of the development of his cult and his iconography.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> For additional sources regarding Vicente Ferrer's involvement in political and ecclesiastical affairs, see Ramón Arnau-García, *San Vicente Ferrer y las eclesiologías del Cisma* (Valencia: Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer, 1987), Vicente Genoves, *San Vicente Ferrer en la política de su tiempo*, (Madrid: Instituto de estudios políticos, 1943), and J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *San Vicente Ferrer y la Casa Real de Aragón*, (Barcelona: Balmesiana, 1955).

<sup>31</sup> Hagiographies of Vicente Ferrer include: Quintín Aldea Vaquero, et al., "Vicente Ferrer" in *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Florez, 1972), Vicente Justiniano Antist and José M. Garganta, *Biografía y escritos de San Vicente Ferrer* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1956), Francisco Diago, *Historia de la vida, milagros, muerte y discipulos del bienaventurado predicador apostolic valenciano San Vicente Ferrer de la Orden de Predicadores* (Valencia: Librería Paris-Valencia, 2001), Josep María de Garganta, "San Vicente Ferrer, Predicador de Penitencia y de Reforma," in *Convegno Internazionale Agiografia Nell'Occidente Cristiano Secoli XIII-XV* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1980), Joan Francesc Mira, *San Vicente Ferrer: Vida y Leyenda de un Predicador* (Valencia: Algar Editorial, 2002), Miquel Pérez, *La vida de sant Vicent Ferrer*

Fortunately, such biographical accounts of Vicente Ferrer's life and works can be augmented by documentary evidence, such as collections of his sermons and accounts of his involvement in political and ecclesiastical affairs. While many of Vicente Ferrer's sermons are available in archives in Valencia and Madrid, the majority of them have been published. Among the more notable of these are Pedro Cátedra's *Sermón, Sociedad y Literatura en la Edad Media: San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411-1412)*, which chronicles one year of Vicente Ferrer's itinerant preaching throughout Castile, and Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and Maria Luz Mandingorra Llavata's *Sermonario de San Vicente Ferrer*, which is a transcription of a manuscript of the sermons preached by Vicente Ferrer in Morella, a town outside of the city of Valencia, in 1414. The original manuscript, believed to have been written by the saint himself, is kept by the Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia as a relic and is, therefore, not available for scholarly consultation.<sup>32</sup>

The history of medieval Iberia is usually presented in scholarship as beginning with the arrival of Berbers, natives of North Africa, along with Arab armies of Syrian origin, in 711, which resulted in much of the peninsula coming under Muslim control by the middle of the eighth century.<sup>33</sup> Over the next several centuries, Christians embarked on the so-called "Reconquest," which ended with the fall of Granada to the Catholic kings, Ferdinand and

---

(Valencia: Vicent García Editores, 1994), Pietro Ranzano, *Vita S. Vincentii Ferrerii*, 1455, and José Teixidor, *Vida de San Vicente Ferrer, apóstol de Europa* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> For the text of Vicente Ferrer's sermons, see Josepho Anta Jares, *La predicación Cristiana en la doctrina de San Vicente Ferrer (1350-1419)* (Astorga, 1962), Pedro M. Cátedra García, *Sermón, Sociedad, y Literatura en la Edad Media: San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411-1412)* (Castilla y León: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1994), Sebastian Fuster, *'Tímete Deum': el anticristo y el final de la historia segun San Vicnete Ferrer*, (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2004), Manuel Sanchis Guarner, *Sermons de Quaresma* (Valencia: Clássics Albatros, 1973), and José Sanchis Sivera, *Sant Vicent Ferrer Sermons* (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1932).

<sup>33</sup> Reilly, 51-4.

Isabel, in 1492.<sup>34</sup> Such a simplistic summary of several centuries of the history of Iberia does little to convey the richness of its past, culture, and the diverse population that gave it life. Nevertheless, the story of medieval Iberia is often presented in just this way—sweeping histories of the entire peninsula that only address the most well-known people, places, and events, books that generalize about entire populations (how the Jews were treated in medieval Iberia, for example, or how the Christians rebuilt cities following the “Reconquest”), and studies that address the issue of “convivencia,” or “coexistence,” in general.<sup>35</sup>

I do not draw attention to these histories with the intent of discrediting them; rather, I am grateful to the scholars who brought the history of medieval Iberia to light. Today, however, with over a century of this kind of scholarship behind us, it is clear that the most fruitful methods of inquiry are those that consider specific people and places at particular

---

<sup>34</sup> The term “Reconquest” has been used to describe the period of Iberian history during which Christians fought against Muslims to regain lands that they believed were rightfully theirs. The debate over whether or not any group of people can lay claim to lands held by another group is not something that is within the scope of this dissertation to resolve, but I use the term here not only because it is the label traditionally given to this period of Iberian history, but also because this is how medieval Iberian Christians saw the situation. Our modern conception of this issue is more complicated than the medieval Christian understanding, as is noted in some of the sources listed in the following footnote.

<sup>35</sup> For general histories of medieval Iberia, see Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London: MacMillan, 1977), Joseph O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and Larry J. Simon, ed., *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). For the “Reconquest,” see Pascual Buresi, *La Frontière entre chrétienté et Islam dans la péninsule Ibérique* (Paris: Publibook, 2004), Robert Ignatius Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth Century Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), Vicente Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes: El conflicto que fue España* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1978), Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), D. W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (New York: Longman, 1978), and Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). On the issue of “convivencia” or the co-existence of Christians, Jews, and Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula, see Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), Elena Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon* (Hampshire: Variorum, 1990), Vivian B. Mann et al, eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: G. Brazillier, 1992), James M. Powell, ed. *Muslims Under Latin Rule 1100-1300* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), and Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Christian, and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

moments in time. This survey of the state of the field of medieval religious practices, art and architecture, the Dominican Order, and the history of medieval Iberia makes clear the necessity of a specific comprehensive study of the visual presence of the Dominicans in medieval Iberia. As a part of a larger body of new scholarship, this dissertation addresses the Dominicans of Valencia in regard to history, politics, literature, art, architecture, religion, and spirituality. A simple history of the friars in medieval Iberia or even in medieval Valencia, one that relies on written sources alone, is not enough. Works of art and architecture unveil another dimension of the Dominicans' presence and, like documents, they are primary sources. Together, these texts and images provide invaluable insight into the ideas that the Dominicans espoused and the ways in which they communicated those ideas. In addition, it is important to remember that the Dominicans made themselves highly visible to the community by participating fully in the daily activities of city life, regularly interacting with the public and, therefore, spreading their ideas directly to those with whom they came in contact.

### *Conclusion*

This study is organized in order to provide the reader with a broad view of both the city and region of Valencia and the Dominican Order that will contextualize the specific analysis of works of art that are associated with the friars. Chapter two focuses on the history of Valencia from Jaime I's capture of the city in 1238 through the fifteenth century and chapter three addresses the history of the order as well as the education of the friars, including the texts that informed their mission, preaching, and religious practices. The

convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia is the subject of chapter four, which specifically examines the architectural spaces in which the friars lived, worked, and interacted with the public as well as the works of art that were present in those spaces. Chapter five analyzes the evidence of the visual presence of the Valencian friars outside of the convent of Santo Domingo in the cathedral, local parish churches, and other monastic institutions. Beginning with an analysis of the friars' preparation for their mission to "save souls" through preaching and teaching and continuing with a consideration of the ways in which they made themselves and their ideas known, not only in sermons and other public fora, but also through the works of art and architecture that reflect those ideas, this comprehensive study will reveal the important role the friars played in the history of late medieval Valencia.

## CHAPTER 2: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CITY AND REGION OF VALENCIA

### *Introduction*

Nestled in the mountains on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, the city of Valencia has been an important commercial and artistic center for centuries. Valencia (originally known as “Valentia”) was founded on the Túria River by the Romans in 138 C.E., although there had been Iberian, Celtic, Phoenician, and Greek settlements in the area (then known as “Edetania”) since the Paleolithic period.<sup>36</sup> The city has been, at various times during its history, occupied by Romans, Visigoths, Byzantines, Muslims, and Christians. Valencia also plays an important role in the *Song of the Cid*, one of the most famous works of medieval Iberian literature, in which the Cid captures the city in 1094, maintaining control until he dies in 1099.<sup>37</sup> Valencia’s central location along the Mediterranean coast and the established port made it a particularly valuable land to possess. Because this study is primarily concerned with late medieval Valencia, the brief history of the city included here begins in 1238, with a city under siege by Jaime I (“El Conquistador” or “The Conquerer”) and his army of French, English, German, Italian, and Iberian Christians.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Ramón Ruiz Amadó, “Valencia” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1912), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15251b.htm> (accessed March 12, 2010) and Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, 1.

<sup>37</sup> For the *Song of the Cid* see Raffel Burton and Maria Rosa Menocal, *The song of the Cid: a dual-language edition with parallel text* (New York: Penguin, 2009), which includes a summary of the scholarship on pages xxvii-xxiv, Joseph Duggan, *The Cantar de Mio Cid: Poetic creation in its economic and social contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Rita Hamilton, trans., “Exile of the Cid and His Capture of Valencia (1089-1094),” in Olivia Remie Constable, ed., *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), *The Poem of the Cid*, trans. Rita Hamilton (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1975), and *The Poem of the Cid*, trans. Paul Blackburn (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

<sup>38</sup> For the history of Iberia, including Valencia, before the thirteenth century, see Thomas N. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), S. J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London: Macmillan, 1977), Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval*

## *Jaime I and the Conquest of Valencia*

Jaime I's campaign to take Valencia began on April 4, 1238 and lasted for several months.<sup>39</sup> On September 28 of the same year, the Muslim ruler of Valencia, Zayyan ibn Madarnish, surrendered the city to the Christian king.<sup>40</sup> Although Jaime's *Chronicle* makes little mention of his triumphal entry into the city on October 9, 1238, it was (and was meant to be) a dramatic statement of conquest. Upon agreeing to the terms of surrender and giving Valencia's inhabitants five days to pack their belongings and leave, Jaime ordered his standard to be raised on the tower of the main entrance into the city, overlooking his own camp, so that everyone in the area would know that Valencia was his. After escorting the Muslim inhabitants of the city to safety in Cullera, the king made his official entrance into Valencia, followed by his political and religious advisors as well as his entire army. They immediately went to the main mosque (now the site of the cathedral), purified it with holy water, celebrated Mass, and sang the "Te Deum."<sup>41</sup> The city was then divided, beginning

---

*Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, and Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

<sup>39</sup> For the king's own account of the siege of Valencia, see Damian Smith and Helena Buffery, eds., *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan *Llibre dels Fets**. (London: Ashgate, 2003).

For a recent biography of Jaime I, including an extensive bibliography and a survey of the previous scholarship, see José Luis Villacañas, *Jaime I el Conquistador* (Madrid: Espasa, 2003).

<sup>40</sup> Francisco Diago, O. P., *Historia de la Provincia de Aragón de la Orden de Predicadores* (Barcelona, 1599), fol. 155r. For examples of poems written by Iberian Muslims responding to these events, see Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah Himyari, *Kitab al-rand al-mitar*, trans. María Pilar Maestro González (Valencia, 1963), 103-5 and A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore, 1946), 337-9.

<sup>41</sup> Ramón Ruiz Amadó, "Valencia" *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. For more on the conversion of mosques to churches in medieval Iberia, see Pascual Buresi, "Les conversions d'églises et de mosques en Espagne aux XI-XIII siècles," in *Ville et religion: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Louis Biget par ses élèves* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), 333-50, Heather Ecker, "How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 45-66, Julie Harris, "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest" *Medieval Encounters* 3/2 (1997): 158-172 and Amy G. Remensnyder, "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico" in Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein, eds., *Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 190. Specific accounts of the conversion of mosques to churches in Tudela and Toledo, respectively can be found in: M. Gómez Moreno, "La Mezquita Mayor de Tudela," *Príncipe de Viana* 6 (1945), 9-27, especially 12, and C. Delgado Valero, *Toledo islámico: ciudad, arte e historia* (Toledo, 1987), chapter 6.

with the king giving houses to the Archbishops of Narbonne and Tarragona and the bishops and barons who had been with him throughout the siege. Others, including some knights, were given land grants in the region of Valencia and, when there was no more land to give, some were granted lands in other parts of Jaime's kingdom.<sup>42</sup>

Six months later, on April 11, 1239, fulfilling a promise made a decade earlier, Jaime presented Zayyan ibn Madarnish's palace near the river on the northeast side of the city to the Dominican friar Miguel de Fabra, who was his confessor.<sup>43</sup> Miguel de Fabra thus became the founder and first prior of the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia, which was to develop into one of the most important monastic houses in the region. Fabra had received the habit of the Dominican Order directly from St. Dominic in 1216 and, along with Suero Gomez, was one of the saint's closest companions.<sup>44</sup> He was sent by Dominic to found a convent near the University of Paris in 1217 and was the first Dominican to hold a chair there.<sup>45</sup> After founding houses in Aragón and Cataluña, he

---

No such specific account exists for Valencia, but based on the similarities of mosque to church conversions in other parts of Iberia, one can infer that Valencia's main mosque was converted in the same manner.

<sup>42</sup> Roque Chabas y Llorens, "El libro del repartimiento de la ciudad y reino de Valencia," *El Archivo* III-VI-VII (Valencia, 1888-1893), 73-98, 240-50, and 365-72, respectively, Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 155r, Jacqueline Guiral, "L'évolution du paysage urbain à Valencia du XIII au XVI siècle" in *La ciudad hispanica durante los siglos XIII al XVI* vol. II (Madrid, 1985): 1585, and Jaime I, *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, trans. John Forster (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883), 398-401. Many of these documents are reproduced in: Ambrosio Huici Miranda and Maria Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime I De Aragon*, vol. II (1237-1250) (Valencia, 1976). Other documents held in the archive of the Crown of Aragon are listed in: J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Indice cronológico de la colección de documentos inéditos del archive de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1958). Two documents regarding the disposition of Valencian mosques are reproduced in Huici Miranda and Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragon*, 42 and 44.

<sup>43</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 156r. The document of privilege from Jaime I for the foundation of a Dominican convent in Valencia is reproduced in Huici Miranda and Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, 57.

<sup>44</sup> "The Friars Preachers" *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris: Editiones Beauchesne, 1957), <http://www.domcentral.org/study/ashley/ds00intr.htm> (accessed February 12, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> E. Michael Gerli, ed., "Dominican Order, or Order of Preachers" *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 288.

became Jaime I's confessor.<sup>46</sup> As Jaime embarked upon his quest to take back the lands he believed were rightfully his from Muslim rulers, Miguel de Fabra was by his side, wearing his habit and brandishing a sword. Fabra claimed that he was "working along with the son of God."<sup>47</sup> He was involved in multiple skirmishes with Muslims in Mallorca and Valencia and was well known to local Muslim leaders.<sup>48</sup> According to legend, Fabra was famous for converting Muslims in many of the places that Jaime successfully conquered.<sup>49</sup>

Following the conquest of Mallorca in 1229, Jaime offered Miguel de Fabra a convent in his chosen city as a reward if God saw fit to give him the city of Valencia as well.<sup>50</sup> True to his word, Jaime provided Miguel de Fabra with a site for a convent in Valencia in 1239. The king himself laid the first stone for the new church on April 14 of that year.<sup>51</sup> By 1252, the friars were able to remodel and enlarge the complex, which was dedicated to St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.<sup>52</sup> From the beginning, Valencian Dominicans had strong ties not only to the king, but also to St. Dominic himself through their founding prior, Miguel de Fabra. Both political and religious leaders charged the Valencian friars, who had been trained as preachers, with converting Jews and Muslims, some of whom had been living in the region for centuries, to Christianity.

---

<sup>46</sup> It is unclear exactly when Miguel de Fabra became Jaime's confessor, but their relationship dates back at least to Jaime's campaign against Mallorca in 1229, when he is mentioned several times in Jaime's *Chronicle*.

<sup>47</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 157v and fol. 158r.

<sup>48</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 158r.

<sup>49</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 155r.

<sup>50</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fols. 155r-155v.

<sup>51</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 156r and Zaragoza Catalán, 1. Although the primary sources do not provide details about what happened to the original palace structure, it was presumably used as living space for the friars until they were able to remodel and expand later in the thirteenth century. It is clear that they did not find any part of the palace complex appropriate for use as a church and they began construction on a worship space immediately, likely converting another part of the palace into a temporary chapel.

<sup>52</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 156r. The Convent of Santo Domingo will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

In addition to the Dominican convent, many other religious buildings were established in and around the city of Valencia immediately upon Jaime's occupation. Ten parish churches were founded and the king also provided lands for the Knights Templar and Hospitallers, who had played a significant role in the conquest of Valencia, as well as properties for the Franciscans, Augustinians, Mercederians, and Cistercians.<sup>53</sup> Ferrer de San Martín was consecrated as Bishop of Valencia by Pope Gregory IX at the end of 1239.<sup>54</sup> By the time Miguel de Fabra died on December 24, 1248, almost a decade after Jaime's occupation of Valencia, Christians found themselves well established as inhabitants of the city with the appropriate governmental and religious structures in place.<sup>55</sup> It is important to note that the population of medieval Valencia was heterogeneous following Jaime's conquest. A substantial population of Muslims and Jews resided not only in the city, but also in the surrounding rural areas, despite some attempts by Jaime I to drive them out completely.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Many of these documents are reproduced in Huici Miranda and Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*.

<sup>54</sup> Ruiz Amadó, "Valencia" *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

<sup>55</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragón de la Orden de Predicadores*, fol. 158r.

<sup>56</sup> O'Callaghan, 349 and Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, 138-9. For more on the population of medieval Valencia, see the following publications by R. I. Burns: *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery 1257-1263* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and *Unifying Crusader Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). For the Diocese of Valencia, see José Sanchis y Sivera, *Nomenclator Geográfico-Eclesiástico de los Pueblos de la Diócesis de Valencia* (Valencia, 1922).

## *Commerce in Medieval Valencia*

In terms of population and infrastructure, Valencia was a typical medieval port city.<sup>57</sup> Like many other Iberian cities, it was home to Christians, Jews, and Muslims as well as a substantial population of immigrants from Italy, France, and Germany.<sup>58</sup> Almost everyone living in the region was tied to commerce. Farmers and artisans were able to trade in the markets and sell their products through the port and merchants could also conduct business in both places. Local shopkeepers and laborers were needed to support those involved in commercial ventures and, of course, religious institutions relied on the generosity of all of these members of the community. The areas surrounding the main market and cathedral served as the city center with neighborhoods radiating outward like the spokes of a wheel toward the wall that surrounded Valencia.<sup>59</sup> Because the city center is slightly inland from the Mediterranean, most imported goods were brought to the market by way of the river and exported goods were transported to the sea in the same way. Valencia's marketplace was a large and lively hub of commercial activity where a wide variety of people came to trade.

Goods from across the peninsula were exported from Valencia, including oil, wine, wheat, corn, dried fruits, wool and other textiles, furs, leather, weapons, furniture, and

---

<sup>57</sup> Antonio Josef Cavanilles, *Observaciones Sobre la Historia Natural, Geografía, Agricultura, Poblacion, y Frutos del Reyno de Valencia* (Madrid, 1795), David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), 112-3 and 332, David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), 1-24, Guiral-Hadziuosif, "L'évolution du paysage urbain à Valencia du XIII au XVI siècle," 1581-1610, and Guiral-Hadziuosif, *Valence, Port Méditerranéen au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1410-1525)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1986), 1-4.

<sup>58</sup> Manuel Sanchis Guarnier, *La Ciutat de València* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1981), 174. For a detailed and well-documented study of medieval Iberian commerce, see Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: the commercial realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). A more general resource for the study of trade throughout the medieval Mediterranean is Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

<sup>59</sup> Most of the wall has been destroyed and only the Torres de Serranos (in the northern part of the city) and the Torres de Quart (on the west side of the city) remain to mark the medieval city boundaries. The boundaries of the medieval city follow the modern Calle Guillem de Castro to the west, the Calle del Pintor López to the north, the Calle de Colón to the east, and the Calle Xàtiva to the south (Map 1).

ceramics, as well as shoes, baskets, and twine made from *espart*, a special type of Iberian grass. Popular imports included wheat, corn, oil, wine, wool, and furs as well as fine textiles (especially brocades and silks). Valencia also served as a distribution center for the trade of luxury goods from Italy and the East, such as textiles and perfumes, and more utilitarian goods from Granada, the Barbary Coast, and the Canary Islands. Although most of the merchants who frequented the port of Valencia were from France, Italy, and North Africa, some came from as far away as Flanders and Germany. Valencian commercial interests were closely tied to those of the ports of Málaga and Almería in the southern part of the peninsula as well as to ports along the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, North Africa, and Western Asia.<sup>60</sup>

Within the city of Valencia, Jews and Muslims were also involved in commercial activities. Near the Santa Seu and Cap de Gata by the sea, for example, there is evidence that the Muslim community had their own, smaller market where they could trade directly with merchants coming into the port.<sup>61</sup> Closer to the city center, in the Carrer de la Corona (northwest of the market), Valencian Muslims established a center for fabric dyeing. In the same area of the city, there were also several tanneries, which became a major source of income for the community as Muslim tanners from Valencia became well known throughout Europe. The activities of Valencian Jews were much more highly regulated than those of the Valencian Muslims during most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but Jews were permitted to work and trade as blacksmiths, producing ornamental pieces for religious

---

<sup>60</sup> Guiral-Hadziïossif, "L'évolution du paysage urbain à Valencia," 1587, Guiral-Hadziïossif, *Valence*, 9, and Sanchis Guarnier, 173-5.

<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, much of the documentary evidence related to this market has been destroyed, leaving us with few specifics about the activities that took place there.

buildings in Iberia and Naples, along with armor and weapons, and they also worked as silversmiths, apothecaries, carpenters, tailors, and butchers.<sup>62</sup>

### *Religion in Medieval Valencia*

Just as the market served as the center of commerce in Valencia, the area around the cathedral served as the center of religious activity. The cathedral is located in the Plaza de la Virgen, over the former Roman forum and the point of intersection of the north-south and east-west Roman highways. The cathedral itself is built on the site that held Valencia's main mosque until the mid-thirteenth century. From the vantage point of the cathedral's fourteenth-century bell tower (commonly known as "El Miguelete"), one has a clear 360 degree view of the city from a height of 70 meters.<sup>63</sup>

Valencia spread outward from the centrally located market and cathedral toward the perimeter. Parish churches were established in the neighborhoods between the cathedral and the protective city walls immediately following Jaime's conquest. Convents and monasteries were also founded in these areas and houses and palaces were remodeled or built new.<sup>64</sup> Some of these buildings will be discussed in further detail in chapters four and five with a particular focus on the connections these spaces and the people who used them had with the Dominicans and the ideas they promoted.

---

<sup>62</sup> Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, 218 and Sanchis Guarner, 175. For the mercantile activities of Valencian Jews, see J. Doñate Sebastia and J.R. Magdalena Nom de Deu, *Three Jewish Communities in Medieval Valencia: Castellon de la Plana, Burriana, Villareal* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1990), 15; R. Ferrer Navarro, "Los judíos en el comercio valenciano durante el siglo XIV," Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano II (1980), 554-66; A. Santamaría Arández, *Aportación al estudio de la economía valenciana durante el siglo XV* (Valencia, 1966), 31-36 and 121-35.

<sup>63</sup> Sanchis Guarner, 96-7. Legend holds that the bell at the top of the bell tower was named for St. Michael, who people believed would protect the city from all enemies and evils.

<sup>64</sup> Guiral-Hadziiossif, "L'èvolution du paysage urbain à Valencia," 1590-8.

Equally important for the purposes of this study are the areas of Valencia that the Christian government set aside for religious minorities.<sup>65</sup> A Jewish quarter was established just to the southeast of the medieval city center, along the Calle del Mar. Valencian Jews were never obligated to live in the Jewish quarter, although many of them lived and worked in the area near the main synagogue.<sup>66</sup> On July 9, 1391, one of the most populous Jewish neighborhoods was destroyed in a deadly conflict between Christians and Jews. According to some sources, this was the result of a misunderstanding between a group of Jewish children who were playing and a group of Christians who were walking by. The children reportedly failed to behave with reverence as a Christian procession, lead by a Crucifix, passed them, angering the Christians who proceeded to chase the children and shout at them.<sup>67</sup> Other sources indicate that the confrontation began with Christian youths gathering in a market with banners bearing crosses as well as actual crosses made of bamboo. From the market, they proceeded toward the northeast gate of the Jewish quarter, where they stood holding their banners and crosses and yelling that the Archdeacon of Seville was approaching in a procession. Furthermore, the young Christians shouted that when the cleric arrived, the Jews would have to choose between being baptized or killed. The Jews

---

<sup>65</sup> Guiral-Hadzioussif, "L'èvolution du paysage urbain à Valencia," 1594-8.

<sup>66</sup> It is important to note that in most cities, there is no evidence that Jews were ever forced to live in specific parts of any Iberian city before the late fourteenth century, although there were often areas set aside for them. As Norman Roth points out in his book, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, there was a certain practicality to the fact that many Jews lived in concentrated areas: they were required by Jewish law to live within a specified distance of a synagogue. Furthermore, it is quite common for people, regardless of the time and place, to want to live near others who share their own history, culture, and religion. Roth, 139-41.

<sup>67</sup> There are several accounts of the events that precipitated the violence, all of which differ. Although we will likely never know exactly what happened in July of 1391 in one of the Jewish neighborhoods in Valencia, it is clear that there were rising tensions between Christian and Jewish communities in Castile and that the stories of these violent clashes made their way to Valencia in 1390, causing some members of the Jewish community to preemptively approach the local *Consell* to request protection against similar attacks. The *Consell* agreed to take action and tensions were relieved, albeit temporarily. Within a year, it appears that the Jews' fears were confirmed and they suffered violent attacks throughout July of 1391.

responded by barring the gate and officials at the palace were informed of the events that had transpired. The Infante Don Martín immediately went to the Jewish quarter and, although he heard the verbal exchanges taking place between the two groups, demanded that the Jews open the gates because he felt there was no danger of violence. His solution was to post guards at the entrance to the neighborhood and to order patrols through the streets within the gates, which he believed would put an end to the conflict. However, the Jews refused to reopen the gate because they were convinced that keeping them closed was the only way to ensure the safety of the community inside. Tensions continued to rise between the two groups and the ultimate result was a violent clash between some of the inhabitants of the Jewish neighborhood and the group of Christians. Several homes were destroyed, others were robbed, and countless Jewish citizens were injured trying to defend themselves and their property. Records indicate that 100-230 Jews died in the attack, many were forcibly converted to Christianity, and the entire Jewish community of Valencia was left devastated and terrified. Christian leaders wrote the incident off as God's judgment against the Jewish people which, in their view, could not have been prevented or assuaged by mankind. A few days later, one of the predominantly Muslim neighborhoods suffered a similar attack.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Guiral-Hadziiossif, "L'évolution du paysage urbain à Valencia," 1595; Jose Hinojosa Montalvo, *The Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia: From Persecution to Expulsion, 1391-1492* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1993), 23-46 and documents chronicling the events reproduced on pages 327-331; Leopoldo Piles Ros, *La Judería de Valencia*, ed. José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1991), 98. For a detailed account of the events of the summer of 1391, see Jose Hinojosa Montalvo, *The Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia: From Persecution to Expulsion, 1391-1492* (Jerusalem, 1993), 21-66. A letter to the king written by his lieutenant in Valencia on July 16, 1391 regarding these assaults is reproduced in Piles Ros, 99-100. For the queen's response, see Piles Ros, 101.

Those who survived sought refuge with friends in Valencia and the surrounding region, and the synagogue was converted into the Augustinian convent of St. Christopher.<sup>69</sup> A smaller Jewish quarter was established in the same general area in 1392 on the recommendation of the Dominican friar Vicente Ferrer, who believed that it was important to organize non-Christians in specific parts of the city so that they could be watched closely and gathered easily for preaching, conversions, and baptisms. The Jews were apparently permitted to establish another synagogue, but documents do not specify where it was located. They were, however, allowed to purchase a plot of land for a cemetery near the new Jewish quarter around 1392, but the cemetery was eventually destroyed and given to the Dominican Order by Fernando el Católico. The Dominicans built the convent of St. Catherine of Siena on the land, but it was later closed and the property sold.<sup>70</sup> It is now the site of a Corte Inglés department store. The Muslim quarter did not suffer nearly as much damage following the Christian attacks of the summer of 1391 and life for Valencian Muslims who lived there appears to have continued as before until the Christian assault of 1456.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, the violence of 1391 between Christians and non-Christians was only the beginning of what would become a decades-long quest by the Christian majority to achieve undisputed economic, social, political, and religious power in the city of Valencia.

---

<sup>69</sup> Guiral-Hadzïiossif, "L'èvolution du paysage urbain à Valencia," 1595.

<sup>70</sup> Sanchis Guarner, 182-3.

<sup>71</sup> Sanchis Guarner, 189-90.

## *A Cosmopolitan City*

Despite these social and religious tensions, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, Valencia had become the busiest port on the peninsula, providing the rest of Iberia with opportunities for trade and travel throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. Along with Genoa and Marseilles, Valencia was one of the most economically powerful cities in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages.<sup>72</sup> It also became an important international artistic center, drawing artists from all over Europe and the Mediterranean with the promise of bringing them into contact with the many wealthy potential patrons who were doing business in the city.<sup>73</sup> As the craftsmanship of Valencian artisans became better known throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, they began to export additional goods. Ceramic objects produced by Valencian Muslims, for example, became popular exports, particularly for sumptuous homes. Lusterware, which had been introduced to Valencia from Málaga and was produced by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim artisans, also became a particularly lucrative export.<sup>74</sup> Jewish carpenters and sculptors produced furniture and other ornamental items for use in opulent homes as well.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Sanchis Guarner, 172-4. For a thorough analysis of the importance of the port of Valencia during the late Middle Ages, see Jacqueline Guiral-Hadziiossif, *Valence: Port Méditerranéen au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1410-1525)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1986).

<sup>73</sup> Sanchis Guarner, 173-4.

<sup>74</sup> For more on Iberian ceramics, including lusterware, see Edwin Atlee Barber, *Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915), Alan Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition, and Innovation in Islam and the Western World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), Heather Ecker, *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 52-5, 78-101, Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Catalogue of Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: The Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America, 1936), Alice Wilson Frothingham, *The Lusterware of Spain* (New York: Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America, 1951), Balbina Martínez Caviro, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana andalusí y mudéjar* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1991), Guillermo Joaquín de Osma, *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca—textos y documentos valencianos. Pt. 1. La loza dorada de manises en el año 1454 (Cartas de la reina de Aragón á don Pedro Boil)* (Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de Manuel Ginés Hernández, 1906), Guillermo Joaquín de Osma, *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca—textos y documentos valencianos. Pt. II: Los maestros alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia. Contratos y ordenanzas de los siglos XIV, XV, y XVI.* (Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de Manuel Ginés Hernández), Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1989 with a catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications,

## *Conclusion*

Within the newly conquered and increasingly economically prosperous medieval city that was home to a diverse population, the Dominicans went about the task of reforming the souls of Christians who they felt had strayed from the path to heaven and converting non-believers to Christianity. More than any other monastic group, the Dominicans asserted themselves in the political, social, and religious activities of late medieval Valencia. Beginning with Jaime's trusted advisor and confessor, the Dominican friar Miguel de Fabra, and continuing with two Dominican Bishops of Valencia, Andrés Albalat (1248-76) and Raimundo de Pont (1288-1312), the order often had friars in positions of power and influence. The Valencian Dominicans and the ideas espoused by friars Dominicans, including Vicente Ferrer, will be discussed in further detail in the following chapters.

---

2000), and Juan Zozaya, *Il Coloquio Ceramica Medieval del Mediterraneo Occidental, Toledo, 1981* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1986).

<sup>75</sup> Hinojosa Montalvo, 218-24 and Sanchis Guarner, 175-83.

## CHAPTER 3

### DOMINICAN FORMATION, EDUCATION, AND MISSION

#### *Introduction*

“Our order is recognized as having been especially instituted from the beginning for preaching and the salvation of souls, and our study should be principally and ardently directed to this end with the greatest industry, so that we can be useful to the souls of our neighbors.” These words, written by a group of Dominicans gathered at San Niccolò in Bologna in May of 1220, are the prologue of the formal constitution written and adopted by the members of the order and they make clear the relationship that the Dominicans established from the beginning between their mission and their study.<sup>76</sup> In a single sentence, they set themselves apart in both mission and method from any other extant monastic order.

As M. Michèle Mulchahey points out in the introduction to her book, *“First the Bow is Bent in Study...” Dominican Education before 1350*, Hugh of St-Cher’s metaphor of the bow and arrow as applied to the Dominicans is particularly telling of the way the Dominicans both saw themselves and wished to be seen by their contemporaries. Hugh’s allegory comes from his *Popsilla super Genesim*, specifically his commentary on Genesis 9:13, in which he discusses the appearance of a rainbow within the clouds as a symbol of the covenant that God made

---

<sup>76</sup> English translation in: Mulchahey, 3. The original Latin taken from: *Constitutiones antiquae ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, pp. 309-69 in A. H. Thomas, *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst, Bronnen, Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling (1215-1237)*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique 42 (Louvain, 1965), Prologus, p. 311: “Ad hec tamen in conventu suo prelates dispensandi cum fratribus habeat potestatem, cum sibi aliquando videbitur expedire, in hiis precipue que stadium vel predicationem vel animarum fructum videmuntur impedire, cum ordo noster specialiter ob predicationem et animarum salute ab initio noscatur institutus fuisse, et studium nostrum ad hoc principaliter ardentereque summon opera debeat intendere, ut proximorum animabus possimus utiles esse.” See also: Lehner, 212. For more on the Dominican constitution, see: G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216-1360* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925) and A. H. Thomas, *De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen, Bibliothèque de la Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 42 (Louvain: Bureaux de la revue, Bibliothèque de l’Université, 1965).

with Noah following the great flood. Hugh compares the rainbow to a bow, bent in readiness, and the clouds to the preachers, who have command of the bent bow and who pour the “raindrops of wisdom” upon the people of the earth. For Hugh, the preachers require great knowledge and skill to hold the bow in place, ready to guide the release of the “arrow of preaching” when and where it is most needed.<sup>77</sup>

### *The Formation of the Dominican Order*

In 1215, the bishop of Toulouse declared in a document that Dominic and his followers were to serve as “preachers in our diocese to root out heresy, drive out vices, teach the rule of faith, and imbue people with right morals.”<sup>78</sup> In October of the same year, he traveled with Dominic to see Pope Innocent III to request that he officially recognize this group as an “order of preachers.”<sup>79</sup> They received a papal document of privilege in 1217, addressed to the “preachers in Toulouse” and the pope mandated that the preachers decide on a rule to follow as they began to establish an official structure for the new order.<sup>80</sup> Dominic used Augustine’s rule to guide the behavior of the friars along with the Premonstratensian customary for their prayer and liturgy.<sup>81</sup>

The original constitution of the Dominican Order, written in 1220 and effective by 1221, is no longer extant. The earliest copy known today is part of a manuscript from the Dominican priory in Rodez, France, now located in the Archives of the Order at Santa

---

<sup>77</sup> Mulchahey, ix.

<sup>78</sup> Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum* 40, ed. H. C. Scheeben, *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 16 (Rome, 1935), 45.

<sup>79</sup> *Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici* no. 79, ed. Vladimir J. Koudelka with Raymundo J. Loenertz, *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 78 (Rome, 1966), see note for line 19.

<sup>80</sup> Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers,” 9-10.

<sup>81</sup> Emery and Wawrykow, 8-9. On the choice of this rule, see: Mulchahey, 12-5. For the complete text of the rule of St. Augustine, see: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/ruleaug.html>.

Sabina in Rome. Scholars have concluded that, while the manuscript itself dates to the mid-fourteenth century, the version of the constitution that is recorded inside is a copy of an original thirteenth-century text.<sup>82</sup> This version is often referred to as the “primitive” constitution of the order because it preceded Ramón de Peñafort’s better-known revised version of the constitution of 1241. Although the “primitive” constitution was the version in place when the Dominican convent in Valencia was established in 1238, Peñafort’s later version does not differ substantially. The latter is the version to which I will refer in this study. The constitution sets out the “uniform ... observance of canonical religious life” for the friars in order to “provide for the unity and peace of [the] entire Order.”<sup>83</sup> It is divided into two parts, the first dedicated to regulating the behavior of the friars and the second to the administration of the order as well as the requirements for study and preaching. The constitution emphasizes the importance of equality among the brothers as well as the rejection of worldly goods and possessions.<sup>84</sup>

Likewise, the Augustinian rule begins by reminding the friars that their love for God and their brethren must always be foremost in their thoughts and actions. The rest of the rule addresses the principles of equality, humility, and poverty, particularly regarding personal possessions, and the friars’ behavior during times appointed for prayer and worship and during meals. The rule provides the friars with guidance about the clothing they are to wear and their behavior both inside and outside of the convent. It concludes with

---

<sup>82</sup> For details of this analysis, see: Lehner, 209-11, P. Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre* II (Paris, 1938), 211-30, 273-92, M. H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominique de Caleruega* (Paris, 1955), 113-21, and M. H. Vicaire, *Histoire de Saint Dominique* II (Paris, 1957), 222 n. 69, 302 n. 7, 307 n. 16, 315 n. 57, 315 n. 59. For the complete constitution of the Dominican Order, see Lehner, 209-51.

<sup>83</sup> Lehner, 212-3.

<sup>84</sup> Lehner, 211.

statements about reconciliation and obedience to one's superior as well as the following exhortation:

May the Lord grant that as lovers of the beauty of the spiritual life and breathing forth the sweet odor of Christ in the holiness of your ways you may faithfully observe these things, not like slaves under the law, but like freemen established under grace. Let this rule be read to you once every week so that in it you can see yourselves reflected as in a mirror lest anything be forgotten and, therefore, neglected. And when you find that you are doing what is here written, thank the Lord, the giver of all good things. But if, on the contrary, anyone perceives that he has fallen into defects, let him mourn over the past, take heed for the future, and pray that his faults may be forgiven, and that he may not be led into temptation.<sup>85</sup>

This exhortation provides us with a sense of how the friars viewed the importance of Augustine's rule in their lives. Both the constitution and the rule offered relatively simple guidance about how the friars were expected to live their daily lives and both texts provided a path to return them to righteousness if they happened to stray. Significantly, this foundational text also specifically addresses the Dominicans' relationship to Christ and the word of God, for example, referencing them "breathing forth the sweet odor of Christ," an issue to which I will return later in this chapter.

In addition to the constitution they wrote and the choice of the Augustinian rule to guide their daily lives, the Dominicans chose the Premonstratensian rite to guide their liturgical practices. This rite comes from the monastic order of the same name, founded by St. Norbert in the early twelfth century in the Rhineland, and it emphasizes daily public and choral celebration of the Divine Office. Historically, the Premonstratensian rite had been

---

<sup>85</sup> Rule of St. Augustine, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/ruleaug.html>, accessed May 10, 2010 and Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers," 8.

adapted for use by several monastic communities and the Dominicans probably also revised it to suit the needs of individual convents, particularly in regard to adding the feast days of locally venerated saints.<sup>86</sup>

There were sixteen members of the Order of Preachers at the time it was established, including Dominic's brother, Manés de Guzmán, as well as Pedro de Madrid, Domingo de Segovia, Miguel de Uceró, San Pedro Gonzalez Telmo, Miguel de Fabra, and Suero Gomez.<sup>87</sup> Known from the beginning as the "Order of Preachers," the Dominicans' lives and activities were based on the idea that a group of well-educated itinerant preachers was a necessary addition to the organization of the church. Although the order was not exclusively founded to combat what were perceived by the church as dangerous heretical movements in thirteenth-century France, Italy, and Spain, in particular, they became closely associated with the defense of Catholicism.<sup>88</sup> Their self-stated original mission to save souls appears to have been overshadowed as far back as the thirteenth century by their engagement with the Albigensian heresy. Even early Dominican writers such as Humbert of Romans and Jordan of Saxony felt the need to distinguish the general mission of the order from their specific involvement with the Albigensians.<sup>89</sup> Regardless of the historical confusion about the mission of the Dominicans, they were clearly seen by the church as the most qualified to

---

<sup>86</sup> "Le Rite Premontre," <http://www.precieuxsang-fecamp.eu/RITE%20PREMONTRE/LE%20RITE%20PREMONTRE..pdf>, accessed May 25, 2010 and Van Engen, 8-9.

<sup>87</sup> García-Serrano, 1, Gerli, "Dominican Order, or Order of Preachers," *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, 288, and "Friars Preachers" from Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Part IV.1, <http://www.domcentral.org/study/ashley/ds00intr.htm>, accessed May 12, 2010.

<sup>88</sup> For more on the issue of heresy in the medieval period, see Ian Hunter et al., eds., *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (England: Aldershot, 2005), Dominique Iugna-Pratt, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers, eds., *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), and Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2005).

<sup>89</sup> *Expositio magistri Humberti super Constitutiones fratrum Praedicatorum*, in Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier, II (Turin, 1956), c. 12, p. 38 and Mulchahey, 3-4. Robin Vose provides thorough and thoughtful summary of the historiography of the long-established view of medieval Dominicans as "missionaries" in Vose, 7-14.

handle problematic groups of so-called heretics. It is not surprising, then, that the Dominicans were found working alongside the new Christian king of Valencia, Jaime I, who had taken control of the city from the Muslim ruler Zayyan ibn Madarnish in 1238 and faced the task of governing a city that continued to be occupied people from a variety of religious traditions.

In fact, the Dominicans modeled themselves on the apostles and looked specifically to the book of Acts as a source for their own work in the world.<sup>90</sup> When one considers the content of this particular biblical text, the parallels between the apostles and the Dominicans are clear. Acts begins with the story of Christ's Ascension, the first verses of which remind the reader of his Passion, confirm his status as the Messiah, and set the stage for Pentecost. In the moment before his ascension into heaven, Christ says to his disciples "you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth."<sup>91</sup> In the same way, the Dominicans found themselves acting as "witnesses" to Christ, defending his status as the Messiah in disputations with Jews in the years following the establishment of the order and they, like the disciples, also believed themselves to be responding to God's call to preach throughout the world.<sup>92</sup>

The vivid descriptions that provide the audience with a clear mental image of the text of the book of Acts would have been appealing to the Dominicans, whose own writing and

---

<sup>90</sup> Leonard Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400*, (London: Variorum, 1981), 256-7, Marie-Dominique Chenu, "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life," *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* eds. Jerome Taylor and Lester Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997): 202-38, Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, 161v.

<sup>91</sup> Acts 1:8. All biblical references are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation.

<sup>92</sup> Mulchahey, 3. See, for example, Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) for a complete discussion of one of the earliest disputations in Iberia upon which later disputations were modeled.

preaching was often equally descriptive and meant to evoke detailed mental images.<sup>93</sup> The description of the encounter between the Holy Spirit and the disciples in Acts is one such example:

[S]uddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with divers tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak.<sup>94</sup>

By following the example of the disciples, whose missionary activities are so eloquently recorded in Acts, the Dominicans not only established a model for their own work, but they also proved themselves to be crucially important for the future of Christianity during a time when the church was threatened by heresy, corruption, and competition from other religious groups, including Jews and Muslims. The members of the Order of Preachers believed themselves to be modern apostles who, like the disciples, became apostles at the moment God gave them the mission to apply themselves completely to the salvation of souls through preaching, encouraging confession, and conversion.<sup>95</sup>

The Dominicans never appear to have been compelled to produce a formal written Christology, although modern scholars certainly wish they had.<sup>96</sup> Perhaps, however, the friars felt no need to write such a text when one already existed: the Apostles' Creed. Given the order's close connection to the apostles, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the

---

<sup>93</sup> Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 46.

<sup>94</sup> Acts 2:2-4.

<sup>95</sup> The Franciscans's mission was similar to that of the Dominicans in that it emphasized the importance of salvation, although preaching was less important to the Franciscans' mission. Instead, they were encouraged to model pious behavior through the *imitatio crucis* in the hope that their example would inspire penitence and piety in others. See E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), xi-xiv.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, Joseph Goering, "Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* eds. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998): 127-38.

Apostles' Creed, a text as simple and direct as the Dominicans themselves were, was considered the best statement of their beliefs:

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and earth and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; he descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting.<sup>97</sup>

As we shall see in both texts and works of art from the late medieval period, several aspects of the Apostles' Creed are highlighted by the Dominicans. In these primary sources, the friars emphasize the role of the Virgin Mary as Christ's mother, a nurturing and protective role that she also played for the Dominicans, but they are also clearly concerned with Christ's suffering, death, burial, descent into hell, resurrection, and ascension as well as his future judgment of both the living and the dead. The last part of the Apostles' Creed is also important: the affirmation of the belief in the forgiveness of sins and the promise of eternal life. The Dominicans not only sought this for themselves, but also for those to whom they ministered.

The birth of the Dominican Order coincided with the increasing urbanization of Europe in the thirteenth century.<sup>98</sup> When Dominic sent his representatives out to establish

---

<sup>97</sup> "Apostles' Creed," <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01629a.htm>, accessed July 25, 2011.

<sup>98</sup> For the growth of medieval cities, see Y. Barel, *La ciudad medieval: Sistema social-Sistema urbano* (Madrid, 1981); Beatriz Ariazaga Bolumburu and Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea, eds. *La ciudad medieval y su influencia territorial* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2007), S. R. Epstein, ed., *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800* (Cambridge, 2001), R. Hilton, *Les ciutats medievals* (Barcelona, 1989), R. Hilton, ed., *La transición del feudalism al capitalism* (Barcelona, 1987), Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 19-29, David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City* (London and New York: Longman, 1997) and *Urban Europe*,

new convents, he sent them to urban areas, where they often settled near the city walls, adjacent to trade routes and not far from cathedrals and markets. They deliberately made themselves visible to the community while also ensuring their own ability to observe and participate in the daily activities of the city. Among their most important constituencies were members of the urban elite who were wealthy, but often not of noble birth. The growth of this group was directly related to the growth of medieval cities, which had created a prosperous environment for those who possessed no land upon which to depend for their livelihood, but who also were not laborers. The urban elite included notaries, merchants, and bankers—professions that depended in one way or another on the growing commercial society developing in medieval cities. This group occupied a new place in the social, professional, and monetary hierarchy of medieval Europe between the nobility and the laborers in the same way that the mendicant orders, including the Dominicans, had established themselves between ecclesiastical authorities (bishops, archbishops, and cardinals) and local parish priests within the hierarchy of the church.<sup>99</sup>

From the beginning, the mendicant orders distinguished themselves from preexisting monastic communities by committing to lives of poverty and itinerant preaching. Modeling themselves on Christ and his disciples, they settled in cities across Europe and took on the task of ministering to the growing urban populations, which not only included Christians,

---

*1100-1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* trans. Frank D. Halsey (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1925).

<sup>99</sup> Nicholas, *Growth of the Medieval City*, 263 and Nicholas, *Urban Europe, 1100-1700*, 97-102. See also Taryn E. L. Chubb and Emily Kelley, “Mendicants and Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean: An Introduction,” *Medieval Encounters*, forthcoming, 2012.

but also Jews and Muslims.<sup>100</sup> The presence of learned friars in major European cities appealed to the urban elite, who sought both secular and religious education. Success in commerce required, at the very least, literacy and mathematical skills, although knowledge of languages and other subjects could also be helpful. The comprehensive education the friars received, including instruction in Latin grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, science, moral philosophy, and metaphysics, not only prepared them for lives of preaching, but also for lives of teaching in cathedral schools and universities, where merchants were among their students.<sup>101</sup>

### *Dominican Education*

From the beginning, the friars' education was a high priority and they soon became known as such great scholars that the schools attached to each convent attracted local clergy

---

<sup>100</sup> For mendicant monasticism in general, see: C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London, 1994); C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2001); Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982). For the Franciscans, see: Regis Armstrong et al, eds., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 3 vols (New York: New York City Press, 1999-201); David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Michael F. Cusato and Guy Geltner, eds., *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1992); Théophile Desbonnets, *From Institution to Institution: The Franciscans*, trans. Paul Duggan and Jerry Du Charme (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988), and Cajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970); Jill Webster, *Elis Menorets: The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993). For the Dominicans, see: R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1971); Kent Emery and Joseph P. Wawrykow, eds., *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998); Francisco García-Serrano, *Preachers of the City: The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217-1348)* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1997); William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (New York: Alba House, 1975); and Simon Tugwell ed. and trans., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York, 1982).

<sup>101</sup> Leclercq, 87-96, M. Michèle Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study...." *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), Phyllis B. Roberts, "Preaching in/and the Medieval City" in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University* ed. Jacqueline Hamesse et al. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), 151-64, Rosenwein and Little, 18-9, Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 40-1.

and laymen, among others, as students.<sup>102</sup> For the purposes of this study, this phenomenon is important for two reasons. First, the highly regulated nature of Dominican education leaves us with an indisputable record of the texts that each friar studied prior to being sent out into the world to preach. Second, the fact that Dominican schools attracted both local clergy and laymen of all ages indicates that, at least to some extent, the ideas espoused by the Dominicans and the texts that inspired them were well known to at least some non-Dominican members of the community, who likely transmitted those ideas to others.<sup>103</sup> Latin and grammar were the basic requirements for anyone pursuing a Dominican education. In addition to an elementary understanding of Latin and grammar, the students in Dominican schools were guided by the Dominican friar William of Tournai's *De instructione puerorum*, a short text meant to teach students about faith and morals. It draws upon various sources, which are expanded upon by the author, including scripture, the stories of saints, and biblical glosses and commentaries. The text is brief and straightforward, meant not only for students, but also as a guide for their teachers. William of Tournai emphasizes the importance of teaching children about faith and morals from a young age, disciplining them when they do wrong, and leading them by example. Ultimately, both the author and the teacher are responsible for providing children with the knowledge they will need in order to achieve salvation.<sup>104</sup> With that knowledge in hand, many kinds of students entered Dominican schools, although most of them never had the opportunity to pursue an education beyond the local priory. Two to three students from each priory who showed

---

<sup>102</sup> Mulchahey, xi.

<sup>103</sup> A detailed examination of the spread of Dominican ideas in medieval Valencia is the subject of chapters three and four.

<sup>104</sup> James A. Corbett, *The De instructione puerorum of William of Tournai, O.P.* (Notre Dame: The Medieval Institute, 1955), 5-10. The complete text (based on three extant manuscripts) follows the introduction.

outstanding academic promise could be sent to each of the *studia generalia* in Paris, Cologne, Oxford, Montpellier, and Bologna, where most trained to become lectors, or teachers. Still others who demonstrated an uncommon capacity for theological understanding were sent to one of the major medieval universities, usually Bologna or Paris, to become “doctores.”<sup>105</sup>

In his *Instructiones de officiis*, published after 1265, retired Master General of the Order, Humbert of Romans, specifically states that each Dominican library should establish a reference collection containing the Bible, the *Decretum* and the *Decretals*, Ramón de Peñafort’s *Distinctiones morales* and *Summa de casibus*, Geoffrey of Trani’s *Summa [supra titulis]*, and Guillaume Peyraut’s *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*.<sup>106</sup> Dominican libraries also included glosses on the Bible, commentaries on the *Summas* and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, philosophical works by Aristotle, and Alexander of Villedieu’s *Doctrinale* for grammar studies.<sup>107</sup> These texts were central to Dominican education and the preparation of preachers, but they also needed additional knowledge because this new breed of preachers was expected to take over some of the doctrinal teaching duties of the “overworked” bishops.<sup>108</sup> Poorly educated parish priests were not viewed as having the appropriate education to discuss theological and doctrinal issues; bishops, on the other hand, were busy tending to administrative matters and lacked the time to speak to people extensively about these issues. By the end of the thirteenth century, the coursework for Dominican convent schools was well established and it included one lecture every day on the Bible (based in large part on Peter Comestor’s

---

<sup>105</sup> Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum, 1981), 251-5.

<sup>106</sup> Boyle, 256-7.

<sup>107</sup> K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964), 90-8. This includes a brief, but useful survey of the contents of several Dominican libraries.

<sup>108</sup> D. R. Lesnick, “Dominican Preaching and the Creation of Capitalist Ideology in Late Medieval Florence,” *Memorie domenicane* 8-9 (1977-8), 199-247; Mulchahey, 8, Taylor, 55-8. For a recent detailed discussion of vernacular preaching, see also: Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

*Historia scholastica*) and another on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (supplemented from the fourteenth century on by the writings of Thomas Aquinas).<sup>109</sup> Each week, students participated in both a disputation and a thorough review of the week's lessons. Thus, the Dominicans followed the well-established method of *lectio, repetitio, and disputatio*, or reading, repetition, and disputation, in the pursuit of their studies.<sup>110</sup>

For those who were to continue their educations and become preachers, an additional body of knowledge was required, particularly because preachers were also expected to act as confessors.<sup>111</sup> The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had made it a requirement for people to confess at least once a year and the decree issued by the Council also included a description of the "ideal confessor:"

Let the priest be insightful and cautious; let him apply wine and oil to the wounds of the injured in the manner of a skilled physician. By carefully inquiring into the circumstances both of the sin and the sinner he should gain a prudent understanding of the kind of counsel he ought to give and the remedy to employ so as to heal the sick by using the diversity of his experience.<sup>112</sup>

In each convent, this course of study was overseen by the master of students using Humbert of Romans' *Instructiones de officiis ordinis* as the primary text. These students also learned by hearing sermons preached by experienced friars, by reading and studying sermons that were written down along with sermon manuals, and by practicing formulating and delivering short

---

<sup>109</sup> Stephen J. Loughlin, *Aquinas' Summa Theologiae: A Reader's Guide* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2010), 311.

<sup>110</sup> Mulchahey, 134, 138, and 163.

<sup>111</sup> For more on the requirement and training of Dominican preachers to hear confessions, see: Boyle, 249-67 and Joseph Goering and Pierre J. Payer, "The 'Summa Penitentiae Fratrum Predicatorum': A Thirteenth-Century Confessional Formulary," *Medieval Studies* 55 (1993): 1-50.

<sup>112</sup> Joseph Goering and Pierre J. Payer, "The 'Summa Penitentiae Fratrum Predicatorum': A Thirteenth-Century Confessional Formulary," *Medieval Studies* 55 (1993): 1-50.

sermons. Their training to become confessors consisted of manuals (*Summa confessorum*) written by the Dominicans themselves.<sup>113</sup>

### *Mission*

It was not a coincidence that the Dominicans began deploying their learned members to cities at a time when growing groups of the Christian urban elite first felt the need for a more sophisticated religious education than had previously been available to most lay people. The majority of people moving into cities came from rural areas where their primary sources of religious instruction were local parish priests, many of whom were poorly educated. Of particular import to growing urban communities, which included many who were involved in mercantile activities, was the issue of money lending, or usury, which was prohibited by the church, but a necessary part of commercial enterprises. The friars, at least in the beginning, were also concerned with issues of monetary exchange. The very foundations of the mendicant orders rested on the rejection of monetary wealth, but the morality of the mercantile professions that resulted in monetary exchange was even more distressing to the friars.<sup>114</sup> Both the Franciscans and the Dominicans developed ways of rationalizing the activities of the urban elite, especially merchants. Several mendicant scholars, including Ramón de Peñafort, Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, held that mercantile professions did not necessarily, as had previously been thought by Leo I and others, rely on lying and cheating. Instead, they recognized the integral role that merchants

---

<sup>113</sup> Leonard E. Boyle, "Summae confessorum," in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Définition, critique et exploitation*, Textes, Études, Congrès 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), 227-37.

<sup>114</sup> Rosenwein and Little, 25-30, see also Dennis E. Showalter, "The Business of Salvation: Authority and Representation in the Thirteenth-Century Dominican Order," *The Catholic Historical Review* 58/4 (1973): 556-74.

had come to play in medieval society and they believed that “modest and honest” profits were justified. Aquinas specifically argued that money was the “measure of things sold but not saleable itself.”<sup>115</sup> This income, church authorities stipulated, was to be used for the purpose of supporting one’s family and for charitable activities, including donations to religious institutions.<sup>116</sup> In order to explain these complex matters and keep their followers on righteous paths, the friars took on doctrinal and moral matters in their sermons and they preached in the vernacular, which was far more engaging and accessible to their congregations than the traditional Latin sermon.<sup>117</sup>

In preparation for this aspect of their ministry, mendicant preachers received special instructions about speaking to new urban populations. Regarding preaching in cities, the Dominican Humbert of Romans wrote: “there preaching is more efficacious because there are more people, and the need is greater, for in the city there are more sins.”<sup>118</sup> In his *Instruction of Preachers*, Humbert not only included advice about preaching sermons *ad status*, which are sermons for specific classes and occupations, but he also included examples of these kinds of sermons.<sup>119</sup> Requiring instruction on sermons *ad status* in the formal education of the friars, prepared them to discuss the issues important to those with whom they interacted most often. Even with such instruction, no friar was ever allowed to give a

---

<sup>115</sup> Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 333.

<sup>116</sup> Lester K. Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,” *American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 16-49; Rosenwein and Little, 25-30.

<sup>117</sup> D. R. Lesnick, “Dominican Preaching and the Creation of Capitalist Ideology in Late Medieval Florence,” 199-247 and Taylor, 55-6. For a recent detailed discussion of vernacular preaching, see also: Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>118</sup> *Humbert de Romanis de Eruditione Praedicatorum in Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum XXV*, ed. M. de la Bigne (Lyons, 1677), 491.

<sup>119</sup> Lawrence, *The Friars*, 238-62.

sermon outside of the walls of the convent until an experienced preacher, satisfied that he was thoroughly prepared, provided him with a license to preach.<sup>120</sup>

As part of their original mission, the Dominicans had been charged “to root out heresy, drive out vices, teach the rule of faith, and imbue people with right morals.”<sup>121</sup> This meant that they had to concern themselves not only with Christians, but also with those of other religious traditions, which were considered by the church to be heretical and immoral. For the Dominicans of Valencia, this primarily meant that they were also charged with ministering to the Jewish and Muslim populations of the city. The previous chapter briefly touched on the interaction between the Dominicans, Jews, and Muslims in Valencia with the discussion of the events of 1391. Such contentious and violent encounters between Christians and non-Christians were, unfortunately, not rare in the Crown of Aragón during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>122</sup> Just as the apostles set themselves in opposition to the Jews in the book of Acts, so, too, did the medieval Dominicans of Valencia see themselves in opposition to both Jews and Muslims.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Mulchahey, 188 and 192-4.

<sup>121</sup> Jordan of Saxony, 45.

<sup>122</sup> See, for example, Yitzak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961-1966), Robert Chazan, *Barcelon and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), and Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

<sup>123</sup> The Dominicans have long been associated with Hebrew and Arabic language studies, establishing such schools in select convents during the medieval period. It is important to understand that not all Dominican friars would have had the opportunity or inclination to learn Hebrew and/or Arabic and, in fact, records indicate that very few of them completed language studies. The sixteenth-century Dominican historian, Francisco Diago, made specific mention of the friars of the Province of Aragón learning Arabic at the convent in Valencia so that they could preach to Muslims in both Spain and North Africa, although many modern scholars have cast doubt on such assertions. See Mulchahey, 188 and 192-4 and Vose, 95-6.

*Models for the Friars' Public Work and Personal Piety*

Although the foundational texts of the order are an important source for our understanding of how the Dominicans saw themselves as a community and what they understood to be their mission, they do not provide specific guidance about how this mission was to be put into practice. Similarly, the texts that were part of their required course of study provide insight into their training, but do not reveal much about the practical matters of their daily interactions with the public or the cultivation of their personal piety.

Ideally, the contents of the library of the Convent of Santo Domingo would fill this void, but unfortunately, when the convent was closed in the nineteenth century, the contents of the library were dispersed and over the course of two centuries, many of the texts and archival materials have disappeared. A small number of manuscripts and books were taken from the convent in 1811, but the majority of the library and archives were not removed until the official closing of the convent in 1835. Most of the remaining contents were given to the library at the University of Valencia, although a few items were transferred to the Archivo del Reino de Valencia and the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.<sup>124</sup>

In the 1930s, Friar Celedonio Funetes wrote that many manuscripts and printed books that had belonged to the Valencian Dominicans had simply disappeared. Some of what remained of the original library was returned to the Dominicans when they built their new convent, but items that pre-date the sixteenth century appear not to have survived the dispersal as well as materials from the sixteenth century and after. In 1936, Valencian Dominicans produced an inventory of the extant manuscripts, printed books, and other

---

<sup>124</sup> Adolfo Robles, "Manuscritos del Archivo del Real Convento de Predicadores de Valencia," *Escritos del Vedat* 14 (1984): 349-51.

materials known to have belonged to the order from its foundations in the thirteenth century to the mid-1930s. Because few of the items listed in the inventory pre-date the sixteenth century, it is of little use for the present study. There is, however, an entry for a fifteenth-century copy of Eximenis' *De Jesuchrist y Maria*, which is not surprising given the popularity of Eximenis' text during that period.<sup>125</sup>

What remains of the Dominicans' library and archive at the University of Valencia is cataloged in a relatively recent publication, which notes that by January 4, 1837, the library had received several manuscripts and printed books from the convent. Unfortunately, all of the materials in the possession of the library also appear to date to the sixteenth century and later.<sup>126</sup> With specific knowledge of the original library of the convent of Santo Domingo seemingly impossible to obtain, there are only a few remaining sources to mine for such information.

Even though there is no indisputable record of the texts that were once part of the library of the Dominicans of Valencia, the records of the order and of other convents can provide some information about the sources that likely informed the friars' daily lives and religious practices. The primary text that addressed such issues was Gerald of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*, written between 1256 and 1259. Scholars believe that Frachet's treatise was likely included in most Dominican libraries because the records of the order indicate that it was copied and sent to all extant convents, which would have included the convent in Valencia, founded in 1239. These copies of the text apparently included an admonition not

---

<sup>125</sup> Robles, 351-2 and 372. On the popularity of Eximenis' writing, see Robinson, *Imag(in)ing Passions*, chapter 1.

<sup>126</sup> M. C. Cabeza Sanchez-Albornoz, "Catálogo de los manuscritos de los conventos valencianos suprimidos por la desamortización eclesiástica que se depositaron en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia," *Estudis Castellonens* 6 (1994-5): 251-63; see also Jose Teixidor, *Estudios de Valencia: Historia de la Universidad hasta 1616*, Ed. Laureano Robles (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1976).

to share the contents with anyone outside of the order unless one had permission to do so. The *Vitae fratrum* consists of five “books,” that provide perhaps the clearest evidence of the friars’ specific religious and devotional practices as well as suggestions about the behaviors they should model in their daily lives. The first book records the visions, miracles, and scriptural prophecies that relate to the founding of the order and, significantly, emphasizes the Virgin Mary’s role as their protector. The relationship between the Dominicans and the Virgin Mary was confirmed nightly by the singing of the *Salve regina* at Compline.<sup>127</sup>

Book two contains Dominic’s hagiography, which includes references to him “praying for the gift of tongues,” a gift with which the Valencian Dominican Vicente Ferrer is said to have been blessed.<sup>128</sup> Jordan of Saxony, the first master general of the order, who had died in 1237, is the subject of book three. Frachet suggests Jordan of Saxony as a model for other preachers, writing that “his highest study, like the apostle Paul’s, was to be all things to all people, to conform himself to the soldier, to the religious or cleric, even to the tempted.” The text that follows is written particularly for and about novices and provides specific instruction about recruitment and novitiate behavior. Finally, the fifth book is filled with stories of other friars who had lived pious and exemplary lives within the first few decades of the order’s existence. They were not only held up as models of how to live one’s life, but also as examples of the eternal salvation assured by such pious behavior and deeds. In a single text, the *Vitae fratrum* provides an outline of the most important ideas and figures in medieval Dominican thought: with the protection of the Virgin Mary, friars are to model their daily lives on the stories of their recently deceased brothers and they are to model their

---

<sup>127</sup> Van Engen, 15.

<sup>128</sup> John A. Trentman, *Tractatus de Suppositionibus: A Critical Edition* (Augsburg: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977), 11.

preaching on that of Jordan of Saxony, speaking with compassion, caring for souls, and correcting people's mistakes and missteps always with an eye not only toward their own eternal salvation, but also considering the eternal salvation of those in their care.<sup>129</sup>

Along with the *Vitae fratrum*, most Dominican houses had copies of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Sanctorum*, more commonly known today as the *Golden Legend*, which dates to around 1260. Written in Latin by a member of the order, Voragine's text was likely intended for an audience of his fellow Friars Preacher, probably as an aid to preaching. Over one thousand manuscript copies have survived and after the mid-fifteenth century, the text was also printed, with extant copies numbering in the hundreds.<sup>130</sup> The *Golden Legend* was, without a doubt, one of the most popular texts of the Middle Ages and, because it originated within the order, it is likely that the Dominicans of Valencia had a copy in their library. This connection is important for the purposes of the present study because it provides yet another text to which to compare the images that were produced for Dominican contexts in Valencia and/or as a result of their preaching.

Scholars have long argued that the Dominicans were not encouraged to "imitate" Christ in the way that popular late medieval texts such as the *Imitatio Christi* suggest, because this was too closely associated with the Franciscans and their religious practices.<sup>131</sup> The Dominicans were, however, encouraged to "follow in Christ's footsteps" and to empathize with his suffering, understanding that his suffering was to give human beings the gift of

---

<sup>129</sup> Van Engen, 16-8.

<sup>130</sup> William Granger Ryan, trans., "Introduction" in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), xiii-xviii.

<sup>131</sup> Simon Tugwell, "Christ as Model of Sanctity in Humbert of Romans," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 97.

eternal life.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps members of the mendicant orders did not go about their Christ-centered prayer and meditation in the same ways, but the *Imitatio Christi* is sometimes also called *The Following of Christ*, presumably qualifying as an appropriate guide for the Dominicans as well. There are no documented copies of such popular texts for the Valencian Dominicans until the sixteenth century, however, so it is not possible to consider them potential guides for the friars of Santo Domingo in the late medieval period. Nevertheless, it is likely that Valencian Dominicans knew about the *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo*, a thirteenth century guide to prayer written by an anonymous Dominican. The *Modos de Orar* are mentioned in the second book of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*, which focuses on Dominic's hagiography. The *Vitae fratrum*, as has been mentioned previously, was distributed to all extant Dominican convents after about 1260. According to Frachet, his account of the *Modos* is a transcription of the testimony of a friar who had personally observed the founder of the order praying. Furthermore, the postures for prayer recommended by Dominic in the *Modos* also parallel the rubrics for liturgical practice and prayer put forth in the 1228 constitution of the order: deep bows from the waist, bows with the head and shoulders, and the simple bowing of the head. Therefore, although there is no specific record of the Valencian Dominicans being in possession of the *Modos*, they would

---

<sup>132</sup> This idea comes from I Peter 2:21: "For unto this are you called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving you an example that you should follow his steps." Richard Newhauser, "Jesus as the First Dominican? Reflections on a Sub-theme in the Exemplary Literature of Some Thirteenth-Century Preachers," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 240.

certainly have been aware of Dominic's example through Frachet's treatise and the constitution of the order.<sup>133</sup>

There are five versions of the *Modos de Orar*, one each in Latin and Italian and three in Castilian. The brief text is a guide to prayer for Dominican friars who want to model themselves on the founder. There are nine sections, each of which describe a different way (*modo*) of prayer using specific body positions and/or gestures, and the text is accompanied by illustrations of Dominic demonstrating these prayerful postures in front of an altar complete with either a cross or a sculpture of the crucified Christ (Figures 1-18).<sup>134</sup> In fact, the opening sentence of the first *modo* tells the reader that he is to consider Christ actually being present in front of him. The images of crosses and/or the Crucifixion in the *Modos*, therefore, are *not* symbolic. Furthermore, the text's reliance on images not only in the form of illustrations, but also in the form of references to representations of Christ and the Virgin to which the devotee is to direct his attention, is significant. The first *modo* also instructs the friars to always bow as they pass the crucified Christ, thus promoting the incorporation of certain aspects of the text into their everyday activities. In the second *modo*, the author indicates that friars are to adore images of Christ in the same way that the "pious" Magi adored the Christ child, prostrating themselves before him. Dominic, according to the writer, performed this very action before images of Christ and the Virgin with his face fully pressed to the floor. The specific mention of the Virgin is particularly important as the

---

<sup>133</sup> Domingo Iturgaiz Ciriza, "Dinamoplastia iconográfica comparada de los 'Modos de orar' de Santo Domingo de Guzmán," *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* IV/7 (1991) <http://www.fuesp.com/revistas/pag/cai0707.html> (accessed October 13, 2011).

<sup>134</sup> These images from the *Modos de orar de Santo Domingo* come from two different copies of the text, neither of which belonged to the Dominicans of Valencia. Nevertheless, the parallels between the images in these two copies suggest that other copies would likely have included similar illustrations.

author informs the reader that he has the “security” of coming before Christ with the Virgin’s assistance, evidence of the important intercessory and protective role that the Virgin played in Dominican spirituality.<sup>135</sup>

Other *modos* instruct the devotee to scourge himself while reciting the *De profundis* and to genuflect repeatedly before the image of Christ while asking to be forgiven and “cleansed” of his sins. One of the rarest of the *modos* practiced by Dominic is the sixth, in which he is said to have stood with his arms outstretched, mimicking the posture of the image of the crucified Christ on the altar in front of him. Such a posture was reserved for moments of particular importance, when God inspired Dominic to understand a great truth or when Dominic said an especially powerful prayer or performed a miracle. The text specifies that while the friars are not prohibited from performing this *modo*, they are not encouraged to do so. In the seventh *modo*, there is a parallel to Hugh of St. Cher’s metaphor of the bow and arrow with which this chapter began. According to the *Modos*, Dominic often prayed with his arms reaching toward the heavens, fingers pressed together and pointing, like an arrow that has been released, perhaps physically mimicking “the arrow [that] is released in preaching.”<sup>136</sup> Throughout the text, there is an emphasis on behaving with prayerful reverence in the presence of Christ, using both the image and the physical act of praying in particular positions to communicate with Christ with the specific goal of repenting for sins and being forgiven. Those who consider themselves without sin are not excluded from these activities; they are told to pray for the forgiveness of the sins of others. There are

---

<sup>135</sup> Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2001), 10, 14, and 62-5 and Francis C. Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents* (Washington, D.C.: Thomist Press, 1964), <http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/0005.htm> (accessed November 8, 2011).

<sup>136</sup> Fueyo Suárez, 65-78.

frequent citations of biblical passages from both the Old and New Testaments, admonitions to faithfully practice this form of prayer and to teach it to novices, and the text specifically uses the term “devoción” or “devotion.” In short, the *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* is a remarkable text that, even in its brevity, provides us with an abundance of information about Dominican spiritual and devotional practice, including the roles played by Christ and the Virgin and the importance of art in the friars’ daily lives.

### *Conclusion*

As liaisons between the medieval church and the laity, especially in urban areas, nearly every Dominican had to have one foot in the convent and the other on the street. The newly founded order also had to prove its worth to the church and establish its place within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. By adopting the rule of St. Augustine and the Premonstratensian Rite, the Dominicans aligned themselves with some of the principles that guided preexisting monastic communities, but their constitution and course of study were, necessarily, far more contemporary. They also likened themselves to the apostles, taking the book of Acts as a model for their missionary activities, and this connection served to legitimize the friars’ place within the larger church. As ministers to growing urban populations, hearing confessions and addressing doctrinal issues were important to their constituency and they had to be prepared for this role. For this reason, Dominican education was highly regulated and very thorough, including specific methods for teaching and learning as well as ensuring the friars’ engagement with and understanding of a wide variety of texts. Realizing that there was no extant model for a religious community that lived and worked within the secular world, the

Dominicans also quickly published texts such as Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* that provided guidance for the friars' daily activities.

Containing libraries, spaces for learning, praying, eating, and resting, Dominican convent complexes were not only at the center of Dominican life, but they also came to be important community centers and spaces where the friars often interacted with the laity. The visual presence of the Dominicans in the late medieval world originated with their simple, but imposing, convent complexes into which the brothers welcomed the public and from which they were sent forth to preach. The following chapter is a case study of the Dominicans of the convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia, including an analysis of the architectural spaces and works of art within, as well as the friars who were based there and the ways in which they were able to transmit particular ideas and messages to both the secular world and to other religious communities.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO IN VALENCIA

#### *The Convent Complex*

The Dominican convent in Valencia was founded on April 11, 1239, a mere six months after Jaime I's conquest of the city. Friar Miguel de Fabra, Jaime's confessor, who had been at his side during the siege of both Mallorca and Valencia, became its first prior. Jaime rewarded Miguel de Fabra's steadfast loyalty by offering him a site on which to establish a convent in any city he chose within Jaime's territories. True to his word, following his takeover of the city of Valencia, Jaime gave the palace of Valencia's former Muslim ruler, Zayyan ibn Madarnish, to Miguel de Fabra as a site for a convent for the Dominicans. The first stone for the new complex was laid by the king himself on April 14, 1239, marking the beginning of centuries of Dominican presence in the city and region of Valencia.<sup>137</sup>

Today, the convent of Santo Domingo stands on a busy street near the riverbed, next to the Capitania General (Figures 19 and 20). Since the dissolution of many Spanish monastic communities in the mid-nineteenth century, the building that once housed the Dominicans of Valencia has become a parish church with only a few remaining references in its art and architecture to its original purpose and inhabitants. The present façade of the former convent complex is a combination of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and nineteenth-century architectural styles, characterized by the same strong, solid, austere design shared by

---

<sup>137</sup> Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores*, fols. 155r-156r and Zaragoza Catalán, 2.

many other Dominican buildings throughout Iberia and the rest of Western Europe. Although there is no record of what the original façade of the complex looked like, Dominican convents throughout Western Europe traditionally favored a simple aesthetic, so it is reasonable to assume those same architectural principles were employed in the original Valencian convent as well.<sup>138</sup> The austere architecture of the original complex would have set it apart from the more elaborate cathedral and newly built parish churches located nearby.<sup>139</sup>

Although the present façade is not original and much of the interior has undergone renovations since it became a parish church, most of the original medieval structural framework remains intact.<sup>140</sup> The main entrance from the street leads into a small open air courtyard with the Capilla de los Reyes (Chapel of the Kings), completed in 1437 with funds given by Alfonso V (“El Magnánimo”), to the right of the entrance and the mid fifteenth-century Capilla de San Vicente Ferrer (Chapel of St. Vincent Ferrer) beyond the courtyard. Most of the services held in the complex today take place in these two spaces with the Capilla de San Vicente Ferrer serving as the primary worship space for the parish church. It was originally built to honor the native Valencian, who had been canonized only five years earlier in 1455 and it was meant to provide an architectural link between the Capilla de los Reyes and the convent’s original basilica church, which is no longer extant. Between 1772 and 1781, the Capilla de San Vicente Ferrer underwent a major renovation, including the production of an extensive series of paintings detailing the life and works of the famous friar

---

<sup>138</sup> For the regulations regarding the appearance of Dominican convents, see section XXXV of the constitution in Lehner, 209-251.

<sup>139</sup> Zaragoza Catalán, 14-6.

<sup>140</sup> See figure 21 for a plan of the medieval convent complex.

that cover the walls and the ceiling. To date, no records have been found that provide any information about the original interior of the chapel, although recent research discussed below suggests that a single panel painting of Vicente Ferrer now in the Meadows Museum once hung on the wall.<sup>141</sup>

Beyond the Capilla de San Vicente Ferrer is the early fourteenth-century main cloister, which follows a traditional design with covered walkways on all four sides and a garden in the center (Figure 22). The cloister sets the tone for the aesthetic of much of the rest of the complex: light-colored stone, high vaulted ceilings, pointed arches, and delicate stone tracery, all with modest ornamentation. The simplicity of form within the convent mirrors the austere ideals of the Dominican Order itself. As it does in many monastic complexes, this space served as the center of the convent, connecting the many chapels housed within the cloister to both worship spaces and those spaces dedicated to the administration of the convent and the friars' daily lives. The cloister was also a popular burial site for several prominent Valencian families whose sepulchers line the walls.<sup>142</sup>

The old Puerto de San Vicente connects the Capilla de St. Vicente Ferrer to the north side of the cloister, which was parallel to the basilica plan church that had been dedicated to St. Dominic in 1382. While the fourteenth-century church is no longer extant, it was once one of two sites within the convent complex where the friars had regular contact with the general public. Records indicate that friars were available 24 hours a day to hear confession. Penitents were directed to confessionals located along the south wall of the nave and the friars who were on duty were seated on the opposite side of the wall in the cloister.

---

<sup>141</sup> Gascón Pelegrí, 8 and Zaragoza Catalán, 2 and 8.

<sup>142</sup> Gascón Pelegrí, 39-41, Zaragoza Catalán, 6.

Considering that the Dominicans had been charged with hearing confession since the founding of the order as well as the emphasis on confessing one's sins in preparation for the Last Judgment in their fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sermons, it comes as no surprise that the convent was open to those who wished to confess at any time of the day or night.<sup>143</sup>

Directly across from the Puerto de San Vicente, in the northeast corner of the cloister, is the main sacristy. The chapter room is next to the sacristy on the eastern side of the cloister, along with chapels dedicated to the Virgen Escala, Sts. Peter and Paul, and Sts. Vincent and James. Like the cloister and the basilica, the chapter room was built at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Unlike the cloister and the basilica, however, the chapter room employs a combination of groin vaulting and thin, delicate columns that are reminiscent of palm trees (Figure 23). In fact, the space is often referred to as the "Sala de las Palmeras," or "Room of the Palms." The architect who designed the chapter room, Guillén Fortaleza, had been inspired by the Lonja of Palma de Mallorca. Fortaleza was also the architect for the famous Valencian Lonja de la Seda, the late fifteenth-century silk market in Valencia's commercial district, which features a similar system of vaulting with thin columns, although those in the Lonja are more elaborate (Figure 24). The fact that the market was designed by the same architect who had worked for the Dominicans a few

---

<sup>143</sup> Gascón Pelegrí, 47 and Zaragoza Catalán, 6. For the friars' requirements to hear confession see Leonard Boyle, "Notes on the Education of the *Fratres communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century," in *Xenia mediæ ævi historiam illustrantia oblate Thomae Kaeppli O.P.*, ed. R. Creytens and P. Künzle (Rome, 1978), 2 vols., I: 249-68 and Joseph Goering and Pierre J. Payer, "The *Summa Penitentiae Fratrum Predicatorum*; A Thirteenth-Century Confessional Formulary," *Medieval Studies* 55 (1993): 1-50.

decades earlier is further evidence of the connection between the friars and the Valencian mercantile community.<sup>144</sup>

Originally, the chapter room was the primary meeting space for the friars and convent records reveal that a retable, or altarpiece, hung on the back wall of the room, across from the door, although there is no indication of what it represented. The chapter room was also where the friars would receive the habit, including Vicente Ferrer, and where general and provincial meetings of the Dominican Order would take place. The chapter room was also often used for community gatherings, including public confessions, the dissemination of information from the government to the citizens of Valencia, the deliberations of the courts of the kingdom, and meetings of contemporary poets, writers, and other intellectuals. Along with the basilica, this was another space within the complex where the friars would have had regular contact with lay people.<sup>145</sup>

On the south side of the cloister, there are seven small chapels dedicated (from east to west) to the Nativity (1480), St. Jerome (c. 1392), the Holy Cross (late 14<sup>th</sup> c.), the Virgin of the Milk (1415), St. Christopher (c. 1509), St. Michael Archangel, the Last Judgment, and the Souls in Purgatory (mid 16<sup>th</sup> c.), and the Virgin of Mercy (1296). In addition to these chapels, the south side of the cloister contains two refectories, which the friars would have accessed through the *Paso del “De Profundis,”* or “Out of the Depths.” The name of this passageway is derived from the beginning of Psalm 130, which reads “Out of the depths have I cried to you, O Lord: Lord hear my voice.” As one of the fifteen Gradual Psalms, the *De profundis* was sung by Jewish pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem and it is also included in the

---

<sup>144</sup> Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco et al., *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia, 1983), 18 and Gascón Pelegrí, 55-8. Records do not indicate how long the chapter room has been called the “Sala de las Palmeras.”

<sup>145</sup> Gascón Peregrí, 55-60.

Roman breviary. Later, it became one of the seven Penitential Psalms used by Christians and part of the Divine Office. The Dominicans would have sung the *De profundis* at Vespers on Wednesdays, for the second Vespers of Christmas, and during the Office of the Dead.<sup>146</sup> The *De profundis* is also one of the two texts recommended for recitation in the third *modo* of the *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo*, along with the *Miserere mei Deus*.<sup>147</sup> The west side of the cloister, which is parallel to the Capilla de San Vicente Ferrer, contains five additional chapels dedicated (from south to north) to St. Martin (1389), St. Onuphrius (before 1450), San Luis Beltrán (including an altar dedicated to Vicente Ferrer and dated to c. 1637), St. Catherine of Siena and St. Catherine Martyr (first half of the sixteenth century), and the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (1460).

### *Works of Art*

As has been mentioned previously, the dissolution of many convents and monasteries during the nineteenth century in Spain resulted in the redistribution of both texts and works of art to other institutions and, in many cases, the disappearance and/or destruction of these important primary sources. The convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia, in particular, has suffered extraordinary losses to its original library, archives, and collection of works of art. The remaining evidence of what was part of the convent collection during the late medieval period is sparse and reflects only a small portion of what was once there. Nevertheless, these few sources do provide some indication of the imagery present in the medieval convent.

---

<sup>146</sup> “*De Profundis*,” <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04738b.htm>, accessed December 3, 2010.

<sup>147</sup> Fuego Suárez, 65.

The earliest known works of art that can be connected to the complex are Pere Nicolau's *Scenes from the Life of St. Dominic of Guzmán* and Miguel Alcanyis' *Retable of the Holy Cross*, both of which date to the early fifteenth century (Figures 25 and 26). Nicolau's painting was probably complete by 1403 and hung over the altar in the basilica until 1535. The left panel represents the dream of St. Dominic's mother, the central image depicts Dominic with Innocent III, and, in the right panel, Dominic preaches to heretics. According to convent chronicles, Vicente Ferrer celebrated Mass in front of this image frequently. Although these records do not provide further information about its use, it is not unreasonable to consider that the painting might have acquired the status of a relic as both a representation of the founder of the order and an image known to have been used by one of the convent's most highly regarded friars.<sup>148</sup>

Alcanyis' early fifteenth-century retable hung in the Capilla de Nicolás Pujades, also known as the Chapel of the Holy Cross, located on the south side of the cloister. Christ is included in several individual panels throughout the work, first at the top of the altarpiece, holding a book with the Alpha and Omega, traditional symbols associated with the book of Revelation, written inside. Directly below this image, he emerges from blue and red clouds that contrast with the gold background, seated in judgment between two trumpeting angels as people below rise from their graves. The central panel of the retable is the Crucifixion, in which Christ appears between the two thieves. A large and lively crowd of people stand below and among them are those with dark skin tones, large noses, exaggerated facial features, and wearing turbans and Phrygian caps, attributes frequently associated with "the

---

<sup>148</sup> Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1955), 67-68.

other” in the medieval world and, specifically, with Jews and Muslims.<sup>149</sup> Some of these figures direct their piercing gazes upward toward Christ while others stare dispassionately out at the viewer. A crowd of Christians has gathered in the foreground, identifiable by their halos and grief-stricken expressions and poses. In the center of this group, slumped against St. John the Evangelist, is the Virgin. He supports her with his right hand and with his left hand, he gestures upward toward the crucified Christ. St. John’s hand draws the viewer’s attention to the blood that flows from Christ’s wounds, which runs down the base of the cross from his feet onto the rocks beneath and finally spills onto the Virgin’s blue tunic in vivid red streaks. Her hands are hidden beneath her garment and she appears to be holding her tunic out in order to catch the blood as the rest of her body twists in the opposite direction. Her eyes are also concealed from the viewer under the shadow of her veil, and her face is contorted in pain. Beside the Virgin and also in the foreground, a group of men, seemingly oblivious to the drama unfolding around them, draw lots for Christ’s clothing. The heraldry at the top of the altarpiece is that of the Barón de San Petrillo, who was buried in the chapel.<sup>150</sup>

Toward the top of the retable, the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin appear in two separate panels on either side of Christ in judgment in a representation of the Annunciation. The choice and organization of the six additional scenes included in the altarpiece, together with the images of Christ in the central *calle*,<sup>151</sup> create a complex composition that clearly reflects the concerns of contemporary Dominicans, including Vicente Ferrer. At the top

---

<sup>149</sup> These attributes have been well-established in Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) and Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>150</sup> Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos*, cat. 254.

<sup>151</sup> *Calles* are the vertical divisions within an altarpiece.

left, near the upper portion of the central Crucifixion panel, is an image of the internment of Adam, the site of which was also held by many to be the location of Christ's death. Below is a representation of the cross appearing in the sky as Constantine and his army make their way to the Milvian Bridge, where he would later fight Maxentius for control of the Roman Empire. Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* specifies that the words "by this sign you will be victor" appeared along with the cross in Constantine's vision; earlier sources held that Constantine had a dream in which he was ordered to put the sign of Christ, the cross, on the shields carried by his army.<sup>152</sup>

The last scene of the left *calle* depicts St. Helena, Constantine's mother, and the story of the discovery of the True Cross. According to *The Golden Legend*, when Helena went in search of the True Cross, she found three. Unable to tell which was the True Cross, all three were placed in the center of Jerusalem to be identified by a sign from God. Eventually, the body of a recently deceased man who was being carried through the city passed by and each cross was held over his body. Neither the first nor the second cross affected the man, but as soon as the third cross was raised above him, he came back to life.<sup>153</sup> The panel in Alcanyis' retable includes an abbreviated version of the narrative with Helena appearing twice; once when the three crosses are discovered and again holding the True Cross as the once dead man rises to life. A second reference to Constantine is made in the top panel of the right *calle*, in which the Battle of the Milvian Bridge actually takes place with Constantine wielding a shield marked with a cross. Clearly the victor, Constantine stands astride a white horse, taking up the majority of the space in the scene, and with his face clearly visible to the

---

<sup>152</sup> Eusebius of Caesaria, *The Life of Constantine*, accessed January 23, 2012, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-constantine.asp>.

<sup>153</sup> Voragine, vol. I, 281-2.

viewer. Maxentius and his black horse are given far less space within the composition and he is barely visible with his back to the viewer as he begins to fall from the horse as a result of a substantial blow dealt by his opponent.

Below, in the middle panel of the right *calle*, is an elaborate rendering of the mocking of Christ, which incorporates aspects of several of the Gospels as well as the description of the Passion from *The Golden Legend*.<sup>154</sup> Set in a richly ornamented architectural space, Christ is seated slightly to the right of the center of the composition draped in a red garment and wearing a large crown of thorns. Around him, the chief priests and elders have gathered as a soldier approaches Christ, perhaps to spit in his face. A cross has been placed against the wall next to Christ and a rooster on a column appears to his left. In the foreground on the right side of the panel, a weeping Peter kneels at Christ's feet along with another figure wearing a yellow cloak. This man, who has red hair, is likely the other disciple who has betrayed Christ—Judas. Both yellow clothing and red hair were often used during the medieval period in representations of Judas.<sup>155</sup> The final panel of the retable is a representation of Heracles returning the True Cross to Jerusalem in the seventh century at the bottom of the right *calle*. The Byzantine Emperor, wearing a short white garment, is shown approaching the gate into the city, carrying the cross he has captured from the Persian king Chosroes. Heracles, like Helena, was seen as a defender of Christianity against unbelievers, and both were credited with safeguarding one of the most important relics to

---

<sup>154</sup> Voragine, vol. I, 207.

<sup>155</sup> Herman Pleij, *Colors Demonic and Divine: Shades of Meaning in the Middle Ages and After* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 81.

medieval Christians: the True Cross.<sup>156</sup> As will be discussed further in the following chapter, the importance of relics associated with the Passion would have been familiar to Valencian Christians because the city's cathedral possessed a relic from the Crown of Thorns as well as a *lignum Crucis*, or a piece of the True Cross.

As a complete program of imagery, Alcanyis' retable reflects many of the Dominicans' concerns at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The references to Revelation at the top of the altarpiece in both the Alpha and Omega and in the representation of the Last Judgment clearly connect with the sermons being preached by Vicente Ferrer and other friars. The inclusion of scenes from the life of Constantine, while not common in late medieval Iberian retables, would have been appropriate for the Dominicans of Valencia, who used similarly militant imagery in their sermons, which emphasized the victory of Christianity over any kind of opposition. In addition, the appearance of the sign of the cross and the prophetic nature of Constantine's legendary vision parallel the revelatory experiences of contemporary Dominicans such as Vicente Ferrer.

The choice of the Crucifixion as the central panel is also unusual, particularly because of the emphasis on Christ's suffering, the blood being shed, and the emotions expressed by the Christians gathered at the base of the cross. While such imagery would be considered typical in contemporary imagery from Northern Europe, Iberian religious images tended to be more conservative. Most retables were dedicated to the Virgin Mary or to other saints

---

<sup>156</sup> Gustav Kühnel, "Heracles and the Crusaders: Tracing the Path of a Royal Motif" in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the end of the Crusades*, eds. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 63-4.

who were meant to serve as pious examples.<sup>157</sup> Crucifixion scenes were generally relegated to small panels at the very tops of altarpieces or in the central panel of the *banco*,<sup>158</sup> which would rest just above the altar. Regardless of their placement, such images rarely accentuated Christ's wounds, preferring to focus more on the salvation that they believed came as a result of the Crucifixion. The inclusion of the internment of Adam, also believed to have been the site of the Crucifixion, and the representation of the discovery and, later, the return of the True Cross serve to further call attention viewers' to Christ's Passion just as the Dominicans emphasized it in their sermons and writings.

A third retable, dedicated to the Virgin of the Milk, and painted by Juan Sivera, dates to the early fifteenth century and was part of a chapel of the same name located on the south side of the cloister (Figure 27). Only a few panels of the original altarpiece are extant, including the central panel, which contains an image of the Virgin of the Milk. The other remaining panels represent Christ's journey to Calvary, Christ Omnipotent, the Virgin of Humility, St. Gabriel, the flight into Egypt, the adoration of the Magi, the lactation of St. Bernard, and the Virgin Annunciate.<sup>159</sup> In addition, a diptych of the Annunciation, painted by Jacomart, dates between 1440 and 1450 (Figure 28). Although the records of the transfer of the diptych from the convent to the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia in 1838 do not indicate where the two panels hung in the convent, their size (70 x 23.5 inches each) suggests that they would have been placed in a fairly large space, perhaps the Capilla de los Reyes,

---

<sup>157</sup> A survey of the 88 cycles of the lives of Christ and the Virgin included in Chandler Post's fourteen-volume *A History of Spanish Painting*, reveals that over 60% of the cycles emphasize the Virgin.

<sup>158</sup> A *banco* is equivalent to the Italian *predella*, which is the lower part of an altarpiece that usually appears directly above the altar. *Bancos* usually include paintings, sometimes with a tabernacle in the center, although that was not a requirement.

<sup>159</sup> Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos*, cat. 242. The subsidiary panels are rarely reproduced and are thus not included here.

which was completed around the same time as the date given to the painting. In addition, the patron of the Capilla de los Reyes, Alfonso V, also employed the painter of the diptych, Jacomart, as one of his court painters, making it likely that the king would commission a painting by one of his favorite artists for his new chapel in the convent of Santo Domingo.<sup>160</sup>

All four of these works have long been identified as part of the collection the convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia, but another work has recently been rediscovered that may also have been part of the convent's collection. It is a large, single panel image of one of the convent's most famous friars, Vicente Ferrer (Figure 29). Prior to 2001, this painting had only been published once, in a 1942 article by the Conde de Polentinos in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* in which the author mentions the panel hanging in the Capilla de la Concepción, or Casa de Diós, in Madrid.<sup>161</sup> It is likely that the painting arrived in Madrid as a result of the dissolution of the convent in Valencia, when works of art were dispersed along with the contents of the convent library and archives. Elsewhere, I have argued that this work was likely painted by the aforementioned Valencian artist, Jacomart between 1455 and 1461, probably for the Capilla de Vicente Ferrer in the convent of Santo Domingo.<sup>162</sup> The painting and its significance will be discussed in further detail below.

With the chapter room and the basilica serving both private and public functions, the convent was clearly one of the most important community centers in Valencia, a role that

---

<sup>160</sup> Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001), 192-7, Mauro Natale, *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo* (Madrid, 2001), 445-9, Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 341-2, and Sanchis y Sivera, *Pintores medievales en Valencia*, 135-42.

<sup>161</sup> Conde de Polentinos, "La Capilla de la Concepción llamada la Casa de Diós," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 47 (1943), 85.

<sup>162</sup> Taryn Chubb, "Fear God and Give Glory to Him": *A Fifteenth-Century Valencian Panel Painting of St. Vincent Ferrer in the Meadows Museum* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2005).

was traditionally filled by a city's cathedral. Certainly, the cathedral also served this purpose in medieval Valencia, but it is significant that the Dominican convent was the site of regular community gatherings because it means that people not only had frequent and prolonged contact with the friars, but also with the art and architecture of the convent, which reflected their ideas. These works of art were meant to communicate the same ideas about piety and faith that the Dominicans espoused in their sermons, which were, of course, informed by the texts discussed in the previous chapter that were an important part of their education and, later, their preparation for preaching and teaching. Such images provided another way to reach their intended audience, buttressing the messages of their preaching, particularly because they invited prolonged consideration when people were in the convent for confession or a public meeting.

#### *Friars Beyond the Convent Walls: The Case of Vicente Ferrer*

The most famous friar to come from the convent in Valencia in the late Middle Ages was Vicente Ferrer. His popularity was unparalleled and the primary and secondary sources related to his life and works are by far the most abundant of any medieval Valencian Dominican. Therefore, he provides us with some of the best evidence we have about the Valencian Dominicans' activities and ideas during this period. Vicente Ferrer was born in the city on January 23, 1350 and his childhood home, which has been converted into a chapel dedicated to the Dominican saint, still stands in the city's parish of St. Stephen. At the age of 17, he entered the convent in his hometown. He studied theology at the University of Valencia from 1367 to 1370, logic at the University of Lérida from 1370 to

1371, and philosophy at the University of Barcelona from 1371 to 1375, before completing his education at the University of Toulouse in 1378.<sup>163</sup> Vicente returned to Valencia in 1379 and spent one year serving as the prior of the convent of Santo Domingo. From 1385 to 1390, he was professor of theology for the cathedral of Valencia and was often invited to preach in the cathedral as well.<sup>164</sup>

At the end of the fourteenth century, Vicente became heavily involved in political and ecclesiastical affairs. He worked as an assistant to Pedro de Luna, a native of Iberia who served as legate to Pope Clement VII, and the two frequently went on diplomatic missions together. Vicente was also a supporter of the Avignon popes and fought to prove their legitimacy over the Roman popes at the end of the fourteenth century, a conflict commonly known as the Western Schism.<sup>165</sup> As a result of his involvement in this controversy, he rose to the position of apostolic confessor when Pedro de Luna became the Antipope Benedict XIII in 1395. Then, according to Vicente's legend, while he was living in the papal palace at Avignon, he fell ill and had a dream in which Christ, St. Dominic, and St. Francis came to him, healing him and urging him to leave Avignon in order to use his preaching skills to prepare the world for the Last Judgment.<sup>166</sup>

In November of 1399, believing that the end of the world was near, Vicente set out to fulfill his mission, throughout France, Italy, and Iberia as well as in parts of England, Ireland, and Scotland.<sup>167</sup> This mission, which had been given to him in his legendary dream and which was supported by the anti-Jewish Pope Benedict XIII, was to prepare people for

---

<sup>163</sup> Aldea Vaquero et al., 927.

<sup>164</sup> Aldea Vaquero et al., 927.

<sup>165</sup> Aldea Vaquero, et al., 927.

<sup>166</sup> Aldea Vaquero, et al., 927.

<sup>167</sup> Aldea Vaquero, et al., 927.

the Last Judgment. He is said to have been a highly skilled and charismatic orator, so much so that his sermons resulted in mass conversions of Jews and Muslims, in particular. Preaching frequently on the subject of the Apocalypse, Vicente encouraged his congregations to confess their sins and repent as the end of the world approached. This was a message pointedly directed toward the Jewish populations of the cities and villages where he preached, for the conversion of the Jews is an important part of the Apocalypse story and was understood to be one of the signs that the end of the world was near.<sup>168</sup>

That Vicente subscribed to this belief is exemplified by an excerpt from one of his sermons on the Last Judgment in which he specifically addresses what will happen to the Jews at the end of time.

So, before the coming of any great mortality, . . . [we] are told of the terrible signs shown to the Jews for a length of time before the destruction of Jerusalem under Antiochus. ‘And it came to pass that through the whole city of Jerusalem for the space of forty days there were seen horsemen running in the air, in gilded raiment armed with spears like bands of soldiers. And horses set in ranks, running one against another, with the shakings of shields, and a multitude of men in helmets, with drawn swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden armor, and of harness of all sorts’ (II Mach: 5. 2,3). After this, Antiochus plundered the temple and slew the Jews.’<sup>169</sup>

He goes on to discuss the Antichrist and his followers (the Jews) and the ways in which he will torment and persecute the Christians by being deceptive and creating false miracles, taking all of the wealth of the world for himself, and by exerting power over all of the nations of the world. According to Vicente Ferrer, the Antichrist does all of these evil

---

<sup>168</sup> Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chapters 8 and 9 and Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 11-12, 134.

<sup>169</sup> Ferrer, *Sermones de sanctis*, <http://www.svfparish.org/svfsermons/>.

things with the Jews by his side.<sup>170</sup> He then speaks to the Jews directly, pleading with them to repent of their sins and to follow Christ instead.

Therefore, do penance now, forgive injuries, make restitution of any ill-gotten goods, live up to and confess your religion; place your hearts in heaven, and your lips by speaking with reverence of God, and your works by doing good. This is Christ's counsel, saying: 'Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth where the rust and moth devour and thieves break in and steal.' Notice the word 'rust,' which is Antichrist, and 'moth,' which is fire, for these will devour all.<sup>171</sup>

Vicente Ferrer's preaching in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was part of a renewed effort by the Dominicans to convert Jews and Muslims to Christianity. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans had focused their preaching efforts on the conversion of Jews and Muslims in the early fourteenth century, but the disorganization of the campaigns as well as the infighting that occurred among the Dominicans, in particular, rendered their efforts unsuccessful. By 1413, however, the Dominican friar Vicente Ferrer, apparently fearing not only the Last Judgment, but also the danger of Jews, Muslims, and Christians living together in Iberian cities, revived these preaching campaigns in order to persuade Christians to separate themselves physically from Jews and Muslims. Vicente believed that this was the only way to ensure that Christians would avoid the temptation to procreate with someone of another religious group as well as the temptation to convert to another religion. To that end, he actively promoted laws that called for the creation of Jewish quarters in cities such as Valencia, which he had done as early as 1391 following the

---

<sup>170</sup> See Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981) for the roots of Vicente Ferrer's ideas about the Antichrist.

<sup>171</sup> Pedro M. Cátedra García, *Sermón, Sociedad, y Literatura en la Edad Media: San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411-1412)* (Castilla y León: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1994), Sister Mary Catherine (translation), *Angel*, 103, 113, 116.

aforementioned conflict between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in that city. Christian leaders, including King Fernando I of Aragón-Catalonia and Pope Benedict XIII, later attempted to enforce such laws in other areas of Iberia, including Castile, following Vicente Ferrer's earlier model.<sup>172</sup>

This activity must be understood within a broader historical context. By the mid-thirteenth century, most of Iberia was controlled by Christians who had taken over the territories that had been previously ruled by Muslims.<sup>173</sup> Though collectively the Jews had little political power within this sphere, they did comprise a significant part of the population of medieval Iberia and many Jews wielded great power and influence within the Christian court in positions such as administrators, scientists, and translators, among others. Toward the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, many of the Jews living in northeastern Iberia may have been enticed by their elevated political, social, and financial positions into converting to Christianity, believing that they could gain more wealth and power as members of the dominant religious group. Christians, meanwhile, resented the growing wealth and power of so many Jews, and tensions arose between the two groups.<sup>174</sup>

During this period, Pope Benedict XIII, like Vicente Ferrer, was concerned about Jews and Christians living in close proximity to one another throughout Iberia. Upon seeing the results of the friar's preaching, the pope strengthened his support of the campaign. Furthermore, King Fernando I, who had also witnessed the effects of Vicente Ferrer's preaching, became a strong supporter and friend of both Pope Benedict and the Dominican friar and helped them to promote their cause. In Vicente Ferrer, Pope Benedict XIII, King

---

<sup>172</sup> McMichael and Myers, 181-2.

<sup>173</sup> See Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>174</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 9-10.

Fernando, and the Dominicans believed that they had finally found someone who could fulfill their desire to convert Jews in particular, who were seen as an especially problematic group of unbelievers in late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Iberia. In fact, Vicente Ferrer's hometown of Valencia is a perfect example of a city in which tensions between the government, the church, and the Jews continued to grow following the violence of 1391, discussed in chapter two.<sup>175</sup>

In a letter to Benedict dated July 7, 1412, Vicente reiterates his concern with the conversion of the Jews as well as his apprehension about the coming end of the world as he informs the pope of his recent activities. He summarizes the content of the sermons that he has been preaching, all of which have to do with scriptural references to the coming of the Antichrist and his calculations from such evidence that the Antichrist has already come to earth.

From all that has been said above, I hold the opinion, which I think to be well founded, though not sufficiently proven for me to preach it, that nine years have already elapsed since the birth of Antichrist. But this I do preach with certitude and security, the Lord confirming my word by many signs, that in an exceedingly short time will come the reign of Antichrist and the end of the world.<sup>176</sup>

Vicente Ferrer's belief that the Antichrist had already come was supported, in his opinion, by the rising numbers of Jewish conversions, which numbered into the thousands by some accounts.<sup>177</sup> Such conversions were thought to be a sign that the moment he had been waiting for, the end of the world, was near.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> McMichael and Myers, 181-2 and Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 49, 208.

<sup>176</sup> Sister Mary Catherine (translation), *Angel*, 118-32.

<sup>177</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 12, 55, 134.

<sup>178</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 12 and Sister Mary Catherine (translation), *Angel*, 131.

The next year, on November 20, 1413, King Fernando I wrote a letter to Vicente, who was preaching in Mallorca, urging him to travel to Tortosa in order to instruct recently converted Jews in the Christian faith.

. . . For the rest, beloved and devoted friend, there are in our realm many children of Moses, ensnared in the toils of Judaism, whose hearts inspired by the Grace of the Holy Spirit, long with ardor to take flight into the shelter of the Catholic Faith. They are thirsting to be helped by the instruction of some understanding person, whose instructions may bring them where their unaided grasp of religion is not strong enough to lead them.

Since we hope that the brightness of your edifying sermons may bring them out of the darkness in which they now live to the light of the Catholic Faith, we lovingly request you and exhort you in the Lord as soon as you read [this to] repair without delay to Tortosa, where many Jews for the aforesaid reason are gathered together, that from you these same Jews may gather the palm of salvation, so that they may be enabled to enjoy eternal life in Heaven.

Vicente Ferrer arrived in Tortosa in late January of 1414 and immediately began working with Pope Benedict XIII and Joshua Ha-Lorki, a Jewish scholar who was baptized by Vicente Ferrer and became known by his Christian name of Jerónimo de Santa Fe, to organize a public disputation. This event, which took place in February of 1414, is known as the Tortosa Disputation.<sup>179</sup>

Pope Benedict XIII presided over the first session on February 7, although subsequent meetings were directed by the Master General of the Dominicans, Joannes de Puinoix. The organizers of the disputation had gathered the chief rabbis of the Iberian

---

<sup>179</sup> See Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) for a complete discussion of one of the earliest Disputations in Iberia upon which later Disputations were modeled; Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 48-9 and 55, Juan Torres Fontes, "La política exterior en la regencia de d. Fernando de Antequera," *Anales de la universidad de Murcia: Filosofía y letras* 18 (1959-60), 56, and Martínez Ferrando, *San Vicente Ferrer y la Casa Real de Aragón*, 72-5.

kingdoms and the most respected contemporary Christian theologians, who were led by none other than Vicente Ferrer. The disputation followed the normal format of such events, which were debates between Christians and Jews concerning the principal tenets of the two faiths, analyzing the similarities and differences between them, with each side trying to prove its superiority over the other. Over the course of several months, the Christians prevailed over the Jews, many of whom, according to the sources that remain, recognized their error in not accepting Christianity and finally converted. In fact, these sources credit Vicente Ferrer's powerful preaching with the conversion of the entire Jewish population of Tortosa with the exception of only six families. Several rabbis and other Jewish leaders from outside of Tortosa who had attended the disputation also converted to Christianity.<sup>180</sup>

Vicente Ferrer was known throughout his life as a man who possessed a vast knowledge of languages, philosophy, theology, logic, and politics, and he used this wealth of knowledge to become a powerful and influential authority in matters of both church and state. His support of the Avignon popes earned him a position as apostolic confessor to the Antipope, Benedict XIII, which he used to promote the causes that were important to him. Even after he left his position with Benedict, Vicente continued to use his power and influence throughout his preaching campaigns in France, Italy, and Iberia, gaining the support of King Fernando I.

His greatest achievement in the eyes of his followers was his particular concern with the salvation of humankind. As a Dominican, he saw himself as one of Christ's apostles, who had been sent to preach the Word of God to the faithful and, perhaps more

---

<sup>180</sup> Baer, 793-94, L. Landau, ed. *Das apologetische Schreiben des Josua Lorki* (Antwerp, 1906), and Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 49 and 55.

importantly, to groups of unbelievers. Nearly all of his sermons were concerned with preparation for the Last Judgment. He not only preached to the faithful about the importance of repenting of their sins but he also spoke to unbelievers about the necessity of converting to Christianity, all in an effort to save humankind from descending into the fires of hell at the Last Judgment. Vicente Ferrer realized that, although his preaching and teaching put people on that path, he would have to find ways to keep them there after he moved on to the next town. By the end of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth, he began to publish some of his sermons and treatises in an effort to make his ideas more easily accessible to other clerics for use in their own sermons and teaching.

If we are to believe the legend, the relic-manuscript of Vicente Ferrer's sermons held by the Real Colegio de Corpus Christi in Valencia was written in the friar's own hand sometime after he preached the sermons in the town of Morella, outside of Valencia, in 1414. The 165 sermons that comprise the Corpus Christi manuscript take on many subjects from the Transfiguration to the Incarnation to the lives of various saints.<sup>181</sup> Of particular importance to this study, however, are those sermons that address the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world. These were two of the most important themes in his preaching. In the Corpus Christi manuscript, there are four sermons that specifically focus on the Antichrist and six that directly address the end of time. These numbers do not take into account the numerous references to both subjects within the context of sermons on the Passion and sermons emphasizing the importance of repenting of one's sins. In one of his sermons on the Antichrist, Vicente tells his congregations that they can choose between

---

<sup>181</sup> Vicente Ferrer, *Sermones: Transcripción del manuscrito del Real Colegio y Seminario del Corpus Christi de Valencia*, edited by Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and María Luz Mandingorra Llavata (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002), 17-29.

dying a fiery death because of their earthly desires or they can be “resuscitated” to prepare for the end of the world. He goes on to tell those who prefer to be “resuscitated” that their presence during his preaching will begin to fill them with grace. If the thought of dying a fiery death was not enough to get people to listen, Vicente punctuated his first point by explaining that following the death of the Antichrist, the world will last for only 45 more days. During this time, people who have not yet repented will have the opportunity to change their minds before they are finally judged. Among those who might want to consider this, according to Vicente Ferrer, are Jews and Saracens and anyone else who has not lived a “good life.” For those who still refuse to repent of their sins following this second chance, he warns that the world will end in a massive fire.<sup>182</sup> A few days later, he preaches a short sermon on the end of the world in which he continues to advocate that his congregation undertake appropriate preparations. He tells people to be penitent so that they can live a “good life” while they are on the earth, remaining ever mindful of the impending Day of Judgment. He emphasizes that the final judgment is irrevocable and perpetual.

In another sermon on the end of the world, Vicente discusses the two comings of Christ. First, of course, he came to “reform” the world, teaching people about the spiritual life and teaching them to eschew materiality so that they will not neglect their spirituality.

---

<sup>182</sup> Ferrer, *Sermones*, Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and Maria Luz Mandingorra Llavata, eds., 33. The Franciscans as a group appear not to have been quite as concerned with the impending end of the world as the Dominicans were, although some factions within the order of the Friars Minor certainly were preoccupied with the story of the Apocalypse and saw some of the same parallels between the Book of Revelation and contemporary society that Vicente Ferrer recognized. For Franciscan views on the Last Judgment and related issues, see David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After St. Francis* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001) and Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), especially chapter four. One particularly notable exception was Francesc Eiximenis, who, like Vicente Ferrer, believed that the end of the world was imminent. In fact, Eiximenis publically asserted that it would take place in 1400, so it is no surprise that in the previous year, Ferrer had his own “vision” of the impending end of the world, given to him not only by Christ and St. Dominic, but also by St. Francis, founder of Eiximenis’ order. See David J. Viera, “The Evolution of Francesc Eiximenis’s Attitudes Toward Judaism,” in *Friars and the Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Stephen J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158-9.

When he comes for the second time, it will be to judge the world. According to Vicente, he will not come with humility, but with “power and majesty” so great that he will cause people to quiver and tremble. He goes on to say that when people are called before him to be judged, they will not have the benefit of representation, a reference to his encouragement of the use of saints as intercessors. Vicente concludes his sermon by painting a bleak mental picture for those who risk spending their eternal lives in hell as he tells them that no one can adequately express or imagine what awaits them there.<sup>183</sup>

These three sermons exemplify Vicente’s views on the the Antichrist, the Last Judgment, and the end of the world so much so that the inclusion of additional examples is unnecessary as he repeats the same arguments and warnings in all of them. He holds the attention of his congregation by using a descriptive language that evokes images of “fiery deaths,” the “power and majesty” of Christ as he appears at the Last Judgment, and the “quivering and trembling” of people as they behold him. Vicente’s incessant preaching about these subjects must have permeated the minds of people living in Valencia during this period, so it is not surprising that so many of his ideas made their way into works of art.

Vicente Ferrer’s treatises explore many of these philosophical, political, religious, and spiritual questions in more depth than his sermons. His *Treatise on the Spiritual Life* is particularly pertinent to the subject of this study. Published in several editions, the date of the original is not known, but it was likely published between 1394 and 1407.<sup>184</sup> It is divided into nineteen chapters, each devoted to a particular theme, including the necessity of

---

<sup>183</sup> Ferrer, *Sermones*, Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and Maria Luz Mandingorra Llavata, eds., 84-8.

<sup>184</sup> Adolfo Robles, *Obras y Escritos de San Vicente Ferrer* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1997), 296. For more on Vicente Ferrer’s *Treatise on the Spiritual Life*, see Taryn Chubb, “*De vita spirituali*: San Vicente Ferrer, Cardinal Cisneros, and Fifteenth Century Devotional Practices in Castilla,” *La corónica*, forthcoming.

spiritual guidance, instructions about how to obtain perfection, how to avoid spiritual temptations and the snares of the devil, and how best to serve God, among others. References to Christ are woven throughout the text, both as an example to follow as well as for the purposes of reminding the reader of the sacrifices that Christ has made for his or her salvation. For example, in the eleventh chapter of the treatise, which has to do with the guidelines to be followed in regard to sleep, watching, and study, Vicente Ferrer writes:

[Before going to rest] enter into prayer, read some short passages from the Bible, or enter into meditation. In your meditations, you should contemplate the Passion of Christ, keeping in mind that which he suffered for the hours during which you will be sleeping. ... You should take time also to set aside your studies in order to hide yourself for some time in the wounds of Christ, which he received for you.<sup>185</sup>

These kinds of ideas are the foundation of all of Vicente Ferrer's teachings, which emphasize Christ's suffering for the salvation of humankind and subtly remind people that those who do not believe or demonstrate their piety face the horrors of the Last Judgment and risk even greater suffering than his description of that of the Passion of Christ. Furthermore, his teachings can be related to the Dominicans' broader view of their own mission, which was to save souls.

The aforementioned single panel painting of Vicente Ferrer that likely once belonged to the Convent of Santo Domingo, but is now in the collection of the Meadows Museum, is further evidence of both the saint's message and his popularity (Figure 29). Vicente was highly regarded in his native Iberia, where he was the public face of the Dominican order both during his lifetime and following his canonization in 1455. Images of the recently

---

<sup>185</sup> Robles, *Obras y Escritos*, 318-9.

canonized friar in his role as a preacher were produced throughout the peninsula, and especially in Valencia, beginning in the last half of the fifteenth century. Valencian Dominicans were inspired by Vicente Ferrer's vision and they made his mission to prepare people for the end of the world their mission as well. When he was alive, they frequently joined him as he traveled from town to town preaching. After he died, they continued to preach and they produced images of the saint that conveyed his message of the importance of preparing for the end of the world.

The Meadows panel is one of the earliest examples of Iberian images of the saint and it dates to the period just after his canonization in 1455. In this painting, Vicente Ferrer is depicted in the simple attire of a Dominican friar. His body is turned slightly, his eyes meet the viewer's gaze directly, and his left arm holds the cloak away from his body while his right arm, crossed over his chest, is raised with his long fingers pointing upward, moving the viewer to read the text on the banderole that is suspended over his head. The text on the banderole is a passage from Revelation written in Latin that Vicente Ferrer often included in his sermons. In translation it reads, "Fear God and give glory to Him; for the hour of judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth."<sup>186</sup> Here, the banderole functions in the manner of a Gothic speech scroll, giving the viewer the impression that Vicente Ferrer is actually "speaking" the words to which he points.<sup>187</sup> As one of the earliest images of the saint to appear in Valencia following his death and canonization, this painting was produced not only to honor a native son, but also to continue to transmit his message of

---

<sup>186</sup> "*Time deum et date illi honorem quia venit hora iudicii eius et adorato eum qui fecit caelum et terram.*" (Revelation 14:7).

<sup>187</sup> Like Gothic speech scrolls described by Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8/1 (1985): 26-49.

the importance of salvation as the end of the world approached.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, the number of images of Vicente Ferrer that were produced during the last half of the fifteenth century and beyond, all conforming to the iconographic model that was introduced just after his canonization, serve as a testament to the important role that he played in the religious history of medieval Iberia.<sup>189</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The Dominicans of Valencia, sanctioned first by the church when they were given their mission to “save souls” in the early thirteenth century and later enjoying the endorsement and patronage of Jaime I following his conquest of the city in the mid-thirteenth century, established their convent near the city center. Within the walls of the convent, they created a space for the friars to learn and prepare for their work in the world. Opening parts of the convent to the public brought people into the Dominicans’ environment, where they would attend Mass, confess, and participate in community gatherings surrounded by the friars themselves as well as the art and architecture of the convent.

Within the convent, works of art hung in chapels and in the main church as well as in the chapter room, all of which were spaces used by the public. Such works of art were intended to convey specific messages to both the friars living and working at the convent and to the members of the community who spent time there. There were images of the

---

<sup>188</sup> Taryn E.L. Chubb, *“Fear God and Give Glory To Him”: A Fifteenth-Century Valencian Panel Painting of St. Vincent Ferrer in the Meadows Museum* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2005).

<sup>189</sup> A thorough examination of these images can be found in: Chubb, *“Fear God and Give Glory to Him,”* chapter 3.

founder of the order, St. Dominic, who was admired as a pious example of a devoted friar, someone to be emulated and respected. Other images included the early fifteenth-century *Retable of the Holy Cross*, which clearly reflects contemporary Dominican ideas about the Crucifixion (including the roles played by the Biblical Jews, in particular), the place of Christ in one's life, and the importance of preparation for the end of the world. The Dominican view of the Virgin Mary as the mother of Christ and a powerful intercessor who also protects and sustains those in her care is evident in both Jacomart's *Annunciation* and in the remaining panels of the *Retable of the Virgin of the Milk*, particularly in the central dedicatory image. Finally, the single panel painting of the newly canonized native Valencian Vicente Ferrer, which depicts the friar in a confrontational pose looking directly at the viewer with a speech scroll containing a specific quote from Revelation unfurling around him, would have sent a clear message of the importance of preparing for the end of the world to anyone who encountered it.

Going forth from the convent in the stark black and white garments of the order, the Dominicans of Valencia ministered to the urban population by teaching and preaching. They made themselves visible in multiple ways with images of Dominican saints hanging on the convent walls alongside paintings that represented the Dominicans' belief in the Virgin Mary as protector and nurturer of life and the importance of Christ's sacrifice to give humankind eternal life and, of course, the friars themselves were present within the space, interacting with those who came to seek spiritual guidance. Outside of the convent, the friars participated in the daily activities of the city and surrounding area, preaching, teaching, and conducting business, but always remaining visible and accessible to the people. The

mobility and visibility of the friars was crucial to their success. In the beginning, their mission was simply to “save souls,” but Vicente Ferrer’s 1399 vision breathed new life into the original mission. His belief that the end of the world was imminent made the Dominicans’ original mission a far more urgent concern, resulting in a feverish preaching campaign that reached beyond the convent and the city of Valencia. This also resulted in the spread of such ideas to other religious institutions throughout the region, including the cathedral, parish churches, and other monastic communities, where there is additional evidence of the Dominicans’ visual presence and their preoccupation with the Last Judgment in particular.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE DOMINICANS BEYOND THE CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO

#### *Introduction*

The previous chapters have examined the Valencian Dominicans' preparation for their work in the world through analysis of both the texts they read and wrote as well as the art and architecture of their convent. As a mendicant order, however, they were expected to live as both pious clerics and active citizens of the community outside the convent complex. The Dominicans, after all, had been given a mission to minister to urban populations, teaching and preaching, addressing the concerns of the urban elite about potentially immoral business practices, working to convert unbelievers, and encouraging Christians who had strayed from the church to return, all in an effort to fulfill the last part of the Apostles' Creed, to save souls and put people on the path to achieving eternal life. Such an existence made the friars very visible, a desirable consequence that served to further the potential success of their mission. When Vicente Ferrer emerged as an outspoken representative of the order, involving himself in political and ecclesiastical affairs in addition to his aggressive preaching campaigns throughout Europe, he made the Dominicans even more visible. One would expect, then, to find evidence of the friars' presence beyond the convent complex and, indeed, such evidence does exist, although it is not always easy to find or to recognize. The following examples, although they are few, demonstrate that the Valencian Dominicans and their ideas were not confined to Santo Domingo nor were they confined to the capital city of the region. Significant losses to works of art and architecture during the past several

centuries due to fires and war have served to obscure the friars' visual presence in the region, but careful consideration of what remains of late medieval Valencian religious art reveals their presence in images of Dominican saints as well as images that reflect the ideas they so passionately promoted.

### *Valencia Cathedral*

The Valencian Dominicans had always maintained strong ties to the nearby cathedral. Friars including Guillermo Anglés in the mid-fourteenth century and Pedro Canals and Vicente Ferrer in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, among others, preached at the cathedral and would have been well known to the population of Valencia in such a capacity.<sup>190</sup> Several Dominican friars, including Vicente Ferrer, also served on the faculty of the cathedral school, so it is not surprising to find evidence of their presence there in both architecture and remaining works of art.<sup>191</sup>

Two of the first bishops of Valencia, Andrés Albalat (1249-1276) and Ramón Despont (1289-1312), were Dominican friars. During the years of their respective episcopates, the cathedral underwent substantial renovations.<sup>192</sup> Beginning in the thirteenth century, the nave was expanded and several chapels were added to the building. The cathedral acquired two important relics during this period as well: King Louis IX of France donated a relic from the Crown of Thorns in 1256, during the time that the Dominican Andrés Albalat was bishop, and Constanza de Suabia bequeathed a *lignum crucis*, or piece of the True Cross, in 1326. Both relics would have appealed to the Dominicans for their direct

---

<sup>190</sup> Vicente Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*, vol. I (Valencia, 1747), fols. 12r, 15v, and 24r.

<sup>191</sup> Aldea Vaquero, et al., 927.

<sup>192</sup> Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "Los dominicos en la ciudad y Universidad de Valencia," *Escritos del Vedat* 36 (2006), 186.

connections to Christ and specifically to his crucifixion, and for the crowds they undoubtedly drew.<sup>193</sup>

The cathedral was certainly important as the headquarters of the church in Valencia, but I believe it may have been particularly significant to the Dominicans as they set about fulfilling their mission to “save souls” through teaching and preaching. Located in the center of the city with the markets to the west and the Dominican convent to the east, it was an important public space for the entire community. Furthermore, in order for the Dominicans to walk from their convent in the Plaza de Tetuán near the eastern wall of the city to the cathedral, one of the most likely routes for them to take would have had them passing through the area of the city where the majority of the Jewish citizens lived, along the Calle del Mar. Following the riots of 1391 and at Vicente Ferrer’s suggestion, this area became the official Jewish quarter. A few blocks to the north of the middle portion of the Calle del Mar and, therefore, also near the Jewish quarter, was the church of San Juan del Hospital, to which I will return later. Valencian Jews would have been required to pass by the cathedral via the Plaza de la Reina in order to get to the markets, which were located on the western side of the city. Thus, one of the primary east-west streets in the city linked the Dominicans, the Jews, the cathedral, and the markets (Maps 1 and 2).<sup>194</sup>

Significantly, the northwest entrance to the cathedral, called the Puerta de los Apostoles, or Door of the Apostles, contains a rose window designed in the form of a Star of David that has been in place since at least 1354 (Figure 30). Records suggest that the idea for the window arose with the Dominican bishop, Andrés Albalat, although it was not

---

<sup>193</sup> Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia*, 167.

<sup>194</sup> “Valencia,” [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud\\_0002\\_0020\\_0\\_20291.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0020_0_20291.html), accessed May 20, 2011.

completed during his tenure.<sup>195</sup> Today, the cathedral website emphasizes the connection between Christ's lineage and the Star of David, but it seems likely that in the fourteenth century, amid violent clashes between Jews and Christians within the city, such an image, easily visible from the exterior due to the tracery of the window, would have had a distinctly different significance. Valencian Jews going about their daily lives would have had no choice but to pass the centrally located headquarters of the church, regardless of the route they took, in order to get to the market. With the Hospitallers and Dominicans to the east of the cathedral and the Star of David image above the northwest entrance to the cathedral, they would have been confronted by opposition on every front.

Inside the cathedral, evidence of the Dominicans' presence is clear, despite losses to the interior and the works of art inside as a result of several fires, the French invasion of 1812, and the Spanish Civil War. The Dominican confessor to Jaime I, Miguel de Fabra, was present at the first Mass said following the purification of the cathedral, which was part of the king's ceremonial takeover of the city in 1238. The site of this first post-conquest Mass is marked by an exterior chapel that is connected to the apse end of the cathedral. On a balcony above the chapel, exterior galleries were built for preaching to crowds that gathered in the Plaza de la Virgen, on the northwest side of the building. Although sermons were given from these galleries at other times, they were primarily intended for preaching on Palm Sunday, when throngs of people would gather in the plaza to observe the beginning of Holy Week at the cathedral. Preaching, of course, also took place from the pulpit on the north side of the transept. Documentary evidence indicates that Vicente Ferrer was among the

---

<sup>195</sup> Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia*, 169.

preachers to speak from this pulpit on multiple occasions and this connection is further confirmed by a painting of the saint that has been placed at the site (Figure 31). The original image, painted by an unknown artist, dates to the fourteenth century and the depiction of the saint is very similar to the Meadows panel, discussed in chapter four. The painting that hangs above the pulpit today is a twentieth-century reproduction; the original has been removed so that it can be preserved.<sup>196</sup>

The Dominican bishop of Valencia from 1249 to 1276, Andrés Albalat, is interred in the chapel of Cristo de la Buena Muerte, or Christ of the Good Death, located in the ambulatory. Nearby, the cathedral reliquary holds both the Crown of Thorns and *lignum crucis* relics, which are related to Christ's Passion and of central importance to Christians in general and to the Dominicans, specifically.<sup>197</sup> The friars' emphasis on Christ's suffering and sacrifice to redeem the sins of humankind is reflected not only in the texts they read and wrote, but also in their preaching.<sup>198</sup> New research by Aaron Canty brings to light another dimension to the Dominicans' theology: an interest in Christ's Transfiguration. According to Canty, as the mendicant orders developed during the thirteenth century, several Franciscan and Dominican scholars wrote about the Transfiguration. On behalf of the Order of Preachers, Hugh of St. Cher, Gueric of St. Quentin, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas addressed the significance of this pre-Passion event in the life of Christ and the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis dedicated several chapters of his well-known and widely

---

<sup>196</sup> Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia*, 167 and "Interior Cathedral Tour," [http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/arte\\_recorrido-por-la-catedral.php](http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/arte_recorrido-por-la-catedral.php), accessed August 2, 2011.

<sup>197</sup> Garín Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia*, 176.

<sup>198</sup> "Interior Cathedral Tour."

disseminated *Vita Christi* to the Transfiguration.<sup>199</sup> Canty argues convincingly that the Transfiguration was important to the mendicants because it has to do with Christ's dual nature as both divine and human.<sup>200</sup>

The story appears in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Matthew recounts the events in chapter seventeen of his Gospel:

[1] And after six days Jesus taketh unto him Peter and James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart: [2] And he was transfigured before them. And his face did shine as the sun: and his garments became white as snow. [3] And behold there appeared to them Moses and Elias talking with him. [4] And Peter answering, said to Jesus: Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias. [5] And as he was yet speaking, behold a bright cloud overshadowed them. And lo, a voice out of the cloud, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him. [6] And the disciples hearing, fell upon their face, and were very much afraid. [7] And Jesus came and touched them: and said to them, Arise, and fear not. [8] And they lifting up their eyes saw no one but only Jesus. [9] And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man, till the Son of man be risen from the dead.

[21] And when they abode together in Galilee, Jesus said to them: The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men: [22] And they shall kill him, and the third day he shall rise again. And they were troubled exceedingly.<sup>201</sup>

This story also appears in chapter nine of Mark's Gospel:

[1] And after six days Jesus taketh with him Peter and James and John, and leadeth them up into an high mountain apart by themselves, and was transfigured before them. [2] And his garments became shining and exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller upon earth can make white. [3] And there appeared

---

<sup>199</sup> Robinson, *Imag(in)ing Passions*, chapter one.

<sup>200</sup> Aaron Canty, *Light & Glory: The Transfiguration of Christ in Early Franciscan and Dominican Theology* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 1-5.

<sup>201</sup> Matthew 17: 1-9, 21-22.

to them Elias with Moses; and they were talking with Jesus. [4] And Peter answering, said to Jesus: Rabbi, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias. [5] For he knew not what he said: for they were struck with fear. [6] And there was a cloud overshadowing them: and a voice came out of the cloud, saying: This is my most beloved son; hear ye him. [7] And immediately looking about, they saw no man any more, but Jesus only with them. [8] And as they came down from the mountain, he charged them not to tell any man what things they had seen, till the Son of man shall be risen again from the dead.

[29] And departing from thence, they passed through Galilee, and he would not that any man should know it. [30] And he taught his disciples, and said to them: The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and after that he is killed, he shall rise again the third day.<sup>202</sup>

Finally, in chapter nine of Luke's Gospel, the story is told once again:

[28] And it came to pass about eight days after these words, that he took Peter, and James, and John, and went up into a mountain to pray. [29] And whilst he prayed, the shape of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became white and glittering. [30] And behold two men were talking with him. And they were Moses and Elias, [31] Appearing in majesty. And they spoke of his decease that he should accomplish in Jerusalem. [32] But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep. And waking, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him. [33] And it came to pass, that as they were departing from him, Peter saith to Jesus: Master, it is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias; not knowing what he said. [34] And as he spoke these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them; and they were afraid, when they entered into the cloud. [35] And a voice came out of the cloud, saying: This is my beloved Son; hear him. [36] And whilst the voice was uttered, Jesus was found alone. And they held their peace, and told no man in those days any of these things which they had seen.

---

<sup>202</sup> Mark 9:1-8, 29-30.

[44] And all were astonished at the mighty power of God. But while all wondered at all the things he did, he said to his disciples: Lay you up in your hearts these words, for it shall come to pass, that the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men.<sup>203</sup>

The Dominican Thomas Aquinas, in his thirteenth-century *Summa theologiae*, highlights the manifestation of Christ's divinity while he is present on earth in his human form and the clear visibility of that divinity in the story of his transfiguration. For Aquinas, whose *Summa* would have been well-known to all Dominicans as it was included in the friars' required curriculum as noted in chapter three, this was a particularly important experience shared by Christ with a select few of his disciples. In these moments alone with their leader, Peter, James, and John not only see Christ's divinity for themselves, but they also hear the voice of God, enjoining them to listen to his son. Furthermore, Christ tells them that he will die "at the hands of men." The disciples are afraid when they hear God's voice, but Christ comforts them. Aquinas' analysis of the story, as Canty points out, emphasizes its "hortatory function:"

Although the question on the transfiguration closes with reflections on the eschatological significance of the transfiguration, Thomas maintains his emphasis on the hortatory function of the transfiguration to the end of the question. Once the disciples have witnessed the transfiguration, once they have heard Moses and Elijah talking with Jesus about His departure from the world, once they have heard the terrifying voice of the Father, Jesus strengthens the souls of his disciples with his words of comfort so that they can endure His passion and death, which are to come.<sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> Luke 9: 28-36, 44.

<sup>204</sup> Canty, 241-4. For a Franciscan comparison to these ideas, see Javier Renedo and David Guixeras, eds., *Franciscan Eiximenis: An Anthology*, trans. Robert D. Hughes (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2008), 52-4.

The Dominicans of Valencia, who knew Aquinas' *Summa* well from their training, likely shared his view of the importance of the Transfiguration as proof of Christ's dual nature. This would have been important to them as they emphasized Christ's simultaneous humanity and divinity in their texts and sermons. In fact, Vicente Ferrer preached about the Transfiguration in a sermon for the second Sunday in Lent which is based on the version of the story in Matthew's Gospel. Just as Aquinas highlighted Christ's dual nature, so, too, does Vicente. He tells those gathered for the sermon that Christ assumed humanity to demonstrate his vulnerability and mortality:

Christ first had glory and yet his body was capable of suffering. So [too] for the souls of the saints who pass from this life to the next. First their souls are in glory, and yet their bodies remain in corruption. Nevertheless, our bod[ies] shall be transfigured, on the day of the resurrection, and the glorified soul will take up [and overflow into the] body.<sup>205</sup>

Vicente goes on to discuss the significance of the disciples' "quiet reception" of the events of the Transfiguration, which he believed was Christ's way of preparing them for what was to come:

And so Christ wanted first to show Peter the five [elements], before he was to come and to have glory. And first the cloud came and this signifies penance, and so: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," (Matthew 4:17). So first penance must be done. Second, the voice of the Father sounded, "This is my beloved Son, ...hear ye him." It signifies obedience. So it is said, "But if the wicked do penance for all his sins which he hath committed, and keep all my commandments, and do judgment, and justice, living he shall live," (Ezekiel 18:21). Third, fear and humiliation are required, because they fell down. For every saint fears death. ... Fourth, Christ has to come and this on the day of judgment, when, by

---

<sup>205</sup> St. Vincent Ferrer, "Sermon for the Second Sunday of Lent: The Transfiguration," *Sermones de sanctis* (Antwerp: P. Nutium, 1570), trans. Albert G. Judy, [http://www.svfparish.org/svfsermons/A440\\_Lent2%20Transfiguration.htm](http://www.svfparish.org/svfsermons/A440_Lent2%20Transfiguration.htm), accessed August 3, 2011.

divine power they shall be raised from death, because Christ made them rise up at his transfiguration when he said to them, “Arise, and fear not,” because sinners fear his appearance. But it is said to the just, “Do not fear, arise.” Fifth, “they lifting up their eyes saw no one but only Jesus,” as is understood that only the divine essence and no creature is the object of glory, or of eternal life...<sup>206</sup>

The sermon ends with Vicente’s thoughts about why Christ requests that the disciples say nothing about what has occurred as they come down from the mountain:

...the reason of his hiding was the piety of Christ, lest the ... disciples hearing of such glory of Christ, if the transfiguration was revealed to them, and later having seen the ignominy of the passion of Christ, would have been more scandalized and would have sinned more by losing faith. Thus these three ... “held their peace, and told no man in those days any of these things which they had seen,” (Luke 9:36).<sup>207</sup>

As he does in his other sermons, some of which were discussed in chapter four, Vicente Ferrer emphasizes Christ’s suffering, the importance of penance and obedience, and experiencing fear and humiliation in preparation for the Last Judgment and in hope of achieving eternal life. It is clear, based on Aquinas’ treatment of the subject in his *Summa*, which is echoed in Vicente Ferrer’s sermon, that the Dominicans saw the Transfiguration as an important part of their own theology. Particularly when viewed in light of the Dominicans’ mission of salvation, which had been further buttressed by Vicente Ferrer’s vision and subsequent mission to prepare people for the Last Judgment, the events of the Transfiguration take on a particular significance for the Dominicans and their followers.<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>206</sup> St. Vincent Ferrer, “Sermon for the Second Sunday of Lent.”

<sup>207</sup> St. Vincent Ferrer, “Sermon for the Second Sunday of Lent.”

<sup>208</sup> As has been mentioned, the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis also wrote extensively about the Transfiguration in his *Vita Christi*, which would also have been known to many contemporary Dominican thinkers and writers, particularly those in Valencia, where Eiximenis lived during his last years. For more on the dissemination of Eiximenis’ text and his exegesis on the Transfiguration in particular, see Robinson, *Imag(in)ing Passions*, introduction and chapter 1, respectively.

Further evidence of Dominican interest in the Transfiguration can be found in a painting of the same subject produced for the Aula Capitular, or Chapter Room, of Valencia Cathedral, which dates to the end of the fourteenth century (Figure 32). The Chapter Room, now the chapel of the Santo Caliz, or Holy Chalice, was one of the primary spaces within the cathedral where the Dominicans taught theology.<sup>209</sup> This single panel painting of the Transfiguration, attributed to Jacomart, depicts Christ in glowing white garments with a mandorla of clouds behind him, holding his hands up, palms facing out, as he looks directly out toward the viewer. He is flanked by Elijah and Moses, who kneel at his side and stare up at him with the drapery folds of their cloaks falling from their bodies and landing in voluminous heaps at their knees, giving the illusion that they, too, float on clouds. Below, the three disciples watch as their leader is transfigured above them, demonstrating his divinity while remaining in human form. One even holds his right hand up as though to shield his eyes from the blinding sight.<sup>210</sup> Although there is no record of who commissioned the painting, the subject matter can be related to the Dominicans, considering both Thomas Aquinas' and Vicente Ferrer's writings on the Transfiguration discussed above. The painting can also be connected to mendicant writings in a broader sense when one compares it to the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis' extensive treatment of the subject in his *Vita Christi*.<sup>211</sup> Furthermore, the references to the Jews in the Transfiguration stories emphasize the fact that they do not believe Christ is the Messiah and they are clearly identified as Christ's future

---

For the connections between Eiximenis and Valencia, see Andres Ivars, "El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximenez en Valencia (1383-1408)," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 14 (1920): 76-104, 19 (1923): 359-98, 20 (1923): 210-48, and 25 (1926): 5-48. One of Vicente Ferrer's earliest hagiographers, friar Francisco Diago, noted that the Dominican saint was friendly with his Franciscan counterpart, Eiximenis, and brief exchanges between the two are recorded in some of Diago's accounts of Ferrer's life. Ivars, "El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximenez," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 14: 80.

<sup>209</sup> "Interior Cathedral Tour."

<sup>210</sup> Benito Doménech and Gómez Frechina, 186-91.

<sup>211</sup> Robinson, *Imag(in)ing Passions*, chapter 1.

killers. Such references would not have been lost on medieval audiences, particularly not in a city like Valencia, where conflicts between Christians and Jews were not unusual and contemporary Christians often viewed their Jewish counterparts in much the same way as they are described in the Gospels.

The cathedral also contains chapels dedicated to St. Dominic and San Vicente Ferrer, clearly indicating the Dominicans' strong ties to the central seat of power in the diocese, the that of the bishop. Shortly after his canonization, or perhaps even during the process, a chapel was built in honor of Vicente Ferrer inside the southeast entrance to the cathedral, called the Puerta del Almoina. Due to the aforementioned fires that have damaged parts of the cathedral over the centuries, Vicente Ferrer's chapel was moved from its original site to a new location along the eastern wall of the nave. Prior to the eighteenth century, the chapel that had been dedicated to the Valencian Dominican was remodeled and dedicated to St. Dominic. The present-day chapel of Vicente Ferrer dates to the eighteenth century and it contains no images that were produced before the seventeenth century.<sup>212</sup> However, the cathedral was one of the greatest supporters of the development of San Vicente Ferrer's cult following his canonization in 1455. While the Meadows painting of the saint was likely produced for the convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia, a similar panel painted by Joan Rexach was commissioned for a chapel dedicated to Vicente Ferrer in Valencia Cathedral, probably shortly before or after his canonization (Figure 33).<sup>213</sup> In Rexach's panel, the friar wears the white alb and black cloak of the Dominican Order as well as a cap on his head.

---

<sup>212</sup> Garin Ortiz de Taranco, *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia*, 168.

<sup>213</sup> *La Luz de las Imágenes* (Valencia: Catedral de Valencia y Generalitat Valenciana, 1999), 410-11, Post, 101-2, and Elías Tormo y Monzo, *Jacomart* (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1945), 189.

He is turned slightly to his right, but looks directly at the viewer and he holds a closed book in his left hand. His right hand is raised slightly and an inscribed banderole springs from his fingertips and curls over his head.<sup>214</sup> The text in the Valencia Cathedral panel is the same as that of the Meadows panel, a passage from Revelation that alludes not only to Vicente Ferrer's Apocalyptic preaching, but also to the same kind of fear that he discusses in his sermon on the Transfiguration. As has been mentioned previously, a similar, albeit smaller, image of the saint with the banderole hangs next to a pulpit in the cathedral today to commemorate the sermons he gave in the cathedral throughout his career.

The Dominicans and their ideas, therefore, are present throughout the cathedral. From the Dominican bishop Andrés Albalat's tomb in the ambulatory to the Star of David rose window he helped to design for the northwest entrance to the pulpit from which Vicente Ferrer preached to the chapel dedicated to the Valencian saint, the Dominicans' presence permeates the cathedral, although the effect is certainly more subtle today than it was at the end of the Middle Ages. Even the chapter room contains a painting of the Transfiguration, an important moment for the Dominicans who often taught theology in that very space, not only because of what it demonstrated to them about the disciples' faith, a model they were encouraged to follow, but also because of the importance they placed on Christ's divine and human attributes.

---

<sup>214</sup> E. Bertaux, "Les primitifs espagnols. Les disciples de Jan Van Eyck dans le Royaume d'Aragon," *Revue de l'art ancien et modern* 22 (1907), 353.

### *The Parish Church of Catí*

The Dominicans' mission to save souls through preaching and teaching necessarily took them beyond the city and into the smaller villages and towns of the region of Valencia. Vicente Ferrer was no exception, traveling extensively throughout the region during his lifetime, he was often accompanied by a dedicated group of followers who would later become the founding members of his cult. Based at the convent of Santo Domingo, Vicente and his fellow friars would circulate throughout the city and traverse the countryside wearing the plain black and white garments that unmistakably identified as them members of the order of preachers. They spoke wherever they could gather crowds, taught in cathedral schools, visited parish churches and other monastic communities, always maintaining a strict focus on their mission. Contemporary accounts of their activities record their extraordinary successes in reforming those who had strayed, interacting with the urban elite who had become their strongest financial base, and converting those whom they considered to be unbelievers.<sup>215</sup>

Vicente Ferrer himself appears in at least one surviving altarpiece, painted in the mid-fifteenth century for a chapel in the parish church of Catí, a small town in the northern part of the region of Valencia, not far from the city where the Dominicans were based (Figure 34). On September 9, 1450, a wealthy wool and leather merchant, Joan Espigol, signed a testament in which he requested that the executors of the document use the money in his estate to “decorate” a chapel in the parish church of Catí. Espigol lived, at least for part of his life, in the city of Valencia and he is documented as being a citizen in 1423. If Espigol

---

<sup>215</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 48-87.

was living in Valencia prior to Vicente Ferrer's death in 1419, he may even have seen the friar in person. Regardless of when he first arrived in the city, he likely encountered other Dominicans and would have been exposed to their preaching and ideas. Espigol died on September 13, 1452, and his executors began to carry out his wishes to "decorate" the chapel in which he was buried shortly thereafter. There are records of liturgical objects being purchased by the executors with Espigol's money by 1454 and, on January 23, 1460, they signed a contract with the Valencian painter Jacomart for a retable dedicated to St. Lawrence and St. Peter Martyr. Jacomart, of course, also painted one of the first images of Vicente Ferrer to be produced in Iberia following his canonization in 1455 for the convent of Santo Domingo in Valencia. The contract specifies that Espigol's retable is to contain an image of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, but no other details are included in the document.<sup>216</sup>

Jacomart's finished retable depicts saints Lawrence and Peter Martyr in the central panel with scenes from their legends to the left and right, respectively. St. Lawrence, a native of Iberia and cousin to St. Vincent Martyr, died during the third century as a result of the Emperor Valerian's edict, issued in August of 258, ordering all Christian clergy and deacons to be put to death. Lawrence's death took place upon an iron grill with his tormentors poking him repeatedly with heated iron pitchforks.<sup>217</sup> Peter's martyrdom occurred nearly 1000 years later, in 1252. Peter was a pious and dedicated Dominican who, like Vicente Ferrer, was particularly well known for his preaching. He was killed near Milan by a group of Manichaeans, to whom he had been asked to preach in his role as a general Inquisitor.

---

<sup>216</sup> Josep Ferre Puerto, "Jacomart: Retable de San Lorenzo y San Pedro de Verona de Catí," *Museu de Belles Arts de Valencia*, December 1997, pages not numbered.

<sup>217</sup> Voragine, vol. II, 63 and 67.

According to his legend, the heretics attacked his head with a sword and plunged a dagger into his side.<sup>218</sup> He is most often represented with a knife lodged in his head, as he is in the Catí retable. The images of Lawrence and Peter Martyr and their lives emphasize their ministry and their acceptance of martyrdom, ideals to which all Christians should aspire. Furthermore, the choice of a native Iberian, Lawrence, and a Dominican, Peter Martyr, is of particular significance. In the side panels, which represent stories from their lives, both saints are shown as ministering to the people and making the ultimate sacrifice for their beliefs.

In the *guardapolvos*, or dustguard, which originally surrounded the entire retable, but only remains on the sides, heraldry identifies the donor as Espigol and images of the Old Testament prophets Malachi, Habbakuk, Zacharias, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Balaam frame the scenes of Lawrence and Peter Martyr's lives. The banco, or predella, at the bottom of the retable contains images of six saints with Christ as Man of Sorrows at the center. The Dominican Vicente Ferrer is included in the far right panel of the banco, which also includes images of saints Matthew, Catherine, Jerome, Augustine, and Lucy.<sup>219</sup> Here, the newly canonized saint is seated, gesturing with his left hand toward the usual banderole featuring the passage from Revelation which springs forth from his right hand, again, as though he is speaking the words to which he draws the viewer's attention.

How was the retable to be "read," though? Was it intended to stand in for the relationship that the wealthy merchant Espigol, and perhaps other members of the church at

---

<sup>218</sup> Voragine, vol. I, 258 .

<sup>219</sup> Ferre Puerto, "Jacomart: Retable de San Lorenzo y San Pedro de Verona de Catí."

Catí, had with the Dominicans? There is clearly a connection to the Dominicans with the inclusion of images of both Peter Martyr and Vicente Ferrer. The Valencian friar is one of the first images that a viewer would see since the banco rested just above the altar with the rest of the retable rising above. Here, he is again depicted as though he is speaking to the viewer, but he is placed alongside two female martyrs and two church fathers and directly opposite Matthew, one of the Gospel writers. Is he to be seen as a contemporary evangelist? Certainly he is to be viewed as having the same status as the others depicted in the banco, no small statement for a recently canonized saint. What of the connections to Lawrence and Peter Martyr? Their lives were viewed as exemplary, their behavior to be emulated, their suffering and faithfulness to be praised. Are the images of the martyrs in their roles as ministers to the laity intended to remind the viewer of contemporary Dominican friars? Ultimately, is the viewer meant to equate these images with the roles of the Dominicans in their own lives? Or, could the retable serve a dual purpose with messages that spoke to both the Dominicans and to the laity? For the Dominicans, the retable is full of specific examples upon which to model one's life, as suggested by the *Vitae fratrum*. For the laity, there is a broader message about the achievement of eternal salvation.

### *Monastic Institutions*

The visual presence of the Dominicans of Valencia was not limited to the local cathedral and chapels in parish churches with merchant connections. They also cultivated mutually beneficial relationships with both the church of San Juan del Hospital in Valencia and two Carthusian monasteries outside of the city. The association of the Valencian

Dominicans and the Hospitallers dates to Jaime's conquest of the city in 1238, when representatives of both orders were at the king's side as he laid siege to Valencia. In this capacity, they also accompanied him on his triumphal entry into the city and they were present at the Mass said at the cathedral following its purification. Like the Dominicans, the Hospitallers were provided with a complex to house their church, living quarters, and hospital by the king in 1238 as a reward for their assistance during his takeover of the city.<sup>220</sup>

As has been mentioned previously, the Hospitallers were given property near the Jewish quarter, north of the Calle del Mar and between the convent of Santo Domingo and the cathedral. Ecclesiastical and government authorities apparently counted on the Valencian Hospitallers to stay abreast of activities taking place in and around the Jewish quarter, although the primary purpose of the order was to care for the sick and poor.<sup>221</sup> They appear to have maintained a relationship with the local Dominicans even after the conquest of the city. Like the Dominicans, the Hospitallers lived by the Rule of St. Augustine and they shared concerns about the presence of Jews in Valencia. It is not surprising, then, to find evidence of the Dominicans' presence in the Hospitallers' church as well, where there is a chapel dedicated to Vicente Ferrer that was probably built around the time of his canonization, but renovated in the seventeenth century.<sup>222</sup> A sculpture of Vicente Ferrer, with a banderole featuring the text from Revelation unfurling over his head, remains in the collection of the Hospitallers' church and appears to date to the fifteenth century, although there are no records associated with its production (Figure 35).

---

<sup>220</sup> Martín Bravo Navarro, *Iglesia de San Juan del Hospital* (Valencia, 2000), 32-3.

<sup>221</sup> Bravo Navarro, 34-6.

<sup>222</sup> Several religious communities built chapels to honor the newly canonized native Valencian in the mid-fifteenth century, among them the convent of Santo Domingo, the cathedral, and numerous parish churches.

Furthermore, a retable that once belonged to the Hospitallers in Valencia contains references to the Dominicans and to both orders' particular focus on the life of Christ in both mission and religious practice. Dating to the period of Vicente Ferrer's most fervent preaching efforts, between 1400 and 1420, the *Retable of Sts. Vincent and Giles* not only contains images of the two titular saints, but also includes images of Christ's Ascension, Christ triumphing over Satan, Christ giving the mission to the Apostles, the *Noli me tangere*, and the Lamentation (Figure 36).<sup>223</sup> Although there is no longer a representation of the Crucifixion associated with this retable, it is very likely that one was once placed above the central panel of the Ascension.<sup>224</sup> Extant information about the now-dispersed panels of this altarpiece, attributed to the Florentine painter Gherardo Starnina, who worked in Valencia during this period, or to the Valencian artist Miguel Alcanyis, is extremely fragmentary. The records of both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Hispanic Society of America do, however, indicate that the panels once belonged to the Hospitallers' church in Valencia. Publications sponsored by the church confirm this, but they misidentify the panel of St. Vincent as Vicente Ferrer rather than Vincent Martyr, after whom the fifteenth-century saint was named. Vincent Martyr was an important figure in medieval Valencia, which was the site of his death, according to legend. He is one of the city's patron saints and the titular saint of the cathedral.<sup>225</sup> The Vincent in Starnina's retable is clearly the

---

<sup>223</sup> Cyril Bruyn Andrews, "The Valencia Altar-piece from the Priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem," *The Connoisseur* LIX (1921), 146-8, Bravo Navarro, 86-95 and Metropolitan Museum of Art, "St. Giles," [http://www.metmuseum.org/works\\_of\\_art/collection\\_database/european\\_paintings/saint\\_giles\\_with\\_christ\\_triumphant\\_over\\_satan\\_and\\_the/objectView.aspx?&OID=110000003&collID=&vw=0#a](http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_paintings/saint_giles_with_christ_triumphant_over_satan_and_the/objectView.aspx?&OID=110000003&collID=&vw=0#a), accessed July 20, 2008 and "Ascension Panel," [http://www.hispanicsociety.org/hispanic/paintings\\_medieval.htm](http://www.hispanicsociety.org/hispanic/paintings_medieval.htm), accessed July 24, 2008.

<sup>224</sup> For the standardization of Aragonese retable layouts, see Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989).

<sup>225</sup> Voragine, vol. I, 105.

deacon and martyr, as he wears a deacon's dalmatic and holds a palm frond, a well-established symbol for martyr saints.<sup>226</sup>

Perhaps the most direct link between Dominican theological interests and that of the Hospitallers' retable is the Ascension panel. As mentioned in chapter three, the book of Acts begins with the story of the Ascension in which Christ speaks to his disciples, saying: "you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth."<sup>227</sup> Fifteenth-century Dominicans also saw themselves as "witnesses" to Christ, emphasizing his role as the Messiah in disputations with Jews in the years following the establishment of the order. The friars, like the disciples depicted in the foreground of the Ascension panel, believed themselves to be responding to God's call to preach throughout the world.<sup>228</sup> Gazing up at Christ, the disciples are gathered around the Virgin Mary, whose eyes are lifted toward Heaven. Directly above the Virgin's head are the footprints of Christ, the mark of his humanity and presence on earth. In the top portion of the panel, Christ appears against a gold, red, and blue mandorla made of angels, his eyes also raised to the Heavens. Here, the artist has depicted the moment following Christ's speech to his disciples; they are now left, like the Dominicans and Hospitallers, to fulfill the mission given to them by the Son of God. Two of the smaller panels of the retable have to do with Christ's Passion, another represents Christ speaking to the disciples, and the remaining of the extant panels is an image of Christ triumphant over Satan. All of these images reflect

---

<sup>226</sup> Bravo Navarro, 90-1.

<sup>227</sup> Acts 1:8.

<sup>228</sup> Mulchahey, 3. See, for example, Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) for a complete discussion of one of the earliest disputations in Iberia upon which later disputations were modeled.

contemporary Dominican ideas, shared by the Hospitallers, about the roles of saints, the importance of Christ's life and Passion, and overcoming evil.

The Dominicans of Valencia were not only historically linked with the Hospitallers, but they also had connections to the Carthusians, an order founded in the eleventh century by St. Bruno, but not officially recognized until 1170. Members of the order wear all-white habits with hoods and live in charterhouses (called "Cartujas" in Spanish) that are removed from the rest of the world.<sup>229</sup> Thus, the two Cartujas near Valencia are at Portaceli and Altura, called the Cartuja of Portaceli and Valdecrist, respectively. The Dominican bishop of Valencia from 1249 to 1276, Andrés Albalat, founded the first Cartuja in Valencia at Portaceli in 1272, which was dedicated to the Virgin, a figure of particular importance to the Carthusians. In many ways, the Carthusians were extremely different from the Dominicans: they removed themselves from the world while the Dominicans lived in urban areas, they lead highly regulated lives of solitude while the Dominicans' daily activities were more public, and the Carthusians were extraordinarily devoted to the Virgin while the Dominicans specifically emphasized her role as protector and nurturer. Both, however, sought a spiritual union with God, although they employed different means to achieve this goal. Within both orders, mystical texts also became popular in the fifteenth century.<sup>230</sup>

An additional connection to the Dominicans developed in the late fourteenth century, when, upon Vicente's advice, his brother Bonifacio became a Carthusian monk on

---

<sup>229</sup> For the Carthusians, see Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

<sup>230</sup> Francisco Fuster Serra, *Cartuja de Portaceli: Historia, vida, arquitectura, y arte* (Valencia, 2003), 39-40, 73, 89, and 95. These texts included, for the Carthusians, the "Scala claustralium" or "Scala Paradisi" as well as Guigo du Pont's "De contemplation." There were also translations of Hugo de Balma's thirteenth-century "Mystica Theologia." For the Dominicans of Valencia, the writings of Vicente Ferrer, particularly his *Treatise on the Spiritual Life*, were popular mystical texts.

March 21, 1396. Born in 1355, Bonifacio was younger than Vicente and, prior to joining the Carthusians, he had a career as an attorney as well as a wife and several children. Vicente encouraged him to take orders following the deaths of his wife, seven daughters, and two sons, presumably as the result of some kind of contagious illness. Bonifacio quickly rose to prominence within the order, becoming prior of Portaceli by 1399 and General of the Order in 1402. Although the Carthusians traditionally kept to their houses, Bonifacio was an exception. Along with his brother, he became involved in the Western Schism, supporting the antipope Benedict XIII, and he was also present at the Compromise of Caspe, the negotiations for the succession of the throne of the Crown of Aragón following the death of Martín el Humano, who had no heir. Vicente Ferrer, on behalf of Benedict XIII, successfully lobbied for the Trastámaras to take control. In 1412, Bonifacio's only living son, Joan, also became a Carthusian and entered the Cartuja of Valdecris, which was founded in 1385 and to which I will return shortly. Bonifacio involved himself in all of the causes with which his Dominican brother was associated, and some of Vicente's ideas appear to have made their way into the Carthusian houses of Valencia via his brother and nephew.<sup>231</sup>

Before Bonifacio officially became a Carthusian, he commissioned an altarpiece dedicated to the Crucifixion that was painted between 1396 and 1398, just before Vicente Ferrer received his apocalyptic mission in 1399 (Figure 37). The younger Ferrer brother appears in his Carthusian habit in the leftmost panel of the banco as he kneels in prayer before the image of Christ on the cross, along with two smaller figures representing his two

---

<sup>231</sup> Fuster Serra, 133-42.

dead sons. Bonifacio's recently deceased wife and seven daughters appear in the far right panel of the banco, dressed completely in white, a color associated with both purity and the Resurrection. In the center of the banco is Christ as the Man of Sorrows and on either side are representations of the stoning of St. Stephen and the beheading of John the Baptist, references to sacrifices made in the hope of achieving salvation. When taken together, the banco is meant to acknowledge the sacrifices that Bonifacio has made thus far, suffering the deaths of all but two of his family members, and his decision to become a Carthusian. These sacrifices, he hopes, will lead to the same eternal life that Christ and the saints enjoy.<sup>232</sup>

The central panel of the retable is a representation of the Crucifixion. To Christ's right, at his feet, are the Marys, including the Virgin, and St. John the Evangelist, and to his left are the Roman soldiers and Jews. Above Christ, there is a pelican piercing its breast to feed its young, a common metaphor for Christ's own redeeming blood, shed during the Crucifixion. In the gold ground surrounding the crucified Christ, there are small medallions representing the seven sacraments of the church: baptism, confirmation, penance, marriage, holy orders, Eucharist, and extreme unction. To the left of the central panel is an image of the conversion of Saul, captured at the moment he sees a flash of light, hears his name, and falls to the ground. Saul, who becomes Paul in that moment, is the perfect example of an "unbelieving" Jew who finally recognizes that Christ is the true Messiah. The opposite panel depicts Christ's baptism in the Jordan River with John the Baptist at his side. Both men gaze

---

<sup>232</sup> Fuster Serra, 126.

upward in surprise as a dove, a symbol of the Holy Spirit, descends from Heaven. Above, angels look down upon the scene.<sup>233</sup>

In the upper register of the retable, two panels representing the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin appear in a divided scene of the Annunciation. Between them, Christ appears in judgment in the location traditionally reserved for a depiction of the Crucifixion. Bonifacio's brother, Vicente Ferrer, might describe this image as one which conveys the "power and majesty" of Christ that he discusses in one of the sermons included in chapter four. Angels surround him and he is flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. In the foreground are the "quivering and trembling" souls, both lay people and clergy; women and men, who are being judged. Their faces express awe and despair simultaneously as they await the determination of their eternal fate, knowing, undoubtedly, that this fate is "irrevocable."<sup>234</sup>

The Dominicans, of course, had been especially concerned with preparing people for the Last Judgment since Vicente Ferrer received his mission in 1399. Vicente discusses the two comings of Christ in a sermon that he preached in the town of Morella, outside of Valencia, in the first years of the fifteenth century as discussed in the previous chapter. According to Vicente, Christ first came to "reform" the world, teaching people about the spiritual life and encouraging them to eschew materiality so that they will not neglect their spirituality. When he comes for the second time, it will be to judge the world. Vicente describes the "power and majesty" of Christ at the second coming, which the Dominican

---

<sup>233</sup> Fuster Serra, 127.

<sup>234</sup> San Vicente Ferrer, *Sermones*, trans. Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and Maria Luz Mandingorra Llavata (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2002), 84-88. The imagery in this retable also fits with Carthusian ideas about actively combatting sin while simultaneously leading a contemplative life. Dennis Martin, 163.

says will cause people to quiver and tremble. When people are called before him to be judged, the friar says, they will not have the benefit of mediators. Vicente Ferrer concludes his sermon by painting a bleak picture for those who risk spending their eternal lives in hell as he tells them that no one can adequately express or imagine what awaits them there.<sup>235</sup> He holds the attention of his congregation by using a descriptive language that conjures up images of “fiery deaths,” the “power and majesty” of Christ as he appears at the Last Judgment, and the “quivering and trembling” of people as they behold him.

The fact that Bonifacio’s own retable includes an image of precisely this vision of the Last Judgment, along with images of the conversion of Saul, a Biblical example for contemporary Jews, as well as an image of the redemptive Crucifixion, not unlike Alcanyis’ rendering of the same subject for the Valencian Dominican convent, indicates that the choice of subject matter and the way in which it was represented was related to his Dominican brother’s ideas. In fact, when read as a whole, from the bottom to the top, the retable outlines the precise path to salvation that Vicente Ferrer and his fellow Dominicans advocated. Bonifacio, present in the banco, represents humankind, a person who aspires to eternal salvation and wants to know how to achieve it. Through the exemplary lives of the saints, we learn that suffering for one’s faith leads to the ultimate reward. Overcoming such suffering, often at the hands of “unbelievers” and heretics (here, represented by Jews and Roman soldiers) and receiving the sacraments of the church (also included in the retable) must be central in the life of a pious Christian. Recognizing the sacrifices that have been made by Christ on his or her behalf and in the hope of being the recipient of Christ’s

---

<sup>235</sup> Ferrer, *Sermones*, 84-8 and Fuster Serra, 126.

salvation, the viewer's gaze rises, along with Bonifacio's, toward the top of the retable. Having modeled oneself on the example of Christ and the saints and having received the sacraments, when the day of judgment comes, faithful, pious, penitent, and obedient Christians will be granted eternal salvation and entrance into Heaven. Overlooking the entire retable are the protective figures of St. Michael and the Virgin Mary.

The other Carthusian house in Valencia, the Cartuja of Valdecris, also possessed an important altarpiece that can be connected to Dominican ideas. The Carthusians of Valdecris had direct contact with Vicente Ferrer and the Valencian Dominicans through Bonifacio's son and Vicente's nephew, Joan, who became a monk in 1412. Around the same time that Joan joined the cartuja, *The Trinity Adored by All Saints* (Figure 38) was painted by an unknown artist who had been commissioned by the family of Dalmau de Cervello i Querault, chamberlain to king Martín I of Aragón, whose coat of arms (a deer) appears in the painting on either side of the Trinity. When Dalmau died in 1401, his request was to be buried in the Cartuja of Valdecris outside of the city of Valencia.<sup>236</sup> Bonifacio Ferrer had been named prior of Portaceli in 1399 and, in 1402, was appointed General of the Order. In such a position of power, it is likely that Bonifacio played some role in the decision of what would be included in a major altarpiece that was being painted for one of the cartujas under his supervision. Considering the close relationship that he maintained with his Dominican sibling, it is quite likely that Vicente Ferrer also provided some advice to his brother and the Carthusians of Valdecris.

---

<sup>236</sup> Post, vol. IV, part 2, 594 and 597, Margaretta Salinger, "A Valencian Retable," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 34/11 (1939): 250-4, and <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110002196>, accessed August 14, 2012.

Although there are no records to indicate either Ferrer brother's involvement in the retable's production, the imagery included in the altarpiece can clearly be linked to the ideas espoused by Vicente and the Valencian Dominicans, in particular. It is divided into three *calles* with the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary appearing in the uppermost panels on the left and right sides, respectively, in a representation of the Annunciation that is commonly located at the tops of Valencian retables, as in the case of the *Retable of the True Cross* from the Convent of Santo Domingo discussed in chapter four. There is a Crucifixion scene at the top of the central *calle* in the Valdecrust altarpiece that, like the *Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer*, includes a pelican piercing her breast, a reference to the blood shed by Christ to atone for the sins of the world, above Christ on the cross. The rest of the picture plane is occupied by the thieves as well as objects associated with the Passion. In a striking departure from the appearance of traditional Aragonese retables, the left and right *calles* are divided into five registers populated by Christian saints, martyrs, apostles, and prophets, each identified by inscriptions above their heads. They are organized according to the hierarchy of the church with the Old Testament prophets and kings, who are distinguished by octagonal halos, appearing in the uppermost registers, although John the Baptist has also been given a place of honor next to the Old Testament figures on the far right side of the top register of the left *calle*. He is, therefore, closest to the image of the Trinity in the central *calle* and at eye level with the bottom of the Crucifixion panel. The other holy figures included in the retable are generally arranged in order of age and importance with female saints in the bottom register.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>237</sup> Salinger, 252-2.

The remaining two images in the central *calle* represent the Trinity and St. Michael triumphing over evil. In the Trinity panel, an enthroned God the Father holds Christ on the cross in front of his body as the dove representing the Holy Spirit descends to occupy the space between the faces of God and Christ and the entire scene is set against a blue background with gold stars, indicating the heavenly nature of the space. Curiously, the Virgin is seated on God's right, also enthroned. She is only slightly smaller in scale than God and she is decidedly larger than Christ, indicating her importance to those who would have viewed and used the altarpiece. In the largest panel of the entire retable, which also has a background of blue with gold stars, St. Michael hovers above a large Hell Mouth wearing flowing red garments punctuated by gold. His large gold wings contrast with the blue background and emphasize the otherworldliness of this event. Michael is accompanied by several other angels, all wearing red and gold garments. Together, Michael and the ten other angels use long spears to attack the dark and grotesque figure of Satan and other demonic creatures who fall into a fiery and cavernous Hell Mouth, disappearing forever into the depths of Hell in the part of the altarpiece that would have rested just above an altar.<sup>238</sup> It is a sobering and emotionally disturbing image to behold, although throngs of saints stand in readiness on either side of the central *calle* to remind the viewer of their intercessory powers and provide some hope of salvation.

---

<sup>238</sup> Salinger, 252.

## *Conclusion*

While evidence of the medieval Dominicans' presence in Valencia is not abundant, traces of it remain in the cathedral, local parish churches, and other monastic communities. Given the substantial losses of texts, archival documents, and works of art during the nineteenth century in Spain, this is not surprising. In fact, it is remarkable that these works of art have survived to bear witness to the important role that the Dominicans played in the history of medieval Valencia. The record of the friars' impact beyond their own convent begins in the nearby cathedral in the painting of the Transfiguration that once hung in the chapter room where they fulfilled their mission to teach and in the single panel painting of Vicente Ferrer that was produced to celebrate his canonization and honor him as a native son. A similar image of the saint is included in the retable of the parish church of Catí, along with a representation of the Dominican St. Peter Martyr. The example of the Catí retable is particularly striking when one considers that the altarpiece was commissioned on behalf of a merchant. The connections between the Dominicans and merchants are well known and the retable's program of imagery reflects the messages transmitted by the friars to one of their largest constituencies.

Even in non-Dominican monastic complexes in the region, the friars were present. The sculpture of Vicente Ferrer that was made for the chapel dedicated to the saint in the church of San Juan del Hospital not only exemplifies the ties between the Dominicans and the Hospitallers dating to Jaime's conquest of the city, but also the esteem in which Valencian Christians of all kinds held the recently canonized Dominican friar. In addition, Gherardo Starnina's *Retable of Sts. Vincent and Giles*, which dates to the period of Vicente

Ferrer's most ardent preaching efforts at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was part of the Hospitallers' collection. The retable contains images of the life of Christ, a subject particularly favored by the Dominicans that they included in many of their texts and sermons. Finally, the *Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer*, the saint's brother, produced for the Cartuja of Portaceli in the final years of the fourteenth century and *The Trinity Adored by All Saints*, made for the Cartuja of Valdecris, clearly links the Carthusians with contemporary Dominican ideas about the Last Judgment. In his altarpiece, Bonifacio appears as an example of the pious Christian, following the advice of his Dominican brother about preparing for the end of the world. The conversion of Saul is also included as an example to unbelievers, but for anyone who does not follow the path to salvation, the retable contains an image of Christ in Judgment, a visual warning of that fate that awaits them. In *The Trinity Adored by All Saints*, there is a clear message to the viewer about the exemplary and intercessory roles of the saints, especially the Virgin, and the realities of evil, which can only be overcome by piety and devotion to God. Together, these works of art reveal the extent to which the Dominicans and their ideas had become part of late medieval religious thought and practice throughout the region of Valencia in a variety of contexts.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Although the events of the past few centuries have diminished much of the evidence of the Dominicans' visual presence in Valencia, subtle references to their past importance remain, not only within their own convent, but also in the cathedral and in parish churches and other monastic institutions within the city and region. From the beginning, the friars had been given a mission to preach and teach in order to "save souls," including those of unbelievers and those who had strayed from Christianity. The Dominicans' Christology, which informed their preaching and teaching, was based on the Apostle's Creed and they modeled their missionizing activities after that of the disciples as recorded in the book of Acts. The friars were preachers who used both speech and text to convey their messages, but they also realized that works of art and architecture could strengthen that message. They built convents in locations where they would be visible and they employed an austere style of architecture that made their buildings stand out in stark contrast to the more elaborate structures nearby. Within the walls of their convents, they created public spaces where people could come to learn, confess their sins, and participate in community activities.

The convent complex also served as a center for education and preparation for preaching within the order. Members of the developing population of urban elite, including merchants, became the primary financial supporters of the convents, building chapels and commissioning works of art to adorn the interiors. Such works of art, visible to both the Dominicans and to community members visiting the complex, represented the friars'

particular brand of Christianity, which was informed by the texts they read and wrote. The library of the convent of Santo Domingo not only contained the texts required for a Dominican education, but also Gerald of Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum* as well as the *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo*, texts that guided the friars' spiritual and devotional practices. In both texts and images associated with the Dominicans, the Virgin Mary's role as protector and nurturer is emphasized, Christ's dual nature as both human and divine and his suffering and sacrifice are clearly identified as central to Dominican Christology and teaching, and saints, especially those directly connected to the order, serve as important examples upon which the friars are to model their own lives.

The Dominicans, always present in both the city and region of Valencia as they fulfilled their mission to preach and teach in order to save souls, became even more visible at the end of the fourteenth and into the fifteenth century with Vicente Ferrer's rise to prominence. With renewed vigor resulting from his apocalyptic vision in 1399, Vicente Ferrer and his followers embarked on preaching campaigns throughout the region, confronting people with detailed descriptions of Christ's suffering and sacrifice to redeem humankind as well as vivid accounts of the imminent end of the world. Their moralizing oratory urged believers and unbelievers alike to recognize and confess sins both great and small in preparation for the inevitable judgment of Christ. Both inside and outside of their convents, works of art brought the friars' words to life and the combination of words and images made the Dominicans' message even more effective.

The friars attributed the perceived successes of their preaching campaigns to Vicente Ferrer, who died in 1419, just as they believed themselves to be making progress. It is for

this reason, I believe, that when they began to produce images of the Dominican in honor of his canonization in the mid-fifteenth century, they employed a specific iconography. Valencian images of the saint, including the Meadows panel, the Valencia Cathedral panel, and the panel from the banco of the Catí retable, always depict him as an imposing figure, looking directly at the viewer and gesturing toward a banderole, which acts as a speech scroll. Represented in this way, he confronts the viewer, literally telling him or her to “Fear God and give glory to Him; for the hour of judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth.”<sup>239</sup> These images of the saint, common not only during the period immediately following his canonization, but also in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were meant to capitalize on his popularity and achievements, continuing his preaching even in death.

Images of particular moments from the life of Christ (especially those that emphasize his divine and human characteristics) and the Last Judgment are also associated with the Dominicans’ pervasive presence throughout Valencia during this period, as can be seen in examples from the convent of Santo Domingo, the cathedral, the Hospitallers’ church, and the Cartujas of Portaceli and Valdecrist. Working alongside the friars as they spoke publically about their belief that the end of the world was fast approaching and encouraged people of all faiths to prepare, these images were visual examples of divinity and humanity, piety and conversion, pain and suffering, life and death, salvation and damnation. They spoke not only to audiences of lay Christians, Jews, and Muslims, but they also spoke to audiences of clergy and religious communities, who were an important component of the Dominicans’ plan. The friars needed the help of other representatives of the church to

---

<sup>239</sup> *“Timeate deum et date illi honorem quia venit horum indicii eius et adorare eum qui fecit caelum et terram.”* (Revelation 14:7).

transmit their message as far and as quickly as possible. At least in late medieval Valencia, non-Dominican religious responded enthusiastically, supporting the friars by incorporating their messages into works of art that appeared in public spaces.

Through the analysis of both visual and literary sources, this study has reconstructed the activities of the Valencian Dominicans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, revealing their historical importance within the region. They were not only involved in many of the daily activities of urban life, including interacting with those involved in commerce and government, but they also developed intimate and mutually beneficial relationships with local clergy and other monastic institutions, all in an effort to fulfill the mission undertaken by their founder to save souls through preaching and teaching. For the Valencian Dominicans of the late medieval period, fulfilling this mission was an urgent concern following Vicente Ferrer's vision of the coming end of the world. The friars apparently felt that their traditional public preaching and teaching in the convent and the cathedral school needed to be buttressed with published texts and, most importantly, works of art. The energetic campaign they launched in response to Vicente Ferrer's vision and subsequent preaching lasted throughout the fifteenth century and evidence of their presence can be found far beyond the walls of their own convent, particularly in the works of art that their message inspired.



LA CIUTAT CRISTIANA EN LA PRIMERIA DEL SEGLE XIV

- |   |                             |                          |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Porta dels Roters.                     | 8. Porta de la Boatella.    | 17. Sant Tomàs.          |
| 2. Porta dels Catalans.                   | 9. Porta Nova.              | 18. Catedral: Sant Pere. |
| 3. Porta del Real.                        | 10. Porta de la Moreria.    | 19. Santa Caterina.      |
| 4. Portal de N'Avinyó.                    | 11. Mesquita de la Moreria. | 20. Sant Març.           |
| 5. Porta de la Xarea.                     | 12. Sant Nicolau.           | 21. Sant Andreu.         |
| 6. Portal de N'Esplugues o del Trabuquet. | 13. Sant Bartomeu.          | 22. Plaça del Cabrerots. |
| 7. Portal de Na Xamorra o de Sant Jordi.  | 14. Sant Llorenç.           | 23. Plaça de la Figuera. |
|   | 15. Sant Salvador.          | 24. Sinagoga major.      |
|   | 16. Sant Esteve.            | 25. Sant Joan.           |
|   |                             | 26. Santa Creu.          |

Map 1.

The city of Valencia at the beginning of the fourteenth century  
 Manuel Sanchis Guarner, *La ciutat de valència* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1981), 130.



LA CIUTAT EN L'ANY 1391

La nova muralla cristiana construïda el 1356 havia inclòs dins el recinte urbà els antics raval dels Roters, a l'oest, la Boatella, al sud, i la Xarea, a l'est. Intramurs subsistien dos barris tancats, el de la Moreria i el de la Jueria, la qual el 1391 fou considerablement ampliada. 1, Porta de la Mar; 2, Portal dels Jueus; 3, Portal de Russafa; 4, Porta de Sant Vicent; 5, Portal de Torrent; 6, Portal de Setze Claus; 7, Porta de Quart; 8, Portal dels Tints; 9, Portal Nou; 10, Porta dels Roters; 11, Portal dels Catalans; 12, Porta del Real

Map 2.

The city of Valencia in 1391

Manuel Sanchis Guarner, *La ciutat de valència* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1981), 130.



Figure 1.  
First *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 63.



Figure 2.  
Second *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 65.



Figure 3.

Third *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 66.



Figure 4.

Fourth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 67.



Figure 5.

Fifth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2001), 69.

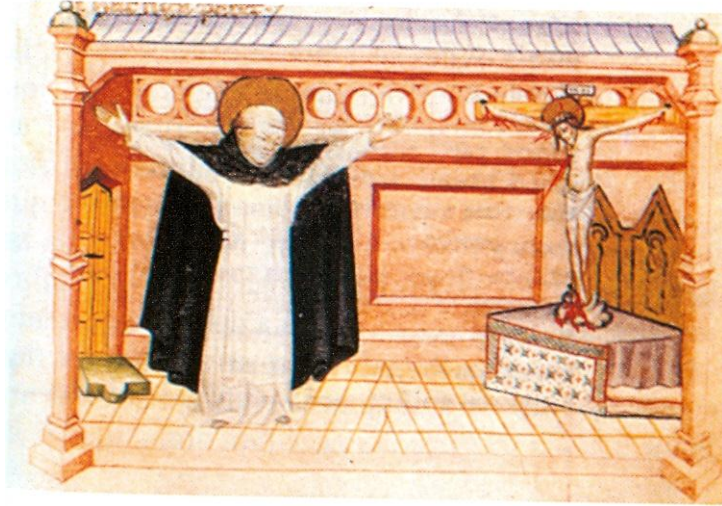


Figure 6.  
Sixth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 71.





Figure 8.

Eighth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2001), 76.



Figure 9.  
Ninth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Latin edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 78.

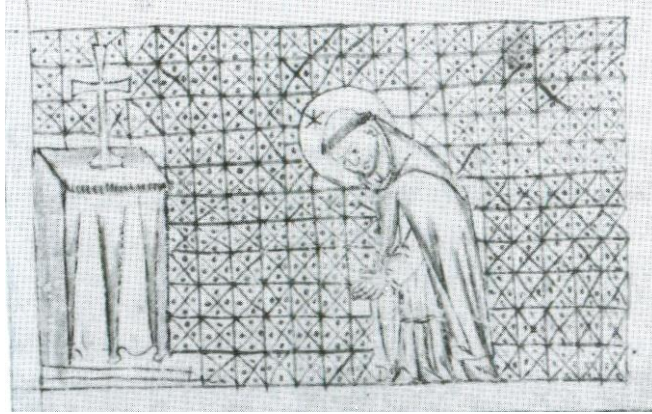


Figure 10.

First *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 81.

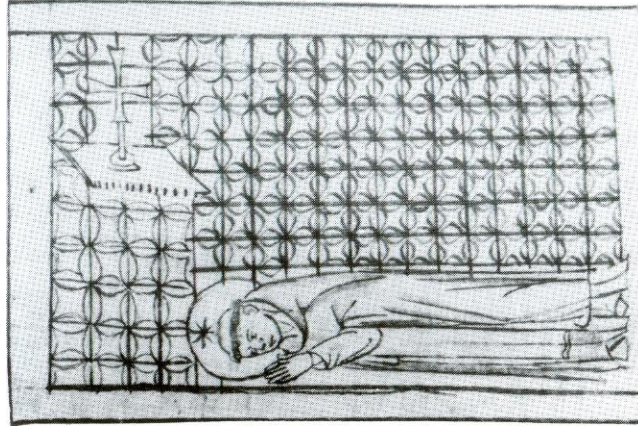


Figure 11.

Second *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 83.



Figure 12.

Third *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 84.

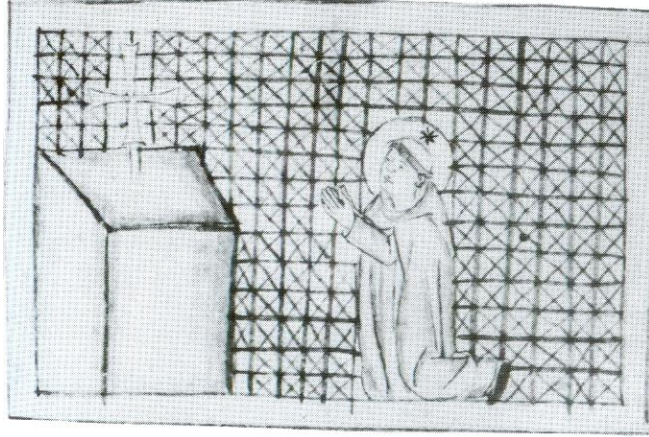


Figure 13.

Fourth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 85.



Figure 14.

Fifth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 87.

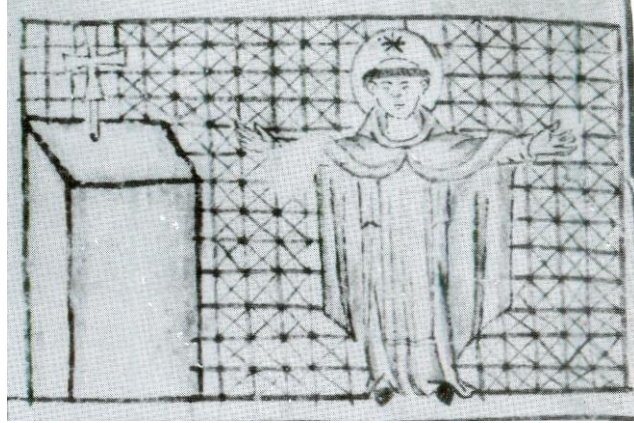


Figure 15.  
Sixth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 90.

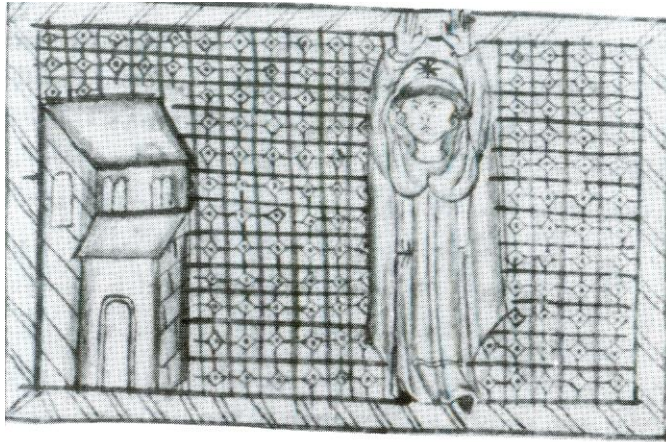


Figure 16.  
Seventh *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 93.



Figure 17.

Eighth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 94.



Figure 18.

Ninth *Modo de Orar* from a fourteenth-century Castilian edition  
Bernardo Fueyo Suárez, *Modos de Orar de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban,  
2001), 96.



Figure 19.  
Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia  
Photo: Author



Figure 20.  
Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia  
Photo: Author

Santo Domingo. Planta.

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Iglesia mayor (desap.).       | 7. Celdas (desap.).                        |
| 2. Capilla del Rosario (desap.). | 8. Refectorio.                             |
| 3. Capilla de San Vicente.       | 9. Patio de la palmera.                    |
| 4. Capilla Real.                 | 10. Fachada de la iglesia.                 |
| 5. Claustro mayor.               | 11. Campanario.                            |
| 6. Sala Capitular.               | 12. Fachada de la Portería, hoy Capitanía. |

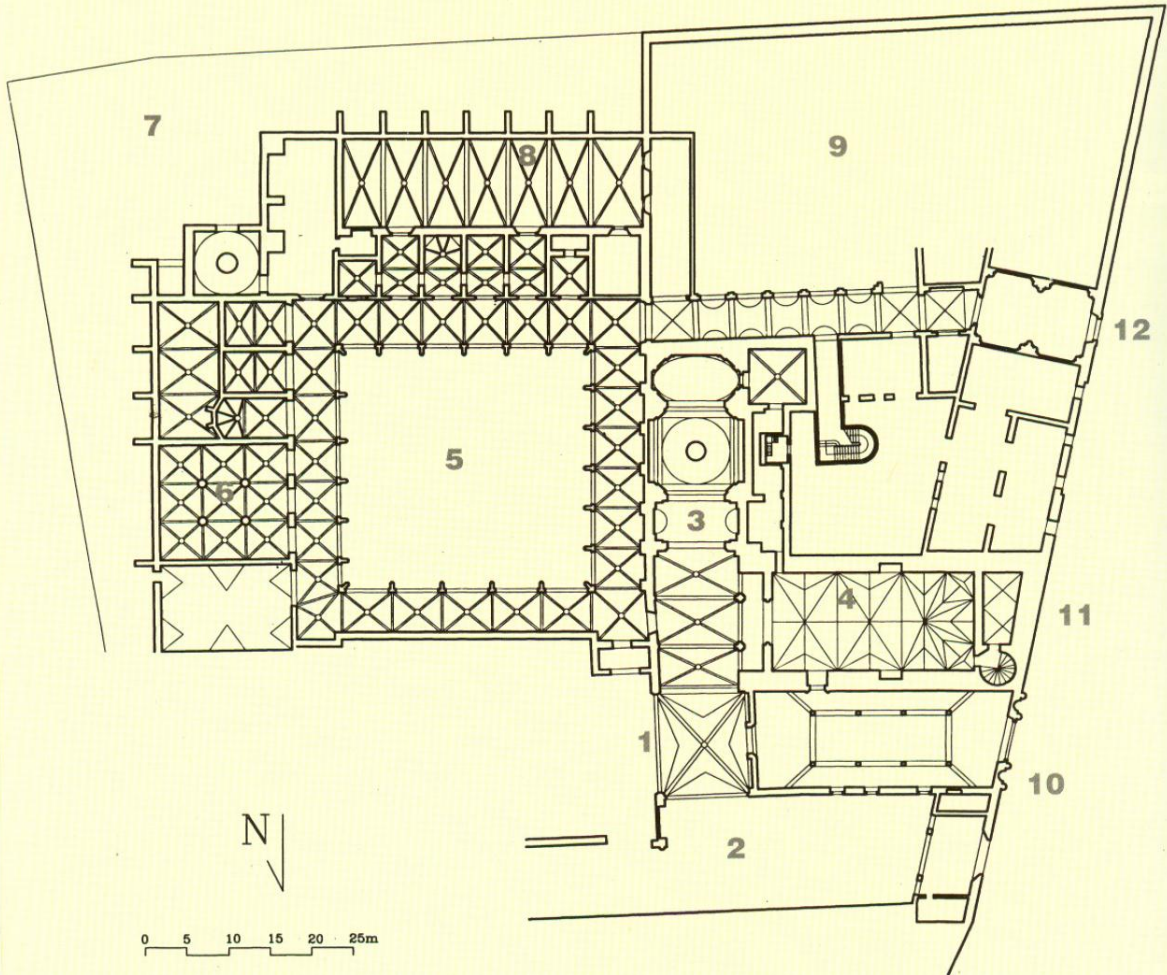


Figure 21.

Plan of the Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia

Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995), 5.

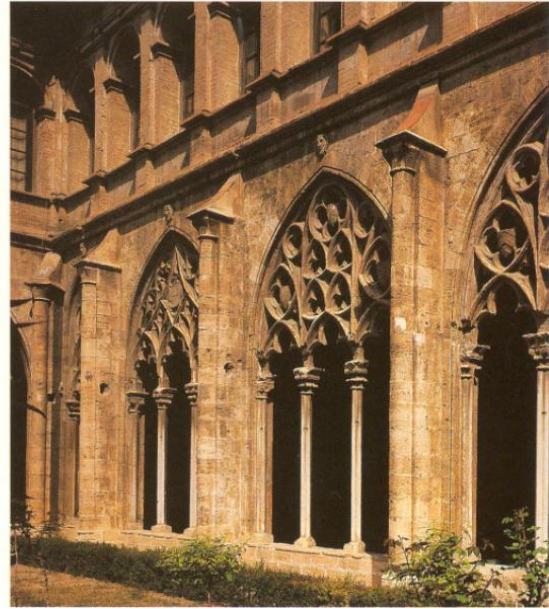


Figure 22.  
Cloister of the Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia  
Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995), 12.

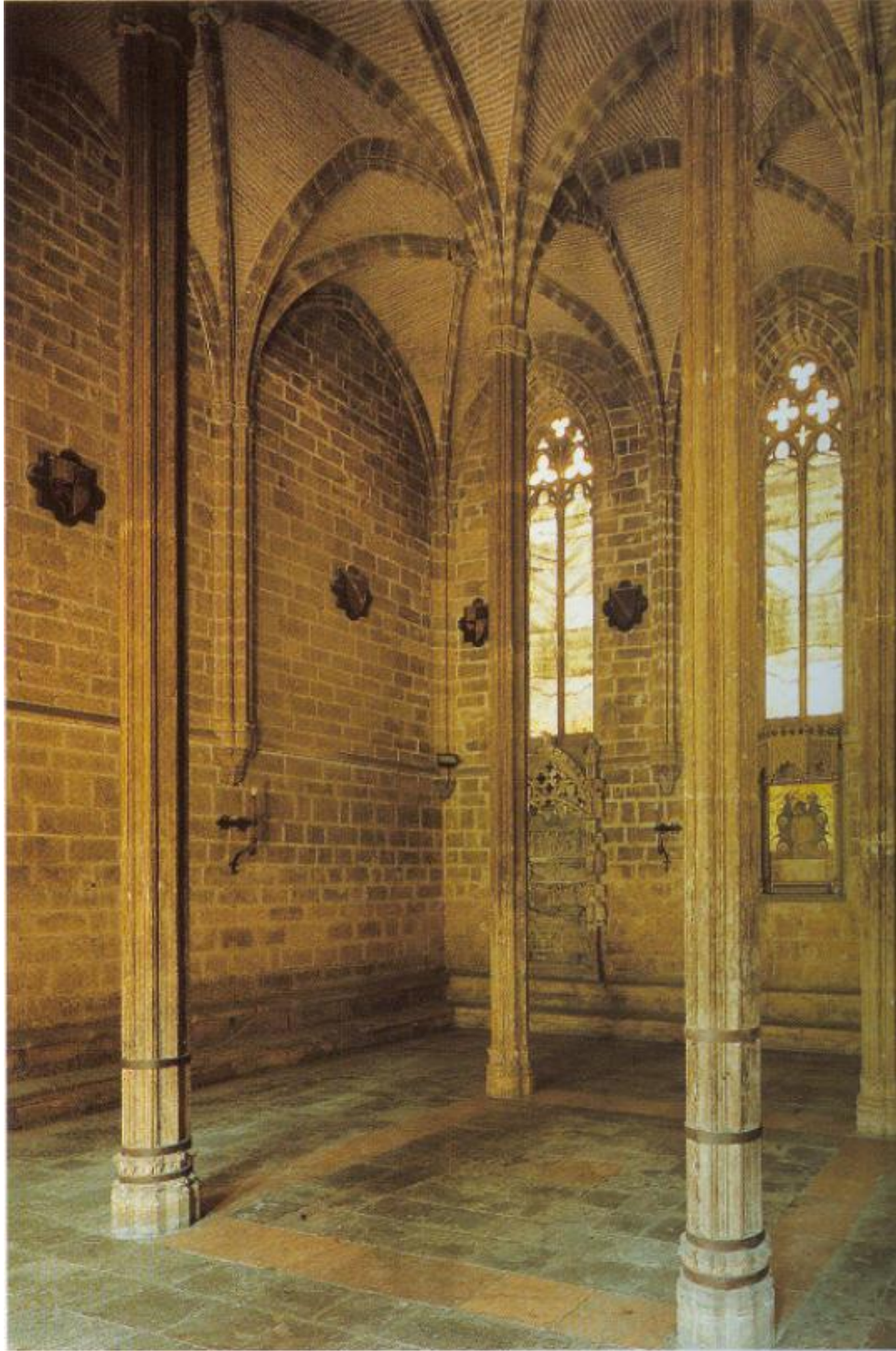


Figure 23.

The chapter room (“Sala de las Palmeras”) in the Convent of Santo Domingo, Valencia  
Arturo Zaragozá Catalán, *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995), 13.



Figure 24.  
Lonja de la Seda (Silk Market), Valencia  
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/782/>



Figure 25.

*Scenes from the Life of St. Dominic of Guzmán*, Pere Nicolau, c. 1403

Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco et al, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1955), Cat. 238.



Figure 26.

*Retablo de la Santa Cruz* (Retable of the True Cross), Miguel Alcanyis, early 15<sup>th</sup> c.  
Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco et al, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1955), Cat. 254.



Figure 27.

*Virgen de la Leche (Virgin of the Milk)*, Juan Sivera, early 15<sup>th</sup> c.

Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco et al, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1955), Cat. 254.



Figure 28.

*Annunciation*, Jacomart, c. 1440-1450

Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gomez Frechina, *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2001), 192-3.



Figure 29.

*St. Vincent Ferrer*, Jacomart, c. 1455-1461

Image courtesy of the Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University

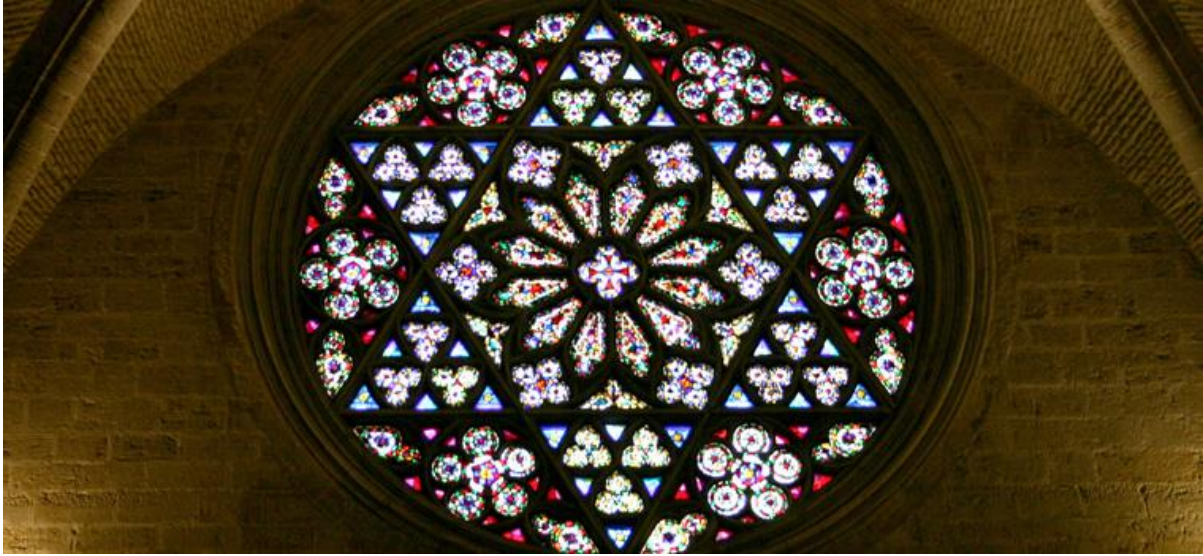


Figure 30.

Star of David Window, Valencia Cathedral

<http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/recorrido-por-la-catedral23.php>



Figure 31.

Pulpit of St. Vincent Ferrer, Valencia Cathedral

<http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/recorrido-por-la-catedral22.php>



Figure 32.

*Transfiguration*, Jacomart, c. 1450

Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gomez Frechina, *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos* (Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2001), 186-7.



Figure 33.

*St. Vincent Ferrer*, Joan Rexach, c. 1455

*La Luz de las Imágenes*, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1999), 411.



Figure 34.

*Retable of St. Lawrence and St. Peter Martyr* (Catí altarpiece), Jacomart, c. 1460,  
 Chapel of Joan Spigol in the parish church, Catí  
 Josep Ferrer i Puerto, "Jacomart: Retable de San Lorenzo y San Pedro de Verona de Catí,"  
*Museu de Belles Arts de València* (December 1997).



Figure 35.

*St. Vincent Ferrer*, Church of San Juan del Hospital, Valencia  
Margarita Ordeig Corsini and Manuel Fernández Canet, *Guía del Museo del Conjunto de San Juan del Hospital de Valencia* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura de al Generalitat Valenciana, 2007), 11.



Figure 36.

*Retable of Sts. Vincent and Giles* (incomplete), Gherardo Starnina or Miguel Alcanyis,  
c. 1420, Church of San Juan del Hospital, Valencia

<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110000003>



Figure 37.

*Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer*, Gherardo Starnina, late 14<sup>th</sup> c., Cartuja de Portaceli  
Felipe María Garín Ortiz de Taranco et al, *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas  
Artes de San Carlos* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1955), Cat. 246.



Figure 38.

*The Trinity Adored by All Saints*, Anonymous painter  
Early 15<sup>th</sup> c., Cartuja of Valdecris

<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110002196>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abulafia, Anna Sapir. *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. London, 1995.
- Abulafia, David, et al. *Church and City 1000-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte: España Entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlantico*. Granada, 1973.
- Aguilera Cerni, Vicente. *Historia del arte Valenciano*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 1988. (Vols. 2-3 for this project)
- Ainaud de Lasarte, J. *Pintura spagnola del period omanico a "El Greco."* Barcelona, 1964.
- Aldea Vaquero, Quintin, et al. "Vicente Ferrer" in *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiastica de España*. Madrid: Instituto Enrique Florez, 1972.
- Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura valenciana medieval*. València: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1996.
- Allies, Mary H. *Three Catholic Reformers of the fifteenth century*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972.
- Alonso Ruiz, Begoña et al. *Patronos y coleccionistas: los condestables de Castilla y el arte (siglos XV-XVII)*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2005.
- Alvarez, Paulino. *San Vicente Ferrer: apostol de Europa, angel de apocalipsis*. Vergara: La Tipográfica, 1934.
- Alvaro Huerga, "La edición cisneriana del *Tratado de la vida spiritual* y otras ediciones del siglo XVI," *Escritos del Vedat* 10 (1980): 297-313.
- Ames, Christine Caldwell. *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia, 2009.

Amos, Thomas L. et al eds. *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989.

Andrews, Cyril Bruyn. "The Valencia Altar-piece from the Priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem." *The Connoisseur* LIX (1921): 146-148.

Anello, Pietrina and Jorge Martinez-Pinna, eds. *Relaciones interculturales en el Mediterráneo antiguo: Sicilia e Iberia*. Malaga, 2009.

Ángeles Arazo, María and Francesc Jarque. *Museos Vivos, Valencia y Su Provincia*. Valencia: Generalitat de Valenciana, 2001.

Anta Jares, Josepho. *La predicación Cristiana en la doctrina de San Vicente Ferrer (1350-1419)*. Astorga, 1962.

Antist, Vicente Justiniano and José M. Garganta. *Biografía y escritos de San Vicente Ferrer*. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1956.

"Apostles' Creed." <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01629a.htm>. Accessed July 25, 2011.

Arízaga Bolumburu, Beatriz and Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea, eds. *La ciudad medieval y su influencia territorial*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2007.

Armstrong, Regis et al, eds., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. 3 vols. New York: New York City Press, 1999.

Arnau-García, Ramón. *San Vicente Ferrer y las ecclesiologías del Cisma*. Valencia: Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer, 1987.

Avila, Ana. "La imagen del retablo en la pintura española del primer Renacimiento," *Goya* 219 (November/December 1990): 149-55.

Ayala Martínez, Carlos de, Pascual Buresi, and Philippe Josserand, eds. *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2001.

- Azcárate, José María. *Arte Gótico en España*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1990.
- Badia, Lola and Anthony Bonner. *Ramón Llull: Vida, Pensamiento, y Obra Literaria*. Barcelona: Sirmio Quaderns Crema, 1993.
- Barber, Edwin Atlee. *Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915.
- Barel, Y. *La ciudad medieval: Sistema social-Sistema urbano*. Madrid, 1981.
- Battaglia, Eliseo. *Un grande apostolo (San Vincenzo Ferreri)*. Firenze: Tipografia Domenicana, 1919.
- Baer, Yitzak. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961-1966.
- Bayle, Marc Antoine. *Vie de S. Vincent Ferrier de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs (1350-1419)*. Paris: Ambroise Bray, 1855.
- Belting, Hans. *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages*. Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Edmund Jephcott trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Beltrán de Heredia, P. Vicente. *Historia de la Reforma de la Provincia de España (1450-1550)*. Rome, 1939.
- Benavent i Benavent, Julia. *Manuscrits i incunables valencians del segle XIV al XVII*. Valencia: Goaprint, 2007.
- Benito Domènech, Fernando and José Gómez Frechina. *La Clave Flamenca en los primitivos valencianos*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001.
- Benito Domènech, Fernando and José Ignacio Catalán. *El Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia San Pío V*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1999.

- Bennett, R F. *The Early Dominicans*. Cambridge, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1971.
- Bensa, Enrico. *Francesco di Marco da Prato*. Milan: Fratelli Treves Editori, 1928.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. et al. *The experience of power in medieval Europe, 950-1350*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Berthier, J. J., ed. *Expositio magistri Humberti super Constitutiones fratrum Praedicatorum*, in Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*. Turin, 1956.
- Bertaux, E. “Les primitifs espagnols. Les disciples de Jan Van Eyck dans le Royaume d’Aragon.” *Revue de l’art ancien et moderne* 22 (1907): PAGE NUMBERS.
- Beuchot, Mauricio. *Pensamiento filosófico de San Vicente Ferrer*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1995.
- Bisson, Thomas N. *Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- Blackburn, Paul, trans. *The Poem of the Cid*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- Blanch, Montserrat. *El Arte Gótico en España*. Barcelona, 1972.
- Bolzoni, Lina. *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Bonniwell, William R. *A History of the Dominican Liturgy: 1215-1945*. New York, 1945.
- Borchardt, Karl et al, eds. *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Bousquet, Jean. *Saint Vincent Ferrer: le grand thaumaturge dominicain*. Ottawa: Editions du Lévrier, 1949.

Boyle, Leonard E. *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400*. London: Variorum, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Summae confessorum." In *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Définition, critique et exploitation*. Textes, Études, Congrès 5. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982: 227-37.

Bravo Navarro, Martín. *Iglesia de San Juan del Hospital*. Valencia, 2000.

Brett, Edward T. "Humbert of Romans and the Dominican Second Order," *Cultura e istituzioni nell'Ordine Dominicano tra Medioevo e Umanesimo: Studi e testi*, I-25. Pistoia: Memorie Domenicane, 1981.

Brettle, Sigismund. *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass*. Münster in Westf.: Aschendorff, 1924.

Brodman, James William. *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain*. Philadelphia, 1986.

Brown, Terry David. *Songs for the saints of the schism: liturgies for Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1995.

Buendía, Rogelio. "Sobre los orígenes estructurales del retablo," *Revista de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 20/87 (July/September 1973): 17-40.

Bueno Tárrega, Baltasar. *El Pare Sant Vicent Ferrer*. Valencia: Federico Domenech, 1995.

Buresi, Pascal. *La Frontière entre chrétienté et Islam dans la péninsule Ibérique*. Paris: Publibook, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Les conversions d'églises et de mosques en Espagne aux XI-XIII siècle." In *Ville et religion: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Louis Biget par ses élèves*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002.

- Burns, Robert I. "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *The American Historical Review* 76/5 (December 1971): 1386-1434.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth Century Frontier*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery 1257-1263*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Unifying Crusader Valencia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Burr, David. *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- Burton, Raffel and Maria Rosa Menocal. *The song of the Cid: a dual-language edition with parallel text*. New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- C. de Jesús, Sister. *Breve reseña histórica del Convento de Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid desde su fundación por el mismo santo patriarca Domingo de Guzmán año del Señor de 1218*. Santiago de Compostela: Seminario Conciliar, 1946.
- Cabanes Catalá, María Luisa. *Anales Valencianos*. Zaragoza, 1983.
- Cabanes Pecourt, M. Desamparados. *Monasterios valencianos*. Valencia, 1974.

- Caiger-Smith, Alan. *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition, and Innovation in Islam and the Western World*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.
- Caldwell, Christine. "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint." *Comitatus* 31 (2000): 137-176.
- Camille, Michael. *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8/1 (1985): 26-49.
- Camón Aznar, José. "Pintura medieval española," *Summa Artis* 22. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1966.
- Cannon, Joanna. "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Sienese Polyptych." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 69-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dominic *alter Christus*? Representations of the Founder in and after the *Arca di San Domenico*" in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow, eds. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1998.
- Cantarino, Vicente. *Entre monjes y musulmanes: El conflict que fue España*. Madrid: Alhambra, 1978.
- Canty, Aaron. *Light & Glory: The Transfiguration of Christ in Early Franciscan and Dominican Theology*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011.
- La capella reial d'Alfons el Magnànim de l'antic monestir de predicadors de València* (2 vols.). Valencia, 1997.
- Caraffa, Mons. Filippo. "Vincenzo Ferrer," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*. Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1969.
- Carbonell, Eduard and Joan Sureda. *Tresors meievalls del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1997.

- Carruthers, Mary. *The Craft of Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Carruthers, Mary and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds. *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Castillo, Hernando de. *Primera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores*. (1584-1592).
- Cátedra García, Pedro M. *Sermón, Sociedad y Literatura en la Edad Media*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994.
- Cathedral of Valencia. "Interior Cathedral Tour." [http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/arte\\_recorrido-por-la-catedral.php](http://www.catedraldevalencia.es/en/arte_recorrido-por-la-catedral.php). Accessed August 2, 2011.
- Catherine, Sister Mary, trans. *Angel of the Judgment: A Life of Vincent Ferrer*. Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1954.
- Catoyra, Ignacio. *Ilustraciones a las maravillas del apostol de Valencia, S. Vicente Ferrer: apostol de la Europa: sol del Occidente*. Seville: En casa de Francisco Sanchez Reciente, 1724.
- Cavanilles, Antonio Josef. *Observaciones Sobre la Historia Natural, Geografia, Agricultura, Poblacion, y Frutos del Reyno de Valencia*. Madrid, 1795.
- Chabas y Llorens, Roque. "El libro del repartimiento de la ciudad y reino de Valencia." *El Archivo* III-VI-VII (Valencia, 1888-1893).
- Chazan, Robert. *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Barcelona 'Disputation' of 1263: Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response," *Speculum* 52/4 (October 1977): 824-842.
- Chenu, Marie-Dominique. "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life." *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, edited by Jerome Taylor and Lester Little. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

- Chevedden, P.E. et al. *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Christian, William A., Jr. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Christology from the Sermons of St. Vincent Ferrer of the Order of Preachers*. London: Blackfriars, 1954.
- Chubb, Taryn E.L. “*De vita spirituali*: San Vicente Ferrer, Cardinal Cisneros, and Fifteenth Century Devotional Practices in Castilla.” *La corónica*. Forthcoming.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “*Fear God and Give Glory To Him*”: *A Fifteenth-Century Valencian Panel Painting of St. Vincent Ferrer in the Meadows Museum*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2005.
- Chubb, Taryn E. L. and Emily Kelley. “Mendicants and Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean: An Introduction.” *Medieval Encounters*. Forthcoming, 2012.
- Clifton, James. *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain, 1150-1800*. Munich: Prestel, 1997.
- Cohen, Jeremy, ed. *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: from Late Antiquity to the Reformation*. New York New York University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Friars and the Jews: Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mendicants, the medieval church, and the Jews: Dominican and Franciscan attitudes toward the Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*. Cornell University Thesis, 1978.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Mentality of the Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Hermann of Cologne, and Pablo Christiani.” In *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. Todd M. Endelman. New York, 1987.
- Cohen, Mark R. *Under crescent and cross: the Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Colish, Marcia L. *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Company I Climent, Ximo. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna*. València: Universitat de València, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La Pintura Hispanoflamenca*. Valencia: Ediciones Alfons el Magnànim, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La pintura del renaixament*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La pintura del renaixament al ducat de Gandia*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1985.
- Constable, Olivia Remie. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: the commercial realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Constitutiones antique ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*. In *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst, Bronnen, Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling (1215-1237)*, A. H. Thomas. *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 42. Louvain, 1965.
- Corbett, James A. *The De instructione puerorum of William of Tournai, O.P.* Notre Dame: The Medieval Institute, 1955.
- Cruz Hernández, Miguel. *El Pensamiento de Ramon Llull*. Madrid: Fundacion Juan March, Editorial Castalia, 1977.

- Cruz, Juan de la. *Corónica de la Orden de Predicadores, de su principio y suceso hasta nuestra edad*. Lisbon, 1567.
- Cultura e istituzioni nell'ordine domenicano tra medioevo e umanesimo*. Pistoia, 1981.
- Cusato, Michael F. and Guy Geltner, eds. *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Dahan, Gilbert. *The Christian Polemic against the Jews in the Middle Ages*. Translated by Jody Gladding. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
- Daniel, E. Randolph. *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages*. The University Press of Kentucky, 1975.
- Dargan, Edward Charles. *A History of Preaching from the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers, A.D. 70-1572*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968.
- D'Avray, D. L. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Deane, Jennifer Kolpacoff. *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011.
- Delgado Valero, C. *Toledo islámico: ciudad, arte e historia*. Toledo, 1987.
- “De Profundis.” <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04738b.htm>. Accessed December 3, 2010.
- Desbonnets, Théophile. *From Institution to Institution: The Franciscans*, translated by Paul Duggan and Jerry Du Charme. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988.
- Diago, Francisco. *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores, desde su origen y principio hasta el año mil y seyscientos*. Barcelona, 1599.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Historia de la vida, Milagros, muerte y discipulos del bienaventurado predicador apostolic valenciano San Vicente Ferrer de la Orden de Predicadores*. Valencia: Librería Paris-Valencia, 2001.
- Díaz Manteca, Eugenio. *Guía del Museo de Bellas Artes de Castelló*. Castelló, 1984.
- Di Iorio, Antonio. *San Vincenzo Ferreri: celeste patron di Pietrabbondante*. Roma: Archeoclub d'Italia, 1995.
- Dillard, Heath. *Daughters of the Reconquest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Doñate Sebastia, J. and J.R. Magdalena Nom de Deu. *Three Jewish Communities in Medieval Valencia*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1990.
- Dualde Serrano, Manuel. *Solidaridad spiritual de Valencia con las victorias cristianas del Salado y de Algeciras*. Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Historicos, 1950.
- Duggan, Joseph. *The Cantar de Mio Cid: Poetic creation in its economic and social contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Echevarria, Ana. *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Ecker, Heather. *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain*. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes." In *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, edited by Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Ellington, Donna Spivey. *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001.
- Emmerson, Richard K. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

- Emery, Kent and Joseph P. Wawrykow, eds. *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
- Emery, Richard W. *The Friars in Medieval France*. New York: Columbia, 1962.
- Epstein, S. R., ed. *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*. Cambridge, 2001.
- Español, Francesca and Joaquín Yarza. *Catàleg d'escultura i pintura medieval*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1991.
- Esponera Cerdán, Alfonso. "Los dominicos en la ciudad y Universidad de Valencia." *Escritos del Vedat* 36 (2006): 186.
- Esser, Cajetan. *Origins of the Franciscan Order*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970.
- Expositio magistri Humberti super Constitutiones fratrum Praedicatorum*. In Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, edited by J. J. Berthier, II. Turin, 1956.
- Eusebius of Caesaria. *The Lie of Constantine*. Accessed January 23, 2012.  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-constantine.asp>.
- Fages, Pere. *Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier*.
- Fages, H.-D. *Oeuvres de Saint Vincent Ferrier*. Paris: Librairie A. Picard et Fils, 1909.
- Fages, Pierre Henri. *Procès de la canonization de saint Vincent Ferrier: pour faire suite a l'histoire du meme Saint*. Paris: A. Picard, 1904.
- Falomir Faus, Miguel. *Arte en Valencia, 1472-1522*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La pintura y los pintores en la Valencia del Renacimiento (1472-1620)*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1994.
- Farfán Navarro, Ma. Cruz. *Real Monasterio y Convento de la Puridad: Catálogo de los Fondos Existentes en el Archivo del Reino de Valencia*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1990.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. *Before Columbus: exploration and colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic 1229-1492*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Ferre Puerto, Josep. "Jacomart, lo feel pintor d'Alfons el Magnánim: Puntualizacions a l'obra valenciana," *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: La Corona d'Aagona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*. Naples: Paparo Edizioni, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Jacomart: Retable de San Lorenzo y San Pedro de Verona de Catí," *Museu de Belles Arts de València* (December 1997).

Ferrer Navarro, R. "Los judíos en el comercio valenciano durante el siglo XIV." *Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano II*. 1980.

Ferrer, San Vicente. *Beati Vincentij natione Hispani, professione sacri praedicatorum ordinis, theologiaeque doctoris, & evangelicae doctrinae praedicatoris celeberrimi, Sermones hyemnales: acutoris vitam, indicemque locupletissimum in fronte libri praefiximus*. Antuerpiae: Apud Philippum Nutium, 1570.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Biografía y escritos de San Vicente Ferrer*. Edited by José M. de Garganta and Vicente Forcada. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Colección de de sermons de Cuaresma y otros según el manuscrito de Ayora*. Edited by Adolfo Robles Sierra. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. *De fine mundi*. Nuremberg: Conrad Zeninger, 1481.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Mirabile interpretation di prophetie del fine del mondo*. Vencie: s.n., 1527.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Oeuvres de Saint Vincent Ferrer*. Edited by Henri Fages. Paris: A. Picard, 1909.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Quaresma de sant Vicent Ferrer, predicada a Valencia l'any 1413*. Edited by José Sanchis y Sivera. Barcelona, 1927.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Saint Vincent Ferrer: texts choisis et presentes*. Ed. Bruno H. Vanenberghe. Namur: Belgique Éditions du Soleil Levant, 1956.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermonario de San Vicente Ferrer*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones*. Burgos: P. de Junta, 1577.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones: Transcripción del manuscrito del Real Colegio y Seminario del Corpus Christi de Valencia*. Edited by Francisco M. Gimeno Blay and María Luz Mandingorra Llavata. Valencia: Univeritat de València, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermons*. Edited by Tomás Martínez i Romera. Valencia: Eliseu Climont, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermons*. (Several volumes) Vol. 3. Edited by Gret Schib. Barcelona: Barcino, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermons de Quaresma*. Edited by Manuel Sanchis Guarner. Valencia: Albatross Edicions, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones sancti Vincentij fratris ordinis predicatorum de tempore pars hiemalis*. Argentine: s.n., 1493.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones Sancti Vincentii fratris Ordinis Predicatorum*. Impressi Lugdun, 1497.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones de sanctis*. (Antwerp: P. Nutium, 1570). Translated by Albert G. Judy, <http://www.svfparish.org/svfsermons/>. Accessed August 3, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*. Lugduni, 1900-1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sermones de tempore, pars aestiualis*. Venetijs, per Jacobus de Leucho, 1496.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tratado sobre las maximas fundamentals de la perfeccion*. Barcelona: Imprenta de los H. de la V. Pla., 1848.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tractatus de suppositionibus*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tractat de la vida spiritual*. Edited by Adolfo Robles Serra and Vicent J. Girbés. Barcelona: Proa, 1998.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Il trattato di s. Vincenzo Ferrer intorno al grande scisma d'Occidente*. Edited by Albano Sorbelli. Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Treatise on the Spiritual Life*. Translated by Julianne Morrell. Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Treatise on the Spiritual Life*. Translated by Rev. Fr. T.A. Dixon. Albany: Preserving Christian Publications, Inc., 2000.
- Ferrer de Valdecebro, Andrés. *Historia de la vida maravillosa y admirable del Segundo Pablo apóstol de Valencia, s. Vicente Ferrer*. Valencia: Servicio de Reproducción de Libros, Librerías “Paris-Valencia,” 1992.
- Ferreiro, Alberto. “Vincent Ferrer’s ‘Beati Petri Apostoli’: Canonical and Apocryphal Sources in Popular Vernacular Preaching,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 91/1 (January 1998): 41-57.
- Fidora, A. and J. G. Higuera, eds. *Ramon Llull caballero de la fe*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2001.
- Forçada, Vicente. *Sabiduría teológica en la vida espiritual del predicador según San Vicente Ferrer*. Madrid, 1956.
- Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- “The Friars Preachers.” *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1957. <http://www.domcentral.org/study/ashley/ds00intr.htm>. Accessed February 12, 2010.
- Frothingham, Alice Wilson. *Catalogue of Hispano-Moresque Pottery in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*. New York: The Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America, 1936.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Lusterware of Spain*. New York: Trustees of the Hispanic Society of America, 1951.
- Fuentes, Celedonia. *Escritores dominicos del Reino de Valencia*. Valencia, 1930.

- Fueyo Suárez, Bernardo. *Modos de orar de Santo Domingo*. Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2001.
- Furió, Antoni. *Història del país Valencià*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1995.
- Fuster, Sebastian. *'Timete Deum': el anticristo y el final de la historia segun San Vicnete Ferrer*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2004.
- Fuster Serra, Francisco. *Cartuja de Portaceli: Historia, vida, arquitectura, y arte*. Valencia, 2003.
- Galbraith, G. R. *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216-1360*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925.
- Galduf Blasco, Vicente. *Vide de San Vicente Ferrer*. Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1961.
- García Cuadrado, José Angel. *Hacia una semantica relista: la filosofía del language de San Vicente Ferrer*. Pamplona: EUNSA, 1994.
- García y García, Honorio. *San Vicente Ferrer en Vich*. Castellón de la Plana: Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, 1951.
- García-Serrano, Francisco. *Preachers of the City: The Expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217-1348)*. New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1997.
- Garganta, Josep María de. "San Vicente Ferrer, Predicador de Penitencia y de Reforma," in *Convegno Internazionale Agiografia Nell'Occidente Cristiano Secoli XIII-XV*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1980.
- Garín Ortiz de Taranco, Felipe María. *Aspectos de la Arquitectura Gótica Valenciana*. Valencia: Tip. Viuda de Pedro Pascual, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos*. Valencia: Institució Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1955.

- Garín Ortiz de Taranco, Felipe María et al. *Catálogo Monumental de la Ciudad de Valencia*. Valencia, 1983.
- Gascón Pelegrí, Vicente. *El Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo*. Valencia, 1975.
- Gaya Nuño, Juan Antonio. *La Pintura Española Fuera de España*. Madrid, 1958.
- Genovés, Vicente. *San Vicente Ferrer: Apostol de la Paz*. Valencia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *San Vicente Ferrer en la política de su tiempo*. Madrid: Instituto de estudios políticos, 1943.
- Gerli, E. Michael, ed. "Dominican Order, or Order of Preachers." *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Gervers, Michael and Ramzi Jibrán Bikhazi. *Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands: Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Toronto, 1986.
- Ghéon, Henri. *Le miracle de la femme laide: un acte de la vie de saint Vincent Ferrer*. Paris: Librairie Théâtrale, 1930-1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *St. Vincent Ferrer*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939.
- Glick, Thomas F. *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Goering, Joseph. "Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith." In *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, edited by Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
- Goering, Joseph and Pierre J. Payer. "The *Summa Penitentiae Fratrum Predicatorum*; A Thirteenth-Century Confessional Formulary." *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 1-50.

- Gómez Moreno, M. "La Mezquita Mayor de Tudela." *Príncipe de Viana* 6 (1945).
- Goodich, Michael. *Other Middle Ages: witnesses at the margins of medieval society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints," *Church History* 44/3 (September 1975): 294-307.
- Gorce, Matthieu-Maxime. *Les bases de l'étude historique de saint Vincent Ferrier*. Paris: Plon-Nouritt, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Saint Vincent Ferrier (1350-1419)*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1924.
- Graef, Hilda. *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*. London, 1985.
- Gudiol Ricart, José. "Pintura gótica," *Ars Hispaniae* 9. Madrid: Ed. Plus Ultra, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pintura medieval en Aragón*. Zaragoza, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Spanish Painting*. Ohio: Museo de Arte de Toledo, 1941.
- Guiance, Ariel. *Los Discursos Sobre la Muerte en la Castilla Medieval (Siglos VII-XV)*. Castilla y León: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998.
- Guiral-Hadziöossif, Jacqueline. "L'évolution du paysage urbain à Valencia du XIII au XVI siècle." In *La ciudad hispanica durante los siglos XIII al XVI* vol. II. Madrid, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Valence, Port Méditerranèen au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1410-1525)*. Paris, 1986.
- Guré Trapier, E. *Catalogue of Paintings (14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century) in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*. New York, 1930.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey. *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of St. John the Evangelist at the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland ca. 1300*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone, 1998.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F. and Susan Marti, eds., *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Hames, Harvey. *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the thirteenth century*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Hamilton, Rita, trans. "Exile of the Cid and His Capture of Valencia (1089-1094)." In *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, edited by Olivia Remie Constable. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Poem of the Cid*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1975.
- Harris, Julie. "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest." *Medieval Encounters* 3/2 (1997): 158-172.
- Heriard Dubreuil, Mathieu. *Valencia y el Gótico Internacional*. Valencia: Institució valenciana d'Estudis I Investigació, 1987.
- Hernandez Guardiola, Lorenzo. *Pintura gótica y renacentista valenciana*. Alicante: Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, 1983.
- Hillgarth, J. N. *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Spain and the Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages: Studies in Political and Intellectual History*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Who Read Thomas Aquinas*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1992.

Hilton, R. *Les ciutats medieval*. Barcelona, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *La transición del feudalism al capitalism*. Barcelona, 1987.

Himyari, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah. *Kitab al-rawd al-mitar*. Translated by María Pilar Maestro González. Valencia, 1963.

Hinnebusch, William A. *The Dominicans: A Short History*. New York: Alba House, 1975.

Hinojosa Montalvo, Jose. *The Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia: From Persecution to Expulsion, 1391-1492*. Jerusalem, 1992.

*Historia de la Provincia de España de la Orden de Predicadores*. Madrid, 1725-1734.

Hogan, Stanislaus M. *Saint Vincent Ferrer, O.P.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911.

Hourihane, Colum. *Pontius Pilate, Anti-Semitism, and the Passion in Medieval Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Huici Miranda, Ambrosio and Maria Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt. *Documentos de Jaime I De Aragon*, vol. II (1237-1250). Valencia, 1976.

*Humbert de Romanis de Eruditione Praedicatorum in Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum XXV*. Edited by M. de la Bigne. Lyons, 1677.

Humphreys, K. W. *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400*. Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964.

Hunter, Ian et al., eds. *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. England: Aldershot, 2005.

Ingram, Kevin, ed. *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

*The International Style. The Arts in Europe Around 1400.* Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962.

*Inventario artistic de la provincial de Valencia.* Valencia: Centro Nacional de Informacion Artistica, Arqueologica y Etnologica, 1983.

Iturgaiz Ciriza, Domingo. "Dinamoplastia iconográfica comparada de los 'Modos de orar' de Santo Domingo de Guzmán." *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* IV/7 (1991).  
<http://www.fuesp.com/revistas/pag/cai0707.html> Accessed October 13, 2011.

Iugna-Pratt, Dominique. *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Ivars, Andres. "El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximenez en Valencia (1383-1408)." *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 14 (1920): 76-104.

\_\_\_\_\_. "El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximenez en Valencia (1383-1408)." *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 19 (1923): 359-98.

\_\_\_\_\_. "El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximenez en Valencia (1383-1408)." *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 20 (1923): 210-48.

\_\_\_\_\_. "El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximenez en Valencia (1383-1408)." *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 25 (1926): 5-48.

Jaime I. *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon.* Translated by John Forster. London: Chapman and Hall, 1883.

Jansen, Katherine. *The making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Mary Magdalen and the mendicants: the preaching of penance in the Late Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995) 1-25.

Johnston, Mark D. *The evangelical rhetoric of Ramon Llull: lay learning and piety in the Christian West around 1300.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

*Los judíos en al-Andalus*. Alcobendas, 2009.

Kaeppli, Thomas. *Xenia Medii Aevi Historiam Illustrantia*. Rome, 1978.

Keay, S. J. *Roman Spain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Kedar, Benjamin Z. *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims*. Princeton, 1984.

Kieckhefer, Richard. "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion." In *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, edited by Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, John Meyendorff. New York: Routledge, 1987: 75-108.

Koudelka, Vladimir J. ed. *Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici*. Rome, 1966.

Kühnel, Gustav. "Heracles and the Crusaders: Tracing the Path of a Royal Motif." In *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the end of the Crusades*, edited by Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, 63-76. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Lacarra Ducay, María del Carmen. *Exposición de la pintura gótica en la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza: Museo e Instituto de Humanidades "Camon Aznar," 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sobre dibujos preparatorios para retablos de pintores aragoneses del siglo XV," *Anuario de estudios medievales* (Barcelona) 13 (1983): 553-81.

Lafuente Ferrari, E. *Breve historia de la pintura española*. Madrid, 1953.

Lambert, Elie. *El arte gótico en España*. Barcelona: Arte Gótico, Historia del Arte Labor, Vol. VII, 1932.

Lambert, Malcolm. *Medieval Heresy*. Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1992.

Lane, Barbara. *The Altar and the Altarpiece*. New York: Harper and Row, 1984.

Landau, L. ed. *Das apologetische Schreiben des Josua Lorki*. Antwerp, 1906.

Lansing, Carol. *Power and Purity: The Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

*La polémica judeo-cristiana en Hispania*. Alcobendas, 2010.

Lavajo, Joaquim Chorão. *Um confront metodológico no diálogo islamo-cristão medieval Raimundo Martí e Raimundo Lulo*. Evora: Universidade de Evora, 1983.

Lawrence, C. H. *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*. London, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, 1984.

Lea, Henry Charles. *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*. New York: AMS Press, 1966.

Leclercq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*. Translated by Catharine Misrahi. New York: Fordham University Press, 1982.

Lehner, Francis C., ed. *Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents*. Washington, D.C.: Thomist Press, 1964.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dominican Preaching and the Creation of Capitalist Ideology in Late Medieval Florence." *Memorie domenicane* 8-9 (1977-8): 199-247.

Lesinck, D.R., *Preaching in medieval Florence. The social world of Franciscan and Dominican spirituality*. Athens, Ga., 1989.

Linehan, Peter. *Spanish Church and Society, 1150-1300*. London: Variorum, 1993.

Lipton, Sara. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Little, Lester. "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom." *American historical Review* 76 (1971): 16-49.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Llobregat Conesa, Enrique. *Historia de l'art al País Valencià*. 3 vols. Valencia: Tres i Quart, 1986.
- Llonch Pausás, Silvia. *Pintura italogòtica valenciana*. Barcelona, 1975.
- Llop Catalá, Miguel. *San Vicente Ferrer y los aspectos socioeconómicos del mundo medieval*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento, 1995.
- Llorca, Bernardino. *San Vicente Ferrer y su labor en la conversion de los judios*. 1955.
- Llull, Ramon. *The art of contemplation*. Edited by E. Allison Peers. London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge. New York: Macmillan Co., 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Blanquerna: a thirteenth century romance*. Edited by E. Allison Peers. London: Jarrolds, 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The book of the beasts*. Edited by E. Allison Peers. Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The book of the Lover and the Beloved*. Edited by Mark Johnston. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The book of the Lover and the Beloved*. Edited by E. Allison Peers. New York: Paulis Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The book of the order of chivalry*. Edited by Robert Adams and William Caxton. Huntsville, TX: Sam Houston State University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Doctor Illuminatus: a Ramón Llull reader*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Proverbis de Ramon*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1978.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ramon Llull's new rhetoric: text and translation of Llull's Rethorica Nova*. Edited by Mark D. Johnston. Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Romancing God: contemplating the Beloved*. Edited by Henry L. Carrigan. Brewster, MA: Paraclet Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*. Edited by Anthony Bonner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The tree of love*. Edited by E. Allison Peers. London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge, 1926.
- Lomax, Derek W. and David Mackenzie. *God and Man in Medieval Spain*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989.
- Lomax, Derek W. *The Reconquest of Spain*. New York: Longman, 1978.
- López, Juan. *Tercera parte de la historia general de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores*. Valladolid, 1613.
- Lopez, Robert S. and Irving W. Raymond. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Loughlin, Stephen J. *Aquinas' Summa Theologiae: A Reader's Guide*. New York: T&T Clark International, 2010.
- Lourie, Elena. *Crusade and Colonisation*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990.
- Lozoya, Marqués de. *Historia del arte hispánico*, Vol. III. Barcelona, 1940.
- La Luz de las Imágenes*. Valencia: Catedral de Valencia y Generalitat Valenciana, 1999.
- MacDonald, A. A., H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann. *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998.

- MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*. London: MacMillan, 1977.
- Maier, Christoph, *Preaching the crusades: mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century*. Cambridge, 1994.
- Mandonnet, P. *Saint Dominique l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre II*. Paris, 1938.
- Mann, Vivian B. et al, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: G. Brazillier, 1992.
- Mansilla, Demetrio. *La documentación pontificia de honorio III (1216-1227)*. Rome, 1965.
- Mañas Ballestín, Fabián. *Pintura gótica aragonesa*. Zaragoza: Guara, 1979.
- Marín, Pero. *Los sermons atribuidos a Pedro Marín: van añadidas algunas noticias sobre la predicación castellana de San Vicente Ferrer*. Edited by Pedro M. Cátedra. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990.
- Martin, Dennis. *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Martin, Hervé. *Le métier du prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350-1520*. Paris: Cerf, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Les orders mendicants en Bretagne (vers 1230 – vers 1530)*. Rennes: Institut armoricain de recherché historiques, 1975.
- Martin, Janet ed. *Peter the Venerable: Selected Letters*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974.
- Martin, Raymond. *Capistrum Iudaeorum*. Edited by Adolfo Robles Sierra. Corpus Islamo-Christianum: Series Latina 3/1, 5. 2 vols. Würzburg, Germany, 1990-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *De seta Machometi o De origine, progressu et fine Machometi et quadruplici reprobation prophetiae eius.* Edited by Josep Hernando i Delgado. *Acta historica et archaeologica medievalea* 4 (1983): 9-63.

- Martín González, Juan José. “Tipología e iconografía del retablo español del renacimiento.” *Boletín del seminario del estudios de arte y arqueología de Valladolid* 30 (1964): 5-66.
- Martini, Raimundo. *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*. Franborough, 1968.
- Martínez Caviro, Balbina. *Cerámica hispanomusulmana andalusí y mudéjar*. Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1991.
- Martínez Ferrando, Jesús Ernesto. *Catálogo de la Documentación Relativa al Antiguo Reino de Valencia*. Madrid, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Índice cronológico de la colección de documentos inéditos del archive de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *San Vicente Ferrer y la Casa Real de Aragón*. Barcelona: Balmesiana, 1955.
- Martínez Redondo, J. *San Vicente Ferrer*. Madrid: Editorial Apostolado de la Prensa, 1959.
- Martínez i Romero, Tomàs. *Aproximació als sermons de sant Vicent Ferrer*. Valencia: Denes, 2002.
- Martínez de San Pedro, Maria de los Desamparados. *La Cronica Latina de Jaime I*. Almeria, 1984.
- Mayer, August. *Historia de la pintura española*. Madrid, 1928.
- McGinn, Bernard. *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- McMichael, Steven J. and Susan E. Myers, eds. *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier*. Toulouse, 1979.

- Ménendez, José Félix. *Las pinturas murals góticas del Castillo de Alcañiz, restauracion 2004*. Ministerio de Cultura, Diputación General de Aragón, 2004.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art. "St. Giles."  
[http://www.metmuseum.org/works\\_of\\_art/collection\\_database/european\\_paintings/saint\\_giles\\_with\\_christ\\_triumphant\\_over\\_satan\\_and\\_the/objectView.aspx?&OID=110000003&collID=&vw=0#a](http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_paintings/saint_giles_with_christ_triumphant_over_satan_and_the/objectView.aspx?&OID=110000003&collID=&vw=0#a). Accessed July 20, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ascension Panel."  
[http://www.hispanicsociety.org/hispanic/paintings\\_medieval.htm](http://www.hispanicsociety.org/hispanic/paintings_medieval.htm). Accessed July 24, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Trinity Adored by All Saints."  
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110002196>. Accessed August 11, 2012.
- Millás Vallcrosa, José María. *En torno a la predicación judaica de San Vicente Ferrer*. Madrid, 1958.
- Mira, Joan Francesc. *San Vicente Ferrer: Vida y Leyenda de un Predicador*. Valencia: Algar Editorial, 2002.
- Miscelanea de Estudios Medievales, vol. I*. Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Historicos, 1961.
- Molina Figueras, Joan. *Arte, devoción, y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalane*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bernat Martorell i la tardor del gòtic català: el context artístic del retaule de Púbol*. Girona: Museu d'Art de Girona, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "La imagen y su contexto. Perfiles de la iconografía antijudía en la España medieval," *Els jueus a la girona medieval (XII ciclo de conferències Girona a l'Abast*. Girona: Bell-lloc, 2007.

*Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici.* In *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 78, edited by Vladimir J. Koudelka with Raymundo J. Loenertz. Rome, 1966.

Muessig, Carolyn ed. *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages.* Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Mulchahey, M. Michèle. “*First the Bow is Bent in Study...*” *Dominican Education before 1350.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998.

Muldoon, James. *Popes, lawyers, and infidels: the church and the non-Christian world, 1250-1550.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.

*El Mundo de los Osona.* Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1994.

Muniesa, Juan. *Sermon en la fiesta de san Vicente Ferrer.* Madrid: I. de Paredes, 1651.

Nappholz, Carol Jane. *Unsung Women: The Anonymous Female Voice in Troubadour Poetry.* New York: Peter Lang, 1994.

Natale, Mauro. *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo.* Madrid, 2001.

Newhauser, Richard. “Jesus as the First Dominican? Reflections on a Sub-theme in the Exemplary Literature of Some Thirteenth-Century Preachers.” In *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, edited by Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.

Nicholas, David. *The Growth of the Medieval City From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century.* London and New York: Longman, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Later Medieval City.* London and New York: Longman, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Urban Europe, 1100-1700.* New York: Palgrave, 2003.

Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

- Nykl, A. R. *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*. Baltimore, 1946.
- Oakes, Catherine. *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008.
- Oakley, Francis. *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- O'Connor, Isabel A. *A Forgotten Community: The Mudejar Aljama of Xàtiva 1240-1327*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Olmos y Canalda, Sr. Dr. D. Elías. *Inventario de los Pergaminos del Archivo Catedral de Valencia*. Valencia: Diputación Provincial, 1961.
- Ordeig Corsini, Margarita and Manuel Fernández Canet. *Guía del Museo del Conjunto de San Juan del Hospital de Valencia*. Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura de la Generalitat Valenciana, 2007.
- Osma, Guillermo Joaquín de. *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca—textos y documentos valencianos. Pt. 1. La loza dorada de manises en el año 1454 (Cartas de la reina de Aragón á don Pedro Boil*. Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de Manuel Ginés Hernández, 1906.
- . *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca—textos y documentos valencianos. Pt. II: Los maestros alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia. Contratos y ordenanzas de los siglos XIV, XV, y XVI*. Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de Manuel Ginés Hernández, 1906.
- Paintings from Europe and the Americas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Philadelphia, 1994.
- Paton, Bernadette, *Preaching friars and the civic ethos : Siena 1380-1440*. London, 1992.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom*. New York: Oxford, 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_. "On Cathars, Albigenses and Good Men of Languedoc," *Journal of Medieval History* 27/2 (2001): 181-95.

Penyafort, Raymond of. *Summa de paenitentia*. Edited by Xaverio Ochoa and Aloisio Diez. Universa bibliotheca iuris IA. Rome, 1976.

Pereda, Felipe. *Las Imágenes de la Discordia*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007.

Pérez, Miquel. *La vida de sant Vicent Ferrer*. Valencia: Vicent García Editores, 1994.

Perez de Heredia y Valle, Ignacio. *Sinodos Medievales de Valencia*. Rome, 1994.

Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso E. and Juan Manuel Bonet. *La pintura española*. Milan: Electa, 1995.

Pick, Lucy K. *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Piles Ros, Leopoldo. *La Judería de Valencia*. Edited by José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1991.

*La pintura gótica en la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1980.

Pirenne, Henri. *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, translated by Frank D. Halsey. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1925.

Pleij, Herman. *Colors Demonic and Divine: Shades of Meaning in the Middle Ages and After*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Polentinos, Conde de. "La Capilla de la Concepción llamada la Casa de Dios." *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 47 (1943): PAGE NUMBERS

Post, Chandler R. *A History of Spanish Painting*. 14 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930-66.

- Powell, James M. ed. *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*. Princeton, 1990.
- Pradel, Andrew and T. Dixon. *St. Vincent Ferrer: Angel of the Judgment*. Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *St. Vincent Ferrer of the Order of Friar Preachers: his life, spiritual teaching, and practical devotion*. London: R. Washbourne, 1875.
- Prudlo, Donald S. "The Friars Preachers: The First Hundred Years of the Dominican Order." *History Compass* 8/11 (2010): 1275-1290.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Puig, Arnau. *Historia de l'art catala del renaixement al barroc*. Barcelona, 1970.
- Querol Faus, Fina. *La vida valenciana en el siglo XV: un eco de Jaume Roig*. Valencia, 1963.
- Ranzano, Pietro. *Leben des heiligen Vincenz Ferrer aus dem Prediger-orden (1354-1419)*. Mainz, Franz Kirchheim, 1869.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vita S. Vincentii Ferrerii*. 1455.
- Rawlings, Helen. *Church, Religion, and Society in Early Modern Spain*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Ray, Anthony. *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1989 with a catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: V&A Publications, 2000.
- Ray, Jonathan. *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia*. Ithaca, 2006.
- Regne, Jean. *History of the Jews in Aragon: Regesta and Documents 1213-1327*. Jerusalem, 1978.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Medieval Spains*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Remensnyder, Amy G. "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico." In *Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, edited by Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

*El Renacimiento Mediterráneo*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001.

Renedo, Javier and David Guixeras, eds. *Francesc Eiximenis: An Anthology*. Trans. Robert D. Hughes. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2008.

*Reyes y Mecenas: Los Reyes Católicos – Maximiliano I y los inicios de la casa de Austria en España*. Madrid, Toledo: Electa, 1992.

Ribes Montané, Pedro. *Relaciones entre la potestad eclesiástica y el poder secular, según san Ramón de Penyafort: studio historic-jurídico*. Roma: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1979.

Richert, G. *La pintura medieval en España. Pinturas murals, tablas catalanas*. Barcelona, 1926.

Rico, Francisco. *Predicación y literature en la España medieval*. Cádiz: UNED, 1977.

"Le Rite Premontre." <http://www.precieuxsang-fecamp.eu/RITE%20PREMONTRE/LE%20RITE%20PREMONTRE..pdf>. Accessed May 25, 2010.

Roberts, Phyllis B. "Preaching in/and the Medieval City." In *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse et al. Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998.

Robinson, Cynthia. *Imag(in)ing Passions: Christ, the Virgin, Images and Devotion in a Multi-Confessional Castile, 14th-15th c.* Penn State University Press, 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Preaching to the Converted: Valladolid's 'Cristianos Nuevos' and the 'Retablo de Don Sancho de Rojas (1415 A.D.)." *Speculum* 83/1 (Jan. 2008): 112-63.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “El Retablo de Miraflores romanizado o, ¿qué significa ser un Van der Weyden en Castilla?” In *Gótico y Frontera. En busca de nuevos paradigmas para el estudio del gótico hispano*, edited by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeira. Murcia: Nausícaa, 2010.
- Robles, Adolfo. “Manuscritos del Archivo del Real Convento de Predicadores de Valencia.” *Escritos del Vedat* 14 (1984): 349-402.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Obras y Escritos de San Vicente Ferrer*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1996.
- Robles, Laureano. *Escritores Dominicanos de la Corona de Aragon (siglos XIII-XV)*. Salamanca, 1972.
- Rosenwein Barbara H. and Lester K. Little. “Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities.” *Past and Present* 63 (1974): 4-32
- Ross, Ellen M. *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England*. Oxford, 1997.
- Roth, Cecil. “The Disputation of Barcelona (1263),” *The Harvard Theological Review* 43/2 (April 1950): 117-144.
- Roth, Norman. *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Forgery and Abrogation of the Torah: A Theme in Muslim and Christian Polemic in Spain,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 54 (1987): 203-236.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Rubin, Miri, ed. *Medieval Christianity in Practice*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Ruiz Amadó, Ramón. "Valencia" *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 15. New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1912. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15251b.htm>. Accessed March 12, 2010.

Ryder, Alan. *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Salinger, Margaretta. "A Valencian Retable." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 34/11 (November 1939): 250-254.

Sanchez-Albornoz, M. C. Cabeza. "Catálogo de los manuscritos de los conventos valencianos suprimidos por la desamortización eclesiástica que se depositaron en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia." *Estudis Castellonencs* 6 (1994-5): 251-63.

Sánchez Gozalbo, Ángel. *Pintores de Morella: datos para la historia de la pintura valenciana de los siglos XIV y XV*. Castellón de la Plana, 1943.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Pintors del Maestrat, contribució a la història de la pintura valenciana quatrecentista*. Castelló, 1932.

Sánchez Navarrete, Manuel. *Milacres de Sant Vicent Ferrer: representats en els carrers i places de la ciutat i pobles del Antic Regne de Valencia Durant les festes patronals dedicades a este Sant*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2000.

Sanchis Guarner, Manuel. *La Ciutat de València*. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Sermons de Quaresma*. Valencia: Clàssics Albatros, 1973.

Sanchis Sivera, José. *La Catedral de Valencia. Guía histórica y artística*. Valencia: F. Vives Mora, 1909.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Nomenclator Geográfico-Eclesiástico de los Pueblos de la Diócesis de Valencia*. Valencia, 1922.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Pintores medievales en Valencia," *Archivo de Arte Valenciana*, 1930-1931.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pintores medievales en Valencia*. Barcelona: Tip. L'Avenç, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sant Vicent Ferrer Sermons*. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1932.
- Santamaría Arández, A. *Aportación al estudio de la economía valenciana durante el siglo XV*. Valencia, 1966.
- Saxony, Jordan of. *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum* 40. In *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 16, edited by H. C. Scheeben. Rome, 1935.
- Schib, Gret. *Vocabulari de Sant Vicent Ferrer*. Barcelona: Dalmau, 1977.
- Sempere, Lorenzo G. *El Angel de la Apocalipsis: Devocionario de San Vicente Ferrer, patron de la ciudad y reino de Valencia*. Valencia: Librería Sucesores de Badal, 1916.
- Serrano, Maciá. *San Vicente Ferrer*. Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1971.
- Serrano, Tomás. *Fiestas seculares, con que la coronada ciudad de Valencia celebró el feliz cumplimiento del tercer siglo de la canonización de su esclarecido hijo, y angel protector S. Vicente Ferrer, apostal de Europa*. Valencia: Impr. De la Viuda de J. de Orga, 1762.
- Serrano y Sanz, M. "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante los siglos XIV y XV," *Revista de archives, bibliotecas y museos* 33 (1915): 423-425; 36 (1917): 444-446.
- Showalter, Dennis E. "The Business of Salvation: Authority and Representation in the Thirteenth-Century Dominican Order." *The Catholic Historical Review* 58/4 (1973): 556-74.
- Simon, Larry J., ed. *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Smith, Damian and Helena Buffery, eds. *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre dels Fets*. London: Ashgate, 2003.
- Smoller, Laura A. "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453-1454," *Speculum* 73/2 (April 1998): 429-454.

- Sobré, Judith Berg. *Behind the Altar Table. The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1550*. Columbia, MO, 1989.
- Strickland, Debra Higgs. *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Surtz, Ronald E. *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, 1995.
- Taylor, Claire. *Heresy in Medieval France*. Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2005.
- Taylor, Larissa. *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Teixidor, Jose. *Estudios de Valencia: Historia de la Universidad hasta 1616*. Edited by Laureano Robles. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *San Vicente Ferrer Promotor y Causa Principal del Antiguo Estudio General de Valencia*. Madrid, 1945.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vida de San Vicente Ferrer, apóstol de Europa*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 1999.
- Teoli, Antonio. *Storia della vita e del culto di S. Vincenzo Ferreri dell'ordine de' Predicatori*. Napoli: Tip. Dello stabilimento dell'Ateneo, 1843.
- Thomas, A. H. *De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 42. Louvain: Bureaux de la revue, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1965.
- Thomas-Lacroix, Pierre. *Saint Vincent Ferrer: 1350-1419, canonize en 1455*. Vannes: Imprimerie Galles, 1954.
- Toldrà, Albert. *Après la mort: un viatge amb Sant Vicent al més enllà medieval*. Barcelona: Eliseu Climent, 2000.
- Tomarelli, Ublado. *San Vincenzo Ferreri: apostolo e taumaturgo*. Bologna: Edizioni Studio domenicano, 1990.

- Tormo y Monzo, Elías. *Jacomart*. Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1945.
- Torrell, Jean-Pierre. *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*. Translated by Robert Royal. Paris, 2005.
- Torres Fontes, Juan. “La política exterior en la regencia de d. Fernando de Antequera.” *Anales de la universidad de Murcia: Filosofía y letras* 18 (1959-60): 60-97.
- Trentman, John A. *Tractatus de Suppositionibus: A Critical Edition*. Augsburg: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977.
- Trias Mercant, Sebastià. *Ramon Llull: Pensamiento y la palabra*. Mallorca: El Tall Editorial, 1993.
- Tugwell, Simon. “Christ as Model of Sanctity in Humbert of Romans.” In *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, edited by Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
- Tugwell, Simon, ed. and trans. *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings*. New York, 1982.
- Sanchez Perez, Jose Augusto. *El culto mariano en España*. Madrid, 1943.
- Sarthou Carreres, Carlos. *Valencia Artística y Monumental*. Valencia, 1927.
- Sevillano Colom, Francisco. *Valencia urbana medieval a través del oficio de Mustaçaf*. Valencia, 1957.
- Simon, Larry J., ed. *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- The Song of the Cid: A Dual-language Edition with Parallel Text*. Translated by Burton Raffel. New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Sorió, Baltasar. *De viris illustribus Provinciae Aragoniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Valencia, 1950.

Valdeón Barque, Julio. *Judíos y Conversos en la Castilla Medieval*. Valladolid, 2000.

“Valencia.”

[http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud\\_0002\\_0020\\_0\\_20291.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0020_0_20291.html)

Accessed May 20, 2011.

Valenziano, Vincenzo Vittoria. *Vita e miracoli dell'apostolo valenziano San Vincenzo Ferreri dell'ordine de'predicatori*. Rome: Zenobi, 1705.

Van Engen, John. “Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers.” In *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, edited by Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph P. Wawrykow. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.

Vargas, Michael. *Taming a Brood of Vipers: Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-Century Dominican Convents*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Vicaire, M. H. *Saint Dominique de Caleruega*. Paris, 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Histoire de Saint Dominique II*. Paris, 1957.

Viera, David J. *Medieval Catalan Literature: Prose and Drama*. Boston: Twayne, 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Treatment of the Jews in Vincent Ferrer's Vernacular Sermons" *Fifteenth Century Studies* (2001).

Villacañas, José Luis. *Jaume I El Conquistador*. Madrid: Espasa, 2003.

Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend*, volumes I and II. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Vose, Robin. *Dominicans, Christian, and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Warner, Maria. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

- Webster, Jill. *Carmel in Medieval Catalonia*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Els menorets: the Franciscans in the realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Per Deu o per diners: els mendicants i el clergat al País Valencià*. Barcelona: Afers, 1998.
- Wehli, Tünde. *Painting in Medieval Spain*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1980.
- Weinstein, Donald and Rudolph M. Bell. *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Williamson, Beth. "Art, Liturgy, and Devotion," *Speculum* (April 2004): 341-406.
- Wood, Jeryldene M. "Breaking the Silence: the Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1995): 262-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Women, Art, and Spirituality: The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Ximeno, Vicente. *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*. Valencia, 1747.
- Yarza Luaces, Joaquín. *Estudios de Iconografía Medieval Española*. Bellaterra, 1984.
- Zaragozá Catalán, Arturo. *Antiguo Convento de Santo Domingo, Valencia*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995.
- Zink, Michael. *La predication en langue romane avant 1300*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1976.
- Zozaya, Juan. *Il Coloquio Ceramica Medieval del Mediterraneo Occidental, Toledo, 1981*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1986.