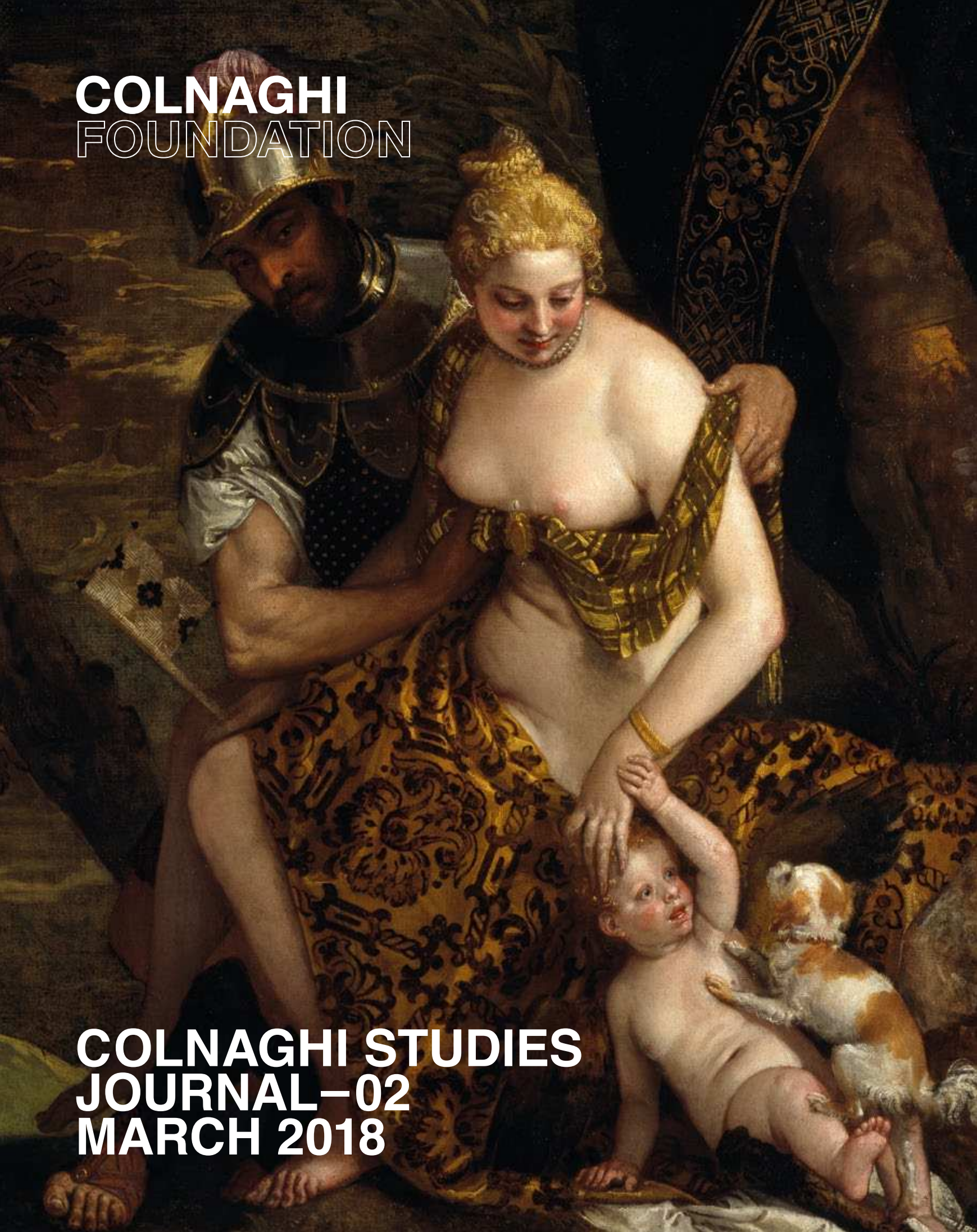


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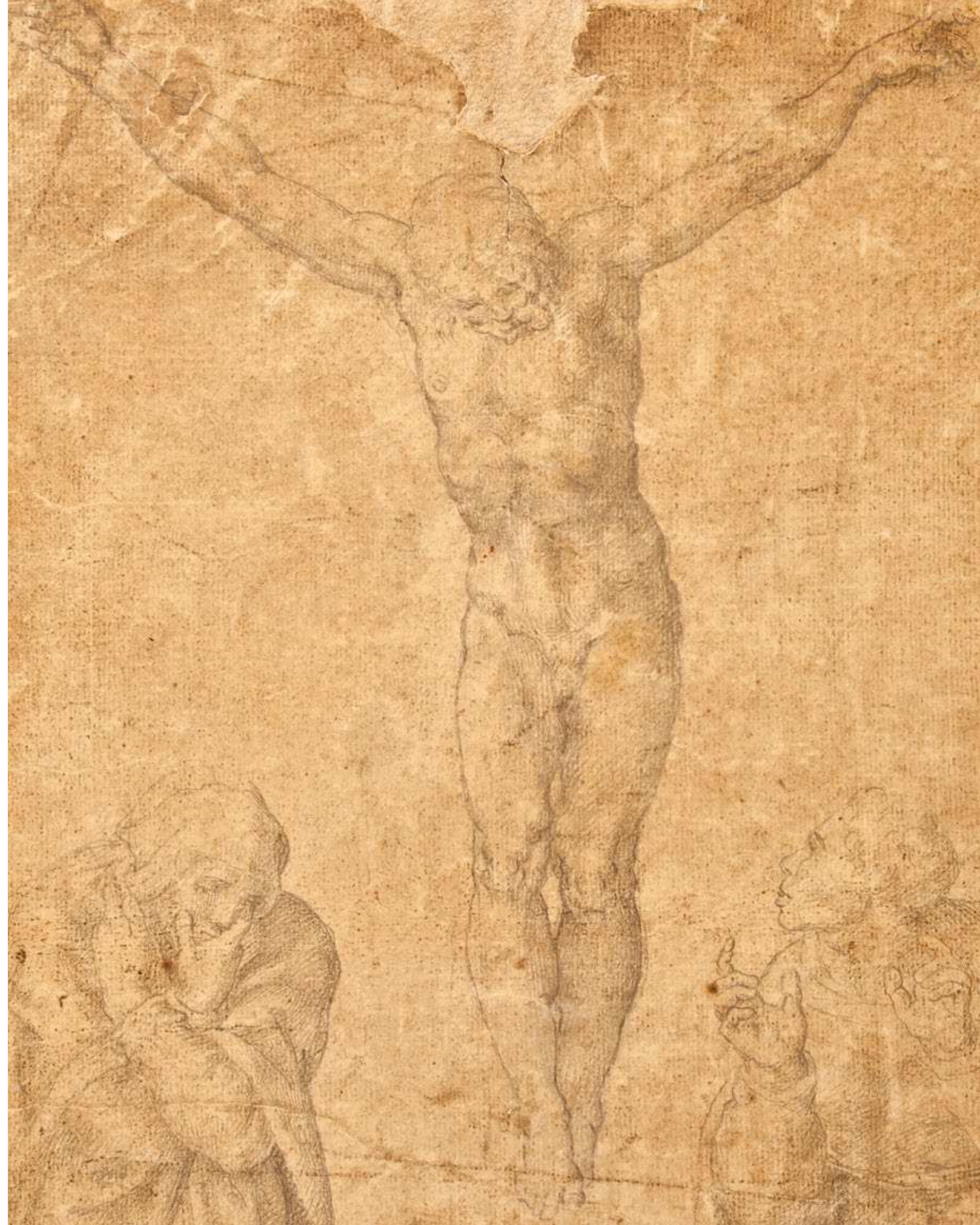
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*Enbíes tu graçia e acreçientes sus virtudes.*

## Female power, virtue, and the *Querelle des femmes* in Constanza de Castilla's tomb

DIANA LUCIA GÓMEZ-CHACÓN



Fig. 1 / Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

Despite its historical and artistic significance, the female Dominican convent of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, founded in 1219, was demolished in 1869.<sup>1</sup> Some of the works of art it contained, such as the so-called *Madona de Madrid*, are now housed in a new convent constructed on the site of the old one, while other objects – including the tomb of its prioress, Constanza de Castilla, originally located in the conventual choir (fig. 1) – were transferred to the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid. In the present paper I will briefly examine Constanza's priorate, with a special focus on the privileges she enjoyed thanks to her royal lineage, as well as her artistic and pioneering spiritual, political and social interests. All were partly expressed in her exceptional sepulchre, worthy of a wise woman ahead of her time.

### SISTER CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA, AN UNCONVENTIONAL PRIORESS

Constanza de Castilla (before 1405-1478) was granddaughter of the deposed King Peter I of Castile (1350-1369) and Juana de Castro. She is first recorded in 1416 under the protection of Queen Catherine of Lancaster (1373-1418), her beloved cousin, for whose soul she prays in her *Book of Devotions* (*Devocionario*), written between 1465 and 1478.<sup>2</sup> Although she is likely to have tried first to enter the Dominican convent of Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo, she would ultimately move to Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. This decision, which caused a thirty-year legal battle with the Toledan convent, was probably motivated by both family strategy and Sister Constanza's desire to be near Catherine of Lancaster and her cousin's son, King John II of Castile (1406-1454).<sup>3</sup>

In 1416, probably soon after her arrival in Madrid, Constanza de Castilla is documented as prioress of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid.<sup>4</sup> She remained in that position for fifty years, a long period of time during which the conventual Chapter's decision-making power is likely to have been reduced to a minimum.<sup>5</sup> In 1444, she also eliminated the figure of the prior, a position held since the foundation of the female branch of the Order of Saint Dominic by a Dominican friar, whose main responsibility was the *cura monialium*, the nuns' spiritual well-being. Constanza and her sisters no longer needed a prior, as the prioress had obtained, for herself and for the rest of the sisters, the licence to appoint their own confessors as well as the convent's estate manager. Although a prior was again elected in Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid in 1474, only 10 years after the end of Constanza de Castilla's priorate, his power was no doubt significantly diminished.<sup>6</sup>

Under Sister Constanza's administration, the Madrid convent experienced progressive gentrification and privatization, with the admission and religious profession of several women who were members of powerful Castilian lineages, such as the Villena-Lunas, the Mendozas and, especially, the Castillas.<sup>7</sup> Throughout her long tenure as prioress, Constanza de Castilla not only renewed Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid's religious community, but also remodelled the architectural complex, paying particular attention to her own rooms.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that these architectural changes were carried out to cope with the increase in size of the religious community as well as reflecting the prioress's desire to dignify the building.

Constanza's quarters, located above the wine cellar, included a private portal, a cloister, a kitchen and a garden.<sup>9</sup>

Her expenditure was so great that the prioress was subject to an audit instigated by the archbishopric of Toledo, but, as on other occasions, Constanza was protected by the Crown. The inspection was immediately frustrated in 1454 by Lope de Barrientos, royal confessor, bishop of Cuenca, auditor of the Royal Audience, member of the Royal Council, High Chancellor of Prince Henry and former prior of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid,<sup>10</sup> who duly approved Constanza's major financial expenditures.<sup>11</sup> As a consequence, the Madrid convent obtained independence from Toledo's archbishop.<sup>12</sup>

The first concessions granted to Constanza de Castilla date from 1419, indicating that she enjoyed a privileged position from the beginning of her priorate.<sup>13</sup> Throughout her tenure Sister Constanza was for example exempted from any ecclesiastical sentence and even excommunication.<sup>14</sup> She was also permitted to build her own palace inside the enclosure, hear Mass from her room, choose her confessor, leave the convent whenever she needed or wanted to, and she had at her service three *dueñas* (María González, Isabel Rodríguez and Catalina de Castilla), two laywomen and a nun (*clériga*), who were excused from obligations of the Order of Friars Preachers. She also had a personal servant (Juana Martínez), a chaplain (Juan de Iniesta), and other servants that lived above her quarters. She enjoyed lunch in her own room, accompanied by three or four other nuns (*dueñas*); she used linen sheets and clothes; she did not wear the veil as it bothered her; her family members could visit her freely; her female relatives (*parientas*), even those who were pregnant, could eat or sleep in her chamber; her letters could not be intercepted; and she was excused from attending choir, refectory and sleeping in the dormitory.<sup>15</sup>

The private institution that Constanza de Castilla created at the convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid enabled her to promote her own lineage. Her main concerns were to recover and legitimize King Peter I of Castile's legacy,<sup>16</sup> and to establish the prestige of the Castilla family in the Castilian kingdom.<sup>17</sup> Constanza thus ordered a family pantheon to be built in the main chapel of the Dominican church,<sup>18</sup> construction of which was completed in 1444.<sup>19</sup> In 1446, she obtained authorization from John II to transfer to the convent the remains of her father (the *infante* Juan), of three of her brothers who died during childhood,<sup>20</sup> and of her grandfather, Peter I of Castile who was until then interred in oblivion in Puebla de Alcocer (Badajoz).<sup>21</sup> This initiative was interpreted as the definitive reconciliation between the Trastámara and *petrista* branches of the ruling house of Castile.<sup>22</sup> Desire for political reconciliation may have motivated the exceptional double patronage of the royal chapel; so although John II founded the chapel – in response to his aunt's "contemplation and constant supplication,"<sup>23</sup> so that its officials would pray for his relatives' souls<sup>24</sup> – and financed the construction of the tombs,<sup>25</sup> Constanza de Castilla was appointed as the chapel's patron.<sup>26</sup> She was, thus, responsible for choosing the chapel's officials,<sup>27</sup> and she wrote the chapel's second, and definitive, constitution, dated 5 November 1464.<sup>28</sup>

#### CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA'S TOMB

The extraordinary simplicity of the tombs of several Castilian Dominican prioresses belonging to the female branch of the Order of Preachers reveals the exceptionality of Constanza's sepulchre.<sup>29</sup> The choir of the convent of Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo houses the body of Teresa de Ayala, prioress between 1403 and 1424, who chose a humble tombstone as her funerary monument.<sup>30</sup> The remains of Sister Leonor de Castilla, who is documented as the prioress of the convent of Sancti Spiritus in Toro (Zamora), also rest under a tombstone in the nuns' choir.



Fig. 2 / C. Pizarro and E. Ancelet, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, Madrid, *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, 1875.

Constanza de Castilla also located her tomb in her convent's choir. However, in an apparent break with Dominican practices, she did not opt for a simple tombstone. On the contrary, Constanza chose a monumental alabaster tomb, which was placed in an arcosolium. This decision, which may have been motivated by the prioress's desire to leave behind an idealized image of herself, would serve as the model for the rest of the nuns over the course of centuries. At the same time, the coat of arms of the Castilla lineage and her epitaph (fig. 2) reminded beholders of Constanza's royal ancestry:

Here lies buried / the very noble and  
very religious lady / doña Constanza  
de Castilla / daughter of the *infante* don  
Juan / granddaughter of King Pedro  
/ She was a nun in this house / and  
prioress for many years / She died in  
1478.<sup>31</sup>

The idealized, recumbent statue of Constanza with her eyes closed, slightly larger than life-size, is mourned and guarded by two praying female figures without veils (figs. 3 & 4). Constanza is dressed in the Dominican habit and wears a rosary around her neck. She also holds a closed book (19.6 x 15 x 4.5 cm), kept inside a chemise binding, which has been identified both as the Order's constitutional document and her own book of devotions.<sup>32</sup> It could not, however, be the latter because, as Ángela Franco Mata has indicated, Constanza's book (11.7 x 11.3 cm) is much smaller than the one represented on her tomb.<sup>33</sup> The tomb base is decorated with the coat of arms of the Castilla lineage,<sup>34</sup> held by two angels and flanked by the allegorical figures of four virtues (two on each side): *Prudence*, identified by an inscription beneath; *Faith*, who carries a Cross; *Hope*, who looks out expectantly, with the palm of her right hand raised,<sup>35</sup> and *Temperance*, pouring water into wine (figs. 5-8).<sup>36</sup>



Figs. 3 and 4 / Unveiled praying female figures, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 5 / Prudence, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

Fig. 7 / Hope, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 6 / Faith, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

Fig. 8 / Temperance, Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



According to Ángela Franco Mata, the prioress's tomb was most likely built between 1490 and 1500, that is to say, after Constanza de Castilla's death.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, José María Azcárate attributed the tomb to the school of Egas Cueman, linking it to the sepulchre of Inés de Ayala (died 1453), currently located in the main chapel of the church of Santa Isabel in Toledo.<sup>38</sup> This hypothesis has also been supported by Sonia Morales Cano.<sup>39</sup>

It should be remembered, as noted above, that Constanza de Castilla promoted the foundation of a royal chapel in Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid where the tomb of Peter I of Castile was originally located. His praying effigy is currently preserved next to his granddaughter's tomb in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid (fig. 9). This funerary sculpture has been dated to 1446, 1504 and more broadly, to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, as David Chao Castro and David Nogales Rincón have pointed out, the funerary sculpture of Peter I was likely executed between 1446 and 1464:<sup>40</sup> in the royal chapel's constitution, Constanza de Castilla indicates that she paid for both the transfer of her grandfather's remains and the creation of his funerary monument. Peter I of Castile's effigy must therefore have been finished by 1464.<sup>41</sup>

For this reason, it would not be farfetched to think that Constanza de Castilla perhaps commissioned her own tomb once this funerary effigy was completed, that is to say, between 1464 and her death in 1478. Indeed, as María del Pilar Rábade Obradó has noted, in 1464 Constanza de Castilla seemed to fear the proximity of her own death, perhaps due to ill health, as in that year she not only finished writing the constitutional document of her convent's royal chapel, but retired from the position of prioress after a fifty-year tenure, keeping herself discreetly in the background from that moment onwards.<sup>42</sup>

The iconographic layout of Constanza de Castilla's sepulchre is similar to that of the tomb of the

Condestable de Castilla, Álvaro de Luna, in the chapel of Saint James in the Toledo Cathedral, dated around 1489 and made by "Sebastián de Toledo, entallador de ymaginería". Furthermore, the tombs of Álvaro de Luna, Constanza de Castilla and Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña have been related, from a stylistic point of view, to the workshop of this Sebastián de Toledo.<sup>43</sup> However, while various scholars identify Sebastián de Almonacid as a sculptor trained in Egas Cueman's workshop, according to others, Sebastián de Toledo and Sebastián de Almonacid were two different people. A precise and complete catalogue of works by Sebastián de Toledo and/or Sebastián de Almonacid awaits publication.<sup>44</sup>

In the *Condestable's* tomb, Álvaro de Luna's coats of arms are also flanked by allegorical representations of virtues, replaced by apostles on his second wife's tomb, a detail to which I will return later. Matilde Miquel Juan and Olga Pérez Monzón have noted traces of simulated brocade fabric under Álvaro de Luna's recumbent statue, no doubt specified by his daughter, María de Luna, who commissioned her parents' tombs. According to the above-mentioned authors, this textile element would have simulated the lit de parade commonly used in funeral ceremonies.<sup>45</sup> Curiously, this same textile detail is present in Constanza de Castilla's tomb (fig. 10). It may, therefore, be that the inferior quality of Sister Constanza's sepulchre is due to the fact that it was one of the first tombs made by Sebastián de Toledo, repeated and improved upon in future works.

#### CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA, A WOMAN, AND YET VIRTUOUS

Manuel Núñez Rodríguez has interpreted the inclusion of four virtues in the iconography of Constanza's tomb as a panegyric to her moral perfection in the battle against death, as well as a summary of the Order of Preachers' spiritual aspirations.<sup>46</sup> As I will argue below, however, these sculpted allegories may in fact relate to Constanza's gender (figs. 5-8).



Fig. 9 / Effigy of King Peter I of Castile, 1446-1464, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 10 / Effigy of Constanza de Castilla (detail), Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

It was not unusual in Castile, during the second half of the fifteenth century, for sepulchres and other monuments to be decorated with these allegories.<sup>47</sup> Representations of virtues were carved on the tombs of John II of Castile and his second wife, Elisabeth of Portugal, in the charterhouse of Miraflores outside Burgos (1489-1493); on the tomb of Álvaro de Luna in the chapel of Saint James in Toledo Cathedral (1489); and on the tomb of Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, in the Magistral of Alcalá de Henares (1482-1489).<sup>48</sup>

A comparison of these sepulchres and that of Constanza de Castilla demonstrates, once more, the singularity of the prioress's tomb, which was probably sculpted between 1464 and 1478, in other words before the others. This fact once more highlights the pioneering nature of her monument, and reflects the ambitions of a powerful royal abbess such as Constanza de Castilla.

The royal sepulchre of Miraflores was conceived to contain the remains of John II and his second wife. The virtues that decorate the sepulchre refer to both sovereigns as representatives of royal power, and not Elisabeth of Portugal per se. With regard to the tombs of Álvaro de Luna and Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, it should be noted that both belong to men. Indeed, as has already been indicated, the sepulchre of Álvaro de Luna's second wife, Juana Pimentel, located next to that of her husband, features a similar decorative scheme, but on this occasion the virtues have been replaced by eight apostles.<sup>49</sup> The sepulchre of Constanza de Castilla was possibly one of the first female Castilian tombs decorated with virtues, an iconographic and literary theme that seems to have originally been mainly masculine.<sup>50</sup> This would not have posed a major problem to Sister Constanza when designing her tomb's iconography. In fact, she may have been encouraged by the discourse of certain Castilian courtesan writers<sup>51</sup> who, during the mid-fifteenth century, defended female virtue, in contrast to others whose message was misogynistic.<sup>52</sup>

Two of these treatises in defence of women were written by Álvaro de Luna and Diego de Valera, both clearly influenced by Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (ca. 1361),<sup>53</sup> in which women are considered virtuous when behaving as men.<sup>54</sup> This should come as no surprise: in several letters, Saint Catherine of Siena, whom Constanza de Castilla mentions in her *Book of Devotions*,<sup>55</sup> recommends that her recipients aspire to the same ideals of love of God and virtues as men.<sup>56</sup>

In his *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres* (1446) Álvaro de Luna is unequivocal in his defence of gender equality: "as for virtue and the goal for which they are raised, men as well as women, are both equal."<sup>57</sup> The *Condestable* says that he wrote this because "it seemed inhuman that so many works of virtue and examples of kindness found in women's lineage were silenced and buried in the darkness of oblivion."<sup>58</sup> Diego de Valera, who dedicated his *Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mugeres* (ca. 1444) to Mary of Aragon (died 1445), the first wife of John II of Castile,<sup>59</sup> states that virtue is practiced "by both women and men."<sup>60</sup> Likewise, Brother Martín de Córdoba, in his *Jardín de nobles doncellas* (1467-1476), claims that the pain he feels because of Prince Alphonse's premature death is eased when he contemplates his sister Elisabeth's flourishing virtues.<sup>61</sup>

Constanza's sepulchre could thus be seen as an artistic expression of the so-called *Querelle des femmes*, which has been described as "the vehicle through which most early feminist thinking evolved."<sup>62</sup> This debate was carried on mostly by "the female members of a distinctively modern, literate class,"<sup>63</sup> a class to which Constanza de Castilla and her noble sisters belonged. As María del Mar Graña Cid has claimed, it is important to highlight the existence of a "feminine Humanism" at the end of the Middle Ages, promoted by privileged and literate women who became involved in the creation of important literary and artistic works.<sup>64</sup>

Female monasteries and convents, such as Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, would have offered an ideal architectural and spiritual environment for the establishment and development of this new intellectual trend, which continued into the Renaissance period.

Constanza de Castilla has thus been compared to other late-medieval/early modern female religious writers in this current of “feminine Humanism”, who seem to have followed in Christine de Pizan’s (died ca. 1430) footsteps, such as Sister Teresa de Cartagena (1425-?), and, especially, Sister Isabel de Villena (died 1490),<sup>65</sup> with whom Constanza de Castilla had many things in common. Both Teresa de Cartagena and Isabel de Villena shared family ties with the Trastámara dynasty, and therefore became the monarchs’ *protégées*. Considered two of the most important Hispanic female writers of the second half of the fifteenth century, both showed a special interest in artistic patronage and were responsible for major building renovations at their respective convents.<sup>66</sup>

Most likely due to a lack of space, Sister Constanza de Castilla was forced to choose just four of the seven virtues to decorate her tomb. *Faith* and *Hope* flank the Castilla coat of arms, while *Prudence* and *Temperance* are relegated to the corners at the tomb base. In her *Book of Devotions*, Sister Constanza implores Christ: “Give me hope fulfilled in You so that I die confessing Your Faith;”<sup>67</sup> a few lines later she continues: “Oh, Holy Cross, for You I beg mercy from He who was crucified on You, so that He may give You to me as a shield between me and my enemies at the time of my death, when they will try to accuse me of faults and take with them my soul to where there is no redemption.”<sup>68</sup>

*Prudence* and *Temperance*, as cardinal virtues, decorate the corners whereas the front is reserved for theological virtues. In his *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1475-1476), Diego

de Valera defines cardinal virtues, “as the door or entrance for all the others.”<sup>69</sup> Thus, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón refers to the cardinal virtues when defending women. In his *Triunfo de las donas* (1439-1441), he claims that while women embody *Prudence* and *Temperance* – precisely the two cardinal virtues that Constanza included in her tomb’s decoration – men embody capital vices such as greed and envy.<sup>70</sup> Aristotle considered *Prudence* to be an intellectual virtue, obtained through study; hence, its presence on Sister Constanza’s sepulchre presents her as a wise and learned woman. The demand for women’s education was one of the main pillars of the *Querelle des femmes*.<sup>71</sup> In her *Admiración operum Dey* (ca. 1478), Teresa de Cartagena alludes to the expectations raised by the writers.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, during the second half of the fifteenth century, *Temperance*, fostered by mendicant orders, was intimately linked to *Observance*, representing the renunciation of earthly pleasures and the moderate use of speech.<sup>73</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Constanza de Castilla seems to have been a woman ahead of her time, harbouring devotional, intellectual, social and political interests that had been reserved, until then, for men. Thanks to her status as a royal *protégée* she occupied a privileged position inside the convent, and this allowed her to remain in her priorate for fifty long years and to enjoy unprecedented freedom for a cloistered, contemplative nun.

With the commission of her own tomb, originally located in the convents’ choir, reserved for the nuns, Constanza de Castilla bequeathed an important and timeless message to her sisters in religion. Constanza is represented lying on her lit de parade, shrouded in the Dominican habit in which she was probably buried. The base of her tomb is decorated with the coat of arms of the Castilla family, to which she belonged, as well four virtues, iconography generally reserved for men. The presence of these four allegories



Fig. 11 / Effigy of Constanza de Castilla (detail), Tomb of Constanza de Castilla, 1464-1478, marble, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.

transformed Constanza’s sepulchre into a statement of intent, asserting the virtuous condition of women at a time when equality between men and women was a matter of debate in Castilian courtesan environments. Indeed, her *Book of Devotions*, shows special concern for the nuns’ virtues rather than for the health of their souls. She even implores Christ: “I beg you to send your grace to all of the nuns in this convent, and to increase their virtues.”<sup>74</sup> After all, virtues would equate them with men and would, therefore, make them wise, independent, and, finally, free to make their own decisions.

## NOTES

- This paper is published in the framework of the research project “HAR2017-82170-P Promoción artística y cultura cortesana en Castilla durante los reinados de Juan II y Enrique IV (1405-1474)”. Juan Ramón Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. Ordenación económica de un señorío conventual durante la baja edad media (1219-1530)* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 2007), p. 172.
- Luis Alonso Getino, “Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad,” *Ciencia Tomista* 59 (1919): pp. 131-132; Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, “El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla. Su valor memorial y su función anagógica,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 245 (1989): p. 47; Ángela Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Catálogo de la escultura gótica* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura. Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1993), p. 109; Ángela Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e intenciones de mujeres en la vida religiosa de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Dirección General de la Mujer, 1995), p. 127; Ronald E. Surtz, “Las oras de los clavos de Constanza de Castilla,” in *Caballeros, monjas y maestros en la Edad Media. Actas de las V Jornadas Medievales*, eds. Lillian von der Walde Moheno, Concepción Company Company, and Aurelio González (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), p. 158; Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions. Libro de Devociones y Oficios*, ed. Constance L. Wilkins (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), p. 31; María Estela González de Fauve and Isabel J. Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos como estrategia de recuperación del poder de los descendientes de Pedro I de Castilla,” *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001): p. 244; María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política: las constituciones de la capilla de Pedro I en Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid (1464),” *En la España Medieval* 26 (2003): p. 230; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 124; María del Mar Cortés Timoner, ed., *Constanza de Castilla. Selección de textos del Devocionario de sor Constanza de Castilla* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2015), p. 42.
- Muñoz Fernández, *Acciones e intenciones de mujeres*, p. 127.
- Alonso Getino, “Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad,” pp. 130-131; Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, p. 109; González de Fauve and Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos,” p. 244; Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” p. 230; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 118, 201, and 337.
- A similar situation took place during the priories of other powerful nuns, such as Sisters Sol (1247, 1249, 1252, 1256 and 1263), Leocadia (1266, 1272, 1273, 1283, 1284, 1285 and 1287), Urraca Díaz (1294 and 1297), and Sister Urraca Sánchez (1363): Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 117, 120, and 121.
- Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 122 and 258.
- Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 112, 120, 124-125, and 437.
- González de Fauve and Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos,” p. 245; Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 230-231.
- Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 167, 253, and 491.
- Constanza de Castilla and Lope de Barrientos were old acquaintances, as Brother Lope had been prior of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid in 1431, during Constanza’s priorate: Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 128.
- Alonso Getino, “Centenario y Cartulario de nuestra Comunidad,” p. 137; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 167 and 256.
- Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 256.
- Núñez Rodríguez, “El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla,” p. 130.
- Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, p. 122.
- González de Fauve and Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religioso,” p. 244; Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” p. 230; Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, pp. 123-124; David Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía castellano-leonesa: la capilla real (1252-1504)” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009) II, p. 1484.
- “Evidentemente, la decisión de instalar la sepultura de Pedro I en la capilla mayor de la iglesia del convento respondía al deseo de la priora de reivindicar la memoria de su abuelo, estaba claramente imbricada en la estrategia de recuperación del prestigio del linaje, algo que tal vez solo era posible si los restos de Pedro I eran ubicados en un lugar adecuado, donde pudieran realizarse los ritos necesarios para garantizar la salvación de su alma, pero también donde pudiera mantenerse viva su memoria; una memoria desprovista de las connotaciones negativas de antaño, gracias a las nuevas circunstancias propiciadas por la entronización de Juan II, por cuyas venas, al fin y al cabo, también corría la sangre del desafortunado soberano. Así, y gracias a la capilla funeraria impulsada por su nieta, Pedro I se hacía otra vez presente entre los vivos, y esa presencia, de alguna forma, contribuía a consolidar la situación de aquellos de sus descendientes que, a través del apellido Castilla, se empeñaban en alcanzar la posición que crecían merecer en función del linaje de que procedían”: Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 232-233.
- González de Fauve and Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos,” p. 245; Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, pp. 1549-1552; Covadonga Valdaliso Casanova, “La problemática de la autoría femenina en la Edad Media: una lectura política en la Castilla de la primera mitad del siglo XV,” in *Las mujeres en la Edad Media*, eds. M<sup>a</sup> Isabel del Val Valdivieso, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Murcia-Lorca: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales-Editum, 2013), pp. 383-391, p. 387.
- “Que la dicha capilla del dicho señor Rey don Pedro fuese servida contynua e perpetuamente en el dicho monesterio de Santo Domingo el Real de la dicha villa de Madrid, en el altar mayor del dicho monesterio, donde están puestos e sepultados los huesos del dicho señor Rey don Pedro, ençima de los quales está la su imagen e vulto de alabastro”: Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” p. 248.
- Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, pp. 1487 and 1488.
- González de Fauve and Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos,” p. 245; Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, pp. 1485-1486 and 1492.
- “Señores capellán mayor e capellanes, asy rreligiosos e clérigos, ya sabédes commo la muerte es general. Yo espero salir de esta presente vida quando a nuestro señor plaserá. Conosçiendo que soy grand pecadora, e syn virtudes e syn meritos, yo vos pido de mucha gracia que por rreverencia de nuestro señor, des que sea mi fyn, ayades memoria de los trabajo e gastos que yo he pasado, ansy en faser esas pocas guarniçiones de ornamentos que pertenesçen al servicio de la dicha capilla, e ganar el previlleçion, el más fuerte que yo pude, lo qual todo con buena voluntad lo pongo en vuestras manos, e por vuestra propia virtud vos plega de aver memoria de mi ánima e de las ánimas de mi señor mi padre e de mi señora mi madre en vuestros sacrificiõs, lo qual dexo a vuestra ordenança”: Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 232 and 260; Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, pp. 1482, 1484-1485, and 1511-1514; David Chao Castro, “La estatua sepulcral de Pedro I: ¿la importación de un modelo transpirenaico?,” in *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media*, eds. Concepción Cosmen Alonso, María Victoria Herráez Ortega, and María Pellón Gómez-Calcerrada (Leon: Universidad de León, 2009), pp. 104-105.
- The *petristas* were the partisans of King Peter I of Castile, even after his death: Núñez Rodríguez, “El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla,” p. 50; González de Fauve and Las Heras, “Los cargos eclesiásticos y religiosos,” p. 245; Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” p. 229; Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, p. 1553.
- Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 234 and 247: “*contemplacion e ynstante suplicacion.*”
- Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 241 and 247: “por las ánimas del dicho señor Rey don Pedro, e suya, e de la señora Reyna doña Catalina, su madre, e de la señora Reyna Doña María, su muger.”
- Gaspar Barreiros, *Corografía de algunos lugares, in Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal. Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, ed. José García Mercadal, 6 vols. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999), II, p. 154; Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, p. 1489.
- “E después del finamiento del dicho señor Rey don Juan, el muy alto, e muy poderoso, e muy exçelente, triunfante e virtuoso señor Rey don Enrrique, terçero [sic], su fijo, a ynstança e devota suplicación de la dicha señora priora, patrona de la dicha capilla”: Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 247, 248, 255, and 259. As David Nogales Rincón has pointed out, “posiblemente el cargo de patrona efectiva que doña Constanza de Castilla tenía respecto de la capilla habría que ponerlo más en relación con la personalidad emprendedora de la priora y las demandas que esta realiza a los reyes que con las excepcionales circunstancias de su fundación o con la condición de doña Constanza como nieta de Pedro I”: Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, pp. 1514-1516.
- “Bien sabedes commo yo tengo liçençia e facultad del dicho señor Rey, que está asentada en sus libros de lo salvado, para que yo pueda nombrar e elegir, e nombre e elija, para en la capilla del señor Rey don Pedro, que santa gloria aya, que es en el dicho monesterio, un capellán mayor, e otros tres capellanes, e dos guardas, e un sacristán, e que el dicho capellán, e capellanes, e guardas, e sacristán que yo asý eligiere e nonbrare, guarden e fagan guardar todo lo que yo ordenare, e mandare, e dexare ordenado para después de mis días, so las penas contenidas en la ordenança e constituçion que yo dexare fecha e estableçida”: María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” p. 246.
- María del Pilar Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” pp. 233 and 238; Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, p. 1513.
- “Doña Constanza lograría conformar una verdadera capilla funeraria dinástica para los Castilla, reivindicativa incluso de su propia ascendencia leonesa-castellana en cuanto al papel desempeñado por infantas-prioras en la fundación, mantenimiento y cuidado de capillas regias ubicadas en sus monasterios y conventos. Estos y otros parámetros [...] tuvieron asimismo que condicionar, necesariamente, el soberbio sepulcro de la propia priora doña Constanza, sin parangón en la Castilla del momento para una mujer de su condición”: Chao Castro, “*La estatua sepulcral de Pedro I,*” p. 107.
- Verardo García Rey, “La famosa priora doña Teresa de Ayala (su correspondencia íntima con los monarcas de su tiempo),” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 96 (1930): pp. 693 and 710; Sonia Morales Cano, “La escultura funeraria gótica en la provincia de Toledo,” *Anales de Historia del Arte* (extraordinary volume 2011): p. 356.
- “AQUÍ YACE SEPULTADA / LA MUI NOBLE Y MUI RELIGIOSA SEÑORA / DOÑA CONSTANZA DE CASTILLA / HIJA DEL INFANTE DON JUAN/NIETA DEL REY DON PEDRO / FUE MONJA PROFESA DE ESTA CASA/I PRIORA EN ELLA MUCHOS AÑOS / MURIÓ AÑO DE CUATROCIENTOS Y SETENTA Y OCHO”: Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, p. 111.
- Núñez Rodríguez, “El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla,” pp. 56, and 58-59; Rubén Espada, *Sepulcro de Constanza de Castilla* (Madrid: Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 2010), p. 1.
- Espada, *Sepulcro de Constanza*, p. 1.
- “De gules de sinople y de plata terciado en banda con un filete en lo alto de la misma, engolada en dos cabezas de dragón de oro movientes en los ángulos y acompañada de jefe de castillo de los mimos, donjonado, adjurado de azur y en punta de un león de púrpura”: Ángela Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Catálogo de la escultura gótica*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura. Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1993), p. 110.
- Carlos Miranda García has highlighted the singularity of this image: “siguiendo un modelo poco frecuente, como es representar la Virtud con los ojos muy abiertos, anhelantes, y mostrando la palma de su mano derecha hacia abajo”. This same iconography is found in the sixteenth-century tombs of Martín García and María Rodríguez; Carlos Miranda García, “Las virtudes en la escultura castellana del siglo XV. Iconografía y focos de influencia,” *Antiquaria. Antigüedades, arte y coleccionismo* 62 (1989): p. 34 and n. 6.
- Núñez Rodríguez, “El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla,” p. 51.
- Franco Mata, *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, p. 109.
- José María Azcárate, Manuel Fernández Álvarez, and Antonio López Gómez, *Castilla-La Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1982), I, p. 1888.
- Sonia Morales Cano, *Moradas para la eternidad. La escultura funeraria gótica toledana* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2012), pp. 122-123; Sonia Morales Cano, *Escultura funeraria gótica. Castilla-La Mancha* (Madrid: Sílex, 2017), p. 163. According to Teresa Pérez Higuera, the two praying figures in Constanza de Castilla’s tomb would be similar to the two missing angels from the sepulchre of Bishop Gonzalo de Illescas, in the cloister of the monastery of Guadalupe (Cáceres), completed in 1460: Teresa Pérez Higuera, “El foco toledano y su entorno,” in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil Siloe y la Escultura de su época, Burgos 13-16 octubre de 1999* (Burgos: Caja de Burgos, Universidad de Burgos, 2001), pp. 263-286, 264 and 266.
- Chao Castro, “La estatua sepulcral de Pedro I,” p. 112. Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, p. 1494.
- Nogales Rincón, “La representación religiosa de la monarquía,” II, pp. 1493-1496.
- “Es muy significativo que se promulgaran ya avanzado el año 1464 [las constituciones de la capilla real], pues unos meses después Constanza dejó de ser la priora del convento, pasando a un discreto segundo plano, situación en la que permaneció hasta su fallecimiento, unos años después. Es como si, presintiendo una muerte ya no muy lejana, la anciana priora pretendiera atar todos los cabos de una fundación en la que había puesto un gran empeño”: Rábade Obradó, “Religiosidad y memoria política,” p. 234.
- Juan Nicolau Castro, “Las tumbas de don García Osorio y doña María de Perea procedentes de la desaparecida iglesia de San Pedro de Ocaña y conservadas en el Victoria and Albert Museum de Londres,” in *Libro homenaje a Rafael Sancho de San Román* (Toledo: Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, 2006), pp. 264-265; Morales Cano, *Símbolos, formas y espacio de la escultura gótica funeraria en Castilla-La Mancha. Toledo*, 2 vols. (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010), I, p. 225.
- Patrick Lenaghan, “Commemorating a Real Bastard: the Chapel of Alvaro de Luna,” in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, eds. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 129-153, p. 130; Teresa Pérez Higuera, “El foco toledano y su entorno,” pp. 282- 283. For a brief approach to the discussion regarding the identity of Sebastián de Toledo/Sebastián de Almonacid see Javier Martínez de Aguirre, “La obra del escultor Sebastián de Almonacid en Sevilla (1509-1510),” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 58 (1992): pp. 315-317.
- Matilde Miquel Juaces and Olga Pérez Monzón, “Entre imaginaria, brocados, colores, pinceles y el arte nuevo. Patronato artístico femenino de María de Luna y la memoria paterna,” *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d’études hispaniques médiévales et modernes* 24 (2016): p. 24.
- Núñez Rodríguez, “El sepulcro de doña Constanza de Castilla,” p. 51.
- Miranda García, “Las virtudes en la escultura castellana del siglo XV. Iconografía y focos de influencia,” pp. 32-36.
- García, “Las virtudes en la escultura castellana,” p. 32.
- Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *La nobleza ante el rey. Los grandes linajes castellanos y el arte en el siglo XV* (Madrid: El Viso, 2003), pp. 134-135; Morales Cano, *Moradas para la eternidad*, p. 72.
- “Los denigradores del sexo femenino contaban con el respaldo del magisterio teológico; entre los Padres de la Iglesia, figuras como Ambrosio y Jerónimo habían considerado que todas las virtudes asociadas con la salvación...eran característicamente masculinas”: Mercedes Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales en el *Triunfo de las donas* de Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (I)”, in *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (A Coruña, 18-22 de septiembre de 2001)*, eds. Mercedes Pampín Barral and Carmen Parrilla García, 3 vols. (La Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2005), III, p. 267.

51. “En el debate que se estaba produciendo en la corte de Juan II de Castilla el concepto de la mujer incluía la virtud entre las categorías que la definían”: Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales,” p. 265.
52. Diana Pelaz Flores, “A la más virtuosa de las mujeres.” La reina María de Aragón (1420-1445) como impulsora de las letras en la Corona de Castilla,” *Hispania* LXXIV 247 (2014): pp. 336-337; Ana Vargas Martínez, *La Querrela de las Mujeres. Tratados hispánicos en defensa de las mujeres (siglo XV)* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2016), pp. 68-75, 247-254.
53. Fernando Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. III. Los orígenes del Humanismo. El marco cultural de Enrique III y Juan II* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), p. 3221; Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, “Autoglosa: Diego de Valera y su ‘Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mujeres’,” *Romance philology* LXI 1 (2007): p. 28.
54. Erica N. Maier, *Los tratados en defensa de las mujeres virtuosas en la Castilla medieval: textos y contextos* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia, 2002), p. 29.
55. Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 7.
56. Javier Sesé, “El ideal femenino en las cartas de santa Catalina de Siena,” *Anuario Filosófico* 26 (1993): pp. 639, 646.
57. “quanto a la virtud e al fin porque son criados, así el varón como la muger, amos a dos son yguales,” Álvaro de Luna, *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*, ed. Manuel Castillo (Madrid-Toledo: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Rafael G. Menor, 1908), preámbulo III, p. 25; Álvaro de Luna, *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres*, ed. Julio Vélez-Sainz (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), preámbulo III, p. 150.
58. “inhumana cosa nos pareció de sufrir que tantas obras de virtud e enxemplos de bondad fallados en el linage de las mugeres fuesen callados é enterrados en las oscuras tiniebras de olvidança,” Luna, *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*, p. 20; Luna, *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mugeres*, ed. Vélez-Sainz, proemio, p. 138; Vargas Martínez, *La Querrelas de las Mujeres*, pp. 140-145.
59. Diego de Valera, *Tratado en Defensa de las Virtuosas Mujeres* (Madrid: El Archipiélago, 1983), p. 49; Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. III*, pp. 3220, 3222, 3256; Eric Bousmar, “Le ‘Triunfo de las donas’ et la cour de Bourgogne (1460). Contexte et réception d’une traduction,” in *Diplomates, voyageurs, artistes, marchands entre pays bourguignons et Espagne aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: Publications du Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes XIVe-XVIe siècle, 2010), p. 33; Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, “Autoglosa,” p. 28; Ana Vargas Martínez, “Sobre los discursos políticos a favor de las mujeres (El Triunfo de las donas de Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara),” *Arenal* 20 (2013): pp. 266, 270-275.
60. “por las mugeres como por los varones,” Valera, *Tratado en Defensa de las Virtuosas Mujeres*, p. 53.
61. Alfredo Alvar, “La educación de Isabel la Católica,” *Torre de los Lujanes. Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* 48 (2002): p. 227; Vargas Martínez, *La Querrela de las Mujeres*, pp. 158, 161 and 163.
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66. “It was Villena in fact who transformed the Holy Trinity into the bright gem of late Gothic architecture that it is today”: Rosanna Cantavella, “Intellectual, Contemplative, Administrator: Isabel de Villena and the Vindication of Women,” in *A Companion to Spanish Women’s Studies*, ed. Xon de Ros & Geraldine Hazbun (Woodbridge: Tamesis Books, 2011), p. 99.
67. “e me des esperança en ti cumplida por que yo muera confesando tu fe,” Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 28.
68. “O cruz santa, por ti pido merçed a Aquel que en ti fue crucificado que te me dé a la ora de mi muerte por escudo entre mí e mis enemigos quando afincadamente acusarán mis culpas e querrán rebatar mi ánima por me levar consigo adonde no ay redempción,” Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 29.
69. “porta o entrada para todas las otras,” Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas,” p. 267.
70. Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas,” pp. 267, 272; Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, *Triunfo de las donas / The Triumph of Ladies*, ed. Emily C. Francomano (New York: The University of Iowa Libraries, 2016), pp. 50, 60; Vargas Martínez, “Sobre los discursos políticos a favor de las mujeres,” p. 275; Vargas Martínez, *La Querrela de las mujeres*, pp. 128-129.
71. Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas,” p. 273; Susan G. Bell, “Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): pp. 173-184; Vargas Martínez, “Sobre los discursos políticos a favor de las mujeres,” pp. 281-282; Vargas Martínez, *La Querrela de las Mujeres*, pp. 267-283.
72. “Asý que, muy venturosa señora, no me parece c’ay otra causa deste maravilllar que los prudentes varones se maravillan [...]: no ser vsado en el estado fimíneo este acto de conponer libros e tractados, ca todas las cosas nuevas o no acostumbradas syenpre causan admiración”: Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas,” p. 274, n. 35; Mónica Bolufer and Montserrat Cabré, “La querelle des femmes en Espagne: bilan sur l’histoire d’un débat (1400-1800),” in *Revisiter la «querelle des femmes». Discours sur l’égalité/inégalité des sexes en Europe, de 1400 aux lendemains de la Révolution*, ed. Arnel Dubois-Nayt, Marie-Élisabeth Henneau, and Rotraud von Kullessa

(Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2015), p. 36; Vargas Martínez, *La Querrela de las Mujeres*, p. 169.

73. Pampín Barral, “Las virtudes cardinales en el Triunfo de las donas,” p. 278.
74. “Te suplico que embies tu gracia sobre todas las dueñas de este monesterio, e acrecientes sus virtudes,” Constanza de Castilla, *Book of Devotions*, p. 35; Cortés Timoner, *Constanza de Castilla*, p. 113.

