

A Woman's Agency Reflected in Objects:  
A Donor Profile of Queen Sancha of Castile y León

by

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## ABSTRACT

The Iberian Queen Sancha (r.1037-1065), of the kingdom of León and Castile has received minimal attention from scholars. As the last Leonese heir, Sancha had the sole responsibility of ensuring that imperial traditions of patronage never waned. Her acts of giving and the commissioning of objects have been attributed by (male) scholars as an obligation to legitimize her husband, Fernando I of Castile. Persuasive evidence found in documents suggests that her involvement in donation transactions was predicated on more than formality. My thesis argues that Sancha used the act of giving, the act of commissioning objects, language in documents, and the powerful institution of the *infantazgo*, to assert an agency identical to her male predecessors to gain political influence. Creating a “donor profile” of Sancha that examines the total of her donating practices enables the exploration of her conscious and unconscious motives for donation. My investigation into these acts supports a new theory that the building construction projects of Sancha and Fernando I began at the beginning of their reign rather than after 1053 as is currently believed. As the first woman to use the titles *regine emperatriz* and *regina totius Hispaniae*, Queen Sancha did more than just legitimize her husband, she built a legacy that established a new female center of power in León that endured until the thirteenth century.

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## INTRODUCTION

King Fernando I and Queen Sancha ascended to the throne of the newly formed Kingdom of Castile and León in the early eleventh century. Medieval chroniclers credited Sancha with “persuading” Fernando to establish a necropolis to house the remains of the royal family and initiating the creation of two manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> Sancha’s “persuasion” to build a royal necropolis should not be overlooked as its importance demonstrates her involvement in the eleventh-century building projects that resulted in the palace-monastery-complex known today as the Basilica of San Isidoro. Sancha, like many female patrons of the Middle Ages, did more than commission and donate objects. In an article about patronage, Corine Schleif stated that patrons did more than just commission and donate objects but instead “...worshiped God, venerated saints, performed good works, provided goods and services, established memorials for themselves and their kin...” by bequeathing numerous objects, monies and lands to various monasteries, churches, and clerical persons.<sup>2</sup> As such each of Sancha’s numerous donations and commissioning acts reflect her intention to worship God, venerate saints, perform good

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid. Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 9. Barton and Fletcher discuss how the *Historia Silense* was written to chronicle Alfonso VI, Sancha’s son, which is used to explain her absence, however, the thirteenth-century author praises Fernando I for establishing the Leonese dynasty. Also see John Wreglesworth, “Sallust, Solomon and the *Historia Silense*,” in *From Orosius to the “Historia Silense.” Four Essays on Late Antique and Early Medieval Historiography of the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. David Hook (Bristol: University of Bristol), 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Corine Schleif, “Seeking Patronage: Patrons and Matrons in Language, Art, and Historiography,” in *Patronage. Power and Agency in Medieval Art*, Colum Hourihane (Index of Christian Art Department of Art and Archaeology and Penn State University Press. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 210.



works, in the hopes of securing salvation for herself, and her family and otherwise promoting her city: León. However, much of Sancha's contributions were ascribed a lesser role, in the rewriting of historical chronicles to build a patriarchal-focused history of eleventh century León. Sancha's only worthy acts recorded in the thirteenth-century copy of the *Historia Silense* are her "persuasion" to build a royal necropolis, being a pious and dutiful wife and mother, and the request that Fernando bring Saint Justa to León. It is not that these actions are small feats but rather limit our understanding of the authority and power Sancha commanded during her reign. Unlike Fernando, who is praised for his many victories over the Almoravids, Sancha is relegated to a minor role in the history of León. Because surviving chronicles such as the *Historia Silense*, which was originally written as a biography of her son, Alfonso VI, historians have overlooked Sancha's role in the development and continuing of royal Leonese culture.<sup>3</sup> Sancha presided over land disputes between clerics and monasteries, participated in the Council of Coyanza in 1050 and other royal duties not normally associated with the queen.<sup>4</sup> However, because so much attention is focused on Fernando and his military exploits, Sancha's contributions were excluded in Lucas de Tuy's thirteenth century's crafting of

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<sup>3</sup> Susan Havens Caldwell, *Queen Sancha's "Persuasion": A Regenerated León Symbolized in San Isidoro's Pantheon and its Treasuries*. (Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Binghamton University) 2000, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León en el siglo XI: estudio del reinado de Fernando I* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999), 196. Candeira references a document that celebrated the confirmation of Fernando and Sancha's rule at the end of Council of Coyanza in 1050.

Leonese history.<sup>5</sup> Yet, she is the key figure that elevates the Basilica of San Isidoro and León to prominence in the eleventh century.

Sancha's exclusion from the larger historical story has left her gifts and donations overlooked by the patriarchal hegemony of historical writers. Gifts attributed to Sancha include: land donations that were recorded as either gifts *pro anima* or gifts *pro remedio*, that is donations of land or monasteries made in exchange for prayers of forgiveness for the donors ongoing sins or for the donor's souls' acceptance into heaven; donated monasteries included their lands, immunities, buildings, people, saints' relics, altars, altar accoutrements, and furnishings; a Book of Hours, four three-piece frontals altar with gold, emeralds and sapphires and other jewels, three gold crowns, an ivory cross, reliquaries for Saint John the Baptist, Saint Pelayo, and Saint Isidore, three gold veils, chasubles made with gold thread, and other non-specified altar accoutrements.<sup>6</sup>

It should be noted that not all land and monastery donations were purely gifts *pro anima* or gifts *pro remedio*. Occasionally, the gifts were given for services rendered or political support, but used the donation system to hide the true meaning of the gift. An example of such disguised feudalism occurs in a document dated November 21, 1058 which tells that Sancha and Fernando gave land, called Planctata near the banks of the Pisuerga and Respeidena, to the Countess Guntina, Doña Mumadonna and their nephew

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<sup>5</sup> García M. Colombás, *San Pelayo de León y Santa María de Carbajal: Biografía de una comunidad femenina*, León, Spain: Monasterio de Santa María de Carbajal, 1982, 23.

<sup>6</sup> María Encarnación Martín López, *Documentos de los Siglos X-XIII* (Leon, Spain: Universidad de León, 1995), 27. Arnold Angenendt, "Donationes pro anima: Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 135. It is possible that the four three-piece altar pieces are the ivory pieces currently in the St. Petersburg collection.

Felipe for their constant loyalty and service to the monarchy.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, there is no research into who the Countess Guntina, Doña Mumadonna and their nephew Felipe were or why their loyalty required such a large gift. If we consider the date of the document, November 21, 1058, which was only a few years after Fernando's victory over the Almoravids in 1055, it is possible Countess Guntina, Doña Mumadonna and their nephew Felipe aided Fernando during his campaigns against the Almoravids.<sup>8</sup> Thus the gift becomes a way for the giver to repay a debt or give a reward for services rendered. Sancha and Fernando made many of these types of gifts to monasteries, churches and nobles. The gifts gave prestige to the receiver, such as Countess Guntina, Doña Mumadonna and their nephew Felipe, because they were now associated with the ruler, as well as aiding the rulers, such as Sancha and Fernando, to piously reward friends and nobles. Nonetheless, the document demonstrates that large amounts of land were given as gifts, as a way of demonstrating gratitude.

Gifts *pro anima or pro remedio* are "...an act of redemption. Its purpose is to set in motion the mechanisms and actors that guarantee the donor a place in heaven."<sup>9</sup>

Another way of saying this is that a donor gave something to a monastery or church in exchange for prayers for the donor and/or their relatives. These gifts were necessary for

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<sup>7</sup> Pilar Blanco Lozano, *Coleccion Diplomatica de Fernando I (1037-1065)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Invesitgación "San Isidoro" (CSIC-CECEL), Archivo Historico Diocesano, 1987), 143-144.

<sup>8</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 46. Mumadonna was Fernando's mother, however, further research into this document is necessary to determine if this is his family or another Doña Mumadonna.

<sup>9</sup> Eliana Magnani S.-Christen, "Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift *pro anima* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, eds. Gadi Algazi, and Valentin Groebner, Bernhard Jussen (Göttingen: Vandenhock & Ruprecht, 2003), 273.

cleric and monastic survival as the land or items donated enabled each to remain outside and away from society. The gifts also left the clerics, monks and nuns time to offer prayers on behalf of their benefactors. The system stems from "...Christian conception that almsgiving eliminates sin."<sup>10</sup> In her article "Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift *pro anima* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," Eliana Magnani S.-Christen uses the example of the tenth century Galician Queen Godo, wife of King Sancho Ordóñez of Galicia to explain how the gift *pro anima* secured salvation for both the living and the dead. After King Sancho Ordóñez died, Queen Godo entered the convent of Castrelo del Miño. While she was praying at an altar her husband appeared before her with two demons and told her that her prayers were helping him. She immediately began fasting, crying, and giving alms. Forty days after the initial vision, King Sancho Ordóñez appeared before her again, this time wearing white and carrying a fur-lined coat that Godo had previously donated on behalf of her husband. King Sancho Ordóñez thanked his wife for freeing him from the demons.<sup>11</sup> This story validates the belief that the combined acts of prayers, fasting and gifts given to God and his servants saved King Sancho Ordóñez from hell and gave his soul a life in heaven. Queen Godo's acts as a nun transformed the donations into gifts *pro anima* as they functioned to give King Sancho Ordóñez the gift of his soul. An example of Sancha giving a *pro anima* gift is a 1040

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<sup>10</sup> Arnold Angenendt, "Donations *pro anima*" 135.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. For more information on the vision of Queen Godo see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Visiones del Más Allá en Galicia durante la Alta Edad Media*, (Santiago de Compostela: Bibliofilos Gallegos: Biblioteca de Galicia 24, 1985).

donation to the bishop and church Santa María and San Cipriano in León.<sup>12</sup> Sancha gives several monasteries to the bishop for the redemption of her soul. Throughout the document, she is described as a sinner “*peccatrix*” and “*ancilla Christi*” Christ’s hand maiden. Because this donation was made a few years after Sancha and Fernando ascended the throne, it is possible she felt guilt or sorrow for the death of her brother Vermudo III. It is possible that this gift was to help Sancha deal with the fact that Fernando killed Vermudo III in battle. From these examples, we see that gift giving played an important role in maintaining relationships, securing power and assuring heavenly rewards.

For this paper, I have chosen to include the gifts listed in the 1063 document that recorded the translation and dedication for the Basilica of San Isidoro. This is because prior to his marriage to Sancha there are no documents for Fernando that show a predilection for donating objects.<sup>13</sup> Rather it seems Fernando followed in his father’s footsteps and only donated land and monasteries throughout his lifetime. Some of these gifts were feudal exchanges, however, others were made specifically for the souls of Fernando and his family. Though we cannot know how involved Fernando may have been in the commissioning of the objects donated in 1063, it is most probable that Sancha

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<sup>12</sup> Jose Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León IV (1032-1109)*, (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro” (CSIC-CECEL), Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, Archivo Historico Diocesano, 1987), 145-146.

<sup>13</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 109. Joaquín Yarza, *Arte y Arquitectura en España 500-1250*, (Madrid: Cátedra, 1979), 165.

initiated and oversaw the productions of these objects, as she did with the manuscripts attributed to both her and Fernando.

### *DONOR PROFILE*

In the financial world, a donor profile is used to describe a donor's interest, proclivities and the potential monetary donations of a donor. In developing this idea for medieval donors, like Sancha, I propose that a donor profile be adapted to mean the total of the various aspects of a person's donation and gift-giving practices. Such an application would allow for the exploration of the conscious and unconscious motives of a donor. This approach utilizes the majority of gifts given or donated to analyze the predilections, motivations and values of a donor over time. In applying this to medieval donors, rather than speculate about their potential donations or interest, we must explore the variety of reasons that they gave gifts. In doing so, new associations can be made that connect the donor to other gifts, objects and historical events. Moreover, we can use the phrases and passages placed in documents to explain possible motives of the donor. The donor profile seeks to understand the donor not just by the objects they gave, but by the language recorded in charters and other legal documents that describe their acts of giving, what was given, and how it benefitted both the patron and beneficiary. Because medieval monarchs made numerous donations throughout their reigns, the acts of giving, when studied together constructs a chronological memory. Studying their acts of giving in the sequential order that they occurred, we can construct a narrative of occurrences that offer

potential motives of the donor. Since the first act of giving establishes a pattern which becomes the model for all subsequent gifts or donations to follow, then each bestowment builds upon the last while remaining attached to the first.

In the case of Queen Sancha, how are the objects she commissioned, and lands and monasteries she donated connected to each other beyond their association to her? Sancha's first appearance in any document came from a donation, shortly after her birth, made by her parents, on her behalf, to the monastery of San Esteban de Piavela.<sup>14</sup> This act established the foundation for Sancha's future gifts, because it included her mother Queen Elvira Menéndez.<sup>15</sup> It is believed that prior to this donation only the king's unmarried sisters or *infantas* appeared in important documents, rather than queens.<sup>16</sup> The inclusion of *infantas* stems from their control of the *infantazgo* or royal female inheritance institution. This institution gave *infantas* considerable amounts of power by creating a type of trust out of royally founded monastic communities and allowing the *infanta* to oversee all the coenobitic properties, specifically the land and finances of the assigned monastery or monasteries to her. As such any gift made, to any monastery within the *infantazgo*, required the involvement and approval of an *infanta*.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 48. Also See Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de Compostela: Tome II Sec. IX-XI for further discussions of Sancha's early life*.

<sup>15</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 49.

<sup>16</sup> Susan Havens Caldwell, "The King's Virgin Sister as Religious Advisor and Patron of Art in Tenth-Century Leon, Spain." In the session "Medieval Queenship: Royal Women as Regents" in a Presentation at 28<sup>th</sup> International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 6-9, 1993. Caldwell, "Queen Sancha," 25. See footnote 95.

<sup>17</sup> Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 31.

Furthermore *infantas* could make a gift or donation of any part or all of a given monastery on behalf of themselves or their family, to the monastery of the *infantas* choice. As queen, Elvira, would have been the ranking female, at the time of Sancha's birth and there were no other *infantas*, she was the only person who could employ the *infantazgo* to make such a gift.<sup>18</sup> The inclusion of Sancha's mother, Queen Elvira in the actual document establishes that she is in control of the *infantazgo*. Furthermore, Queen Elvira's appearance in Sancha's first donation set a precedent Sancha would continue throughout her life; that is Sancha made sure her name was included in much of the donation and charter documents produced throughout her reign. As such, this irrevocably linked Sancha's "first" donation as an *infanta* (princess) to her last as *reina* (queen), as well as inaugurating the tradition of *reinas* inclusion in varying documents associated with the *infantazgo*.

However, the question remains: Can a discussion be built from objects varying in material, usage and time? How does the Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I, today bearing the shelf-number MS14-2 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, connect to the palace-monastery complex that later became the Basilica of San Isidoro? The obvious physical differences being laid aside; these two important donations are closely related. First, Sancha and Fernando appropriated the usage of the Beatus from a manuscript intended for reading practice for monks and made it their personal reading book.<sup>19</sup> Spelled within

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<sup>18</sup> Simon Barton, "Marriage Across Frontiers: Sexual Mixing, Power and Identity in Medieval Iberia," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3, no. 1 (2011): 8. Barton's article includes a discussion about Sancha's aunt Teresa who was forced to marry a "pagan king of Toledo" by Alfonso V, Sancha's father.

<sup>19</sup> O.K. Werckmeister, "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscript and the Liturgy of Death," in *Actas del Simposio para el Estudio de los Códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana* (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1980), 171.



the Acrostic of the Beatus is the phrase “*FREDENANDUS REX DEI GRA MRA L SANCIA REGINA MRA LIBRI*” which scholars believe hints at the possibility that the Beatus was commissioned with a secondary purpose of being a gift (Figure 1). This idea comes from the meaning of the letters “*MRA*” being an *exlibris* for *memoria*.<sup>20</sup> Similarly Fernando and Sancha transformed the double monastic community dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo into their palace monastery complex. Moreover, they translated Saint Isidore to the double monastery which aggrandized the monastic community, while establishing a center of power for Sancha and Fernando. Both the Beatus and the monasteries share an appropriation by Sancha and Fernando in which their original use and understanding is manipulated to further royal propagandistic needs. In other words, the Beatus and monasteries became symbols of their patrons underlying desire to present a pious image of themselves, which added of the Beatus and monasteries implied purpose which was to support clerical communities’ religious lifestyle.

Though not listed in the 1063 translation and rededication document that records the translation of Saint Isidore to León, the Beatus is believed to have been part of this donation because it eventually was housed in the basilica. However, the Basilica and Beatus share a genesis that began with Sancha’s desire to establish a strong Leonese dynasty. The last page of the Beatus credits Fernando and Sancha with its creation, just as the *Historia Silense* relates the story that Sancha “persuaded” Fernando to build a royal necropolis in León. Despite the evidence that they share credit for each of these gifts, early historians have credited Fernando solely with the initiation of the Beatus. The same was done with the basilica, despite evidence that Sancha was involved with the initiation

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 171. Werckmeister states that Manuel Díaz y Díaz mentioned this idea during a conference.

and oversight of both projects. Though it can be argued that finances from Fernando's military victories enabled the production of such items, which by proxy makes him a "creator," however, this is not the same as initiating the project and then donating the final object to a monastic community.<sup>21</sup> The involvement required to oversee a project, select various details, such as which prayers to include in a Book of Hours, directly connects the person to the object. In the case of the Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I and the Basilica of San Isidoro Sancha originated, provided the financial means through the manipulation of the *infantazgo*, and then orchestrated giving both as gifts to the double monastic community at the Basilica of San Isidoro. By examining the relationships between unlike objects, coupled with the differing types of donation documents new discourses about the objects, decorative programs, historical events and the donors themselves emerge.

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<sup>21</sup> John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27, 1/2: (1988): 93-101.

## *Thesis Statement*

Today scholars are beginning to focus on Sancha and the objects she donated as part of a revival of interest in medieval Iberian art history. Scholars focus on either the individual objects or the materiality of a group of objects. However, these objects were neither made nor given separately. The donation document of 1063 includes many of Sancha's donated gifts which were to be viewed and understood together creating one narrative. For this reason, I have chosen to look at the donations made throughout her reign (r. 1037-1063). The years before her marriage have been excluded because prior to becoming queen Sancha is not associated with donations or commissions of objects.<sup>22</sup> During this period, documents show Sancha purchased land in her own right or made donations of land to monasteries and convents. An example is a series of documents dated July 1030, in the *Archival Collection of the Cathedral of León*, which show that Sancha bought a vineyard from García in León, in an area called Valdevimbre near Villaseca.<sup>23</sup> In another document on the same day, Vermudo III's wife Jimena, named only *regina* in the document, permitted Sancha to add the vineyard she purchased from García, with one located near Benzaolve.<sup>24</sup> Surviving documents show that Sancha was

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<sup>22</sup> Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de Compostela: Tome II Sec. IX-XI*. Santiago: Imprenta del Seminario conciliar central, 1898, 451.

<sup>23</sup> Jose Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León III (986-1031)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro" (CSIC-CECEL), Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1987, 486. Sancha gave a countergift of a prized cow and mare to confirm the transaction.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 487. Sancha gave a countergift to the queen to confirm the transaction.

involved in complicated land exchange transactions instead of commissioning of objects. Similarly, the years after Fernando's death have been excluded as Iberian tradition stated that the widow of the king was to either enter a convent or become a lay-abbess, at a convent within her *infantazgo*. Chronicles support the idea that Sancha followed this tradition and entered the convent of Saint Pelayo, which was now adjacent to the palace.<sup>25</sup>

The objects credited to Sancha include: The Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I (MS14-2 Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid) (Figure 2); Sancha and Fernando I Book of Hours or Diurnal now in the library of the University of Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609) (Figure 3); and Sancha's prayerbook (BU MS 2668) now at the University of Salamanca; and the numerous items listed in the 1063 document that records the translation of Saint Isidore to the basilica that now bears his name. Unfortunately, many of the 1063 objects donated to the Basilica of San Isidoro have not survived. From this momentous donation, I have selected the Reliquaries of San Pelayo and Saint John the Baptist (Figure 5) and the Reliquary of Saint Isidore (Figure 4) to show a correlation between the Beatus of Sancha and Fernando and these objects.

Sancha's first donated object came in 1047 when she commissioned a manuscript for her and Fernando's personal use. The Beatus of Sancha and Fernando has been well studied by numerous Iberian scholars. There are two major arguments associated with the manuscript. One is that it is the first Romanesque-styled Beatus in Iberia. The other seeks

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<sup>25</sup> Rose Walker, "Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial in Northern Spain, c. 950-c.1250," in van Houts, Elisabeth, ed. *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*. New York, NY: Pearson Education Ltd, 2001, 155.

to prove the “myth” that Fernando commissioned the Beatus to revive early Leonese traditions of giving manuscripts to the royal monastery that housed the royal library. The tradition of Leonese kings commissioning a Beatus extends back to the kingdom of Asturias, the predecessor to the kingdom of León.<sup>26</sup> The Beatus of Sancha and Fernando is believed to be the only known copy to be created specifically for personal use rather than for a monastery or convent. For this paper, I will argue that the Beatus was commissioned by Sancha rather than Fernando by connecting the Beatus to the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 and Sancha’s ancestors.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1055 and 1059, Sancha commissioned two prayerbooks, one for herself and the other for Fernando. Sancha and Fernando I Book of Hours or Diurnal (BU MS 609) and Sancha’s personal prayerbook (BU MS 2668) were made with the specific purpose of being used in conjunction with each other during liturgical services. It is believed that Fernando’s was placed upon the lectern and read aloud because of its size (31 x 20 cm) and illuminations, while Sancha’s was made with the express purpose to allow Sancha to follow along with the readings from the Book of Hours or Diurnal on the lectern.<sup>28</sup> It is believed that Sancha presented Fernando the Diurnal after a military victory in 1055.<sup>29</sup> The acts of giving and receiving will be discussed to explain the significance of this manuscript. The exploration of the relationship between giver and

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<sup>26</sup> John Williams, *The Art of Medieval Spain*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 289-290.

<sup>27</sup> Werckmeister, “The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscript,” 172.

<sup>28</sup> Lucy K. Pick, “Liturgical Renewal in Two Eleventh-Century Royal Spanish Prayerbooks,” *Traditio*, 66, (2011): 30.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, 38.

receiver suggests that Sancha considered herself an equal to Fernando rather than his subordinate. This claim is supported by the presentation page within the Diurnal.

The largest acts of giving attributed to Sancha is the translation of saints' relics, which were used as gifts to various bishops and monasteries. The two that will be discussed in this thesis is the 1053 donation of Saint Pelayo to the cathedral of Oviedo and 1063 translation of Saint Isidore. Though the documents that recorded each donation is purposely ambiguous as to whether an entire saint or a relic was translated, they do offer evidence of how the giving of saints' relics could be used to reward clergy and monasteries for loyalty and service. What differentiates these saintly gifts is Sancha's manipulation of the *infantazgo* to present the saints' relics or remains as donations. The inclusion of these two donations will be used as examples, to further the discourse of Sancha as the initiator of donations, during her and Fernando's reign.

In considering objects for this thesis, I decided not to include the eleventh-century palace monastery complex built by Sancha and Fernando. The reason is that the Basilica of San Isidoro underwent regular construction initiated by their granddaughter, Queen Urraca, in the twelfth century a building process which was continued for several centuries. All these projects resulted in the amalgamation of the current building, which has little traces of Sancha and Fernando's great architectural achievement. Furthermore, as the purpose of this thesis is to look specifically at Sancha's donations which include: monasteries, land, altars, chasubles, chalices, manuscripts, reliquaries, relics, ivory plaques, three golden crowns, an ivory processional cross, and many other liturgical furnishings for the basilica. Many of these items have been discussed with a bias that

favors Fernando and excludes Sancha's contributions. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the objects that have survived and reflect her direct involvement by commissioning and initiating the objects.

The aforementioned objects will substantiate the argument that Sancha used her various types of donations to introduce a new Leonese dynastic identity. Various concerns will be examined from the act of giving to the biblical decorative programs used to explain each object's direct connection to Sancha and her eleventh-century Iberian world. In doing so, we will see how Queen Sancha employed all available institutions and resources to found a dynasty in which her female progeny would be empowered to continue her Leonese traditions, *ad infinitum*.

### *Literature Review*

The research for this thesis began with the enormous task of untangling Sancha's life from her male counterparts. To add to this dilemma is the speculation that many of the eleventh-century documents have been falsified in order to create a history that promoted and supported thirteenth century political ideals.<sup>30</sup> For example scholars believe that some of the documents from the Cathedral of Oviedo, were rewritten under the direction of thirteenth-century Bishop Pelayo, and that during the copying process the

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<sup>30</sup> Leticia Agúndez San Miguel, "Escritura, Memoria y Conflicto Entre el Monasterio de Sahagún y la Catedral de León: Nuevas Perspectivas para el Aprovechamiento de los Falsos Documentales (Siglos X a XII)" *Medievalismo: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 19: (2009): 261.

documents were edited to add prestige to the cathedral.<sup>31</sup> Further complicating the matter is the fact that the primary chronicle of recorded accounts and events for eleventh-century León is the *Historia Silense*.<sup>32</sup> It is believed that the original *Historia Silense*, named after the monastery in Silos where it is believed to have been written, was composed by a monk but never completed.<sup>33</sup> The purpose of the *Historia Silense* was not to offer a complete narrative of the eleventh-century monarchs but rather to account for Sancha's youngest son, Alfonso VI's reign. Unfortunately, because it was never completed and the only surviving copy is from the fifteenth century scholars debate its accuracy of event. However, John Wreglesworth contends that not all the *Historia Silense* is fabricated but rather the information has been rearranged for storytelling purposes to create a thirteenth-century perspective of the eleventh century events. Since the question of forged documents centers around those produced in León, I broadened my search to incorporate examples from monasteries, cathedrals and churches throughout the kingdom of León and Castile.

The documents for this paper are published Latin transcriptions of actual legal and royal transactions. These recorded acts describe the gifts as either *pro anima* and/or *pro remedio* meaning that each act of giving was an exchange of an object, land, monastery, immunity or reaffirmation of previous arrangements for continual prayers for Sancha and the royal family, both living and dead. Other documents include the

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<sup>31</sup> Blanco Lozano, *Coleccion Diplomatica de Fernando I (1037-1065)*, 52-56.

<sup>32</sup> John Wreglesworth, "Sallust, Solomon and the *Historia Silense*," in *From Orosius to the "Historia Silense," Four Essays on Late Antique and Early Medieval Historiography of the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. David Hook (Bristol: University of Bristol. 2005), 97.

<sup>33</sup> Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, 9.



translations of saints' relics and saint remains. Some are complete and list the witnesses and signatures given, while others only reproduced the main text from the document. Eduardo de Hinojosa's compilation *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla: siglos X-XIII* contains various documents of Leonese kings that recorded transactions at court. Maria Encarnación Martín López's published a book of all of the royal documents produced at the Basilica of San Isidoro in the book *Documentos de los siglos X-XIII*. Lopez Ferreiro's tome *Historia de Compostela* includes legal transactions recorded at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. While Alfonso Sánchez Candeira's *Castilla y León en el siglo XI: estudio del reinado de Fernando I*, traces Fernando's life and includes summaries of charters and documents written during Sancha's and Fernando's lives. The cartularies for the monasteries of San Pelayo de Oviedo, San Pelayo y Vega de Oviedo, the Cathedral of León, San Vicente de Oviedo, San Millán de la Cogolla, and Domingo de Silos have been consulted for additional records. Since cartularies are a collection of charters and title deeds kept by each individual monastery these sources offer complete accounts of what was the purpose of the transaction. Finally, Enrique Flórez's *España Sagrada* completes the available sources for documents that include Sancha. However, the summaries found in the cartularies were misleading. For example, the 1053 document that includes a *pro remedio* gift of relic fragments of Saint Pelayo, by Fernando and Sancha, to the Cathedral of Oviedo. The summary does not include the fact that the relics came from a monastery owned by Queen Velasquita, an ex-queen married to Sancha's grandfather, who died in 1032.<sup>34</sup> This type of summarization rewrites history to exclude and obscure our

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<sup>34</sup>Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, "La reina Velasquita de León y su descendencia," *Hispania*, 40 (1950), 450.

understandings of the historical events of the eleventh century. Because the summary ignores important facts, this document and others are overlooked in discussing the eleventh century.

The history of the eleventh-century Kingdom of León has been well researched throughout the centuries by early scholars including Manuel Risco, to modern academics like Ramon Menendez Pidal, Julio Perez Llamazares, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Bernard F. Reilly, C.J. Bishko, and Antonio Viñayo González. Additionally, I have incorporated the historical works of Peter Linehan, and Julio Valdeon. The many articles and books these scholars have written offer in-depth understanding of medieval León.

Respectively, their books cover historical events, liturgical practices, family lineages and other topics germane to the life of Fernando. Most scholars include a small chapter dedicated to Sancha but focus on her gifts to Fernando and the building projects that resulted in the construction of the Basilica of San Isidoro.<sup>35</sup> Since their focus is on explaining Fernando their perspective is that all documents and events that include Sancha are explained to magnify Fernando and diminish Sancha's role as queen. In their examinations of the 1063 translation and rededication document for the Basilica of San Isidoro, none of the scholars previously cited emphasize Sancha's statement or curse at the end of the charter nor allude to her involvement in procuring the many relics for the basilica. This continual neglect of Sancha's involvement in historical books only

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<sup>35</sup> Antonio Viñayo González, *Fernando I, el Magno: 1035-1065* (Burgos, Spain: Editorial la Olmeda, 1999), 65-68. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El Imperio Hispanico y los Cinco Reinos: Dos Épocas en la Estructura Política de España* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), 90-92. Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla*, 39-56.

propagates the “myth” that she did not contribute or participate in proceedings and decisions concerning the kingdom.

The works of Susan Havens Caldwell offer discussions about Sancha and interpretations of female patronage in the tenth and eleventh-century. Ann Boylan’s, Rose Walker’s and John Williams’s works expressly offer information about the manuscripts Sancha commissioned and Leonese manuscript illumination. Recent articles by Lucy Pick explain the liturgical uses of Sancha and Fernando I’s Book of Hours (BU MS 609) and Sancha’s prayerbook (BU MS 2668). Pick argues that Sancha is the initiator of the two manuscripts and selected their contents which means Sancha is possibly responsible for introducing the Roman liturgy into León.<sup>36</sup>

Emphasized throughout this thesis will be the arguments of female patronage during the Middle Ages. Essays from Madeline Caviness, Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, Joan Ferrante and Miriam Shades will provide explanations of Sancha’s choice for specific decorative programs, donations and employment of female agency. Moreover, their articles speak to how the act of donating objects became an authoritative instrument for medieval women to employ and assert their agency. Since the methods women used to assert power followed the traditions and customs of their male counterparts such as the donating of objects, initiating, and overseeing the production of objects, as well as supplying the financing funding, is confirmation that medieval woman participated in every stage and act of patronage.

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<sup>36</sup> Lucy Pick, “Rethinking Cluny in Spain,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2013): 1.

Female patronage is predicated upon the acts of giving that offer financial, religious or other forms of support. The support that was offered usually was recorded as a gift *pro anima* and *pro remedio*. Additionally, these acts underscore Sancha's conscious and unconscious decisions in her selection of decorative programs and religious iconography. Essays written by Corine Schleif and Eliana Magnani S.-Christen will explain the concepts of *pro anima* donations, and gifts of "prestation." Supporting these concepts is Bruno Latour's "actor network theory" which works to establish multiple networks between objects and various people, ideas, places, and historical events. Latour contends that the more networks created for an "actor" or object increase its' agency. By connecting Sancha to the manuscripts and reliquaries builds new understanding and agency for both the objects and Sancha. Together the aforementioned scholarly works will create a full donor profile of Sancha that explains her role in eleventh century León.

## CHAPTER 2: REAFFIRMATION OF THE LEONESE DYNASTY

It can be argued that in 1047 Sancha commissioned two manuscripts, the *Beatus* of Sancha and Fernando I and The *Etymologies* of Saint Isidore. The *Beatus* of Fernando and Sancha is a commentary on the apocalypse that includes the biblical books of Daniel and Revelations. The *Beatus* features full-page illuminations that depict specific scenes described by the text. As previously mentioned its acrostic page features the phrase “*FREDENANDUS REX DEI GRA MRA L SANCIA REGINA MRA LIBRI.*” The *exlibris* (folio 316) states that the book was commissioned by Fernando and Sancha, as well as names the scribe as Facundus. Scholarly works on the *Beatus* have examined everything about its contents, the style of the illumination as well as whether it marks the entrance of the Romanesque style into Iberia.<sup>37</sup>

Like the *Beatus*, the *Etymologies* of Saint Isidore was commissioned by Sancha for her eldest son, Sancho. It contains two acrostics with the words “*SANCIO ET SANCIA LIBRO*” spelled out in each.<sup>38</sup> Scholars of the *Etymologies* believe that the two acrostics signify that the book was commissioned specifically for Sancho’s education.<sup>39</sup> The *Etymologies* feature few illuminations aside from the two acrostics and a folio with an

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<sup>37</sup> For More Information about these arguments see: Sánchez Mariana, and Yarza, *El Beato de Liébana; O.K. Werckmeister*, “The First *Beatus* Manuscript and the Liturgy of Death”; John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994).

<sup>38</sup> Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, “El mundo para una reina: los “mappaemundi” de Sancha de León (1013-1067),” *Anales de Historia del Arte*, Extraordinario, (2010): 319.

<sup>39</sup> Mariana Sánchez Manuel and Joaquín Yarza, *El Beato de Liébana: Codice de Fernando I y Doña Sancha* (Barcelona: Moleiro, 1994), 91.

illumination showing a large cross. An interesting illumination within the book is a *mappae mundi* (fol. 177v).<sup>40</sup> In an article, Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez compares the *mappae mundi* in the *Beatus* and *Etymologies* noting that both maps ignore the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula. She attributes this to an anti-Islamic attitude that will be discussed a little later. Nonetheless, these two manuscripts share one other commonality, other than the *mappae mundi* that being that they were both commissioned by Sancha for her male family members. Despite this fact her connections to these books have been diminished and used to support “myths” that these books were commissioned to only legitimize Fernando as the rightful ruler of León.

Current scholarly arguments have constructed the idea that the manuscripts were created to legitimize Fernando by establishing a link to Sancha’s Leonese bloodline. However, the lineage of *Beatus* manuscripts and historical facts suggest that Sancha had other intentions. It was not only Fernando she was trying to indoctrinate into her royal lineage but her children, who were born and began life in Castile. Finally, she was protecting royal Leonese patronage practices, as well as assert that she controlled the palatine *infantazgo*. I have selected the word indoctrinate over legitimize because Fernando gained legitimization through his marriage to Sancha and acts of reconfirming immunities. Her children were legitimate by birth, however, they lacked knowledge of royal Leonese traditions. As will be argued Sancha commissioned these manuscripts not to legitimize but rather assimilate her family into a new royal culture that did not exist in Castile.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

As both books are based upon Isidorian teachings we must understand their histories before discussing their symbolic usage. The history of Beatus' begins in the early days of the Leonese kingdom. During the kingdom of Astur-León, the first *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was written by an Asturian monk named Beatus of Liebana in 776.<sup>41</sup> Beatus originally intended that the book be used "...for the edification of the brethren," meaning it was written specifically for monks.<sup>42</sup> Beatus based his work and commentary upon the theological writings of Isidore of Seville.<sup>43</sup> John Williams states that Beatus used his manuscript to support the Adoptionist controversy that divided the Iberian church in the late eighth century.<sup>44</sup> The Adoptionist controversy debated whether Jesus Christ was human due to his "adoption" through Mary and Joseph or that Jesus Christ was divine and in human form. Isidore and Beatus supported the argument that Jesus Christ was a divinity in human form. Beatus included many passages copied verbatim from Isidore's *Contra Iudaeos*, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* and *De Officiis* to dispute the Archbishop of Toledo, Elipandus, and his support of Jesus Christ as human through adoption.<sup>45</sup> Scholars noticed that Beatus used Isidore's *Monastic Rules* by incorporating simplified language to assist readers comprehension, making it ideal for

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<sup>41</sup> John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York, NY: George Braziller, Inc, 1977), 12.

<sup>42</sup> Werckmeister, "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscript," 167. See footnote 2 for additional information.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 169.

<sup>44</sup> Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 19.

educating Fernando and Sancho.<sup>46</sup> From 776 to 1047 many copies of Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* were produced including several early additions and revisions done by Beatus, himself. Beatus scholars have completed the genealogical charts of known Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* and have placed Fernando and Sancha's copy as part of the second generation.<sup>47</sup>

Starting with the reign of Alfonso III (r. 866-910), Leonese king's commissioned manuscripts as a demonstration of power, wealth, and piety.<sup>48</sup> By providing learning materials, i.e. manuscripts, for the monks, kings received recognition for aiding God's chosen earthly community. Royally commissioned books were housed in the library within the royal monastery. This imperial tradition enabled the creation of various books such as antiphonaries, copies of Beatus of Liebana's *Commentary of the Apocalypse*, and bibles such as the Bible of 920, bearing the shelf number MS-6 in the library of the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro Archivio, León (Figure 6) and the Bible of 960, bearing the shelf number MS-2 in the library of the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro Archivio, León (Figure 7).<sup>49</sup> By aiding the monks with books the king could exchange the manuscript for continued prayers for his family. Furthermore, manuscripts were a cheaper alternative to

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<sup>46</sup> Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, 19.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 22-29.

<sup>48</sup> Sánchez Mariana and Yarza, *El Beato de Liébana*, 88-89.

<sup>49</sup> Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, 12.



granting immunities and exemptions, which required the loss of taxes and revenue required for military campaigns.<sup>50</sup>

It is believed that Fernando commissioned the Beatus because royal patronage traditions included the giving of books, by the king. To support this idea, scholars have used historical facts that culminate in Fernando requiring an act that demonstrated his loyalty to Leonese traditions. Scholars believe that Fernando needed to be legitimized due to events that preceded his and Sancha's marriage in 1032. A dispute between Sancha's brother, Vermudo III, King of León, and Fernando's father, Sancho "el Mayor," King of Navarre ended with Sancho claiming the region of León for himself and Vermudo fleeing to the area of Galicia.<sup>51</sup> Two years later Sancho's death rekindled the territorial dispute between Vermudo and Sancho, with Fernando replacing his father.<sup>52</sup> Their disagreement turned into a violent battle that resulted in Fernando killing Vermudo in 1037 at the Battle of Tamarón and later claiming León for Sancha.<sup>53</sup> Sancha and Fernando's ascension to the throne began with a new expansive kingdom that included the regions of Galicia, Asturias, León, and Castile (Figure 8). In acquiring the regions of León, Galicia and Asturias, they controlled a wealth unprecedented in León since before the Muslim invasion in 711. Unfortunately, along with this prosperity came a disgruntled nobility angered by the years of Sancho's appropriation of the Leonese throne.

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<sup>50</sup> Angenendt, "Donations pro anima," 146.

<sup>51</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 114.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

Additionally, Fernando's removal of Vermudo III's governing advisor, Count Fernando Laínez, increased the nobility's anger at Fernando.<sup>54</sup> Further exacerbating the situation Fernando and Sancha rewarded Castilian nobility, monasteries, bishops, and churches by reaffirming previous immunities, and giving gifts of land and monasteries while ignoring the Leonese nobility, bishops and churches. Historians claim all these combined events created mounting unrest in the aristocracy that necessitated a symbolic act that reflected Fernando's commitment to imperial Leonese traditions. Thus, commissioning a book would legitimize him through the acts of patronage and donation.

The same events that led Fernando to commission the *Beatus* can be used to support reasons why Sancha commissioned the manuscript. When Sancha and Fernando ascended to the throne in 1032, Sancha was the last Leonese heir. Moreover, Sancha did not have any sisters, and her aunt, Doña Teresa, had entered a convent after returning from a forced marriage to a Muslim general.<sup>55</sup> This left no one to oversee the powerful palatine *infantazgo* which included the monastery of Saint John the Baptist and a convent dedicated to Saint Pelayo. The palatine *infantazgo* held the most prestige because it included the monastery attached to the palace as well as other monasteries and convents founded by Leonese rulers. The palatine *infantazgo* is believed to have passed to the king's unmarried virginal sister, who would control the *infantazgo*, to present the king as pious through their continual patronage to royal monasteries and convents, on his

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<sup>54</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 115.

<sup>55</sup> Barton, "Marriage Across Frontiers," 16.

behalf.<sup>56</sup> The *infanta*, who controlled the palatine *infantazgo*, oversaw the finances, land holdings, and had to approve all donations and gifts made to those specific monasteries held within the *infantazgo*. There were other *infantazgos*, however they were the sole responsibility of an *infanta*, a royal female not directly related to the ruling king, placed over them. Donations and other financial matters of non-palatine *infantazgos* did not require the involvement or governance of the queen or *infanta* in control of the palatine *infantazgo*. Unless the transaction involved a monastery or convent within the palatine *infantazgo*, the *infantas* could manage the finances and land holdings at their discretion. Further research into non-palatine controlled monasteries and convents is needed to fully understand how the *infantas* administered their individual *infantazgos*. In the case of Sancha, who was now queen, she could manipulate the palatine *infantazgo* to confirm Fernando as the rightful ruler of León. Prior to her marriage to Fernando, Sancha controlled the palatine *infantazgo*, first as the daughter and later as the sister of the king. In reassuming her role as a royal lay abbess, Sancha had the ability to craft Fernando's assimilation into Leonese patronage customs through acts such as commissioning manuscripts, and giving gifts while asserting an authority in the royal court.

Sancha was not the first Leonese queen to control the palatine *infantazgo*. Sancha's mother, Queen Elvira, appeared in documents pertaining to donations to specific royal monasteries, such as the donation made to San Esteban de Piavela made shortly after Sancha's birth.<sup>57</sup> Like Sancha, Queen Elvira ruled when no other royal

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<sup>56</sup> Caldwell, "The King's Virgin Sister."

<sup>57</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 48.

females were available to control the palatine *infantazgo*. Evidence of Sancha's control of this powerful institution exists in a document dated November 12, 1040, that records a *pro remedio* donation in which Nuño Pétriz donated the homes of his both grandparents to the monastery of San Antolín.<sup>58</sup> Because Sancha is included throughout the document and it was included in the royal documents at the Basilica of San Isidoro, we can presume that the monastery of San Antolín was part of the palatine *infantazgo*. The Basilica of San Isidoro became the center of power in León around 1055 during Sancha's and Fernando's rule. The inclusion of Nuño Pétriz's transaction prior to the establishment of the Basilica of San Isidoro suggests that the monastery of San Antolín was included in the palatine *infantazgo*. Like other donations recorded during this time, that are part of the palatine *infantazgo*, this document begins with the line "*TESTAMENTVM QVOD FECIT SANCIA,*" which states that Sancha was the initiator of the transaction.<sup>59</sup> A majority of documents that pertain to royal monasteries and convents in the palatine *infantazgo*, include such a header denoting who was in control of the palatine *infantazgo*. The use of the verb "*fecit*" which is conjugated for a singular person, leaves little doubt that Sancha gave some type of testimony which translated to her permitting the donation to the monastery. After the opening prayer in the document are the words:

*"A me etenim inutile et peccatrix Sancia, Christi ancilla...Concedo  
atque offero sacro sancto altario uestro, pro remedium anime mee  
et de genitoribus meis et fratribus meis, monasterio que est in*

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<sup>58</sup> Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León IV*), 146-147.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 146.

*Bardones, decurrente riuulo Estole, uocabulo Sancti  
Saluatoris...*<sup>60</sup>

Here we find Sancha's direct testimony of her involvement with this transaction. The word *concedo* means to grant, to permit or to allow. In this document, she is granting/permitting/allowing Nuño Pétriz the ability to donate to a royal monastery. The fact that in her statement she states "*fratribus meis*" or "my brothers" is evidence that she was receiving the donation on behalf of a monastery she considered part of the palatine *infantazgo*. Though the monastery was not her personal property her role as financial intercessor created a sense of personal attachment to the monks and clergy within her *infantazgo*. Despite previous scholarly belief that she could not control the palatine *infantazgo* many documents suggest she did. Several of the documents do not include the name Fernando nor bear his signature which suggests that transactions specifically connected to the palatine *infantazgo* gave Sancha an authority all her own, not dependent upon Fernando.

The *infanta* or queen, who controlled the palatine *infantazgo*, had to attend the reading of donations, to demonstrate her approval of the transaction. Liam Moore discusses how royal charters were performed as public rituals that expressed legitimacy and kingship in his article "By Hand and By Voice: Performance of Royal Charters in Eleventh-and Twelfth-Century León."<sup>61</sup> Moore states the languages of these charters was crafted to be read in public, so that the information within the document became public

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 145.

<sup>61</sup> Liam Moore, "By Hand and by Voice: Performance of Royal Charters in Eleventh and Twelfth Century León." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2013): 18-32.

knowledge. Moore further claims that these public performances were like liturgical services with the king “acting” in the role of bishop. The inclusion of the phrase “*TESTAMENTVM QVOD FECIT SANCHA....*”, at the beginning of the document, expressed Sancha’s direct involvement with the transaction. Once the charter was read aloud in a public ritual, the reading created a binding and public contract between Nuño Pétriz and the monastery of San Antolín, or rather between him and Sancha acting on the monastery’s behalf. Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld explains in a chapter about gift-giving theory that “...ceremonial and public character of gift-giving and its transcendent implications endowed the donor with social prestige, which could be transformed into power and political gain.”<sup>62</sup> That Nuño Pétriz sought an elevated social position not through the king, but through a transaction with the queen suggests the level of authority Sancha had. Though it could be argued that he was one of the disgruntled nobility hoping to disgrace Fernando by choosing Sancha. Such an act would and could be understood as Nuño Pétriz pledging his loyalty to Sancha, which in turn would be to Fernando, as they were both the rulers of León. The fact that her presence is confirmed by her signature and Fernando’s is absent, suggests that whichever is true Nuño Pétriz gained a new social status through a *pro remedio* donation to a palatine *infantazgo* which was managed and controlled by Sancha.

In returning to the manuscripts the Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I, and the *Etymologies* of Saint Isidore each contains an acrostic and both include Sancha’s name.

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<sup>62</sup> Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, “The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach,” in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* eds. Esther Cohen, and Mayke B. De Jong (Brill: Leiden, 2001), 125.

These acrostics act like the phrases within the transaction document of Nuño Pétriz. Each acrostic is a witness that Sancha was involved in the commissioning of the manuscripts. If we consider the fact that each book was commissioned with the intention of educating a person, then Sancha's inclusion in the acrostic sheds light on who is to be educated. Remembering that Sancha was a Leonese *infanta* prior to her marriage to Fernando, there is a high probability that these texts were not unknown to her. Due to the number of Beatus's copied in Leonese monasteries and commissioned by her ancestors, it stands to reason that she was aware of both books. As an *infanta*, who wielded the palatine *infantazgo*, she was trained upon the patronage traditions expected of her. Prior to 1037 Fernando and Sancho had spent much of their lives in Castile, unaware of royal patronage traditions in León. It is they who needed books to educate them about the importance of Isidorian customs in León. Isidore of Seville, was a great bishop during the final decades of the Visigoths, Sancha's ancestors, rule of the Iberian Peninsula. Isidore influenced the church liturgy which directly influenced the rulers of his time. The monastic and liturgical influences that Isidore began centuries before Sancha and Fernando continued until their son Alfonso VI became king. Sancha's choice of selecting Isidorian texts is evidence not of her effort to legitimize Fernando and Sancho but to educate them on Leonese culture. Just like Nuño Pétriz, Fernando and Sancho gained an elevated social position as well as power by donating books to a royal monastery within the palatine *infantazgo*. This in turn reflects that it was only through Sancha that Fernando and Sancho gained the necessary power required to be Leonese rulers.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Barton and Fletcher, *The World*, 60. The *Historia Silense* states that Fernando's will gave Sancho Castile and bequeathed León to Alfonso VI.

Though Sancho would inherit another part of the kingdom that was unknown in 1040 and therefore prudent to prepare Sancho to rule in a Leonese manner.

Another similarity the *Beatus* and the *Etymologies* share is the inclusion of a *mappae mundi*. These maps of the then known world both exclude the southern areas of the Iberian Peninsula, the stronghold of the Almoravids, North-African Muslims, who invaded around 711. In an article, Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez suggests that this exclusion stems from an anti-Islamic attitude. This period contains well-documented anti-Islamic feelings against the Almoravids because of forced tributes paid by northern Christian rulers in exchange for peace.<sup>64</sup> León's history with the Almoravids is full of ongoing battles that begin in 711 in Seville and did not end until around 1490 under Isabella of Castile and Fernando II of Aragon.<sup>65</sup> The last Almoravid raid into León happened around 996, and destroyed the city of León.<sup>66</sup> These constant battles with the Almoravids would have created an Anti-Islamic atmosphere throughout the kingdom. Unlike León, the principality of Castile and Navarre kept peaceful relations with the Almoravids. The reason for this is that the rulers of Castile and Navarre lacked the additional finances to reconquer the peninsula. Rather the rulers of Castile and Navarre were focused upon building connections to the Leonese throne, because it traced its power and prestige to the Visigoths, the first rulers of the entire Iberian Peninsula. The numerous volumes written

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<sup>64</sup> Barton and Fletcher, *The World*, 36.

<sup>65</sup> For further reading about the use of religion during the reconquest see works by Americo Castro, Henry Kamen.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph F O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), 678.



about Fernando's life and Castile and Navarre do not mention many battles or skirmishes with the Almoravids, but rather focus on those between Sancho "el mayor" and León. If Fernando had commissioned either book, particularly the Beatus, the *mappaemundi*, would have included the Muslim areas. Such an exclusion denotes a bitter resentment and anti-Islamic attitude that most likely Fernando did not have, when he ascended to the Leonese throne.<sup>67</sup> However, the kingdom of León had a long anti-Islamic tradition that began with the Muslim invasion in 711.<sup>68</sup> The last Muslim raid in León happened in 996 approximately a decade before Sancha was born. She would have grown-up with anti-Islamic rhetoric that would become a part of her conscious and unconscious mind. As such, excluding the Muslim occupied areas of the Iberian Peninsula would be an extension of her anti-Islamic childhood and Leonese customs.

The Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I and The *Etymologies* of Saint Isidore were commissioned to edify the royal family in the hopes of assimilating them into royal Leonese culture. These books were chosen because they represented Sancha's prestigious and powerful bloodline that once ruled the entire Iberian Peninsula. In selecting manuscripts specifically connected to Isidore suggests a need to begin the indoctrination process with the man responsible for the liturgical culture that was part of their daily lives. Sancha's inclusion in the acrostic folios of each tome acts like a testimony to remind any reader that she is the link between the reader, Isidore and the Leonese throne. Moreover, her inclusion bares witness to her own education in being able to select

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<sup>67</sup> Sáenz-López Pérez, "El mundo para una reina," 331.

<sup>68</sup> O'Callaghan. *History of Medieval Spain*, 163.

manuscripts that will pass on the knowledge of her family. In effect, the manuscripts are a representation of Sancha's own authority within the kingdom.

### CHAPTER 3: SANCHA'S PRAYERBOOKS

The last two manuscripts Sancha commissioned were almost identical prayerbooks, for herself and Fernando. The first was completed in 1055 and today this manuscript is known as Fernando I's Book of Hours or Diurnal and is now at the library of the University of Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609). It is a large illuminated manuscript with elegant calligraphy and lavish, full page illustrations and decorated initial letters.<sup>69</sup> The manuscript is a display of luxury and features virtually blemish vellum, with generous application of gold and purple ink.<sup>70</sup> A presentation page is located on folio 6 and shows an enclosed scene framed by a curtain hanging above Fernando and Sancha, who are separated from each other by an unknown man, who clenches the golden manuscript and glances at Sancha (Figure 9).<sup>71</sup> All three stand on various objects, the unknown man stands barefoot on half of an orb, Sancha stands a rectangular object that resembles the foot stool found in front of a throne. The object Fernando stands cannot be seen but his foot positioning mimic those of the unknown man suggesting a half orb. Sancha and Fernando are depicted at equal height while the unknown man is at least one head-size smaller. Sancha's and Fernando's height suggest that they were equals and

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<sup>69</sup> Pick, "Liturgical Renewal," 30.

<sup>70</sup> John Williams, "Fernando I and Alfonso VI as Patrons of the Arts," *Anales de Historia del Arte*. 2 (2011): 415.

<sup>71</sup> For arguments about the identity of the person in between Sancha and Fernando I see: Angel Sicart, *Pintura Medieval: la miniatura*, (Santiago de Compostela, 1981), 30-33. Manuel C Díaz y Díaz, "El códice de Compostela. Tradición y modernidad" in *Libro de Horas de Fernando I de León* (Madrid: Biblioteca Universitaria de Santiago de Compostela, 1995), 47.

ruled together, rather than the “myth” that Fernando ruled as a king completely in his own right. Sancha’s clothing is modest and mimics images of the Virgin Mary.

Located in the second part of the Diurnal is the “Chronicon” which lists Sancha’s lineage and ends with Fernando’s date of coronation (Figure 10). The “Chronicon lists the following rulers: Vermudo II and his wife Elvira, Alfonso V and his wife Elvira, Vermudo III strong fighter in war. What is interesting is that Sancha did not include Vermudo III’s wife, Ximena of Castile, who was Fernando’s sister nor Fernando’s father, Sancho “el Mayor,” who briefly ruled León. Pick argues that the exclusion of Ximena and Sancho “el Mayor” were done to remind how Fernando attained his crown and Sancha’s Leonese lineage.<sup>72</sup> Sancha lists her brother, Vermudo III, as a “strong fighter in war,” which would seem out of place if the manuscript were completely meant to legitimize Fernando I. Vermudo III ascended to the throne around eleven or twelve years of age. His only military victory came in 1035 in a battle in Portugal against Muslims.<sup>73</sup> His only other battle was against Fernando, in which he died. The *Historia Silense* describes Vermudo III as a noble prince, an undaunted warrior and father to the monasteries in his realm.<sup>74</sup> The inclusion of the phrase “strong fighter in war,” in the Chronicon, could be Sancha’s tribute to her younger brother and a way of memorializing his military victories after death. The visual representation of Sancha’s inclusion of

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<sup>72</sup> Pick, “Liturgical Renewal,” 38.

<sup>73</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El Imperio Hispanico y los Cinco Reinos: Dos Épocas en la Estructura Política de España* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), 83-84.

<sup>74</sup> Barton and Fletcher, *The World*, 39.

Fernando into her lineage symbolizes that his Castilian heritage was subsumed with his ascension to the Leonese throne.

The colophon on folio 208v states: *Sancia ceu voluit/ quod sum regina peregit/ era millena nouies/ dena quoque terna/ Petrus erat scriptor/ Fructosus denique pictor* (Figure 11). This statement clearly expresses that Sancha wanted to be acknowledged for commissioning the manuscript. Josefina Planas Badenas argues that the book was entrusted to the nuns at the double monastery of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo, Sancha's personal monastery given to her by her father, Alfonso V, and part of the palatine *infantazgo*.<sup>75</sup> Planas Badenas contends that the presentation page was included to empower the nuns. Planas Badenas supports the claim by discussing the size of the manuscript which measures 31 x 20 cm and the fact that it is too cumbersome to be handled and required a lectern to read from it. If Planas Badenas is correct than a new understanding can be seen in the presentation page that is not centered upon Fernando receiving the book. Equally, by comparing the presentation page to similar presentation and dedication pages of Ottonian and Carolingian origin, the presentation page of the Diurnal supports Planas Badenas theory.

Joachim Prochno's *Das Schreiber-und Dedikationsbild in der Deutschen Buchmalerei* is a collection of numerous Ottonian and Carolingian dedication and presentation pages from a variety of manuscripts. Ottonian and Carolingian dedication and presentation pages portray the acts of giving and receiving between a donor and a

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<sup>75</sup> Josefina Planas Badenas, "Lecturas pías de los reyes: El libro de uso devocional durante los siglos del gótica," in *Maravillas de la España medieval: tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. Isidoro Gonzalo Bango Torviso (León, Spain: Junta de Castilla y León), 461.

cleric or saint representing a monastery. In the Pericopes of Henry III, bearing the shelf number Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 78A2 a Pericopes folio 1v, is a dedication page that portrays King Henry III giving a building to the Echternach scriptorium (Figure 12).<sup>76</sup> The image depicts King Henry enthroned under an archway of a building handing a small building to a bearded monk. On King Henry's left is a witness, who resembles a young man and carries a sword that rests on his right shoulder. In the Gospel book known as the Codex Aureus of Speyer, on folio 3r, is an image of King Konrad II and Queen Gisela giving a book to an enthroned Mary (Figure 20).<sup>77</sup> Mary, sits in front of a church with her left hand resting on Gisela's head while her right hand is positioned to receive the manuscript offered by Konrad. Konrad and Gisela are bowing in a manner that reflects their reverence for Mary. Both images in the Pericopes and Codex Aureus show the donor and receiver, in the exact moment of giving with the receiver's hands directly on the donated object. Iberian illuminators used similar pictorial expressions of giving and receiving to express acts of exchange. In the Morgan Beatus, a tenth-century copy of the Beatus, shelf number M. 644, on folio 52v, is the illumination depicting the receiving of the Message for the Church of Smyrna.<sup>78</sup> The depiction is in the bottom right corner of the folio and shows John, writer of the Book of the Apocalypse, receiving the church of Smyrna from an angel. The Beatus of Sancha and Fernando features several folios that

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<sup>76</sup> Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei*, Teil 1: Bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929), 39.

<sup>77</sup> Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber*, 47.

<sup>78</sup> Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, 74.

depict the moment of giving with both giver and receiver holding the item. Folios 7r thru 10v, in the Beatus of Sancha and Fernando, is a series of illuminations that show the series known as the Commission to Write, in which the information for a book is handed down from heaven to the writer (Figures 13-19).<sup>79</sup> In these folios, each figure has at least one hand on an open book, regardless of whether they are an angel or saint. On folio 8v of the Beatus is the depiction of the exact moment of giving, in which Abraham receives a book from an angel (Figure 15). On folio 8r Jesus is enthroned handing the book to Lucas, who has both hands on the book ready to receive it (Figure 16). The Commission to Write series demonstrates that the pictorial tradition of expressing the exact moment of the act of giving existed in the eleventh century and required both parties to hold the object. In the presentation page of Sancha and Fernando only the unidentified intercessor holds the book (Figure 9). However, Fernando's hands nor the unidentified intercessor's hands are portrayed in a state of giving or receiving. Fernando's left hand gestures towards Sancha while his right hand points up towards heaven. The unknown intercessor's hands firmly grasp the book as if he were pulling the manuscript towards his chest. It appears that the presentation page does not depict the exact moment of giving but rather the moments afterwards when clarification of the gift is required. Rather we are looking at a depiction that is revealing the identity of the true donor so that she can receive the proper credit.

Focusing our attention on the unknown intercessor between Sancha and Fernando, he is smaller in physical height and has a youthful appearance (Figure 9). His

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 28.

youthful appearance is accentuated with long hair that is drawn past his shoulders and a lack of facial hair. His clothes are similar to Fernando both in style and the usage of the same rich royal blues and purples (now faded to brown). Currently scholars believe that this unknown man is an amalgamation of the scribe and illuminator and that both scribe and illuminator were part of the scriptorium located in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist. If this unidentified person is an amalgamation of the scribe and illuminator, his clothes seem out of place. The presentation page in the Gospel book known as the Eginocodex, baring shelf number Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek Hs. PHILL. 1676 on folio 18v, shows an image of several monks gathered and eagerly learning from Saint Eginio (Figure 21).<sup>80</sup> In the scene we see Saint Eginio in the center instructing three monks. Behind Saint Eginio stands a fourth monk listening attentively to Saint Eginio. Saint Eginio's clothing is different from the monks in that he appears to wear tunics while the monks clothing seems to be a single long gown-type garment. It was important to the illuminator of the Eginocodex to portray Saint Eginio's clothes dissimilarly from the monks. In an article discussing the attire in the Diurnal's presentation page, Ana Villanueva Fernández likens the garments to those worn during the Ottonian and Carolingian era, citing clothing descriptions from Saint Isidore of Seville's Etymologies.<sup>81</sup> I believe that the illuminator tried to convey that Sancha, Fernando and

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<sup>80</sup> Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber*, 1.

<sup>81</sup> Ana Villanueva Fernández, "La indumentaria regia en el reino de León en el siglo XI: El Libro de Horas de Fernando I y Doña Sancha," *Tomo II* no. 2 (2011): 487.



the unidentified intercessor had the same social status by drawing all of them wearing similar clothing.

Finally, if we look at the feet of Sancha, the unknown intercessor and Fernando, on the Diurnal presentation page, we see an interesting distinction. Sancha stands on a red outlined box with a decorative pattern, the unknown intercessor rests bare-footed on a cloud-like half-orb, while Fernando stands on an unidentifiable object that resembles the remains of a rock. What is intriguing, is that Sancha and Fernando both wear shoes, while the intercessor is bare-footed. If we look at images from the Beatus we see that numerous heavenly hosts are drawn without shoes. On folio 5v, we see Jesus Christ beneath the letter “A,” holding the omega sign, dressed in garments similar to Fernando and standing bare-footed on the border (Figure 2). On folio 6v we see a choir of heavenly bare-footed musicians playing instruments for Jesus Christ, in the form of the lamb (Figure 13). Finally, if we look at the ivory plaque on the reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo, all the apostles, saints and angels have carved bare-feet (Figure 5). This suggests that the decision to depict shoes or bare-feet depended upon the individual being portrayed and not arbitrarily determined by the illuminator. If this is true the unknown intercessor can only be a saint and not an amalgamation of the scribe and illuminator as previously believed. Because the unknown intercessor is missing the attributes of Saint John the Baptist, a grown man with a beard, camel’s hair clothing, we must presume that it is not him. If the saint is not John the Baptist, it leaves only Saint Pelayo, an eighth-century child martyr, who would have needed a youthful appearance, regal clothing befitting a saint and bare-feet denoting his saintly status.

The presentation page in the Diurnal binds Sancha and Fernando together visually in the acts of giving and receiving. Serafín Moralejo explains that the importance of the presentation page lies in the fact that is the first time on the peninsula of a pictorial representation of the moment of giving.<sup>82</sup> This rare frontal position makes her a central figure in the scene rather than a subordinate. Sancha's image presents her as a donor in her own right, who is not subordinate to the king, but his equal. As the colophon states that the manuscript was made "according to her words," we can presume she chose this specific image as a visual image of her intentions.

By including the presentation page and colophon there could be no denying that Sancha had the power to commission books. The decision to include a pictorial image of herself in the act of giving Fernando the book leaves no question as to who put forth the reasons for the manuscript's existence. We may not fully understand the image, or all its meanings, we do know that she wanted to be remembered for the act of giving. Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld paraphrases Marcel Mauss explanation of gift giving by describing the acts as "...ceremonial and public character of gift giving and its transcendent implications endowed the donor with social prestige, which could be transformed into power and political gain..."<sup>83</sup> The inclusion of both a pictorial and written account of her act of giving, demonstrates Sancha was exchanging the book for a wider acceptance of her own authority as queen. This can be seen in small features within the presentation

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<sup>82</sup> Serafín Moralejo, "Notas al a ilustración de Libro de Horas de Fernando I," in *Libro de Horas de Fernando de León*, eds. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Serafín Moralejo, M. Virtudes Pardo Gómez and María Araceli García Piñeiro (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1995), 311.

<sup>83</sup> Bijsterveld, "The Medieval Gift," 125.

page, where Sancha stands at equal height to Fernando or the placement of the gold accents on both Sancha and Fernando (Figure 9). The objects depicted in gold on Fernando are his crown and scepter items, symbols of the kingship he inherited from Sancha's Leonese heritage. Because of his marriage to Sancha, Fernando exchanged the title of *conde for imperador*, which he uses in several documents after the gift of the Diurnal. This exchange of the manuscript reveals that both Sancha and Fernando gained recognition of their political authority. Fernando gained a new title and Sancha gained acceptance for her right to rule as an equal. This is important because few queens, if any, ruled as an equal to the king prior to Sancha.

It is believed that Sancha's intention in giving Fernando the Diurnal was to aid him during mass and other liturgical services. However, because of its size it seems unlikely that Fernando would have used the manuscript as a personal prayerbook. Art Historian O.K. Werckmeister explains that the inclusion of the prayer "*Ordo nocturnalis in resurrectione domini, a prime die Pasce usque ad Pentecosten*" insinuates that the Diurnal was used during special celebrations such as the Easter to Pentecost liturgy; however, because the manuscript includes the complete Psalter and Canticles it had practical everyday use, as well.<sup>84</sup> If the manuscript was created with an underlying reason to give it to the nuns of Saint Pelayo, then including the Psalter, canticles and nocturnal offices makes sense, as these would be part of the nuns' daily offices. When we consider that Sancha commissioned the book, with the intention that it be given to the nuns it makes this a gift of prestation. Cecily Hilsdale defines "prestation" as "... a gift,

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<sup>84</sup> Werckmeister, "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscript," 172.

payment, or service that forms part of some traditional function in a society, given in due either to a specific person or to a group; the giving or performing of such a gift of service.”<sup>85</sup> The function of the manuscript was to aid the nuns through their daily offices and prayers. The presentation page acted as a reminder of the true patron of the book. Sancha’s choice to use Fernando to give the gift provides an additional layer of giving. Fernando’s giving of the manuscript becomes what Mauss calls gift exchange that is “...a transaction to create, maintain or restore relations between individuals or groups of people.”<sup>86</sup> The manuscript allowed Fernando to establish a relationship as an additional patron to the nuns of Saint Pelayo. As Sancha was the lay abbess she would have to approve and accept such a gift on behalf of the nuns. Therefore, if she commissioned it, but had Fernando give it, presenting the nuns with a new and powerful benefactor in the king. In this way, the presentation page acts as a reminder to the nuns that their real patron, Sancha, will always find ways of procuring the items they need.

The volumes written about the Diurnal are done so with a bias of explaining its prayers, the presentation page, the “Chronicon” and the colophon’s importance to legitimizing Fernando as a Leonese king.<sup>87</sup> The descriptions of the presentation page focus on Fernando’s act of receiving and how the manuscript presents him as a Leonese king. Scholars diminish Sancha’s act of giving and often refer to it in brief passages or short paragraphs. Yet, without Sancha it is impossible to understand the true purpose of

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<sup>85</sup> Cecily J. Hilsdale, “Gift,” in *Studies in Iconography*. V. 33, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2012), 171-172.

<sup>86</sup> Bijsterveld, “The Medieval Gift,” 124.

<sup>87</sup> Williams, “Fernando I and Alfonso VI,” 415. Villanueva Fernández, “La indumentaria regia en el reino de León en el siglo XI,” 496-499. Serafín Moralejo, “Notas,” 55-63. Moralejo’s article is part of a book titled *Libro de Horas de Fernando I de León*, and is cited by many scholars researching the Diurnal.

the book. In viewing the presentation page, we see Sancha in the active act of approving the book's presentation to Fernando. However, since the manuscript was possibly a gift for the nuns of Saint Pelayo, the question becomes why give the book to Fernando, who was then expected to give the book to the nuns? It is quite possible she was seeking a political authority that could not be derived from acts as a lay abbess. In León prior to Sancha, the power of the lay abbess was usually associated with unmarried *infantas*, who lived away from the court and had little influence in the political and economic occurrences of their male counterparts. However, for Sancha such a position and relegated existence undermines any authority she may have gained in becoming queen. An example of this may be the commissioning of the Beatus, where Sancha is listed as "co-commissioner" with Fernando. It is quite possible she hoped that by sharing credit for the creation of the Beatus she would receive acceptance of her authority to rule as an equal. However, the presentation page's existence is evidence that this did not happen. Therefore, the commissioning of the Diurnal could be Sancha's act to confirm that she and Fernando ruled as equals with the same abilities to command and dictate imperial actions.

Further evidence that Sancha gained authority in the court can be seen in a series of documents dated after the commissioning of the Diurnal. During celebrations of their victories against the caliph of Seville around 1052 or 1053, Sancha and Fernando presided over a dispute between the Bishop of León and the abbot of San Pelayo in León, over a monastery and its land.<sup>88</sup> This case is interesting as the monastery of San Pelayo

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<sup>88</sup> Ruiz Asencio, *Colección IV*, 279-281.

in León was part of Sancha's *infantazgo* and should have been resolved by Sancha. Even more peculiarly they found in favor of the Bishop of León and had the abbot of San Pelayo concede the land and monastery in question. If we remember that the presentation page of the Diurnal depicts Sancha and Fernando as equals, then their presiding over the case together would present them as equal rulers. The construction projects that would create a new home for the double monastery of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo were underway, so their decision to rule in favor of the bishop, could be due to the enormous gifts they planned on donating to the abbot or abbey. Around the same time Sancha and Fernando settled another dispute that involved rape and homicide in the village of Matamala.<sup>89</sup> All of these documents present Sancha and Fernando as equals including phrases such as “...*meo rex domno Fredenando simul et ad domna mea regina domna Sancia...*”<sup>90</sup> Before the commissioning of the Diurnal, documents read in the singular first person “...*et dum regnante in Christi nomine Fredenando rex cum coniuge sua Sancia regina...*”<sup>91</sup> Caldwell has argued that the usage of *una cum* and *cum coniuge* and similar worded phrases could mean “...together with/advised by my/directed by or given permission by...” which make allusions to the origination of the action and that the

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<sup>89</sup> Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Documentos para la Historia de las Instituciones de León y de Castilla: siglos X-XIII* (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas; Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919), 21-23.

<sup>90</sup> Ruiz Asencio, *Colección IV*, 322.

<sup>91</sup> Pedro Floriano Llorente and Oviedo, Spain, *Colección diplomática del Monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo (años 781-1200)* (Oviedo, Spain: Diputación de Asturias, Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, del patronato Jose Quadrado (C.S.I.C.), 1968), 84-86.

possibility that the action, i.e. donations, did not originate solely by the king.<sup>92</sup> Because *simul et ad* translates to “at the same time” it presents Sancha and Fernando as equals. The phrase “...*meo rex domno Fredenando simul et ad domna mea regina domna Sancia...*” uses the same words and syntax with changes only for gender to express that they are equals. As documents like this were read aloud in front of their court, which included members of noble families, and clerics, such a language change would have signified Sancha’s right to rule and be perceived as an equal.

Shortly after Fernando received his Diurnal, Sancha commissioned a personal prayerbook, which was completed in 1059. Sancha’s prayerbook is a smaller version of the Diurnal except it has minimal illuminations with only the initial letters being given any ornamental treatment.<sup>93</sup> This prayerbook does not have the sumptuousness that was lavished upon the Diurnal, no purple or gold used within the initials, no elaborate presentation page or “Chronicon.” It is believed that the prayerbook was made specifically to be used in conjunction with the Diurnal, as Sancha’s contains the same canticles, Athanasian Creed, litany and prayers as the Diurnal. Evidence of its personal usage can be found on folio 2r where her name is written within the initial letter “D,”(Figure 22) as well as being included in the confessional prayer “*Confitebor domino deo,*” on folio 179r through 180r.<sup>94</sup> It is believed that Sancha’s prayerbook became a family treasure for the *infantas* of the Basilica of San Isidoro because of a later addition

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<sup>92</sup> Caldwell, “*The King’s Virgin*.”

<sup>93</sup> Pick, “Liturgical Renewal,” 30.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 46.

of the name Urraca written above hers on folio 179r through 180r (Figure 23).<sup>95</sup> Because the names of Sancha's successors were either Urraca or Sancha her prayerbook would have passed from *infanta* and queen alike until the thirteenth century.<sup>96</sup>

Unlike the Diurnal, Sancha's prayerbook has received no attention from art historians perhaps because it lacks the same colorful illuminations.<sup>97</sup> This raises the question, why would Sancha not have commissioned her prayerbook to mirror Fernando's in every detail. Sancha's prayerbook features small illuminations of zoomorphic animals and either decorated or almost every page. Small images such as that found on folio 75v, of a dog biting the neck of a bird play throughout the prayerbook, with some animals depicted as licking letters or carrying floral shoots of the acanthus as depicted on folio 69v (Figures 24 and 26).<sup>98</sup> In comparing the illuminations in the Diurnal and Sancha's prayerbook, the same zoomorphic animals are depicted in the margins, which John Williams asserts is a change from Leonese traditions as seen on folio 45r of the Diurnal (Figure 25) and folio 75v in Sancha's prayerbook (Figure 24).<sup>99</sup> The major difference is the Diurnal's animals have gold accents applied in a gesso burnishing style which makes the gold shimmer and catch the light in a dramatic manner. As Sancha commissioned both prayerbooks and had her prayerbook made to copy the Diurnal it should be no surprise that the animals are similar in style. However, the Diurnal with its

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Walker, *Images of Royals*, 151.

<sup>97</sup> Pick, "Liturgical Renewal," 38.

<sup>98</sup> Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, 109.

<sup>99</sup> Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, 109.



straight lines and golden illuminations suggest that after seeing the Diurnal, Sancha wanted an exact copy of her own. There is a rushed appearance to Sancha's prayerbook in that the precision that was applied to the Diurnal was relaxed as if to complete the book by a specific date, such as the Easter celebrations of 1057. Nonetheless, further research is required of Sancha's prayerbook to understand its menagerie of zoomorphic creatures. Furthermore, art historians could use the prayerbook to better understand illumination practices in eleventh-century León. Such research would break the traditional gender bias explanations that have relegated Sancha's prayerbook to be considered the lesser.

In researching Sancha's prayerbook, there are only a few articles dedicated to discussing it exclusively. However, there are copious amounts of books and articles dedicated to the Diurnal, the majority focus specifically on Fernando and his connection to the book. Scholars use the Diurnal to promote the ideas that Fernando is legitimized in the presentation page and that he revived Leonese or Visigothic style. The Diurnal's lavish and rich illuminations cannot be ignored, however, when these images are coupled with Sancha's prayerbook new questions emerge about style and liturgy. Furthermore, as art historians begin to look towards objects with text and image together both manuscripts have the possibility of being included in new discourse. This elevation of one of Sancha's Diurnal over her personal prayerbook has caused her personal prayerbook to lose agency; it lost its ability to convey Sancha's authority as queen, because it is not associated to a king. Bruno Latour in explaining actor network theory states that the theory "...follow[s] how a given element becomes strategic through the

number of connections it commands, and how it loses its importance when losing its connections.”<sup>100</sup> Latour was expressly discussing how objects and things gain and lose their inherent value based upon their proximal relationships to the people and places that they are connected. In the case of Sancha’s prayerbooks, the fact that these two books are discussed separately allows for an unequal hierarchy to be ascribed to the books, with one becoming the lesser. Despite being almost equal in content and usage they are valued and studied differently. The main difference is that the *Diurnal* is a large and embellished book esteemed for its connection to Fernando I, while Sancha’s personal prayerbook is devalued, despite being one of few known surviving objects that passed from *infanta* to *infanta* from the mid-eleventh century to the mid-thirteenth century.

Sancha’s gift of the *Diurnal* gained new agency when the book was renamed Fernando I’s Book of Hours or *Diurnal* by scholars. The complete exclusion of Sancha from its title negated her act of giving and places the authorship of the manuscript with Fernando. The naming of the manuscript was done despite the presence of the colophon, which names Sancha as its initiator, and the presentation page, which depicts her in the act of giving the book to Fernando. The colophon and presentation page are direct evidence of Sancha’s desire to be known and remembered for giving this gift, not only by Fernando but future generations. Yet, articles, such as that by John Williams’s article “Fernando I and Alfonso VI as Patrons of the Arts,” ignore Sancha, discussing the manuscript as an example of Fernando’s patronage. Though Williams states that the *Diurnal* belonged to both Sancha and Fernando, his focus remains on Fernando and how the *Diurnal* promotes the “myth” that one of the main purposes of the *Diurnal* is to

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<sup>100</sup> Bruno Latour, “On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications,” *Soziale Welt* 47, no. 4, (1996): 371.

legitimize Fernando. He glosses over Sancha's initiation of the book, by focusing on Fernando's military victories that preceded the gift of the Diurnal.<sup>101</sup> Yet, an argument could be made that Sancha's gift of the Diurnal coincided with Fernando's victories in 1053. The fact is, that the Diurnal and its contents are irrevocably linked to Sancha, because she commissioned it. This is proven by the colophon that states "it was done according to her words." To discuss the manuscript without her is to remove the book's true agency and intention.

Currently, religious scholar Lucy Pick is studying Sancha's prayerbook because it contains a complete and uninterrupted order of the prayers, canticles and offices. Unlike Fernando's which has missing pages and is out of order, due to continual usage and possibly the expulsion of the nuns after the thirteenth century, Sancha's prayerbook has remained intact. Its liturgical value offers insight into the liturgy in León in the eleventh century. The liturgical practices are debated by religious scholars because they are unsure when specific changes occurred in the eleventh century. Recently, art historians have begun to focus on images and text how these two elements work together. Sancha's prayerbook supplies ample examples of images and text used together to convey religious meanings. Finally, as a known matrilineal object that passed between at least four women, it gains new meaning with each woman. How did each use the prayerbook? Did it become a symbol of the lay abbess in control of the palatine infantazgo?

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<sup>101</sup> Williams, "Fernando I and Alfonso VI," 415.

The answers to these questions would add to the history of woman. In only focusing on the Diurnal, the ascribed hierarchy removes Sancha, continuing to marginalize her agency and acts of giving.

## CHAPTER 4: SANCHA AS QUEEN AND LAY ABBESS

The 1063 translation of Saint Isidore provided Sancha with the opportunity to display her successful marriage between her role as queen and lay abbess. The document that recorded the occasion lists an inventory of bejeweled golden crowns with emeralds, an ivory crucifix, ivory altar pieces, new reliquary caskets for Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo and other lavish gifts. Yet, it is the Reliquary for Saint Isidore that is distinctive with its silver and gold decorative panels. The Reliquary Casket of Saint Isidore is a rectangular silver box, accented with gold, and features scenes that represent the biblical accounts of the origins of man and original sin as told in the Book of Genesis (Figure 4). Three of the scenes contain their original inscriptions entwined in the bottom of each panel which read:

*HIC FORMAT[UR] ADA[M] ET INSPIRIT[UR] A D[E]O (Figure 28)*

*DE LIGNO DAT MULIER VIRO*

*DIXIT D[EU] ADA[M] VBI ES[T]<sup>102</sup> (Figure 30)*

Unfortunately, Napoleonic soldiers removed some of the panels altering the panels sequence. Further disruption occurred when the reliquary underwent an extensive restoration process in the nineteenth century.<sup>103</sup> During the restoration process two of the missing panels were identified by their inscriptions:

*ADDUXIT D[OMI]N[US] AD ADA[A]M OM[N], CRE[A]TVRA[M] (Figure 27)*

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<sup>102</sup> Williams, *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 240.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

*D[OMI]N[U]S EDIFICAT COSTA[M] AD[A]E IN MULIER[M]<sup>104</sup>*

One of the panels features a penitent looking male figure and that is believed to be Fernando (Figure 29). If this is Fernando, it is plausible that Sancha was on one of the other destroyed panels.

The possibility that Sancha was depicted on the Reliquary of Saint Isidore is plausible as she and Fernando were married and she was the lay abbess for the double monastic communities within the palatine *infantazgo*. In the 1063 translation document for the dedication of Saint Isidore, Sancha addresses the double monastic community directly saying:

*“Ego namque Sancia regina quamuis domina sim ipsius  
monsasterii inter sorores tamen et clericis quasi, unum ex eis ipsas  
uillas quas inde teneo per benedictionem abbatis et consensu  
clericorum seu abbatisse ut tam quas modo teneo quam eas quas  
mihi dederint ut secundum unam de soroibus uel de deganeis  
tenant dum bene seruiunt iel ministrant in iam dicto  
monasterio.”<sup>105</sup>*

This statement does more than establish Sancha as a patron likewise it confirms the idea that she considers herself to be one of them. That, her prior role as lay abbess, before she married Fernando, was still important to her and forever bonded to her. In effect, it is as if she were reaffirming the relationship between both communities and the crown. When

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Martín Lopez, *Documentos*, 28.

Sancha and Fernando ascended to the throne, she merged the roles of queen and lay abbess. In this statement, we can see that she chose to combine them. Her inclusion on the reliquary casket would be a vital visual presentation of her choice to be both queen and lay abbess. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski state in the introduction of the book *Gendering the Master Narrative* that "...when women... represented their communities, they were wielding a universally recognized form of authority."<sup>106</sup> As a queen Sancha represented her royal lineage and as lay abbess Sancha represented the long-standing relationship between the royal monasteries and Leonese rulers. In effect, her inclusion onto the reliquary of Saint Isidore visually showed Sancha's ability to present her power and represent each community.

In a ceremony attended by Sancha, Fernando, their children, the royal court and presided over by the Bishop of Oviedo, the relic fragments of Saint Pelayo added to the Cathedral of Oviedo. The document that recorded the event states that the relics came from a double monastery in Aboño, just outside of Oviedo. The double monastery was originally part of the *infantazgo* and had been entrusted to the mother of King Ramiro II, Queen Doña Teresa.<sup>107</sup> Upon Queen Doña Teresa's death, it appears that Queen Velasquita, Sancha's grandfather's repudiated wife, became the new lay abbess for the double monastery. Little is known of Velasquita's aside from the facts that she had a daughter, owned land near Deva and that she used it to establish a small monastery

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<sup>106</sup> Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, "A New Economy of Power Relations: Female Agency in the Middle Ages," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* eds., Erler, Mary C. and Maryanne Kowaleski, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 6.

<sup>107</sup> Sánchez Candeira, "La reina Velasquita", 479.

dedicated to the Savior.<sup>108</sup> In Velasquita's will she bequeathed all her lands and monasteries to the Cathedral of Oviedo. Caldwell states that the *infantazgo* consisted "...primarily of, but not entirely, of monasteries and their revenues, was to be held and administered only by an unmarried princess of the family, reverting to the crown if the princess married or died..."<sup>109</sup> This means that the double monastery in Aboño returned to the crown when Velasquita died. Luisa García Calles states that the *infantazgo* was the property of the male sovereigns, who assigned each *infanta* specific monasteries that would comprise her *infantazgo*.<sup>110</sup> García Calles bases this statement on the fact that before they died most Leonese kings included a statement in their wills that outlined which monasteries their daughters would inherit in the kingdom. For example, Fernando I bequeathed all monasteries within his kingdoms to his daughters Urraca and Elvira, with the stipulation they remain unmarried.<sup>111</sup> It is important to note that all documents concerning the *infantazgo* use the word *infanta* rather than queen, which means that most likely it was an institution specifically for unmarried royal princesses rather than married *infantas*. As the ex-wife of the king, Velasquita could be considered unmarried and eligible to become a lay abbess.

The document that recorded the ceremony is summarized as a celebration for the translation of Saint Pelayo, along with a donation of the cenobitic monastery of Saint

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Caldwell, *Queen Sancha's Persuasion*, " 25. Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha, hermana del emperador* (León: Centro de estudios e investigación San Isidoro, 1972.),107.

<sup>110</sup> García Calles, *Doña Sancha*,107.

<sup>111</sup> Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, 231.



John the Baptist in Aboño, that came from Doña Velasquita. It continues stating that the monks and nuns were part of the donation establishing a new celebration that remembered the royal family for this translation. A passage within the document demonstrates that Sancha had orchestrated the celebration with the phrase “...*Sanctia regina qui hic fuerunt in hanc translacionem corporis Sancti: Petrus Dei gratia Lucense sedis episcopus...*”<sup>112</sup> Sancha’s declaration that “...the translation of Saint Pelayo is done by her and blessed by Peter, the grace of God and the Bishop of Oviedo...” demonstrates that her role in this translation was more than just a bystander. Once Velasquita’s *infantazgo* monasteries returned to the crown, it is possible they became part of the palatine *infantazgo*. Historians have calculated that during much of this time Fernando was in different parts of the peninsula campaigning against the Almoravids. He had little time to devote to such affairs, and the returning of a monastery would not have been that important. For Sancha it would mean a new opportunity to present her authority and piety. However, the only way she could facilitate any transaction that included Velasquita’s monasteries was to absorb them into the palatine *infantazgo*. While it is true that everything returned to the crown, it is believed that it was to the king, who then assigned his sister(s) or daughter(s) to each monastery. The only way Sancha could orchestrate this translation is if she controlled the palatine *infantazgo* and continued her duties as lay abbess. At the time of the translation Sancha was the only eligible female

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<sup>112</sup> Francisco Javier Conde, Isabel Torrente Fernandez and Guadalupe de la Noval Menendez *El Monasterio de San Pelayo de Oviedo Historia y Fuentes vol I. Colección Diplomática (996-1325)* (Monasterio de San Pelayo. Oviedo, Spain: La Cruz, 1978), 25.

able to oversee the palatine *infantazgo*. Sancha's daughters were not quite old enough, she did not have any sisters, which meant all these duties would have fallen to her.

The *infantazgo* played an intricate role in every *infantas* life, as it made her a lay abbess over a series of monasteries and convents in a specified region and allowed her to live independently. The only document that discusses the *infantazgo* is a ninth-century cartulary, *Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias*. Based upon the cartulary, scholars have determined that when the *infantazgo* was established and have surmised a rudimentary understanding of this complex female land and wealth management system. Scholar Dick Harrison claims that this type of system created the illusion of independence for women while men governed them indirectly.<sup>113</sup> However, for Leonese *infantas* this does not seem to be the case. Doña Velasquita was a repudiated woman, who owned her own lands and even used her own property and money to establish a convent.<sup>114</sup> Sancha made donations, commissioned objects, and oversaw judicial cases. More work is needed to understand how women before Sancha employed the *infantazgo*. There are plenty of examples of women after Sancha who were not governed by men. Sancha's daughter Doña Urraca, inherited the palatine *infantazgo* upon Fernando's death, and she often oversaw court responsibilities on behalf of her brother King Alfonso VI. As well Doña Urraca and Queen Urraca altered the Basilica of San Isidoro with their own building projects. Sancha's granddaughter, Queen Urraca, not only controlled the palatine

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<sup>113</sup> Dick Harrison, *The Age of Abbesses and Queens: Gender and Political Culture in Early Medieval Europe* (Sweden: Nordic Academic Press, 1998), 27.

<sup>114</sup> Sánchez Candeira, "La reina Velasquita", 479. Sánchez Candeira states that there are no documents or reasons given for the divorce of Vermudo II and Queen Velasquita.

*infantazgo* but ruled in her own right, without any male supervision.<sup>115</sup> The *infantazgo* began as a way to keep land and wealth in families as men died due to the reconquest efforts of Leonese kings. Yet, Sancha's ascent to the throne and ability to combine her duties as queen and lay abbess ended the veiling of the system and allowed women after her to assume power. That all these women manipulated the *infantazgo* to assume their own power suggests that by the eleventh century the *infantazgo* was no longer a system of illusion to control women.

Returning to the 1063 translation of Saint Isidore, listed among the many items is the Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo (Figure 5). It is a gold and silver box made with ivory depictions of the apostles that included precious gems.<sup>116</sup> Stripped of its gold, silver and precious gems by Napoleonic soldiers, who reduced the reliquary to wood and ivory carvings. The sixteenth-century historian Ambrosio Morales, recorded that an inscription on the reliquary before it was robbed of its gold and silver read:

“ARCULA SANCTORUM MICAT HAEC DUORUM  
BAPTISTAE SANCTI JOANNIS SIVE PELAGII/ CEU  
REX FERNANDUS REGINAQUE SANTIA FIERI  
IUSSIT. ERA MILLENA SEPTENA SEU  
NONAGENA”<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> See Therese Martin, *Queen as King*, for more information on the reign of Queen Urraca.

<sup>116</sup> Martín López, *Documentos de los Siglos X-XIII*, 27. The full description of the reliquary is “*habet opera olouitrea et capsam eburneam operatum cum auro et alias duas eburneas argento laboratas: in una ex eis sedent intus tres alie capselle in eodem opere facte et dictacos culpertiles eburneos..*”

<sup>117</sup> Martin, *Queen as King*, 54.

Unlike the Reliquary of Saint Isidore, which tells the complete story of Adam and Eve, the Reliquary of Saints John the Baptist and Pelayo offers images of each apostle carved in ivory that are situated on the four sides of the box. The lid features separate ivory plaques that show Christ, as the Lamb of God, surrounded by cherubim, seraphim and archangels, the symbols of the four evangelists, and the four rivers of paradise (Figure 5).<sup>118</sup> Above the space for the latch, is a plaque of an angel fighting a dragon (Figure 31). Together these images represent the heavenly Jerusalem. This paradisiacal theme matches what is found on the Reliquary of Saint Isidore, which features Adam and Eve in paradise.

Sancha's legacy or rather the palace monastery complex begins with her request to build a church and royal mausoleum. As stated previously, Sancha "persuaded" Fernando to build such a building in León so that they both would be entombed with her royal family. We know that shortly after Fernando ended the land disputes with his brothers over Castile, he began expanding the kingdom of León southward. The *Historia Silense* states that during peace negotiations Fernando requested an assortment of treasures and the remains of Saint Justa.<sup>119</sup> The remains of Saint Justa would have been inadequate for the male monasteries we must infer that Sancha required the remains of Saint Justa for the convent of Saint Pelayo. The remains of Saint Justa would have distinguished the convent of Saint Pelayo, in León, from all other convents because these were of a female saint. In truth, Sancha's request for Saint Justa follows a precedent set

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<sup>118</sup> Williams, *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 236.

<sup>119</sup> Barton and Fletcher, *The World*, 56.

by her relative Doña Elvira. In 967, Doña Elvira requested that her brother King Sancho I, bring the remains of Saint Pelayo to León from Cordoba.<sup>120</sup> It is Doña Elvira who built the first convent dedicated to Saint Pelayo in León.<sup>121</sup> Sancha's ambition to aggrandize León and the convent of Saint Pelayo appears to be a longstanding tradition for *infantas*.

The manuscripts she commissioned for Fernando and her son Sancho, were housed in the royal library in the monastery dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. When the palace monastery complex was complete these two books were housed with the monastery. Included in each book is a colophon that relates that Sancha commissioned them on behalf of herself, Fernando and son. Each monk who saw these words, would be reminded of their royal patron. As discussed earlier both books contain *mappae mundi* that show the Iberian Peninsula surrounded by the four rivers of paradise. A monk having read the Beatus or Etymologies and seeing the *mappae mundi* might have connected these images to the ivories on the Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo. Together these images would remind the monk of the heavenly Jerusalem and the importance their prayers had on ensuring that their patrons entered the heavenly Jerusalem.

Sancha had Fernando give the Diurnal to the nuns of Saint Pelayo. In this manuscript Sancha is depicted in an authoritative role approving the book ready to be given to Fernando. Such a powerful image to be shown to the nuns, would not only remind them of their powerful lay abbess but also of her ability to provide luxuries such as books. The request for Saint Justa demonstrates Sancha's desire to provide a powerful

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<sup>120</sup> Caldwell, "Queen Sancha's Persuasion," 13.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

saint for her nuns. Her decision to move the nunnery and attach it to the palace gives prestige to the nuns and allows for a deeper relationship between lay abbess and nuns. Like the monks, they would have benefitted from seeing the new reliquaries for Saint Isidore, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo. The Reliquary for Saint Isidore contained an image of a woman, rather than a child saint. As Saint Pelayo was an eighth-century martyr, who resisted the sexual advances of a caliph.<sup>122</sup> Because he found the martyr's crown by denying sexual advances he made a perfect saint for the nuns, who similarly denied sexual advances in exchange for a closer relationship with Christ. However, a child martyr did not reflect the nuns' gender but rather the one thing they would never be, mothers. Unfortunately, Saint Isidore interceded and ended any hopes of the nuns receiving a strong female martyr, with whom they could identify. As such it is possible that the decorative program on the Reliquary for Saint Isidore spoke to them. The images of Eve being robed would act as a reminder of the sin of man and the loss of paradise. However, the images on the Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo offered a reminder of the heavenly paradise that awaited them for a life devoted to prayer and being Christ's handmaidens.

It is no coincidence that the reliquary for Saint Isidore featured images of the paradise described in the old testament. Saint Isidore was a ninth-century archbishop of Seville and is believed to have authored the Visigothic liturgy. Isidore is known for his writings on the sister martyrs Saints Justa and Rufina, his arguments at the Council of Toledo in 633 which focused on Christ's humanity and finally for his tome the

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<sup>122</sup> Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia," *Art in Translation*. 7, 1 (2015): 50.

Etymologies. Isidore lived in the golden age of the Visigoth's enjoying an Iberian existence before the Muslim invasion. As he described his Hispaniae:

“Of all of the lands from the west to the Indies, you, Spain, O sacred and always fortunate mother of princes and peoples, are the most beautiful. Rightly are you now the queen of all provinces, from which not only the west but also the east borrows its shining lights. You are the pride and the ornament of the world, the more illustrious part of the earth, in which the Getic people are gloriously prolific, rejoicing much and flourishing greatly.”<sup>123</sup>

For Sancha, Isidore represented the Iberian Peninsula before the invasion. It is possible that Isidore's description of the peninsula seemed idyllic to someone, who had only known León since its destruction.<sup>124</sup>

The *Historia Silense* and the tombstone of Alfonso V Sancha's father, state that he rebuilt parts of León, including the monasteries of Saint Pelayo and Saint John the Baptist.<sup>125</sup> Sancha's decision to establish a palace monastery complex may be a direct result of continuing her father's work of rebuilding León. In building a newer and

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<sup>123</sup> Kenneth B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), 81-83. Translation by Kenneth B. Wolf.

<sup>124</sup> O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 678. The last Muslim invasion of León occurred in 966, approximately twenty years before Sancha's birth.

<sup>125</sup> O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 678. Barton and Fletcher, *The World*, 14. Cadwell, *Queen Sancha's Persuasion*, 3. See Caldwell's footnote 8 for discussion on the importance of Alfonso V's tomb in the Pantheon.

grander palace with adjoining monasteries, royal mausoleum and church, Sancha might have felt she completed what her father started. In a way Isidore's translation to León reflected the old and new royal lineage. The Visigoths, who lost paradise and Sancha and Fernando who would restore it by driving out the invaders. The newly restored paradise can be seen on the lid of the Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo. Christ surrounded by three choirs of angels, four rivers of paradise and on the front an angel defeating a dragon. This imagery would be a constant reminder to Sancha that Fernando's campaign was an effort to defeat the Almoravids and restore her family as the rightful rulers of the peninsula.

The final clues of Sancha's legacy can be found in the documents that recorded Saint Isidore's translation to León and Saint Pelayo to Oviedo. In each document Sancha spoke directly to each religious group explaining how she wanted to be remembered. To the Cathedral in Oviedo and its Bishop Lucense, she states that the translation happened through her by the blessings of God and Saint Peter. This statement tells all that she has the authority of God and heaven to translate saints on their behalf. It presents Sancha as a powerful monarch in her own right. In contrast, her message to the nuns and clerics living in the palace-monastery complex is quite different. Rather than asserting that she is powerful she calls herself the "*domina*" of the monastery and likens herself to the nuns and clerics. The image of Sancha is humble and a mother type figure rather than queen. Her willingness to become the "*domina*" or caretaker demonstrates affection for the monasteries. These words reflect the opposite of what role she manipulated to complete each translation. For the translation of Saint Pelayo, Sancha had to use her duties as lay



abbess because the donated items became the property of the crown. However, as a lay abbess she could initiate the translation because she controlled the palatine *infantazgo*. Thus, the public persona she needed was not as a humble pious woman, but a powerful woman able to make such decisions without Fernando's approval. She portrays herself differently to the monasteries of Saint Pelayo and Saint John the Baptist because the palace reflects her duty as queen but the word "*domina*" conveys a deep connection to the monastic communities. Each translation Sancha chose to portray herself as both queen and lay abbess. For Sancha it was not one or the other but rather each responsibility that completed how she wanted her legacy to be remembered.

In studying the documents for each translation, the language used is reminiscent of a ceremony. Liam Moore has found that "...almost every charter had some religious language and ... other religious elements that when read aloud could create an experience of semi-liturgical ritual."<sup>126</sup> Moore contends that the documents act like an artifact of a ceremony that "...created conceptions of royal power, and its force came from being read aloud in court and experienced orally by all those present."<sup>127</sup> Moore supports his claim by using Heinrich Fichtenau's arguments that texts were meant to be read aloud in a ceremonious manner. The translation of the saints occurred in a church with an audience of monks, various members of the aristocracy, and the entire royal family. This type of public reading of official documents is called *subscriptio*. Magnani S.-Christen asserts that such public readings were necessary to transform the donors' gift into an acceptable

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<sup>126</sup> Moore, "By Hand and by Voice," 19.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

offering.<sup>128</sup> Magnani S.-Christen likens the transformation of the gift to that of the Eucharist in that just as the bread and wine are transformed through the rituals performed at the altar, so to that each gift is transformed by having the object placed on the altar and the document read aloud.<sup>129</sup>

In considering that in both the translation of Saint Pelayo to Oviedo and Saint Isidore to León Sancha made statements that asserted her agency. With each reading of the document, Sancha's role as queen and lay abbess were confirmed and made public for her children, the royal court, Fernando and each monastic community. There was no question or misinterpretation of her role in acquiring and patronizing each cenobitic community. Fernando, according to the documents, agrees to what has been stated above, thus in fact approving of her desire to be known as both a powerful queen and humble lay abbess. Fernando's confirmation of each document translated to his acceptance of Sancha as an equal ruler. As well as confirming her as an equal ruler, Fernando confirmed her legacy as the rightful queen and lay abbess.

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<sup>128</sup> Magnani S.-Christen, "Transforming Things and Persons," 282-283.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, 283.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The last recorded donation Sancha made occurred in 1064 when she donated land, for the salvation of her soul and her parents' souls, to a monastery of Valdesaz.<sup>130</sup> The document says that the donation was made *pro remedio* and specified that along with the spiritual counter gift of prayers, a candle was to be lit every nine years to commemorate the donation. The spiritual counter gift insured that Sancha and her family would receive prayers *ad infinitum* and the candle would be a reminder of her donation. This type of donation is considered a prayer clause because it explains that the donated land or monetary item is in exchange for prayers.<sup>131</sup> Prayer clauses were regularly used with donations and can be seen in documents as early as 751. Prayer clauses allowed donors to replace their physical attendance at masses and services or personal acts of charity with monetary support.<sup>132</sup> As such donors could receive the benefits of prayers, masses and services without being present which meant that they could receive the benefits even after death. The intercessory prayers of religious were also more efficacious. For the monastery, this meant a sustainable income.

It is worth noting that Sancha selected a monastery outside of León and the palatine *infantazgo* to include her parents. It is quite possible she hoped that prayers said from all over the kingdom would aid her family. Throughout her life, Sancha and

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<sup>130</sup> Blanco Lozano, *Colección Diplomática de Fernando I*, 176-177.

<sup>131</sup> Angenendt, "Donations pro anima," 148.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

Fernando donated land to monasteries on behalf of themselves and requested prayers for not only themselves but for their family. In donating land to monasteries and convents throughout the kingdom ensured Sancha and Fernando were known as the king and queen throughout the area.

Fernando's death in 1065 ended Sancha's reign as queen at which time she entered the double monastery adjoining the palace in León.<sup>133</sup> We can only speculate how Sancha spent her last days as there are no records or chronicles of her remaining two years of life. That she stopped making donations is a sign that possibly she entered the convent and became a nun. If so, we can only wonder how such a lifestyle switch affected Sancha, who had achieved the apogee of success for most women in her time. However, if she lived in the convent as a lay abbess why are there no further acts of giving, conceding of land and monasteries, or commissioning of objects. The easiest explanation would be that without Fernando she had no one to legitimize and therefore had no reason for such actions. However, as argued throughout this thesis, Sancha gained political power for herself by giving gifts to and on behalf of Fernando. Considering that at Fernando's death the kingdom of León was divided between her three sons, Sancho, Alfonso VI and García, it would have been imprudent to favor one son over the others. Any form of favoritism may have had devastating repercussions as the emerging victor could change reassigned the monasteries in her *infantazgo*. A worse fate could have been the life of Queen Doña Velasquita or Queen Doña Teresa, forced to live far from León on only the resources garnered from their respective monasteries and lands. However, if she

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<sup>133</sup> Martin, *Queen as King*, 60.

remained in León and at the Basilica of Saint Isidore she could still have some influence over donations, through her daughter Doña Urraca. It is believed that when Sancha entered the convent Doña Urraca became the new *domina* of the double monastic community at the Basilica of San Isidoro.<sup>134</sup> It would not be farfetched to imagine Sancha counseling her daughter on the management of the vast resources of the double monastery, she spent thirty years aggrandizing through various acts of patronage.

During her reign, Sancha crafted an image of León that reflected her Asturian and Visigothic heritage. It began with the commissioning of the *Beatus* and *Etymologies* for Fernando and her son Sancho. Her goal with each book was to teach her family about her Leonese culture and traditions. By educating Fernando and her son, Sancho, Sancha ensured that her Leonese culture did not end with her. By placing the manuscripts within the royal library, she could re-establish herself as a lay abbess. By including specific pages such as the acrostic page ensured that she would be connected to each manuscript. These two monasteries began her legacy that she would continue to build throughout her life. They carried her intentions to continue her family history and begin a new legacy in León based upon matrilineal patronage.

The authority Sancha had as lay abbess allowed her to make donations that benefitted both her and the monastery. Sancha used donations to the monasteries in the palatine *infantazgo* to gain political authority. Donations made to nobles and clerics outside of the *infantazgo* were feudalism disguised as gifts. With each donation Sancha gained an authority within the court to govern and rule as an equal. Sancha's constant

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<sup>134</sup> Martin, *Queen as King*, 30.

inclusion of Fernando into her lineage, like the colophon in the Beatus, added to her legacy by showing that the Leonese dynasty would not end.<sup>135</sup> Such a myth, ensured that Leonese royal traditions would continue.

Sancha's decision to commission books, like the kings of the past, is an example of her successfully wielding a universally recognized form of authority.<sup>136</sup> Her decision to include both presentation page and "Chronicon" assured that anyone who read the book would see this newly gained authority. The presentation page does more than demonstrate Fernando as the rightful king, it shows Sancha as an equal ruler. As an equal ruler Sancha settled judicial cases and governed alongside Fernando. For the nuns of Saint Pelayo the image of Sancha as an equal ruler reminded them that they had a powerful lay abbess. She could provide for their needs but also manipulate the king to become their benefactor as well. As their lay abbess providing visual reminders that they would have a royal patron, meant the nuns of Saint Pelayo had additional financial security, aside from their vast land holdings.

The fact that Sancha's personal prayerbook was created to be a smaller version the Diurnal supports the theory that the Diurnal was a gift for the nuns of Saint Pelayo. However, the lack of research on her prayerbook has left holes in the liturgical and art historical understanding of the eleventh century. By studying Sancha's personal prayerbook we could learn the significance of the many illuminations in both the Diurnal and the prayerbook. Furthermore, as studying each adds new agency to each manuscript

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<sup>135</sup> Susan Havens Caldwell, *Queen Sancha's Persuasion*, " 14.

<sup>136</sup> Erler and Kowaleski, "A New Economy of Power," 6.

so their connection to the Sancha and the eleventh century grow. Separately each manuscript supports Sancha's roles as a lay abbess and a queen, who ruled equally alongside the king. Individually each manuscript became the cornerstones of her legacy to continue royal Leonese traditions and begin new acceptance of the queen as an equal ruler. In bringing them all together in the palace monastery complex they gained significance. They were no longer separate but could be coupled with the many gifts bestowed upon the newly erected palace monastery complex. Since in the past each object was studied separately its intrinsic knowledge has been lost. The Diurnal and Sancha's prayerbook were commissioned to be used together during mass. They are connected not only by Sancha but by usage. If we consider that the nuns and monks would gather in the church, hear the words read from the Diurnal, see the altar and all its accoutrements, pray in front of the Reliquary of Saint Isidore or the Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo, and Sancha standing in the royal box following each prayer in her prayerbook, then each action becomes a visual reminder of Sancha's patronage.

The reliquaries themes and images of the heavenly Jerusalem connect to the Beatus and its commentary on the apocalypse. The use of the story of Adam and Eve reminded the viewers that paradise was lost through foolish actions. However, redemption and paradise lay ahead in the return of Christ, which can be seen in the Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Pelayo. For Sancha and the royal family the inclusion of decorative programs that focused on the loss and gaining of paradise was a

personal inspiration to continue the reconquest efforts. The story of Adam and Even were Sancha's ancestors, who lost the peninsula to the Muslim invasion.

By discussing Sancha's conscious and unconscious motives for gift-giving and creation of objects new understandings have emerged about each action. These emerging ideas create new networks that return agency to both Sancha and the object alike. As such the proximal relationship between Sancha and each object has been restored. Through new networks we can better understand how Sancha employed both male and female donation practices that enhanced her role as queen. One such network is the employment of the *infantazgo*, which Sancha used to translate saints from all over Hispania to the kingdom of León. The investigation of documents brought forth not only evidence of Sancha's employment of the *infantazgo* but how she merged the powers of the *infantazgo* with that queen. As scholars continue to research Sancha and the events of the eleventh century new networks will be constructed that further connect the objects to Sancha and the journey these objects took to become part of museum collections around the world. Furthermore, scholarly efforts must focus on the ivory plaques now scattered in various museum collections to understand their role within the palace-monastery complex and the importance of ivory production in León.

During the Napoleonic occupation of the palace-monastery complex Sancha's epitaph was partially destroyed, on the portion that remains are the words "...*regina totius Hispaniae...*" which translates to "queen of all Spain."<sup>137</sup> Eight years after her death a plaque was added to the Basilica of San Isidoro that reads:

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<sup>137</sup> Viñayo González, *Fernando I*, 68.



*“HANC QUAM CERNIS AULAM SCI IOANNIS  
BAPTISTAE OLIM FUIT LUTEA QUAM NUPER  
EXCELLENTISSIMUS FERDINANDUS REX ET SANCIA  
REGINA AEDIFICAVERUNT LAPIDEAM. TUNC AB  
URBE HISPALI ADDUXERUNT IBI CORPUS SCI  
YSIDOI ARCHIEPISCOPI. DEDICATIONE TEMPLI  
HUIUS DIE DUODECIMO KAL. IANUARIII ERA MCI.  
DEINDE IN ERA MCIII SEXTO KAL. MAII  
ADDUXERUNT IBI DE URBE AVILA CORPUS SCI  
VINCENTII FRATRIS SABINAE CHRISTESTISQUE  
IPSIUS ANNO PRAEFATUS REX REVERTENS DE  
HOSTES AB URBE VALENCIA HINC IBI DIE SABBATI  
ET ORBIT DIE TERTIA FERIA SEXTA KAL. IANUARIII  
ERA MCII. SANCIA REGINA DEO DICATA PEREGIT.”<sup>138</sup>*

This plaque, which was erected by her daughter Doña Urraca, ends with the words “...Queen Sancha dedicated it to God,” which underscores that the building may have been made with Fernando, but it was she who saw its completion and that it was hers to donate. Such a powerful reminder placed at the entrance of the chapel, would remind all

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<sup>138</sup> Julio Pérez Llamazares, *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, de León* (León: Imprenta Moderna, 1927), 358. This church of San Juan Bautista which you see, formerly made of brick, was recently built of stone by the most excellent king Fernando and queen Sancha. They brought here from Sevilla the body of archbishop Isidoro. It was dedicated 21 December 1063. Then on 26 April 1065 they brought here from Avila the body of San Vicente, brother of Sabine and Christeta. In that same year the king, returning here from the enemy forces before Valencia, died on 27 December 1065. Queen Sancha, dedicated to God, completed. Translation by Julio Pérez Llamazares. Caldwell, “Queen Sancha,”

who entered that she built it, and that it was truly hers.<sup>139</sup> By the end of her life Sancha had rebuilt the double monastery of Saint Pelayo and Saint John the Baptist into a palace monastery complex that would remain the center of power until the thirteenth century. As the first queen to use the title “*regine imperatrice regnum*” Sancha reached a level of political and social power unprecedented in León.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Martin, *Queen as King*, 48.

<sup>140</sup> Viñayo González, *Fernando I*, 68. For more discussion on Sancha and her use of the title *regine imperatrice regnum* see: Susan Haven Caldwell *Queen Sancha's "Persuasion."*

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APPENDIX A

IMAGES

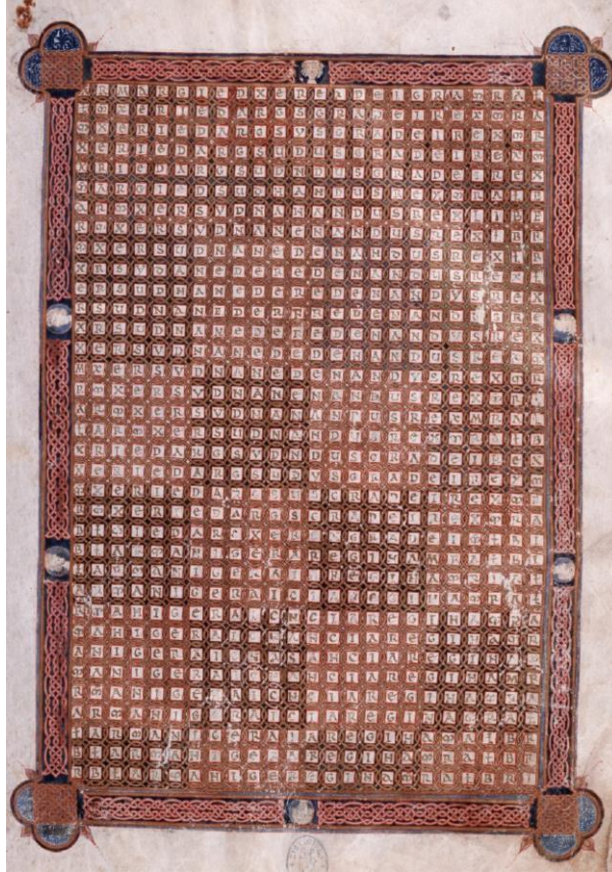


Fig. 1: *Acrostic* in Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I folio 7v

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig. 2: *Initial "A" in Beatus of Sancha and Fernando I folio 5v*

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig. 3: Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I folio 6r

Book of Hours or Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I

León, 1055

Tempera on Parchment

(31 x 20 cm)

University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609)





Fig. 4: Reliquary of Saint Isidore

León, 1063 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

13 x 32 x 17 ½ in. (33 x 81.5 x 44.5 cm)

Silver gilt, wood, niello, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-*

*1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 239-244, 110.



Fig. 5: Reliquary of Saint Pelayo

León, 1059 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

12 x 9 x 10 ¼ in. (30.5 x 48 x 26.2 cm)

Wood, ivory, gold, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-*

*1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 236-238, 109.

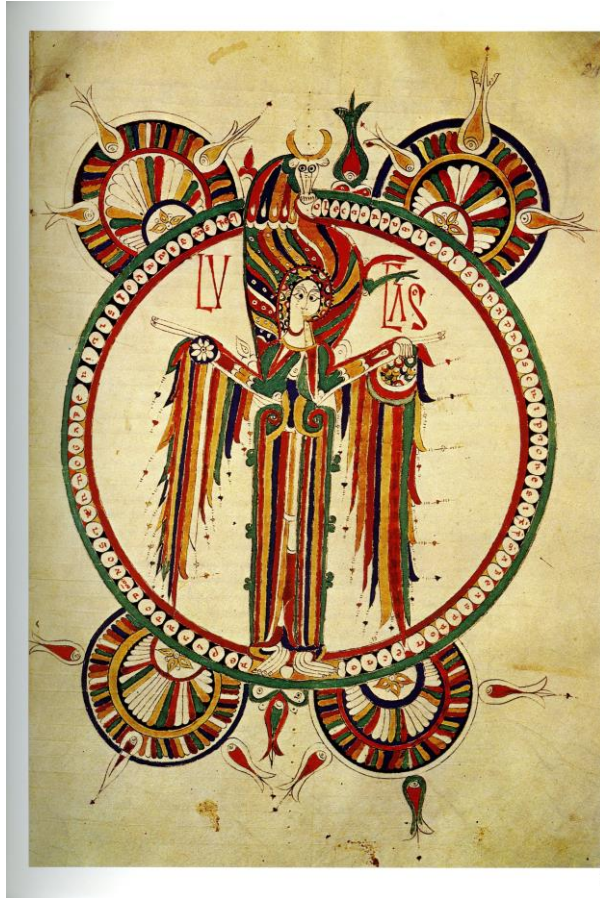


Fig. 6: *Saint Luke* folio 211r

Bible of 920

León, 920

Tempera on Parchment

(365 x 240 mm)

Cathedral of León, *Codice 6*

John Williams. *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*. New York, NY: George Braziller, Inc, 1977, 44, Plate 3.

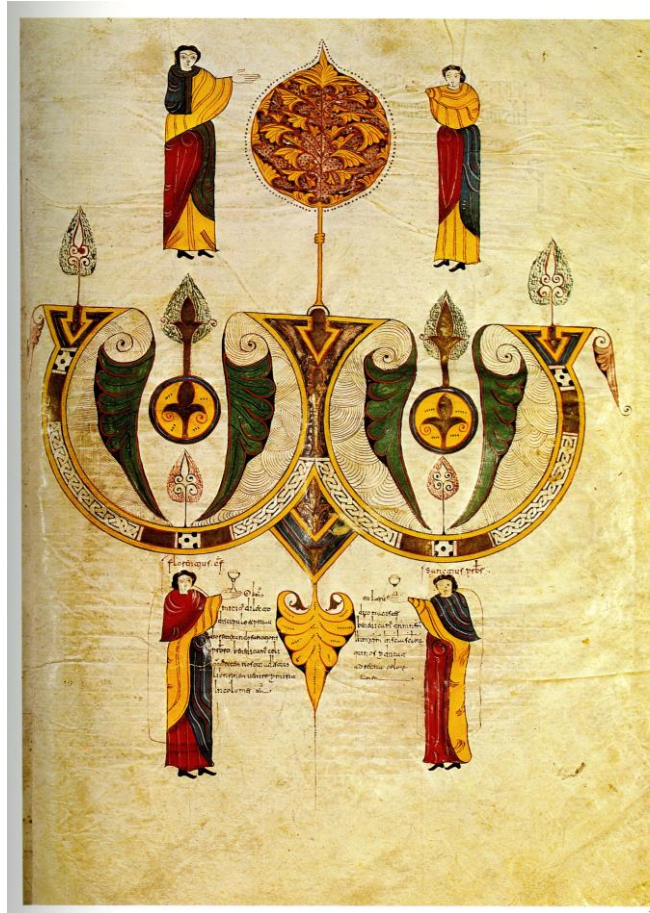


Fig. 7: *Omega* folio 514r

Bible of 960,

León, 960

Tempera on Parchment

(480 x 310 mm)

93

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León, Codíce 2

John Williams. *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*. New York, NY: George Braziller, Inc, 1977, 59, Plate 11.

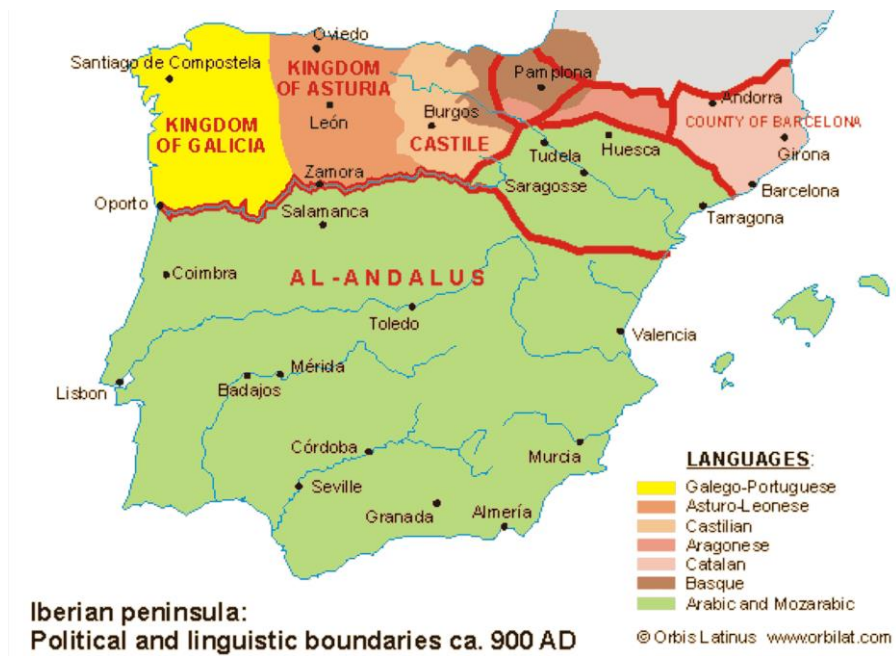


Fig. 8: Map of Iberian Peninsula ca. 900 c.e.

[www.orbilat.com](http://www.orbilat.com)



Fig. 9: *Presentation Page* folio 3r

Book of Hours or Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I

León, 1055

Tempera on Parchment

(31 x 20 cm)

University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609)

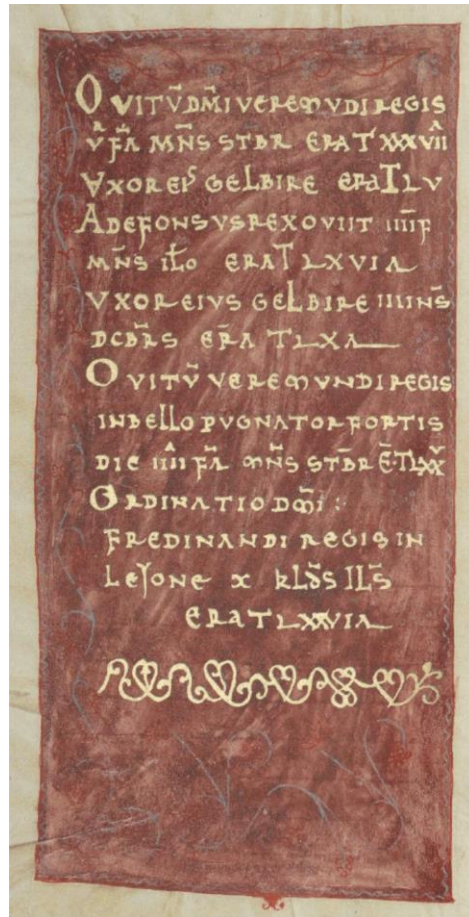


Fig. 10: *Chronicon* folio 207v

Book of Hours or Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I

León, 1055

Tempera on Parchment

(31 x 20 cm)

University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609)





Fig. 11: *Colophon folio 208v*

Book of Hours or Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I

León, 1055

Tempera on Parchment

(31 x 20 cm)

University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609)



Fig. 12: *Dedication Page* folio 1v

Perikopenbuch

Reichenau, 1040

(281cm X 213cm)

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Hs. 78A2)



Fig. 13: *Lamb of God with Musicians*, folio 6r

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

100

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig. 14: *Commission to Write* folio 7r

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

101



Fig. 15: *Commission to Write* folio 8v

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig. 16: *Saint Mark Receiving the Commission to Write* folio 8r

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)



Fig. 17: *Saint Matthew Receiving the Commission to Write* folio 9v

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig. 18: *Saint Luke Receiving the Commission to Write* folio 9r

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment



14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig.19: *Saint John Receiving the Commission to Write* folio 10v

Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus and Commentary on Daniel by Jerome

León, 1047

Tempera on Parchment

14 ½ x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (MS14-2)



Fig.20: Presentation Page folio 3r

Codex Aureus of Speyer

Echternach, 1036-1038

(520 x 520 cm)

Escorial, Biblioteca Principal (Evangeliar)



Fig. 21: *Dedication Page* folio 18v u. 19r

Eginocodex

Verona VOR 799

(393 x 306 cm)

Preussische Staatshbibliothek, Berlin (Hs. PHILL.1676)

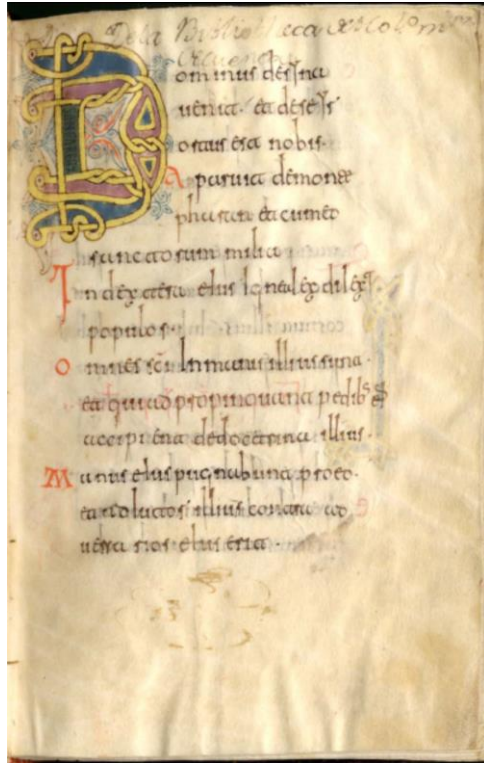


Fig. 22: Initial "D" folio 2r

Prayerbook of Queen Sancha

León, 1059

Tempera on Parchment

(21 x 14 cm)

University of Salamanca, Salamanca (BU MS 2668)



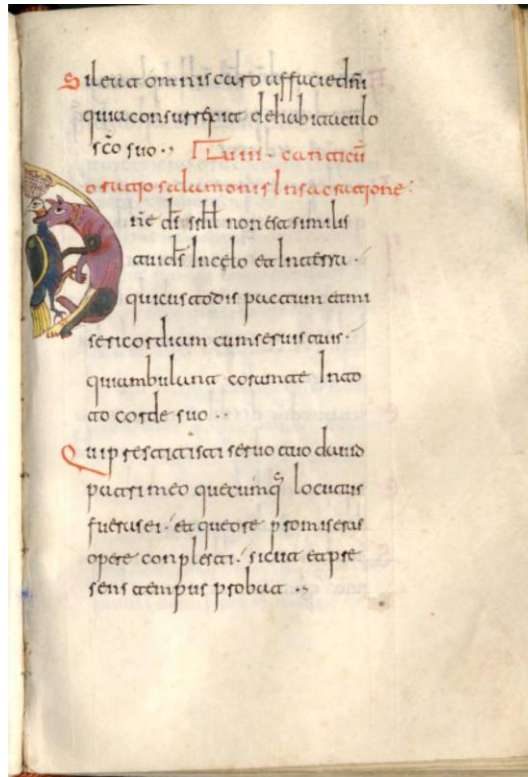


Fig. 24: folio 75v

Prayerbook of Queen Sancha

León, 1059

Tempera on Parchment

(21 x 14 cm)

University of Salamanca, Salamanca (BU MS 2668)

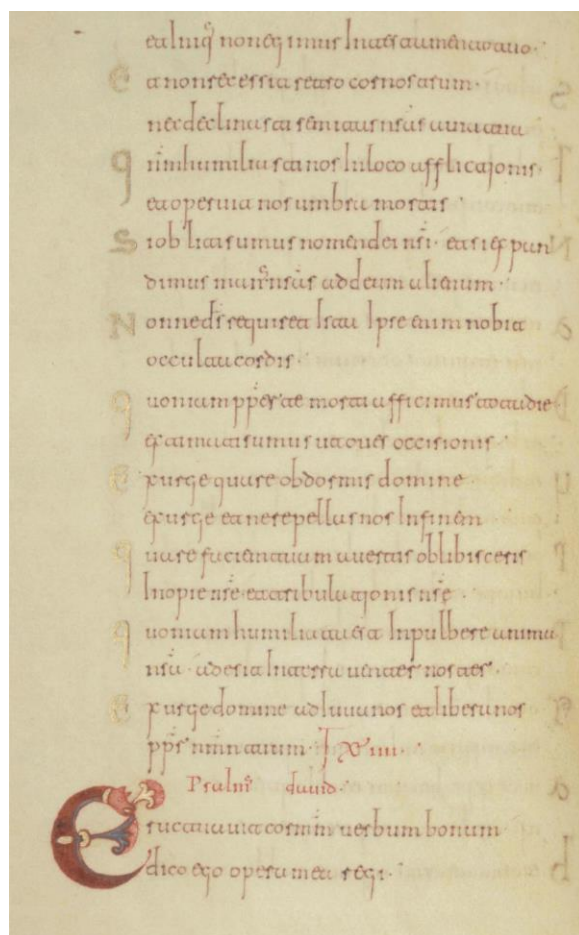


Fig. 25: folio 45r

Book of Hours or Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I

León, 1055

Tempera on Parchment

(31 x 20 cm)



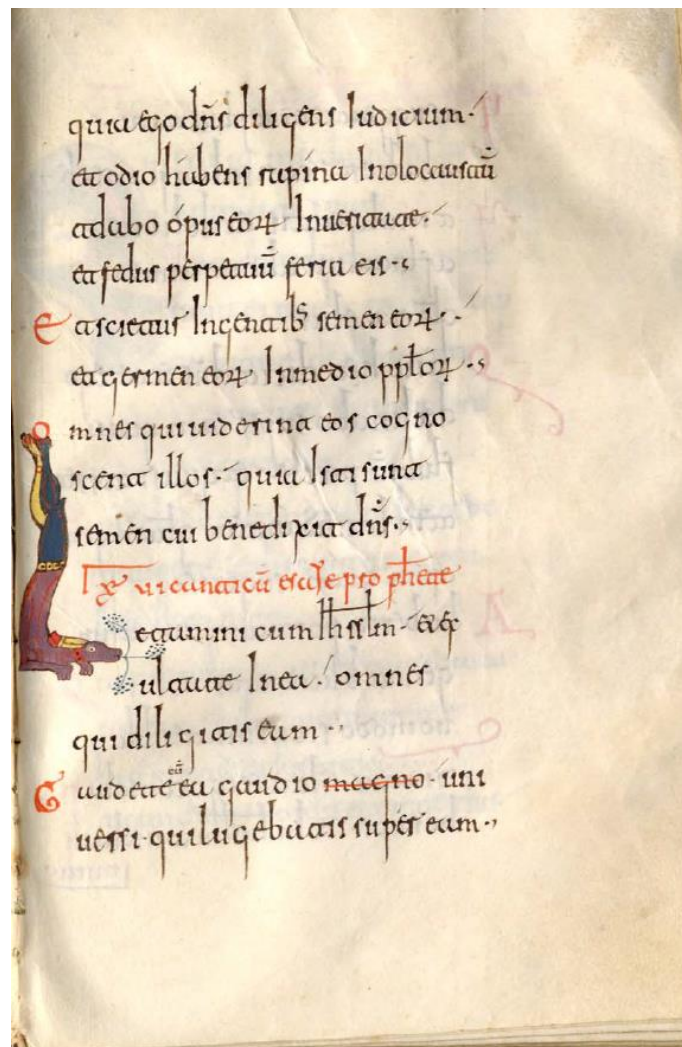


Fig. 26: folio 69v

Book of Hours or Diurnal of Sancha and Fernando I

León, 1055

Tempera on Parchment

(31 x 20 cm)

University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609)



Fig. 27: *Temptation of Adam*, Reliquary of Saint Isidore

León, 1063 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

13 x 32 x 17 ½ in. (33 x 81.5 x 44.5 cm)

Silver gilt, wood, niello, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 239-244, 110.



Fig. 28: *Creation of Adam*, Reliquary of Saint Isidore

León, 1063 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

13 x 32 x 17 ½ in. (33 x 81.5 x 44.5 cm)

Silver gilt, wood, niello, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 239-244, 110.



Fig. 29: Fernando I on the Reliquary of Saint Isidore

León, 1063 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

13 x 32 x 17 ½ in. (33 x 81.5 x 44.5 cm)

Silver gilt, wood, niello, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-*

*1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 239-244, 110.



Fig. 30: Expulsion of Adam of Eve

León, 1063 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

13 x 32 x 17 ½ in. (33 x 81.5 x 44.5 cm)

Silver gilt, wood, niello, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-*

*1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 239-244, 110.



Fig. 31: *Angel Slaying the Dragon of the Apocalypse*

Reliquary of Saint Pelayo

León, 1059 or earlier

Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León

12 x 9 x 10 ¼ in. (30.5 x 48 x 26.2 cm)

Wood, ivory, gold, and silk

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 236-238, 109.

