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Monastery and Monarchy:

The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas

and Santa María la Real de Sigena

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Monastery and Monarchy:

The Foundation and Patronage of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas and Santa María la Real de Sigena

by

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In loving memory of my father

John William Patrick McKiernan

(1939-1982)

for whom my heart still aches.

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Power, piety, and remembrance came together in the artistic patronage of two Iberian queens at the end of the twelfth century. In their endeavors to create lasting institutions that would preserve the memory of their respective dynasties, Leonor Plantagenet, Queen of *Castilla*, and Sancha of León-Castilla, Queen of *Aragón*, intentionally supported unique architectural developments in their kingdoms. The monastic foundations of Las Huelgas in Castilla and Sigena in Aragón signal the distinct architectural style to be followed by contemporary architects in each kingdom: Castilla became the flagship of the Gothic style on the peninsula; Aragón, the last bastion of the Romanesque. The queens' choices as patrons reveal not only their desire to make associations with their natal lands, but also an acute understanding of their realms' particular political and

religious situations. The distinct path each took in affiliating their monastery with foreign orders – the Cistercian and Hospitaller respectively – the location of the monastery, the legal constructions, and the choice of architectural style of the institutions reveal a keen awareness of where power lay in their lands. The queens' establishment of dynastic necropolises at women's foundations affirmed the role of women in the economy of prayer associated with the dead and claimed a greater role for women of the royal house in remembrance. Through their manipulation of these institutions, the monasteries survived, thrived, and maintained a strong royal association into the twentieth century.

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Introduction

Spectacular exceptions to the usual roles of women in society and politics mark the study of queenship. Queens such as Isabel la Católica in Spain, Elizabeth in England, and Marie de' Medici in France present case studies of powerful women who commanded nations, armies, and faiths in the early modern period. The Middle Ages had their equivalents in Urraca of León-Castilla (r. 1109-1126) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204), queens who entered the mythic realm with songs extolling their willfulness and flagrant disregard for the traditional role of women in their societies. These historic queens, however, were aware of the boundaries of their roles and balanced governance, diplomacy, and religious intervention. Yet they exercised their power in public areas, at a time when women were suppose to tread in private.

Even the private sphere of queenship presented arenas of tremendous influence, however, this was influence exercised through familial alliances, wealth, counsel, and lineage. In focusing on exceptional expressions of power, scholars diminish the real power and influence at the disposal of queens who did not flout convention. In this dissertation I analyze the architectural patronage and influence of two lesser-known Iberian queens at the end of the twelfth century: Sancha of León-Castilla (d. 1208) and Leonor Plantagenet (d. 1214).[1] Sancha and Leonor ruled at the sides of their husbands

[1] Dulce Ocon Alfonso has also linked Leonor and Sancha in "El papel artístico de la reinas hispanas en la segunda mitad del siglo XII: Leonor de Castilla y Sancha de Aragón," *VII Jornadas de arte: La mujer en el arte español* (Madrid, 1997). She discusses the impact of Leonor's patronage upon Castilla. This is a topic I will look at in depth in chapter 1. Ocon Alonso uses Leonor's connection to Sicily through her sister Joana to relate her to Sancha's patronage of the Sicilian-Byzantine fresco cycle in Sigena's chapterhouse. The remarks on Sancha are an addendum to her argument.

for over twenty years during periods of tremendous political and artistic ferment. Poised at a moment of transformation, these queens marked their kingdoms and reveal the sustained power queens could exercise. Their ability to influence their societies was connected to the perception of their piety and care for their families in life and death.

This study of queenly power and prestige in the twelfth century argues that stylistic transformation in architecture provides a window into the dynamics of monastic politics in northern Iberia. In 1187 Sancha, as queen of Aragón, and Leonor, as queen of Castilla, founded the monasteries of Santa María la Real de Sigena and Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, respectively. The simultaneous establishment of these two monasteries provides a unique opportunity to study the political and artistic development of monasteries in northern Iberia during the late Reconquest. My study investigates these queens' spiritual and material relationship to their chosen sites, their artistic choices, and the rights and privileges they gained for these sites within their respective monastic orders and within their realms.

By analyzing the intimate connection between the queens and their monasteries, I explore the role of women in Spain as keepers of genealogies and familial sanctity, and

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Leonor also has received attention by virtue of her powerful ruling daughters, Berenguela of León-Castilla and Blanche of Castile, and her mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Yet even articles that pretend to focus on her tend to be excuses to look at her husband Alfonso VIII, her daughters, or her mother. Leonor also has the dubious distinction of having her life story altered negatively for historical fiction by Lion Feuchtwanger in *Raquel the Jewess of Toledo*, trans. Ernst Kaiser and Eithne Wilkins (New York, 1956). Furthermore, due to her position in Castilla, which came to dominate the peninsula, Leonor appears in most compendiums of Spanish queens. Sancha appears only in local Aragonese discussions. She has been the focus of a detailed study by Mariano de Pano y Ruata *La Santa Reina doña Sancha, fundadora del monasterio de Sijena* (Zaragoza, 1944), which focuses on her piety, and a M.A. thesis by Marian T. Horvat "Queen Sancha of Aragon and the Royal Monastery of Sigena (MA Thesis, University of Kansas, 1994).

unveil both the power the queens maintained over land and realm and their attempts to transform their societies. This study argues that by linking themselves to powerful monastic communities the two queens created lasting symbols of their presence and role in the politics of their respective kingdoms. These monasteries are the most important extant objects of the two queens' extensive patronage. I argue that the stylistic analysis of the two structures provides evidence of the spiritual and material gains made by the queens through their patronage. This stylistic analysis, when combined with a textual study of contemporary documents, deepens our understanding of the role of queens in governance during the Reconquest.

This study builds on previous work on women's patronage in the medieval period. In the last decade scholars such as Roger Collins, Therese Martin, Miriam Shadis, William Clay Stalls, and Theresa Vann have begun to reveal the rich and open field of Iberian queenship.[2] These analyses emphasize the power of governance Iberian queens exercised in this period. Yet current scholarship on the patronage of women during the Middle Ages focuses upon women who acted alone; widows, particularly in their roles as queens regent, provide ample opportunity to identify agency. This is an unsurprising result of the perceived need for clear distinction between the patronage of husband and

[2] Roger Collins, "Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth Century León and Navarra," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993), 79-92; Miriam Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and Her Daughters Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, 1996), 202-227, based on work done for her dissertation "Motherhood, Lineage, and Royal Power in Medieval Castile and France: Berenguela of Leon and Blanche of Castile," (Duke University, 1994); William Clay Stalls, "Queenship and the Royal Patrimony in Twelfth-Century Iberia: The Example of Petronila of Aragón," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Theresa Vann (Cambridge, 1993), 49-61 and in the same compilation Theresa M. Vann, "The Theory and Practice of Medieval Castilian Queenship," 125-147.

wife. The roles women played are easily identified only when they act alone in documents. This emphasis on actions readily identified in manuscripts and contemporary documents can also obscure the roles and actions taken by women in this period.

Diplomatic documents are a very good source for Sancha's patronage.[3] In Aragón documents identify the agency of each spouse. When Sancha's wealth from her dowry or dower is used, she is identified as the patron, or she signs her husband's documents to indicate her compliance. The diplomatic documents in Castilla, however, obscure Leonor's role as they use a formulaic tradition that does not distinguish the role of the spouses.[4] The documents need to be read carefully for hints of Leonor's agency. The queen's presence in chronicles and troubadour lore will be weighed against the diplomatic documents.

Sancha outlived her husband Alfonso II of Aragón (r. 1162-1196) by over a decade and took monastic vows, but her relationship to Sigena did not change significantly after his death. She was intimately linked not only with the monastery's external shape, but also with its internal structure: she handpicked the first five abbesses. Although Sancha's patronage was extensive, her focus on Sigena suggests she

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[3] While diplomatic documents reveal the queen's agency, they have not been systematically collected. Ana-Isabel Sánchez Casabón has recently compiled the documents of Alfonso II in *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marquez de Provenza: documentos (1162-1196)* (Zaragoza, 1995). This is the best source for Sancha's consent to her husband's bequests. Her documents have to be found individually within the compilations of documents for specific sites, such as in: Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena* (Valencia, 1972); *Cartulari de Poblet: Edició del Manuscrit de Tarragona* (Barcelona, 1938); and Josep-Joan Piquer i Jover, "Cartulari de Vallbona (1157-1665)," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 37 (1975): 67-109; and in individual archives, particularly the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona and the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca.

[4] Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en la epoca de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1960) compiles the documents of the king and queen in volume II.

specifically went about linking her person with the monastery. She exercised control over her lands and wealth, and she appears as sole actor in most of her documents. Sancha's consent seems to have been necessary in documents pertaining to her property; these are the only documents she ever co-signed with her husband. These documents provide a unique opportunity to study her patronage, as Aragón does not follow the trend in other areas of using a formulaic treatment of documents where the queens' name appears subordinate to her husband's.

Leonor survived Alfonso VIII of Castilla (r. 1158-1214) by less than a month. The major construction of Las Huelgas, however, was finished within her lifetime and under her scrutiny.[5] Leonor also spent a large amount of time at Las Huelgas, as it was designated as a place of retreat for the royal family. She presents a singular opportunity to look at a wife's patronage role within marriage. The royal documents consistently indicate her role as subordinate to that of her husband. These documents, however, need to be weighed against contemporary chronicles that clearly present her as the moving force behind the establishment of the monastery.[6]

Contemporary documents and chronicles identify the role of the queens in governance and highlight their patronage. The dynastic-familial qualities of the *Primera crónica general* by Leonor's grandson, Alfonso X, and the *Crónica* by Jaime I, Sancha's

[5] The monastery's construction will also be discussed in chapter 3.
[6] The connection of both monasteries to married women was also unusual as monasteries for women were more frequently established to provide an avenue of power for unmarried daughters and the recently widowed. Over the first hundred years neither monastery had a princess abbess, even though daughters of the royal family did enter the monastery. This unique circumstance presents another innovative move on the part of these queens.

grandson, make them essential for my work.[7] These chronicles present the role of the queens, and the lasting importance of the monasteries they founded. In both cases the grandsons visited and actively patronized the sites. The thirteenth-century Castilian chronicles, *De rebus hispaniae* by Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, the anonymous *Crónica Latina de los reyes de Castilla* and Lucas de Tuy's *Crónica de España*, and the thirteenth and fourteenth-century Aragonese-Catalan chronicles, Ramon Muntaner's *Crónica* and the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, provide valuable contextual information on the queens and their patronage roles.[8] In these chronicles the queens are consistently linked with their monastic foundations, even when little other information is given. Their piety and compassion for their populace is highlighted, as is their role in governance.

Sancha and Leonor were active in patronage during their time as queens at their husbands' sides. Sigena and Las Huelgas were founded by wives and patronized by them throughout their tenure as queens; both queens lived for another twenty years after the monasteries' foundation and remained linked to their institutions.

Monastic affiliation and primacy

Sigena and Las Huelgas have many parallels: each queen endowed her monastery for the institution's long-term survival and made the site preeminent among women's

[7] Alfonso X, *Primera crónica general de España*, ed. Ramon Menendez Pidal (Madrid, 1955) and Jaime I, *Crónica, o, Llibre dels Feits*, ed. Miquel Coll I Alentorn (Valencia, 1982).

[8] Cirot, Georges, ed. "Chronique latine des rois de Castille," *Bulletin hispanique* 19 (1913): 2-101; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed. *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* (Valencia, 1961); Bernat Desclot, *Crónica*, ed. Marina Gustà (Barcelona, 1984); Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, *Historia de rebus hispaniae sive historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernandez Valverde (Turnhout, 1987); and Lucas de Tuy, *Crónica de España*, ed. Julio Puyol (Madrid, 1926).

monastic foundations within her kingdom. In addition, they provided for substantial independence within the foundations' respective centralized orders by seeking papal jurisdiction and protection for the foundations, freeing them in large part from oversight by more local ecclesiastical authorities.[9] Beginning with the order chosen for each site, however, differences between Sigena and Las Huelgas are also significant and reveal specific considerations of power relations in their realms.[10]

Sancha founded Sigena as a Hospitaller monastery. She established a female house within the bosom of a military order in a Reconquest kingdom. The Aragonese kings favored the military orders and the Hospitallers profited from this favoritism. Sancha thus made an expedient decision by choosing the Hospitaller order for her monastery. Although it was not the first Hospitaller monastery for women, its intriguing and rather unusual place within a military order has attracted the attention of scholars of

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[9] Las Huelgas in particular has been the focus of several studies of the legal powers of the abbesses. Fernando Diez Moreno, "El monasterio de Las Huelgas: Régimen jurídico del real patronato," *Reales Sitios* 31 (1994): 2-11; Lamberto de Echevarría y Martínez de Margarita, *En tormo a la jurisdicción ecclesiástica de la abadesa de Las Huelgas* (Burgos, 1945); José María Escriva de Balaguer, *La abadesa de Las Huelgas: Estudio teólogico jurisdico* (Madrid, 1988); and Félix Sabastián, *Privilegios de la abadesa de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (Burgos, 1969). The rights of Sigena's prioress have also been discussed by Antoni Durán Gudiol, "La regal del monestir de Santa María de Sixena," *Monastica* 1 (1960): 135-191; and Julio P. Arribas Salaberri, *Doña Blanca de Aragón y de Anjou, XVI priora del real monasterio de Sijena* (Lerida, 1973).

[10] Sigena and Las Huelgas have benefited from the compilation and transcription of their documents by Agustin Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Documentos de Sigena* (Valencia, 1972) and José Manuel Lizoain Garrido, ed., *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (Burgos, 1985). Perhaps not surprisingly, both editors also became involved with publishing the economic history of the monasteries: Ubieto Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sigena (1188-1300)* (Valencia, 1966) and Lizoain Garrido, *El monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos: Historia de un señorio cisterciense burgales (siglos XII y XIII)* (Burgos, 1988).

military history.[11] Women's houses were infrequent in the order; when they did occur, they were hospices for pilgrims in partnership with a larger male house. Sancha broke with tradition and established the monastery under the most powerful military order within her realm, but assigned to it the daily devotions of a contemplative order. She had a customary written for Sigena that established independence in its internal and external relations but guaranteed protection from the Castellania de Amposta, the Aragonese center of Hospitaller power.[12] This one-sided relationship was to be the cause of friction between the two communities. Sigena was the only women's foundation of the Hospitallers on the Iberian Peninsula at the time of foundation.[13] This gave Sancha's monastery primacy over the future houses.

Leonor founded Las Huelgas following the strong spread of the Cistercian order in the reign of Alfonso VIII.[14] Alfonso VIII used the Cistercian order's willingness to move to inhospitable lands as an aid in the repopulation of conquered territories. Leonor,

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[11] Alan J. Forey, "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Studia monastica* 29 (1987): 63-92; Juan Manuel Palacios Sánchez, *La sagrada, soberana e ínclita orden militar de San Juan de Jerusalem (Orden de Malta) y sus monasteries de religiosas en España* (Zamora, 1997); H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994); and María Bonet Donato, *La orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón: Poder y gobierno en la castellania de Amposta* (Madrid, 1994).

[12] Durán Gudiol, "La regla de Sixena," 135-191. The rule is transcribed in Ubieto Arteta's *Documentos de Sigena*, doc. 8, 1188, 18-40, and is translated in Horvat, 125-162.

[13] The monastery of Grisén had been founded in 1174, but does not appear to have survived foundation. It is possible the nuns from this monastery were the core of the monastery of Sigena as a new more auspicious location was found. Juan Manuel Palacios Sánchez, *El real monasterio de Sijena: Introducción a la historia del monasterio* (Zaragoza, 1980), 12

[14] Vicente-Ángel Alvárez Palenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla (siglos XII-XIII)* (Valladolid, 1978); Javier Pérez-Embid, *El Cister en Castilla y León: Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII-XIV)* (Salamanca, 1986); and José Carlos Valle Pérez, "La introducción de la orden del Cister en los reinos de Castilla y León: Estado de la cuestión," in *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal* (Burgos, 1991), 133-161. In chapter II, I consider the controvertail development of foundations for Cistercian nuns.

likewise, established a monastery that benefited from the privileges already set up for the Cistercians in the realm. Although Sigena had the automatic primacy of a motherhouse, Las Huelgas was not the first Cistercian foundation of the land. Indeed, Las Huelgas was populated with nuns from the monastery of Tulebras in Navarra, and there were already Cistercian foundations for women in Castilla. Leonor set out to give her monastery this primacy artificially, through a privilege accorded by Cîteaux and by the unspoken threat of royal displeasure.[15] Several prioresses of these earlier foundations resisted this change in status, but ultimately conceded to the mandate by Cîteaux.[16]

By aligning Sigena and Las Huelgas with the most prominent orders in the land, the queens gave the nuns rights and privileges already accorded to male houses of those orders in Castilla and Aragón. This, however, set up an internal power struggle between the monasteries and their centralized hierarchical orders. Over the course of the thirteenth century both monasteries came into conflict with the respective centralized male hierarchy. In both cases papal intercession was sought to remedy the situation, and

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[15] Elizabeth Connor, "The Abbeys of Las Huelgas and Tart and Their Filiations," in *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women*, John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, eds. (Kansas City, 1995), 29-48, and María del Carmen Muñoz Parraga, "Monasterios de monjas cistercienses (Castilla-León)," *Cuadernos de arte español* 65 (1992): 3-31, have both considered Las Huelgas within the broader role of women within the Cistercian movement; this is also the focus of the unpublished dissertation of Elena Casas Castells at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid (2004).

[16] Las Huelgas has been singled out as the prime example of a monastic site for women in Castilla, particularly, and in Spain generally. The importance of the site is linked primarily to royal patronage both at its foundation and over time. Las Huelgas has been the object of interest for many publications, including large picture books of royal sites and monasteries. Examples of these include Antonio Bonet Correa, *Royal Monasteries in the National Heritage of Spain* (Barcelona, 1988); Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Casas reales en monasteries y conventos españoles* (Madrid, 1982); Pablo García Martínez, *Monasterios de España* (Madrid, 1997); Féderico Carlos Sainz de Robles, *Monasterios de España: Su historia, su arte, sus leyendas* (Madrid, 1953). The Spanish journals *Cistercium* and *Reales Sitios* have also given Las Huelgas consistent attention over the last decade.

in both cases the queen's foundations prevailed. Sancha and Leonor successfully arranged for the survival and power of their foundations beyond their deaths and, through them, for the perpetuation of their own memories.

Architectural innovation: Sigena and Las Huelgas

Sancha and Leonor made very different architectural choices for their respective monasteries: Romanesque at Sigena, early Gothic at Las Huelgas. Scholars characterize the period as one of architectural transition and flux. The choices were available in part because the time in which they lived was one of change, with differing styles competing against one another. Yet more than the prevailing style lay behind each queens' choice. My analysis of the distinct regional traditions invoked in the two monasteries points to political motivations behind the forms selected. The shifting alliances of kingdoms that formed dynastic politics in northern Iberia were an important matrix for the architectural development at both Sigena and Las Huelgas.

Sancha built Sigena at a strategic location on the crossroads connecting the four most important Aragonese cities (See Map 1).[17] The location was propitious enough that she drained a swamp and moved a town in order to build there. Her monastery was a High Romanesque structure that followed the Cistercian urge to austerity rather than the model of ornate pilgrimage road churches. Sigena maintained the grandeur and simplicity of form throughout its monastic complex, which reveals the consistency of a single building campaign. The broad pointed arch is used throughout the site, in

[17] I thank Kiersten Norbrothen for her help in adding Sigena and Las Huelgas to the map.

diaphragm arches in the monastic dependencies and in the barrel vault in the church (Figures 1-2). Thick ashlar masonry, small arched windows, and thick transverse arches are all strongly indebted to the Romanesque architecture of the end of the eleventh century.

The scholarly attention devoted to Sigena's architecture has been primarily local with one exception.[18] The architectural austerities are balanced with pictorial extravagance in the form of narrative frescoes. Art historians to date have concentrated their attention on the chapter-house fresco cycle in Sicilian-Byzantine style, concerning themselves particularly with the disputed provenance of the artist; they have not, however, considered the specifics of the site or the use of architectural style as a carrier of meaning.[19] Aside from attention to the Sigena chapter house frescoes in English language scholarship, the art and architecture of Sigena have been virtually ignored by

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[18] Ricardo del Arco y Garay, "El arte en el monasterio de Sigena," *Archivo de arte español* 19/5 (1916): 101-120, "Las damas de Sigena," *Aragón* 99 (1933): 244, and "Real monasterio de Sigena," *Boletin de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 29 (1921): 26-63; Julio Arribas Salaberri, *Historia de Sijena* (Lerida, 1975); Juan Manuel Palacios Sanchez, *El real monasterio de Sijena: Introducción a la historia del monasterio* (Zaragoza, 1980); Mariano de Pano y Ruata, "Acta de apertura y reconocimiento de los sepulcros reales del monasterio de Sijena." *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (1887): 462-469; Pano, *El monasterio de Sijena: La serie prioral* (Zaragoza, 1932); Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *El monasterio dúplice de Sigena* (Zaragoza, 1992); Ubieto Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sigena (1188-1300)* (Valencia, 1966).

[19] Walter F. Oakeshott, *Sigena: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists* (London, 1972); Otto Pacht, "A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain," *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961): 166-175; Karl Frederick Schuler, "The Pictorial Program of the Chapterhouse of Sigena" (New York University Ph.D. 1995); Angel Sicart, *Las pinturas de Sijena* (Madrid, 1992); and Féderico Revilla, "Observaciones iconográficas sobre las pinturas de la sala capitular de Sijena," *Primer coloquio de arte aragonés* (Teruel, 1978), 283-296.

non-Spanish art historians; the exception is Jacques Gardelles's article "Le prieuré de Sigena aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Étude architecturale."[20]

Whereas Sigena's architecture is decidedly Romanesque, the buildings at Las Huelgas incorporate Romanesque, Gothic, and Mudejar architectural elements.[21] The church and chapterhouse are markedly Gothic in their construction and display the early adoption of the northern style on the peninsula. The church is lighter, though significantly larger, than Sigena (Figure 4, 5). The clerestory is expanded as is the scale of the lancet windows. The ribbing is thinned and rises to quadri-partite rib vaults in the nave. The rounded solid apse at Sigena is juxtaposed by a polygonal apse at Las Huelgas with two levels of windows in the chevet (Figures 3, 6). This transforms the space, multiplying the number of windows from a single small one to ten large lancets. Contemporary sites, the structures are remarkable in their differences.

The architectural notoriety and regal patronage of Las Huelgas have placed it in the realm of large picture books and tour guides. Las Huelgas appears in all the major texts regarding the development of the Gothic form on the peninsula. Yet the monument's early adoption of forward-looking architectural developments has been largely attributed to the monarchs' daughter and grandchild: Berenguela (d. 1246) and Fernando III (r. 1217-52). Recently, however, James d'Emilio and Henrik Karge have

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[20] Jacques Gardelles "Le prieuré de Sigena aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Étude architecturale," *Bulletin monumental* 133/1 (1975): 15-28.

[21] Mudejar forms are defined as those used by Islamic craftsmen who remained in Christian territory after conquest. Although a Mudejar style is most frequently linked to the thirteenth century, decorative elements actually appear much earlier, and the suggestion of an early adoption of the form in secular environments is growing. Unfortunately palaces from earlier periods have not survived intact, but their influence on royal monastic sites will be discussed further in chapter III.

challenged the prevailing ideas.[22] Both scholars use stylistic analysis to conclude that the architecture of the church was carried out during the life of Leonor and Alfonso. Leonor's role as an instigator of the development of Gothic architecture on the peninsula is slowly coming to light.

Sigena and Las Huelgas appear precisely at a moment of transition between Romanesque and Gothic, a period which has not received substantial attention. Elie Lambert's *El arte gótico en España en los siglos XII-XIII* remains the most comprehensive text on Spanish Gothic architecture, though his focus is on the thirteenth century.[23] Juan de Contreras Marquez de Lozoyas is the only author to focus directly on this period in "La transición del románico al gótico en la peninsula."[24] He attempts to modify Lambert's strong French bias. More recent analyses of the period, such as Yarza's *Arte y arquitectura en España 500-1250*, still have not treated the competing styles on the peninsula satisfactorily.[25] It is precisely this aspect that I find to be extremely rich and fertile ground for the development of a Spanish style of Gothic art and architecture.

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[22] I would like to thank James d'Emilio for making his manuscript available to me prior to publication. James d'Emilio "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas: Dynastic Politics, Religious Reform, and Artistic Change in Medieval Castile" (unpublished manuscript) and Henrik Karge, "Die königliche Zisterzienserinnenabtei Las Huelgas de Burgos und die Anfänge der gotischen Architecktur in Spanien," in *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten des Kolloquiums der Carl Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Göttingen*, ed. Christian Freigang (Frankfurt-Madrid, 1999), 13-40, 373-376.

[23] Elie Lambert, *El arte gótico en España en los siglos XII-XIII*, trans. Cristina Rodriguez Sálmones (Madrid, 1990).

[24] Juan de Contreras Marqués de Lozoya, "La transición del románico al gótico en la peninsula," in *Historia del arte hispánico* (Barcelona, 1934), 1-42.

[25] Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Arte y arquitectura en España 500-1250* (Madrid, 1997). Yarza also deals with the period in *Baja edad media: Los siglos del gótico* (Madrid, 1992), thus presenting the aspects of late Romanesque and Early Gothic from both perspectives in Spain.

Scholarship on the architecture of twelfth-century Spain tends to split between a focus on the development of a mature Romanesque style at the end of the eleventh century and its repercussions into the middle of the twelfth, and on the development of early Gothic forms, and of the Cistercian Gothic in particular. This bipolar approach excludes a large number of monuments. Scholars have begun to remedy this in the last two decades, most significantly with a resurgence of work on Mudejar architecture and architectural decoration.[26] Yet scholars tend to ignore or to dismiss as "second" Romanesque or "proto-Gothic" architecture from the last quarter of the twelfth century that does not fit clearly in line with the developing Gothic style.[27] The structures that fare the worst are those that do not comfortably conform to an early Gothic style. The lack of appropriate terminology aggravates the problem. In actuality, there is no overarching term that successfully designates this period, although scholars have until recently most commonly used the term transition.

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[26] Rafael López Guzmán, *Arquitectura mudejar: Del sincretismo medieval a las alternativas hispanoamericanas* (Madrid, 2000); María Teresa Perez Higuera, "El Mudejar, una opción artistica en la corte de Castilla y León," in *Historia de Arte de Castilla y León*, vol. 4, *Arte Mudejar* (Valladolid, 1996): 129-222, and in the same volume Manuel Valdez Fernández, "Arte de los siglos XII a XV y cultura mudejar," 9-128. The symposium *Actas del III Simposio internacional de Mudejarismo* (Teruel, 1986) helped bring the subject into the mainstream of art historical study in Spain and was quickly followed by a study on Las Huelgas by Rosario Mazuela, "Arte mudejar en Burgos: Las huellas musulmanas en Las Huelgas y en el Hospital del Rey," *Reales Sitios* 92 (1987) 37-69. These studies focus on Mudejar forms primarily in Castilla and León, but there is also growing literature on the subject in Aragón.

[27] This is exacerbated by the use of the term "second Romanesque" by early scholars such as Whitehill to designate mature Romanesque. Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century* (London, 1968). José María de Azcárate Ristori has addressed the "proto-Gothic" development in sculpture in *El protogótico hispánico: Discurso leido el 12 de mayo de 1974* (Madrid, 1974). In *Arte gótico en España* (Madrid, 1990) he uses the terminology for architecture, primarily to identify a "transitional" moment and identifying the incorporation of Gothic elements in structures that are primarily Romanesque.

The use of "transition" to designate the period between the slow abandonment of Romanesque architecture and the adoption of Gothic has been the subject of debate since Willibald Sauerländer's papers of 1985 and 1987 criticized the evolutionary implications of the term.[28] This question was also debated in Spain, particularly in relation to sculpture, with Pita Andrade making points similar to Sauerländer's.[29] In the traditional scenario, the earlier style reaches the completion of its form in the later style. The idea of an evolutionary tendency from Romanesque to Gothic and of an intermediate style, however, are open to serious question.

The period between the two architectural styles does not sustain the concept of a transitional style in evolutionary terms. It presents, instead, a period where choices were made between the two styles, where they coexisted and competed. The dating of this period is much broader than often acknowledged, beginning in the middle of the twelfth century and continuing well through the thirteenth in many areas – including Aragón. Scholars have not adopted an appropriate stylistic designation, however, and the terms above, "second Romanesque" and "proto-Gothic," only differentiate between specific styles or choices within the same period. I choose to use the term "transition," not to designate a stylistic hybrid, but to designate the period where a diversity of styles coexists.

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[28] Willibald Sauerländer, "'Première architecture gothique' or Romanesque of the Twelfth Century? Changing Perspectives of Evaluation in Architectural History," *Sewanee Medieval Colloquium Occasional Papers* 2 (1985) 25-44, and "Style or Transition? The Fallacies of Classification Discussed in the Light of German Architecture 1190-1260," *Architectural History* 30 (1987) 1-29. It should be noted, though, that this problem was already surfacing in his writing in the 1970s.

[29] Pita Andrade, "España en la crisis del Románico," in *España en las crisis del arte europeo* (Madrid, 1968), 85-92.

The rejection of an evolutionary development between Romanesque and Gothic carries with it the implication that the patrons and masons of the moment recognized a distinct aesthetic choice, or style, between the two forms.[30] Thus the adoption or rejection of the new style could, and I argue did, carry meaning.[31] Herbert Kessler has observed that:

> Morphological distinctions connoting place of origin, quality, and appearance were not unknown during the Middle Ages. One reads of *Graeco opere* and *opere Saracenico*, for instance. Furthermore, the implications of origin connoted by style were exploited by patrons and artists . . . .[32]

To this list of reused foreign styles could be added *opus francigenum* as found in Robert Branner's study on Gothic architecture at the end of the thirteenth century.[33] The growing

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[30] Meyer Schapiro defined "style" as the "form elements or motives, form relationships, and qualities . . ." present in a work that link it to a specific space and time. To this he adds that "both structural and expressive-physiognomic" features of the works need to be considered. Meyer Schapiro, "Style," *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory*, ed. A.L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), 287-312, see especially 288-290.

[31] Richard Krautheimer's "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg Courtauld Institute* 5 (1942): 1-33 presents the argument against the idea of a consciousness of style. As he studies the places where the architecture of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is cited, he finds that the visible aesthetic appearance does not imitate the style of the original, rather an element such as number of supports, or size, even simply the dedication, is enough to convey a relationship. He notes, though, that by the thirteenth century this begins to change, and the outward appearance begins to be more true to the original.

[32] Herbert L. Kessler, "On the State of Medieval Art History," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 166-187. Kessler's recognition of this development at the end of the twelfth century is almost certainly indebted to the work of Meyer Schapiro, particularly in "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. K. Bharatha Iyer, London 1947, reprinted in Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York, 1977), 1-27.

[33] Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965) see particulary pp 112-134. Most recently Joan A. Holladay has addressed this precise

interest in the idea of a conscious recognition of style has two major focal points: late thirteenth-century transformation of Gothic forms and the adoption of elements from Islamic art.[34]

At the end of the twelfth century the Iberian peninsula was a melting pot of architectural styles, with Romanesque, Gothic, and Mudejar elements existing side by side. Alfonso VII (r. 1126-57) and Ramon Berenguer IV (r. 1131-62) and their successors actively pushed the Christian boundaries southward in the Reconquest, providing new opportunities for contact and influence among these cultures.[35] The presence of Mudejar elements at both Sigena and Las Huelgas attest to this cross-

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question in "Consciousness of Style in Gothic Art," in *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift for Peter Cornelius Claussen*, ed. Katharina Corsepius et al. (Hildesheim, 2004): 303-14.

[34] Several studies have contemplated the religious and political implication of the spread of Gothic architecture, particularly late thirteenth century court style, as defined by Branner. Some notable studies are: Paul Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, 1997), 263-300; Dorothy Gillerman, ed. *Transformations of the Court Style: Gothic Art in Europe 1270 to 1330* (Providence, 1977); Caroline Bruzelius, "Il Gran Rifiuto: French Gothic in Central and Southern Italy in the Last Quarter of the Thirteenth Century," in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000 - c. 1650*, ed. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge, 2000), 36-45; Ann Collins Johns, "Defining the Gothic in Italy: The Cistercians of San Galgano and Civic Architecture in Siena, 1250-1350" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2000). More specific to this inquiry, several studies have looked at the convergence of courtly Gothic and Mudejar in Spain, namely Robert Bork, "Holy Toledo: Art-Historical Taxonomy and the Morphology of Toledo Cathedral," *Avila Forum* 10-11 (1997-1998): 31-37; Ángela Franco Mata, "La catedral de Toledo: Entre la tradición local y la modernidad foranea," in *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten del Kolloquiums der Carl Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschicht-lichen Seminars der Universität Göttingen*, ed. Henrik Karge (Madrid, 1999), 83-104; and Henrik Karge, *La catedral de Burgos y la arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España* (Valladolid, 1995).

[35] Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London, 1996), 196-215.

fertilization.[36] Yet my argument looks less at the adoption of "exotic" new forms from recently conquered territory, than at the choices available within Christian kingdoms, and especially those imported from France. This choice carried with it political implications.

The differences between Sigena and Las Huelgas fall precisely within this paradigm. Sigena is decidedly Romanesque, even though it uses structural elements that are later refined in Gothic architecture. Pointed arches, diaphragm arches, groin vaults, and pointed barrel vaults are elements actively used in Romanesque architecture in Aragón and southern France. These same elements are lightened and heightened during the Gothic period, and many scholars use them to define the development of Gothic architecture. These elements are consistently used at Sigena in their Romanesque incarnation. Las Huelgas is an early Gothic structure modeled after northern French examples and consistent with the expansion of architectural elements that appear in early Cistercian Gothic structures. Here pointed arches and ribbed vaults are used in the extension of the clerestory. These two monastic structures encapsulate the tension and problems in the definition of the two styles.

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[36] Beginning with Emile Mâle's "Les influences arabes sur l'art roman," scholars have examined the presence of Islamic architectural elements in Christian structures, initially simply identifying decorative elements, but more recently considering their political implications. Recently Therese Martin has looked at this question in light of the adoption of the polylobed arch in the crossing at San Isidoro de León. She presents this as the first blatant use of the form for its Reconquest associations with Toledo and Alfonso VI by his daughter Queen Urraca;"The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," forthcoming in *Speculum*. Julie Harris in "Mosque to Church: Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters* 3/2 (1997):158-172, and David Raizman in "The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of Mudejar Architecture in Toledo," *Gesta* 38 (1999): 128-141, both look at the transmission of Mudejar forms. The twelfth century was not the start date of this blending of styles for socio-political and religious purposes; Jerrilynn Dodds has looked at this question in the ninth century in *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park, 1990).

In this dissertation, I discuss the choices available to the queens Sancha and Leonor, what forms they were familiar with, and how each made deliberate stylistic decisions. The style each chose communicated the primacy and power they ascribed to their foundations.[37] Architectural style also broadcast the queens' goals: simple structures that emphasized the spiritual calls to poverty, massive and imposing structures that communicated their power. The monasteries' similar trajectory, the comparison of stylistic trends within the two realms, and the choices the queens made regarding the monasteries' architecture reveal conscious stylistic decisions used to convey both spiritual and material wealth. These structures are among the best examples of the convergence of piety and power during this period.

I propose that this convergence was intricately linked to gender, both of the patrons and of the members of the religious community. The establishment of monasteries with the explicit purpose of burial affirms the growing scholarship that points to women as caretakers of their family line, physically as well as symbolically.

Women, Burial, and Dynastic Affiliation

Examples of French queens commissioning objects, from manuscripts to architecture, that assert the preeminence of their dynasty, and particularly their new family's dynasty, provide a starting point for this discussion. The construction of dynastic ideology was most famously played out at the French royal necropolis at Saint-

[37] I am not suggesting that these queens actively made decisions between ribbed vaults and barrel vaults, but rather that their agency took the form of seeking out a mason who could work in a preferred tradition or a particular style.

Denis.[38] France had a stronger, centralized government, and the seemingly unbroken line of rulers' burials in the crossing of the church testified to continuity.[39] There is no comparable literature on the question of genealogical concerns in relation to Spanish tomb cycles.[40] The extensive work on the relationship of French royal burial traditions at St. Denis in the work of Brown, Erlande-Brandenburg, Spiegel, and Wright provides models for considering these questions in Spain, however. The conscious manipulation of space to assert dynastic continuity at Saint-Denis presents a contrast to the Spanish

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[38] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "La généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du moyen age: Phillippe le Bel, le reniement du *reditus* et la creation d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet," in *Colloque International Hugh Capet 987-1987: La France de l'an mil*, (Paris, 1987) and "Burying and Unburying the Kings of France," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. Papers of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. Richard C. Trexler (Binghamton, 1985), 241-266; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Le tombeau de Saint Louis," *Bulletin monumental* 126/1 (1968): 7-28, and "Le 'cimetière des rois' à Fontevrault," *Congrès archéologique de France* 122 (1966): 482-492; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship,"*Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975): 43-69; Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56/2 (1974): 224-243 and "The Tomb of Saint Louis," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 65-82. Paul Binki's *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven, 1995) also provides an excellent model. His presentation of the program at Westminster cites Las Huelgas as a precedent.

[39] See Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Droz, 1975); and Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359-380.

[40] The most consistent construction of the Spanish royal burials appears in the two works of Ricardo del Arco were he looks at the burials in the two kingdoms: Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (Madrid, 1945) and *Sepulcros de la casa real de Castilla* (Madrid, 1954). Since then Rose Walker has looked at this question again in "Images of royal and aristocratic burial in northern Spain, c. 950 – c. 1250," in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elisabeth van Houts (Harlow, 2001), 150-172. Walker begins to uncover the regional practices of burial and the different relationship of burial to land that is present in Castilla-León and Navarra-Aragón.

practice in which new pantheons reflected the changing boundaries and political aspirations of succeeding rulers.

In a pattern similar to the burials at St. Denis, the queens and their consorts chose prominent institutions to house their families' remains. Rather than selecting a specific cathedral, they opted for the monastic institutions they had founded as royal pantheons and endowed them for the institutions' longevity. They gained liberties for the respective monasteries in order to maintain greater control over them. I propose that the queens believed, correctly, that they would be able to manipulate women's institutions to a greater extent than men's. In this case, queens entrusted the nuns with the greatest physical charge, the care of the royal bodies and corresponding memories in perpetuity.

Sancha and Leonor defied royal burial traditions in their kingdoms by establishing royal pantheons at these new female houses. Aragonese tradition designated the Benedictine monastery of San Juan de la Peña as the primary funerary site for kings. The site reverberated with echoes of a long Aragonese mythology of Christian sanctity and resistance against Islam.[41] Alfonso I had broken with that tradition when he did not follow his elder brother Pedro I there in 1134.[42] He maintained the monastic setting for his burial, but chose the Hospitaller stronghold of Montearagón. Sancha took advantage of that break and attempted to establish a new royal burial site. For, although neither of the earlier sites had been built for the purpose of royal burial, Sancha's intentions are

[41] Pamela Patton, *Pictorial Narrative in the Romanesque Cloister* (New York, 2004), 23-27

[42] José Angel Lema Pueyo, *Instituciones políticas del reinado de Alfonso I el Batallador, rey de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134)* (Bilbao, 1997) presents the most cohesive construction of the reign of Alfonso I.

clear in the initial agreement with the Hospitaller order in 1187.[43] She established that she would be buried at Sigena herself and obtained an agreement from her son, the future king, to follow her there.

Castilian royal burial tradition, on the other hand, entrusted a variety of cathedrals and abbeys with the care of the bodies and souls of the kings. As the push to conquer territories to the south moved the capital and center of the kingdom southward, the burials were also placed in prominent institutions in the new territories. The designation of Las Huelgas as the primary burial place for kings made a strong break with this tradition, not only by moving burial into a women's foundation, but also in placing the body in the traditional capital of the original county rather than in the newly conquered territories in the south.[44] The burial made a clear statement of the growing patronage of the Cistercian order within Castilla and called on the precedent set by Eleanor of Aquitane, Leonor's mother, at the Fontevrault.[45]

These two royal monasteries make spectacular case studies of the role of women as patrons within marriage and as caretakers of genealogical constructions. They provide a site for studying the differences in women's rights and privileges in the two Spanish realms of Castilla and Aragón and also elucidate a pivotal moment in the transition from Romanesque to Gothic in Spain. Studying these aspects of the monasteries' development also unveils a significant role for royal women in patronage and in society during the Spanish high middle ages. I believe this increase in personal power, manifest in the creation and control of these monasteries and the royal constructions of burial, was a

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[43] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena*, 13.
[44] Alfonso and Leonor promised burial at Las Huelgas in 1199. Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación Las Huelgas*, 93.
[45] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Le 'cimetière des rois' à Fontevrault," 482-492

direct result of the active roles of women during the Reconquest and a period of relative stability in the late twelfth century.

Chapter I: Women and Power in Twelfth-century Spain

> The king [Alfonso II of Aragón] married Sancha, daughter of Alfonso, the great Emperor of Castilla, who built the monastery of Sigena.[46]

> The noble king of Castilla [Alfonso VIII] had married the daughter of king Henry, Leonor, most noble in customs and lineage, honest and very prudent.[47]

Sancha of León-Castilla and Leonor Plantagenet ruled at the sides of powerful, active kings in the twelfth century. Alfonso II of Aragón and Alfonso VIII of Castilla had both inherited their kingdoms as minors. Growing up dominated by powerful counts with neighboring realms attempting to carve out pieces of their kingdoms, the two kings spent the first years of their majority consolidating their power. Both used similar techniques to cement their authority and affirm their right to rule. After reaching majority, the kings were knighted, took wives from powerful kingdoms, and went to war. Their queens ruled for extensive periods at their sides, gave birth to numerous children, and outlived them (although only by a month in Leonor's case). Although neither king's mother had served as regent for her son, both Sancha and Leonor were given regency for their sons upon their husbands' deaths. Both Alfonso II and Alfonso VIII clearly valued their wives' counsel, discretion, and actions during their reign. By most accounts these

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[46] *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth-Century Official History of the Crown of Aragón*, translated with Introduction and Notes by Lynn H. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1991), 54.

[47] "Duxerat quidem nobilis rex Castelle filiam dicti Henrici Regis dominam Alienor, nobilissima moribus et genere, pudicam et ualde prudentem." Luis Charlo Brea, ed. *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, (Cadiz, 1984), 20. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

two queens held vast powers and influence. Queens in Spain were known to wield extensive powers during the Reconquest; some even ruled on their own, as in the case of Urraca of León-Castilla.[48] Documents of the period certainly bear this out in Sancha's case; regarding Leonor they are strangely silent. Conversely, Castilian chroniclers write of the great influence Leonor exerted on her husband Alfonso VIII, while extant Aragonese chronicles speak little of Sancha.[49] This dichotomy reveals a great deal about the two realms and the personality of their queens. In both cases, the documents and chronicles together suggest that the queens acted successfully on many fronts, public and private, lay and religious. At the core of their success lies a careful balance of the roles of queen, mother, ruler, and devotee. This balance led to their remembrance as good queens, setting an example for their successors in both realms.

Sancha and Leonor constructed their personas to fit an age-old model of queenship. Jo Ann McNamara argues that the ideal of rulership in the Middle Ages was bi-polar, one that distinguished the roles of queens and kings.[50] Kings maintained authority through their military and governmental power; queens acted as "saintly"

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[48] David Herlihy suggests that this may be a direct result of Visigothic law in Spain. Visigothic law was the most generous to women for they not only could retain their property in marriage, but also enter into joint ventures with their husbands. Of the documents studied Herlihy found greater number of women in control of larger territories in Spain and southern France than in northern Europe or Italy. Furthermore, in Aragón the matronym rather than the patronym was often used in oaths of fealty. See "Land, Family, and Women in Continental Europe, 701-1200" *Traditio* 16 (1962): 89-120.

[49] The sixteenth-century chronicler Jeronimo Zurita (1512-1580) in the *Anales de la corona de Aragón* is one of the first chroniclers to look extensively at the documents surrounding Sancha's patronage and her political involvement (Barcelona, 1562; reprint Zaragoza, 1967). Most of the chronicles of the period treat these queens as they do most queens; they provide their ancestry and their progeny and little else.

[50] Jo Ann McNamara, "Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 141 (Binghamton, 1996), 51-80

intercessors for their people.[51] While the clear division of the roles of rulership by gender may have eroded over time, a traditional role appears to have been sought out by both Sancha and Leonor during their extensive reigns. Furthermore, their role as social mediators gave them great authority. Angela Muñoz Fernández suggests that the idea of power in the middle ages may need to be reframed to include social mediation.[52] This idea of social mediation on the part of queens is consistent with McNamara's view. Qualities such as council, mediation, and charity are fundamental in both scholars' models for the definition of a successful queen. Sancha and Leonor are paradigmatic in their successful use of these qualities as ruling consorts. Both queens used their power of mediation successfully throughout their reigns. I will argue that they were able to do so by virtue of their personas as good, caring, devout queens.

The clear divisions of power that McNamara and Muñoz Fernández develop, however, were not always followed in Spain. While Spanish queens' piety is evident in

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[51] Queens' "saintly" power slowly eroded over time as bishops, and later kings, also assumed this role. Saint Louis is the prime example of the usurping of the "female" intercessory role; he appears to have been groomed for this by his mother Blanche of Castilla, Leonor's daughter. McNamara, "Imitatio Helenae," 78-80. Janet L. Nelson finds a similar erosion of this intercessory role in her article "Medieval Queenship," in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York, 1999), 179-207. She also links this phenomenon to the twelfth century, where she perceives a shift from a real to a symbolic paradigm of power.

[52] She argues that power in the Middle Ages has traditionally been viewed as an ability to do violence, to wage war. While the argument is not revolutionary it does recognize a trend in scholarship of women's power that emphasizes queens who succeed within a standard model of military power. The closer a queen comes to wielding that power, the more likely a queen is to be viewed as powerful. Muñoz argues for a balanced and broader approach to power. She and McNamara seek recognition of different roles that lead to power. Angela Muñoz Fernández, "*Semper pacis amica:* Mediación politica y practica social (siglos VI-XIV)," *Arenal* 5/ 2 (July-December 1998): 263-276. See also Amadeo Serra Desfils, "Imago Reginae. Dos aspectos de la imagen de la reina en la edad media occidental," *Millars: Espai i Historia* 16 (1993): 9-28.

the literature, their power is more often the subject of scholarship.[53] This is quite possibly a result of the active role both Aragón and Castilla played in the reconquest. Conflict on the borderlands often left the center of the realm in the hands of queens as power over the royal household was extended over the kingdom when necessary.[54] Strong queens from the tenth and eleventh centuries clearly aided their husbands, sons, and nephews in ruling both Navarra-Aragón and León-Castilla. Most of the queens, though, ruled at the side of men, often forging alliances with ecclesiastic and secular lords for this purpose.

Sancha and Leonor are examples of queens who successfully mediated the roles of power and devotion. Of the two queens, Sancha is most clearly identified with the role of a devout queen; her court has been likened to the strict setting of a convent.[55] Her patronage, time, and retirement focused upon the church. This did not, however, prevent her from political involvement on a greater scale. She was regent of the realm during her husband's absence and in the first years of her son's reign. Foreign rulers, ecclesiastic and regal, recognized her power and piety; Pope Innocent III went so far as to call upon her to take on the regency of Sicily – though she declined. Although Leonor was not as active in the creation of a persona of the devout queen, she was sought out for her council and influence. The most notable of her interventions was the arrangement of the

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[53] I should say "stereotype." The idea that Spanish queens held more power than other European queens is a widely spread belief, yet no clear studies have documented this specifically. It is more likely that, due to the example of several powerful queens and the ability of a woman to inherit the realm in the modern period, the stereotype has survived. The two queens most often used to demonstrate this are Urraca from the early twelfth century and Isabel from the fifteenth.
[54] Nelson, "Medieval Queenship," 179-207.
[55] Zurita, *Anales*, 1512-1580. Mariano de Pano y Ruata explores this further in *La Santa Reina Doña Sancha, humilde hermana hospitalaria, fundadora del monasterio de Sigena* (Zaragoza, 1944), 55-61.

marriage between her daughter Berenguela and Alfonso IX of León that brought a decade-long peace to the two kingdoms.[56] The legacy of these queens is also present in the strength of their daughters. Sancha's daughters, Constanza, Leonor, and Sancha married the rulers of Hungary, Sicily and Toulouse, and Leonor's daughters, Berenguela, Blanche, and Urraca married the kings of León, France, and Portugal respectively. Berenguela and Blanche in particular are famed for their regency and influence on their sainted sons, Fernando III of León-Castilla and Louis IX of France.[57]

Sancha and Leonor's power did not exist in a vacuum; they relied on models used by prior queens in each of their realms. The models they pursued were not necessarily those of the most powerful queens, but rather those that combined that power with the role of strong, pious *infantas* (princesses of the royal house who commanded power over certain territories).[58] Both kingdoms had examples of queens who due to their excesses were not remembered happily; such examples also existed in their natal lands. By recognizing the authority given to a pious queen, Sancha and Leonor avoided the pitfalls of their predecessors. They fulfilled their roles as queens, wives, mothers, and intercessors. The lives of Sancha and Leonor clearly shared many parallels, yet the chronicles present very different women in both personality and style of rule. This may be a result of the different legal status of women in their kingdoms and the different

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[56] This marriage was disastrous as the pope refused to recognize it on the grounds of consanguinity, yet it did produce the heir to both realms, Fernando II.

[57] Miriam Shadis has recently attributed the powerful regencies of these queens directly to Leonor's influence and example in "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and her daughters Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castilla," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, 1996), 202-227.

[58] Antonio Viñayo, "Reinas e infantas de León, abadesas y monjas del monasterio de San Pelayo y San Isidoro," *Semana de historia del monacato Cantabro-Astur-Leónes* (Monasterio de San Pelayo, 1982), 123-135.

traditions the queens brought with them from their respective realms. The position of queens in Spain prior to the ascension of Sancha and Leonor to power had a profound effect on their rule.

Queens and Royal Power in the Early Iberian Kingdoms

The power exercised by Sancha and Leonor was not new but had come about over the course of centuries in which Iberian queens had claimed new roles and redefined old ones. Appearing as mediator, peacemaker, patron of the church and monastic orders, and devoted mother and consort, Spanish queens had used these roles to establish positions of power and influence. This is not the place to trace a full history of the queens of the peninsular realms prior to the twelfth century, but two short case studies will demonstrate my point.

Toda Asnárez exemplifies the power queens could have at their command. The second wife of Sancho Garcés I (r. 925-970), she ruled with a steady, steely hand after his death.[59] Initially Toda was meant to rule in her son's name along with her brothers-in-law Jimeno García and Iñigo. She successfully excluded them from involvement in government, and after her son reached majority, her influence over government did not diminish. It was Toda's marital alliances with León and her vision of Navarese domination over the competing kingdom that her son García Sánchez I (r. 925-970) followed. Toda's daughters and granddaughters maintained control of León and the

[59] Vicente Marquez de la Plata and Luis Valero de Bernabé, *Reinas medievales españolas* (Madrid, 2000), 43-62. Toda has also been the subject of historical fiction in Angeles de Irisarri's *Doña Toda, reina de Navarra: Novela histórica* (Iruña, 1991).

county of Castilla for most of the century.[60] This political alliance aided Navarra in its push southward, a push that required taking control of Navarra's Christian neighbors as her rulers recognized the very real possibility, later fulfilled, of becoming landlocked.

Toda's reach did not cease at the arrangement of marriages or the governance of her own realm. She actively advocated for her favored grandchildren on the Leonese throne. Her clearest manipulation of the Leonese throne came at the request of her grandson Sancho the Fat (r. 955-57, 960-67). Sancho had inherited the realm from his brother Ordoño III, whose illegitimate son Bermudo II (r. 982-999) was still a child. Sancho's initial ascension to the throne was the result of the support of powerful noblemen. Rather than rewarding their support, Sancho chose to curtail the wealth and power of all his nobles, including that of his supporters. He also did not uphold his brother's treaties with Abd-al-Rahman III (r. 912-961). War on the southern frontier and noble unrest finally brought an end to his rule. He fled to Toda's side and requested her aid in regaining his throne. The only way to succeed appears to have been forging new alliances with Abd-al Rahman, the Muslim leader Toda had fought against for thirty years. Toda accompanied Sancho to Cordoba to seek asylum, support, and a doctor to minister to his health – and weight – needs. Sancho did regain his throne with the aid of Toda, Abd-al Rahman, and his remaining loyal noblemen.[61]

Toda's reach suggests not only an extension of her political authority but also her perception of rule as extending clearly through family lines. The consummate matriarch,

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[60] Toda's daughter Sancha Sanchez married Ordoño II and then Fernan González, the powerful count of Castilla; Urraca married Ramiro II; and Jimena followed suit with her marriage to Alfonso IV. See Appendix A.

[61] Ramón Menendez Pidal, *Cronicas generales de España* (Madrid, 1918). See also M. Ríos Mazcarelle, *Diccionario de los reyes de España*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1995), 233-235 and Germán Bleiberg, *Diccionario de Historia de España*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1986), 775.

Toda held her kingdom in very tight reigns. In recognition of her power, Toda is the first queen to be represented alongside the kings of León and Navarra in chronicle illuminations. The *Codice Aemilianense* at El Escorial library (D. I. 1) not only records Toda's actions, but also presents her as an equal to kings visually.[62] She is the only queen placed among the kings on the final page of the codex. Toda is almost indistinguishable from the kings at her sides. This image is an anomaly in chronicles in its presentation of a queen and provides a clear testimony to her power, power recognized by her subjects and by neighboring realms.

Toda provided the early source for the role of Iberian queens in the public arena. She exercised the power of a king during periods of regency and maintained that power throughout her life. In the eleventh century women's rights of inheritance transformed the boundaries of the Iberian kingdoms, clarified power relations, and provided the space for a queen to rule in her own right.

Urraca of León-Castilla: Kingship, Patronage, and Power

Urraca of León-Castilla ruled the kingdom after her father Alfonso VI (r. 1065-1109) died without a male heir. Alfonso VI had three children who survived into adulthood: Teresa and Elvira, daughters of his mistress Ximena Muñoz, and Urraca, daughter of Constance of Burgundy, who would reign over León-Castilla. Constance of Burgundy successfully brokered the marriage of her cousins Henry and Raymond of

[62] The reproduction of this image can be found in Claudio Garcia Turza and Francisco Javier García Turza's facsimile edition *El códice emilianense 46 de la Real Academia de la Historia: Primer diccionario enciclopedico de la peninsula Iberica* (Madrid, 1997-1998).

Burgundy to Teresa and Urraca. The marriages created a stronger alliance with Burgundy and exemplified the opportunities for foreign nobles on Spanish soil. Alfonso VI bequeathed the counties of Portugal to Teresa and Henry, and Galicia to Urraca and Raymond. Tension between the daughters heightened at the death of Alfonso VI.

Alfonso's lack of male heirs created a succession crisis. His solution was to make his younger daughter Urraca his heir and begin to broker her marriage to Alfonso I the Battler of Aragón (r. 1104-1134) in the months before his death.[63] Urraca (r. 1109-1126) had recently been widowed and had two children by her first marriage, Alfonso and Sancha. Alfonso I had devoted his life to the reconquest and inherited the kingdom after the sudden death of his brother Pedro I (r. 1094-1104), who had left no heirs. Alfonso I had never married and had no children. The marriage arrangements set up the possibility of a unified realm, uniting León-Castilla to Navarra-Aragón definitively. Urraca agreed that if they should have a son, he – and not her son Alfonso by Raymond – would inherit both realms. If they should not have a son, however, Alfonso would inherit both realms. Regardless of either outcome, Alfonso inherited the county of Galicia.

The decision of Alfonso I to marry a widow with children had two major purposes: first he placed a vast territory under his control, though Urraca would dispute his authority over it, second he married a woman of proven fertility. Alfonso at the time of his marriage was already thirty-six and had no children. Modern suggestions of

[63] This decision is consistent with actions elsewhere in Europe. Armin Wolf notes that during the fourteenth century women became rulers when the following aspects of lineage came together: descent from the first king, closest degree of consanguinity, agnatic relationship, greater age, primogeniture, legitimacy, health, and native birth. In this case two factors likely weighed on the side of Urraca over Teresa (the elder sister), her legitimacy and her widowhood. Armin Wolf, "Reigning Queens in Medieval Europe: When, Where, and Why," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993), 169-188.

homosexuality and misogyny have obscured a fundamental fact: Alfonso needed an heir and must have been concerned about the possibility of his own sterility.[64] The marriage to Urraca, therefore, provided an heir for Aragón and Navarra regardless of the outcome of this physical matter. The marriage, however, was a disaster.

Urraca's marriage to Alfonso lasted five years (1109-1114) although through most of it they were separated due to marital and political conflicts.[65] Urraca expected to be an equal partner; she was, after all, heir to the kingdom of Castilla-León. Alfonso expected her to move aside and allow him to rule both kingdoms and rule them in a way that favored Aragón. Alfonso's expectations were not radical as this is precisely what had occurred when Urraca's grandmother Sancha had inherited León from her brother Bermudo III.[66] The breakdown of the alliance and ultimate separation of the two on the grounds of consanguinity has been the subject of several studies, all of which point to the dissatisfaction of the couple with their marriage, the dissatisfaction of the nobles of both realms, and the inability to procure papal approval of the marriage. The dissolution of the marriage invalidated the agreement by which Alfonso, Urraca's son, would inherit

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[64] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Los esponsales de la reina Petronila y creación de la corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1987), 18-22.

[65] Urraca's inclusion in Marquez de la Plata's *Reinas medievales españolas*,117-134, is only the most recent of the texts focusing on the queen's life and rule. In the same year two other studies focused on the queen, Therese Martin's above mentioned dissertation focuses on the patronage of the queen; Angeles de Irisari also published another work of historical fiction, *La reina Urraca* (Madrid, 2000) this time from the perspective of Urraca's only daughter Sancha. Bernard Reilly produced the seminal text on her rule in *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton, 1982).

[66] The inheritance of royal women established the Leonese-Castilian kingdom. Fernando (r. 1035-63) was the first king of the joint kingdom. He inherited the county of Castilla from his mother Munia and governed León for his wife Sancha. Rios Mazcarelle, *Diccionario de los reyes*, 136-137.

both realms, and Alfonso I the Battler's orchestrations had made sure that he could not inherit Aragón.[67]

When Urraca was released from her disastrous marriage to Alfonso I, her son Alfonso was nine and had been crowned king of Galicia by the bishop of Santiago, Diego de Gelmírez. Urraca did not choose, however, to act as regent, or dowager-queen, but maintained her authority as queen (sometimes taking on the title of king).[68] Her son Alfonso's power base was in Galicia so she sent him to Toledo, as far from his realm as possible. Urraca ruled until her death in 1126, during which time there was no peace. The nobles of the realm took advantage of the conflict between mother and son, a conflict furthered by Alfonso's godfather Pedro Froilaz, count of Traba, Bishop Gelmírez, and Urraca's sister Teresa, who felt that as the elder sister she should reign, and actively

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[67] Alfonso I, a zealous soldier, left his kingdom to the military orders: the Knights Templar, Hospitallers, and Holy Sepulchre At the time of his death the military orders were barely a presence in Aragón. Two major hypotheses explain why Alfonso I wrote his will in such a way that he knew would plunge his kingdom into a major crisis. The first is a straightforward acceptance of the will as a result of a lifetime devoted to the reconquest and a way of forcing the military orders to take up arms in the Iberian Peninsula, in effect opening up further the second flank of the crusade. Alfonso had an unusual number of noblemen and ecclesiastic dignitaries confirm his will. This act suggests an awareness of the unusual character of the will and his anticipation that it would be challenged. The second hypothesis holds that Alfonso never intended for his will to be carried out. This hypothesis suggests Alfonso had already agreed with his brother that he would become the next king and, because of his precarious condition as a monk, he needed to be sure the realm would not revert back to Alfonso VII, who was also descended from Sancho Garcés III of Navarra and had a claim to the throne. Jordi Ventura, *Alfons 'el cast' el primer comte-rei* (Barcelona, 1961), 11-19; Jaume Sobreques Callico, "La corona de Aragón o confederación catalano-aragónesa: Los orignes, siglo XII," *L'Avenc* 100 (1987): 14-23; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: Creación y desarrollo de la corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1987), 11-19; and Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I, "El Battallador", King of Aragón and Navarra: A Reassessment," *Speculum* 50/4 (1975): 635-651.

[68] The unfortunate effect of this decision was that she could have avoided civil war and reigned as regent for her son. Alfonso's coronation came at the age of twenty, an age that was not unusual for ending a regency.

sabotaged Urraca.[69] Urraca made strong alliances with different noblemen in order to stay in power, and while there is no evidence she ever remarried, she did have two children with the powerful count Pedro González de Lara.

Urraca's activities followed her parents' example, but clearly looked to her grandmother Sancha in her desire to affirm her sovereignty, a sovereignty she connected to León, her powerbase. Both Urraca's mother and grandmother had devoted themselves to building powerful ecclesiastic institutions, Constance at Sahagún, Sancha at the double monastery of San Isidoro. Urraca's support for Sahagún cannot be denied, yet it is León and San Isidoro that she clearly viewed as the center of her power. Recently, Therese Martin has argued convincingly that Urraca built the third and final church of San Isidoro.[70] An important pilgrimage city, this was the place of burial of the unified kingdom of León-Castilla, the location of an important palace adjoining the church, and the seat of government of León. The expansion of her grandparent's church had also acquired a powerful patroness in her aunt Urraca, who had erected the Lamb's portal.[71] Queen Urraca needed a strong expression of power and wealth, when both were slipping through her fingers. The church of San Isidoro had the history to affirm her genealogy,

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[69] While Alfonso did not succeed in deposing his mother, Alfonso Enriquez, Teresa's son, did, becoming the first king of Portugal.

[70] Therese Martin, "Queen as King: Patronage at the Romanesque Church of San Isidoro de León" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2000). 49-74.

[71] The Lamb's portal is the only aspect of this church to have survived the construction of the third church in the next generation. John Williams and Rose Walker have linked the iconography of the portal directly to Urraca's political maneuvering in favor of Alfonso VI. Viewed as political and religious propaganda, a call to arms against the Islamic south and a defence of Urraca's support of one brother, the younger, over another, the portal likens Urraca to Abraham, a wise leader willing to make familial sacrifices for her people and her God. John Williams, "Generationes Abrahae: Reconquest Iconography in León," *Gesta* 16/2 (1977): 3-14, and Rose Walker, "Sancha, Urraca, and Elvira: The Virtues and Vices of Spanish Royal Women 'Dedicated to God'," *Reading Medieval Studies* 24 (1998): 113-138.

something Urraca did at every possible moment during her reign, and the new church at the monastery competed in size with the Romanesque cathedral of León.

Chronicles recorded Urraca's rule in images as they had Toda's in the tenth century. In the Tumbo A in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Urraca appears in a series of rulers illustrating the compilation of important documents of the realm relating to the cathedral.[72] The rulers in the series are seated on thrones and hold scrolls and scepters.[73] The kings also have crowns. Urraca appears in the same scale, embellishment, and stance as the kings of the realm; she also wears a crown. Her scroll identifies her as Urraca, queen of León, daughter of Alfonso VI.

Urraca recognized her precarious situation; she had spent her entire life as a ruler fighting to maintain her power, and she asserted her authority through lineage. Her father had chosen her as his heir, and she constantly reminded her subjects of this. The image is a powerful expression of the queen as king, ruler in a line of powerful kings, with all the regalia of the kings of León-Castilla. The image, like that of Toda in the Codice Aemilianense, reflects the real power Urraca held over her land, people, and church. Both of these queens maintained strong temporal control. Their memories survive due to their ability to rule. Sancha and Leonor followed their example in establishing clear lines of power, yet they succeeded in adding to this an elusive quality foreign to both Toda and Urraca: they are both remembered as good queens.

The power of the queens of both León-Castilla and Navarra-Aragón had an intense effect on the role of Sancha of León-Castilla in Aragón, as she bridged both

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[72] The sequence of rulers is reproduced by Manuel Lucas Álvarez in *Tumbo A de la catedral de Santiago: Estudio y edición* (Santiago, 1998).
[73] Interestingly, the *infanta* Urraca, her aunt, appears in the manuscript as well, indicating that her power and influence were still clearly recognized. Constance is not included.

traditions. Having been raised in León, married in Castilla, and become queen of Aragón and countess of Barcelona, she had several power structures at her disposal. Her awareness of the differences between the realms appears in her agile navigation of the power structures in Aragón. Sancha was a successful queen by the standards set forth by McNamara and Muñoz Fernandez, and more significantly, within the traditions set forth by previous queens. She appears as mediator, peacemaker, patron of the church and monastic orders, and devoted mother and consort. Her political sagacity allowed her greater authority and success in re-establishing the queen as regent for her minor sons, extending that power as Toda had, but retreating thereafter to the monastic setting. Sancha had an international reputation as a devout queen and able regent.

The Pious Queen: Sancha of León-Castilla

A song goes forth to the valiant queen
in Aragón, who is a truer queen
than any in all the world . . .
for she is honest and loyal and gracious
loved by all the people and to God agreeable
Peire Vidal[74]

In this twelfth-century tribute to the queen, Peire Vidal presents Sancha within the formula of a good queen. She is courageous, loyal, honest, and beloved.[75] This depiction of the queen survives in later chronicler's descriptions of her; above all she is praised as a pious queen. This designation extends to calling her the saint-queen – "La santa reina doña Sancha."[76] The existence of this poem is enticing as it is quite different from poems dedicated to her husband Alfonso II. Alfonso II presided over a notable troubadour court. Iréneé Cluzel, Martin de Riquer, and Alfred Jeanroy agree in designating his court as the

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[74] Chansos, vai t'en a la valen Regina
En Arago, quar mais regina vera
No sai el mon, e si n'ai mainta quista,
E no trob plus ses tont e ses querelha.
Mais ilh es franc' e leials e grazida
Per tota gent et a Deu agravida.
Cited in Martí de Riquer's "La poesia d'Alfons, dit El Cast," *VII Congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón*, vol. 1, *Crónica y ponencias* (Barcelona, 1-6 Oct. 1962), 123-140.

[75] His only other poem that mentions Sancha, related to the ill-fated betrothal of Alfonso II to Eudoxia Comnenos. He simply notes that Alfonso preferred the young woman of Castilla over a thousand camels loaded with gold.
E plagra'm mais de Castela
Una pauca jovensela
Que d'aur cargat mil camel
Ab l'emperi de Manuel
Cited in Ventura's *Alfons 'el cast,'* 159.

[76] Pano y Ruata is not the first to call her the saint queen, but the most prominent, naming his book this in 1943. Mariano Pano y Ruata, *La santa reina doña Sancha, fundadora del monasterio de Sigena* (Zaragoza, 1943).

most active troubadour court in Europe, a result of the participation of the king and his son in the act of composing as well as commissioning.[77]

The support Alfonso II gave the troubadours did not stop them from attacking him when political winds changed, but Sancha managed to stay free of poetic attacks.[78] This suggests one of two things, either Sancha was unknown at the Provençal court – quite possible, as only one document places her in Provence – or that she was above reproach and deemed untouchable. If Sancha was unknown, though, it is likely that her origin would have been enough to attack her. Alfonso II was in constant conflict with both León and Castilla. An attack on her as a foreign queen would have been relatively easy; if attacks occurred, evidence of them does not survive.

The only writer to place her allegiance with León-Castilla was a Castilian chronicler, the anonymous author of the *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*.[79] The

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[77] Irénée Cluzel, "Princes et troubadores de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragón," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957-8): 321-373, Martin de Riquer, "La littérature provençale à la cour d'Alphone II d'Aragón," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale Xe-XIIe siecles* 2 (1959): 177-201, Riquer also discusses this situation in "La poesia d'Alfons, dit El Cast," 123-140. Manuel Mila y Fontanals agrees with this assertion in his exploration of the diffusion of provençale literature in *De los trovadores en España* (Barcelona, 1966), 83. See also Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours*, vol. 1 (Toulouse, 1934), 190-193. Recently Alfonso's appellation "The Chaste" has come under fire; "The Troubadour" has been suggested as an alternative.

[78] Alfonso did maintain the loyalty of most of his troubadores. Of the nineteen poets associated with his court, only three became hostile. Bertran of Born was the most active voice against Alfonso II. The poems generated a heated debate about the veracity of his claims that included rapine, war crimes, and adultery. The latter is also responsible for the questioning of Alfonso's designation as chaste. The designation may have been the result of a dearth of illegitimate children. There is no evidence for romantic liaisons outside of the poetry. Irénée Cluzel, "Princes et troubadores de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragón," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957-1958): 321-373.

[79] Luis Charlo Brea, ed., *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla* (Madrid, 1999), xix-xxv. Charlo Brea concludes that the most likely author of the text, based on tone and the author's presence at different events was Juan, the Bishop of Osma. Unfortunately there

author notes that Sancha's affection for her nephew Alfonso VIII prompted her to seek a binding alliance between the realms, one that in his view favored her natal land.[80] The 1198 treaty occurred during her regency for her son Pedro and benefited both realms. Just as likely, though, the treaty was the result of her pursuit of her deceased husband's final goal: to create a lasting alliance among the Christian rulers of the peninsula in order to continue his expansion southward. Sancha could easily be categorized here as the mediator or intercessor that both McNamara and Muñoz Fernandez designate as a marker of successful queenship. Indeed, Sancha navigated the duties of queenship adeptly.

Sancha was the daughter of Alfonso VII, the emperor of León-Castilla and his second wife, Rica of Poland. The most prominent woman in her formative years, however, would have been her aunt Sancha. Rica's marriage to Alfonso lasted five years and her appearance in documents was always subordinate to that of her sister-in-law, who was titled queen. She had two children by Alfonso, Sancha and Fernando, who died a child. After Alfonso's death she neither stayed in the kingdom to raise Sancha, nor entered a monastery; instead she married Raymond V of Toulouse and left her daughter to be raised in León by the countess Sancha, her sister-in-law and the woman under whose authority she had lived.[81] Sancha probably lived under her aunt Sancha's tutelege for the first few years of her life, until her aunt's death in 1159. Where the young Sancha

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is no consensus; Maria de los Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt in her edition of the manuscript notes that the likely author could be the Bishop of Burgos or Ximenez de Rada.

[80] "Predicta uero regina diligebat regem Castelle super omnes hominess et in uitam mariti sui, ita quod propter hoc eidem uiro suo erat non modicum odiosa." Charlo Brea, ed., *Cronica latina*, 17.

[81] Sancha took advantage of the Toulouse connection later, though, as she married her second daughter Leonor to Raymond VII of Toulouse. This was an important alliance during the reign of Alfonso II, but was costly to the kingdom during his son Pedro's rule as it drew him into the losing side of the Albigensian crusade.

resided after that is not clear from documents or chronicles. She appears only in a few documents as her elder brother, from her father's first marriage, vied for political allegiance with Aragón through her.

Prior to his death, Alfonso VII had agreed to have his daughter married to the first-born son of Ramón Berenguer IV.[82] The betrothal document is unclear regarding Sancha's name or age, or the age of Ramón Berenguer's son for that matter, and the marriage would remain in question as Alfonso II, her betrothed, was almost married to two other women, Mafalda of Portugal and Eudoxia Comnena of Byzantium.[83] Both of these alliances had been made during his minority.

The marriage of Alfonso II to Sancha reaffirmed his father's desires from his childhood; the proximity of León-Castilla was politically advantageous and aided in a speedy marriage. The first year of Alfonso's majority had him moving quickly to affirm all possible formal designations of adulthood: he had himself knighted, traveled the kingdom and county to have himself recognized as ruler, and married. Sancha was about his same age – the date of her birth is in question, sometime between 1154 and 1157 –

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[82] In 1162, Fernando II recognized the betrothal between his sister and Alfonso II in a treaty against the king of Navarra Sancho VI. Fernando writes: "Ideoque ego Fernandus, Dei Ispaniarum rex, convenio hoc scripto vobis, consanguineo meo, Ildefonso, Dei gracia regi Aragón. . ., et comiti Barchinon…, qui meam sororem ducitis in uxorem et religione sacramenti…" Alfonso replies with the same wording. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón, *Alfonso II rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza: Documentos (1162-1196)* (Zaragoza, 1995), 36.

[83] The betrothal to Eudoxia appears to have been quite serious; the princess arrived in Montpellier in 1174, after having been waylaid by a storm at sea, only to find her betrothed married. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Un frustrado matrimonio de Alfonso II de Aragón, *VII Congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón*, vol. 2, *Comunicaciones* (Barcelona, 1962), 263-267. Both of these marriage promises were honored in the succeeding generation: Dulce married Sancho I of Portugal in 1174, and Pedro II married Marie of Montpellier in 1204. Marie was the daughter of Eudoxia, Sancho the son of Alfonso I Enriques.

and was now in the neighboring kingdom of Castilla. When she moved to the Castilian court is not clear, but her presence at the court, and her friendship with her nephew Alfonso VIII – her contemporary in age – made the marriage even more auspicious.

The two kingdoms would have had much in common, both run by young energetic kings committed to the reconquest. Aragón and Castilla maintained, made, and broke many alliances with each other and neighboring realms, not to mention Muslim *taifas*. Of these treaties, alliances between these two realms appear the most binding, particularly in light of the treaties constantly broken with León and Navarra. The marriage alliance with Castilla was strong.

Sancha ruled alongside Alfonso II for twenty-two years, from 1174 until 1196. She successfully balanced the traditions of female authority that she brought with her with those of her new realm. Aragón had a strong tradition of female rule dating back to Toda. This rule had suffered during the reign of Alfonso's parents, Petronila and Ramón Berenguer IV.[84] The structures of power did survive, however, and appear clearest in a

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[84] Petronila was the sole heir to Aragón. Her father Ramiro II, the monk (r. 1134-37), had failed in his attempt to rule and betrothed his infant daughter to Ramon Berenguer IV (r. Barcelona 1131-1162, Aragón from 1137). The marriage alliance between Ramón Berenguer and Petronila provided the realm with a capable ruler and asserted the longevity through the children Petronila might have. Antonio Ubieto Arteta argues that this marriage fell comfortably into an Aragonese tradition known as *casamiento en casa.* This tradition allowed the transfer of inheritance through a daughter to a grandson. The son-in-law would come to live in the wife's household, run the estate, but not claim any legal inheritance: he ruled in the name of his wife and son. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Los esponsales de la reina Petronila y la creación de la corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1987), 61-64. Petronila's story has captured the imagination of many writers primarily because, as sole heir to a kingdom known for providing women greater independence, she was unable to rule. William Clay Stalls, "Queenship and the Royal Patrimony in Twelfth-Century Iberia: The Example of Petronila of Aragón," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Therese M. Vann, (Dallas, 1993), 46-61; Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón*, 61-64 and 78-82. Other authors who have studied Petronila include Cristina Segura Graino, "Participación de las mujeres en el poder politico," *Anuario de Estudios*

consistent presence of Sancha in documents. The chronicles of the period speak little of the queen, aside from her patronage of the monastic orders; even the compilation of documents Alfonso II ordered, known as the *Liber Feudorum Maior,* does not include a great deal of information regarding the queen. Petronila's documents are included as they form the basis for the new unified realm of Aragón-Barcelona-Provence, and she appears in pictorial form. She is also presented in an illumination at the beginning of pertinent documents (Figure 7).

The *Liber Feudorum Maior* includes an extensive number of illuminations, almost all images of treaties, bequests, or marriage alliances. The sole image that can be identified as Sancha appears in a full-page illumination where she sits by the king in a roundel (Figure 8).[85] The illumination is not labeled, but their identities, as Alfonso and Sancha, are the most logical given the dating and commissioning of the manuscript.[86]

If the *Liber Feudorum Maior* does not include the documents of the queen, documents from the cathedrals and monastic houses paint a picture of a very active queen, as does the royal archive. Sancha appears to have been involved in the expansion of the Hospitaller and Cistercian orders and to have aggressively supported the nobles she favored. In roughly a quarter of the documents in which Sancha is named, she appears as a donor to private citizens; half of the documents relate directly to the Hospitallers. Sancha is the sole actor in the majority of the documents in which she appears. Alfonso

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Medievales 25 (1995): 449-462; E.L. Miron, *The Queens of Aragón: Their Lives and Times* (Port Washington, 1972), 71-80; and recently Marquez de la Plata, *Reinas medievales*, 135-149.

[85] The image blends the iconographic treatment of the Coronation of the Virgin with images of the Lamb in Beatus Manuscripts. The couple is seated on a throne and is surrounded by courtiers who mimic the position of angels in the Lamb images.

[86] Francisco Miquel Rosell agrees with this designation in *Liber Feudorum Maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el archivo de la corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1945).

II is rarely mentioned in her documents; yet Sancha does appear as a signatory on those of the king. In those documents her approval is essential as part of the properties referred to in the text were part of her dowry or dower lands.

Sancha arrived in Aragón with a substantial dowry of lands adjacent to Aragón on the Castilian border. According to Aragonese custom she had full authority over these territories. To this she added her dower lands. Alfonso placed under her control a series of castles and towns in Aragón, Barcelona, and Provence.[87] When Sancha appears as a signatory to her husband's documents, it is in relation to territories over which she had some claim. She appears in this way in thirty-two documents.[88]

Sancha's patronage followed a long prescribed role of a good queen: especially in her protection and oversight of monastic orders. As noted above, Sancha had a predilection for two: the Hospitallers and the Cistercians. The documents relating to the Hospitallers far out number all others, and it is to this order that Sancha turned when founding Sigena, the monastery in which she intended to retire, where she chose to be buried, and to which she intended to bind future generations of *infantas* and queens by having them educated there. In this she emulated the patronage of the women of the royal house of León for San Isidoro.[89] Sancha expended substantial resources during her

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[87] The nuptial donations included Monte Clausum, Barbasto, Pomar, Tamarit, Nabal, Zaidin, Michinenza, Boleia, Quard, Terz, Pinan, Almonzir, Alfamen in Aragón, the list continues in Barcelona and Provence. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabon, *AlfonsoII: Documentos*, 236-238.

[88] In the comprehensive collection of documents brought together by Sánchez Casabon the documents included relate to the king specifically and thus Sancha's documents do not appear. She appears only in documents where she is a signatory.

[89] As noted above, San Isidoro was the focus of patronage of two queens, Sancha of León and Urraca of León-Castilla, and two powerful *infantas* Urraca (sister of Alfonso VI) and Sancha (sister of Alfonso VII).

reign at Alfonso's side, but after his death she devoted her wealth almost exclusively to Sigena.

Sancha's generosity towards Sigena, and her direction of the monastery assured the monastery's longevity. Sancha executed thirty-one documents dealing with Sigena, almost half of the sixty-five extant documents that carry her name or signature. While Sancha expended extensive resources on Sigena, the monastery was not the only recipient of her beneficence. Most of her donations, furthermore, focused on the kingdom of Aragón rather than the county of Barcelona or the marquisate of Provence. It appears she modeled her actions on those of her great-grandmother Sancha of León who had favored the original seat of government over the new territories brought to the kingdom. When the eleventh-century queen Sancha showed her preference for León, she benefitted the land she inherited. This was not the case for Sancha – queen of Aragón – who was a foreigner to both realms.[90]

Sancha's attachment to Aragón placed her in the oldest seat of government, and the more conservative area of the realm. Aragón's court was not as active a troubadour court and, further, had strong attachments to her own lineage. Sancha was directly descended from Sancho III the Great, through her great-grandfather Fernando I. Aragón, not Barcelona, was linked to her family through this connection. Aragón was also more closely linked to the pilgrimage roads, in closer proximity to her homeland, and the climate of Aragón was also closer to that of her native León.[91]

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[90] Although this also meant she placed her monastery close to her dowry lands, almost entirely territories on the boundaries between Aragón and Castilla.
[91] Climate has been used to explain Leonor's affection for Burgos; it seems to me a similar connection with Sancha can also be made, especially in her choice of site for Sigena.

Sancha's predilection for Aragón played a stabilizing role in the kingdom. Alfonso II was constantly on the road through his vast realm, maintaining separate governments for each of its component parts, and accommodating the different power relations of each realm.[92] Sancha accompanied him on occasion but more often assisted in the government of Aragón in his absence. Miron cites two moments in particular where Sancha acted as a military ruler.[93] The first has her arbitrating between two noble families due to the kidnapping, and possible rape, of a young noblewoman. Sancha was said to have been the only person with the authority to force the young nobleman to return the girl and to stop an incipient blood feud. Proper restitution was made for the honor of the family. The second case is more enigmatic. Sancha ordered the city of Monzón to be recaptured in her husband's absence. The city had been part of her dower lands, but she had lost control over it. She was successful in her offensive and reclaimed the city. Sancha appears to have retaken what she perceived as rightfully hers. Alfonso's reaction to this event is unclear.

Alfonso's relationship with Sancha appears to have been quite stable. He provided handsomely for Sigena, noting in the documents that he gave the territories to the monastery of Sigena and to Sancha as the *dominatrix*. The foundation of the monastery was important enough to have merited the knighting of their eldest son Pedro at the foundation ceremony. Pedro would have been just eleven years old; his father had been sixteen at his knighting. Sancha wanted to associate the crown directly with Sigena.

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[92] The Catalan counts did not perceive Alfonso to be their direct superior. Eventually the counts would swear fealty to the king of Aragón, but initially they perceived the king-count to be one more count in the territories. They went so far as to state that while individually he might have more power than the counts, as a collective they were more powerful than he. The count of Urgell in particular resisted calls for fealty.
[93] Miron, *The Queens of Aragón*, 76-77.

Knighting her son and sending her youngest daughter Dulce as an oblate to the monastery were the first steps in this process. Her daughter Leonor was also educated there. It appears Sancha wanted to establish an institution to mirror the *infantazgo* at San Isidoro de León, with one significant difference: nuns inhabited the monastery.[94] The relationship provided great wealth, power, and protection to both princesses and to the monastery.

Sancha recognized the importance of being associated with a strong monastic order. The choice she made was radically different from the choices of her predecessors who had patronized the Benedictine, Cluniac, and Augustinian orders, but recognized the dynamics of power in her new kingdom.[95] The Hospitallers had been one of the heirs in Alfonso the Battler's will, and both Ramón Berenguer IV and her husband Alfonso II had provided the military orders with great wealth. The choices Sancha had at her disposal were varied, but her election logical. The Hospital, suggests Sire, had been a double monastic hospital from its creation, providing succor to both men and women at the end of their pilgrimage.[96]

The connections of rulers to monastic foundations in the Iberian peninsula is the subject of the next chapter, but for the purposes of this discussion, it is important to acknowledge Sancha's timely and political gesture in her establishment of Sigena. A queen without a focus for her patronage was not a good queen in the line of Leonese-

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[94] Interestingly it was her aunt who removed the nuns from San Isidoro.
[95] The relationship between Sancha and the orders will be discussed at length in Chapter II.
[96] H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994), 3-8. The alternative of the Templars was less feasible as they were always resistant to the creation of houses of nuns, although they did associate women to the order for their protection. Alan Forey, "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987): 63-92.

Castilian queens from which Sancha came. There is no clear evidence that this was the case for Aragón, though. While the countess Sancha, daughter of Ramiro I, is an example of a woman whose patronage is likened to the association of widow to monastery in León, her successors were very open with their patronage rather than isolating a particular monastery for benefaction. Sancha's patronage placed her in a long line of strong queens known for their association with monastic houses, and just as importantly, built upon the role of the *infanta* and her oversight of religious houses within the kingdom's territories.

If Sancha was recognized as a good queen during her married life, her power increased during her regency. Alfonso died in 1196, leaving his sixteen-year-old son Pedro heir to the kingdom of Aragón and the county of Barcelona.[97] Pedro was the same age his father had been when he reached his majority. The decision to establish regency over his son for four years suggests a distrust of his son's abilities; most likely he worried about his son's battle-eager, youthful exuberance. Alfonso's last years of life had been spent attempting to create a lasting truce among the Christian kings of the peninsula in order to present a united front against the Islamic south. In 1195 he organized a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and set off to meet with the kings of Navarra, León, Castilla, and Portugal.[98] The treaty, though, was not signed before his death the

[97] The date of Pedro's birth is not clear. González Antón argues that upon his father's death Pedro was already 19 but that he did not reign on his own until he turned 24. Luis González Anton, R. Ferrer and P. Caterna. *La consolidación de la corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1988).
[98] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "La peregrinación de Alfonso II de Aragón a Santiago de Compostela," *Estudios de la edad media de la corona de Aragón* 5 (1952): 438-452.

following year.[99] Pedro's reputation may have impeded the treaty from going forth: a strong leader was necessary to carry the treaty to completion. Alfonso chose Sancha for that duty.

Alfonso's actions are all the more revealing of his appreciation for his wife's abilities since he was acting in direct contradiction to his own father's will: Ramón Berenguer had clearly stipulated Petronila was not to rule even though he had governed the territory in her name.[100] Alfonso reversed this tradition and returned to the Navarese traditions that allowed for queens regent, even going so far as to reinstate the possibility of a daughter inheriting the realm, which his mother's will had disallowed.[101]

Sancha's relationship with her son during her regency has been qualified as difficult and tumultuous since Zurita's *Anales de la corona de Aragón* of the sixteenth century. As noted by Miret i Sans, however, the documents of her regency speak otherwise.[102] Sancha traveled with her son, even after taking full vows at Sigena in

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[99] The first steps toward such a treaty were made in a peace with Castilla in 1198 at Calatayud during Sancha's regency. The final treaty between Castilla, León, Navarra and Aragón was not signed until 1203, well after Sancha's regency. Gonzalez Anton considers her instrumental in bringing about the completion of this treaty. See Luis González Anton, note 94. In Castilian chronicles this treaty is attributed to Sancha's great love for her nephew Alfonso VIII. While her motivations probably had more to do with her desire to complete her husband's last endeavor, the chronicles present her as the active instigator of that treaty. Sancha's regency was probably also necessary because Pedro was impetuous; his reign after her regency is marred by unclear policies and constant financial problems. The Albigensian Crusade was only the last and greatest of his problems.

[100] See note 38.

[101] Alfonso's will was signed in April 1196. Sánchez Casabon, *Alfonso II*, 853-855.

[102] Joaquín Miret i Sans, "Itinerario del rey Pedro I de Cataluña, II de Aragón (1196-1213)," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3-4 (1904-1905): 79-80.

1197.[103] When Pedro traveled outside of Aragón, she sent trusted officials with him, her *mayordomo* and *bailo* appear in several documents. The problems between mother and son appear at the end of her regency in 1200 and concern three castles on the border with Castilla, castles that had been a part of Sancha's dowry and that held strategic value.[104]

Sancha gave up the castles of Ariza, Embit, and Epila and her rights to certain rents in Calatayud; in exchange Pedro confirmed all her other properties and the castles of Azco and Tortosa. This treaty needed to be reaffirmed in Daroca in 1201, apparently because Pedro was not honoring it fully. But the relationship between mother and son remained good. After Daroca, Pedro visited Sigena and soon thereafter gave new concessions to the Hospitaller order that benefited Sancha's monastery. No new tensions appear in the documents for the remainder of his reign. Pedro continued to provide privileges for Sigena and the Hospital and named his first child, a girl, Sancha. Sancha's influence over her son may also explain the visit of her daughter-in-law Marie of Montpellier to Sigena in 1207.

Pedro had married Marie of Montpellier in 1204.[105] She was the daughter of Eudoxia Comnenos, who had once been betrothed to Alfonso II, and the count of

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[103] Sancha had promised to do so at the foundation of the monastery in 1188. Alfonso also stipulated her control over her dowry (*esponsalicio)* until her death with the provision that she not remarry (her mother had remarried twice). She waited a few months before taking vows on April 21, the feast of Saint Joseph, the same date as the foundation. Her position as a Hospitaller sister in no way hindered her movement in matters of state. On the contrary, she established Sigena as an institution that emblematized Aragón and involved it in matters of state. Sigena was Sancha's court during a significant portion of her life. After her death the monastery continued to thrive, expanded its territory and privileges, and maintained an active connection with the court. Sancha worked to create in Sigena a mirror of her stabilizing power during her son's reign.

[104] Alfonso VIII witnessed the treaty between mother and son.

[105] Marquez de la Plata, *Reinas medievales*, 183-202.

Montpellier. Marie was zealous in her devotion and ruled her own county. The marriage was rocky from its onset, and the couple spent most of their time apart. They had two children, Sancha who died in infancy, and Jaime who inherited the realm. Pedro began his quest to annul his marriage in 1206; Marie actively countered this action. Her visit to Sigena in 1207 was most likely the result of her battle against the annulment. Sancha may have intervened for her; Pedro held off on the process until his mother's death early the following year.[106] Pedro came to his mother's side in her final moments. He and his sister Constanza were there at her death. He upheld his mother's will, even though he was in a precarious financial situation as a result of his wars in Provence.

Sancha's competency as regent was noticed abroad. Several letters between Pope Innocent III and Sancha survive. In these letters Innocent III asked for her intervention in matters of state, usually marital in nature. Sancha's eldest daughter Constance had been married to Emericus of Hungary. Emericus died in 1204, followed shortly thereafter by their only son Ladislas III in 1205. Constance returned to Aragón after the death of her husband and son, apparently taking up residence at Sigena. By 1207 marriage negotiations between Constance and Frederick II of Sicily (soon to be Holy Roman Emperor) had begun, with Innocent III taking a personal interest in the situation. Frederick II was the pope's protégé, and his position in line for rule of the Holy Roman Empire made the marriage of particular interest to the pope.

The recent placement of the kingdom of Aragón as subject to the Vatican, after Pedro II was crowned by the pope's own hand, and Sancha's devout reputation and discrete leadership contributed to the choice of Constance as future queen of Sicily and

[106] Marie then traveled to Rome to prevent the annulment, successfully; she died there in 1213.

empress despite the disparity in ages – Constance was approximately twenty-seven and Frederick was just fourteen at their betrothal. The choice of Constance suggests that Innocent III was looking for a counselor to the young king he could control. Furthermore, he asked Sancha to travel to Sicily at her daughter's side and help in the regency of the realm. While Frederick II appears to have taken offence at this petition, the very act of asking the aging queen to participate in foreign government suggests the high regard in which the pope held her regency for Pedro. Sancha was not able to accept the pope's request as her health was deteriorating, and she died later that year.[107] Constance married Frederick by proxy and postponed her bridal voyage to Sicily until after her mother's death.[108] Constance's success as a stabilizing influence upon her husband was a reflection of her mother's government.[109]

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[107] She sent her son Alfonso in her stead along with two nuns from Sigena; Alfonso died on this journey. Two Sigena nuns also accompanied Constance to Sicily; they later returned to the monastery after their charge was in place.

[108] Constance was at her husband's side until her death in 1222 in Catania, leaving behind four children: Manfred, king of Sicily and Naples, Henry VII Holy Roman Emperor; Konrad IV, Holy Roman Emperor, and Margaret.

[109] Unfortunately this would not be the case with Sancha's younger daughter Leonor whose marriage to Raymond VI of Toulouse was an important political alliance for her brother as he was attempting to consolidate his power in Provence. Raymond of Toulouse was a powerful ally and his father had been married to Sancha's mother, Rica. Another of Sancha's daughters, Sancha, also married a count of Toulouse, Raymond VII. After achieving his majority Pedro spent a large part of his rule attempting to quell the growing instability in Provence. He wrote to Pope Innocent III trying to prevent the Albigensian crusade, even going so far as to establish a marriage alliance between his only son Jaime and the daughter of Simon of Montfort – and relinquishing him into Montfort's care. None of Pedro's actions, though, were enough to quell Monfort's push southward. His familial alliance with Toulouse through his sisters, made it impossible for him not to be involved – not to mention the avoidance of new players in the region. Pedro died during the battle of Muret in 1213; the Hospitaller knights returned his body to Sigena in 1230. His son Jaime was reclaimed by the Aragonese and Catalan nobles and placed in the care of the Knights Templar. Raised at the castle of Monzón, the site of his grandmother's only involvement in a battle, his first act as king was to visit Sigena and pay tribute to his father and grandmother. During the reign of Jaime I, the monastery held the royal coronation insignia and maintained important documents

Sancha's legacy was left at Sigena; her reputation as a pious queen grew with time, in part due to the survival and growing power of the monastery she founded.[110] Sancha may not have survived in contemporary poetry or chronicles, but the documentary and physical evidence she left behind sings a laudatory tale of a powerful and pious queen who mediated the needs of her family, the kingdom, and her people with her own vision for Aragón – that of a powerful crusader kingdom. Her active participation in government and her support of the military orders demonstrates a transformative vision she shared with her husband, but more significantly with his grandfather and granduncle, rulers who balanced pious endeavors with at times a violent hand.[111] Sancha the arbitrator comes through in the documents and chronicles, but her choice of order, her willingness to take Monzón by force, and her regency through the early years of Pedro's battles all suggest an iron will. She may have had a great deal of her grandmother Urraca in her, but she also recognized the problems Urraca underwent.

Sancha helped establish a long line of queens in Aragón who focused their patronage on a particular monastery, a tradition already in existence in Castilla and León by the time of Sancha's arrival in Aragón. Her long rule in Aragón allowed for the establishment of one of her own customs at the court, for while the Navarese and

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of state. The Hospitaller sisters would also be found at important court ceremonies. Sigena's close connection with the royal family did not end until the death of Martin I in the fifteenth century when the Trastamara line died out.

[110] I will look at how intimately a monarch's memory survived through her foundations in Chapter II.

[111] The reputation of Alfonso I as a fighter was legendary; his brother's rule, however, demonstrates a similar resolve and willingness to affirm his authority at all costs. The legend of La Campana has survived in which, after seeking advice from his old abbot, he summoned all the counts of the kingdom to his court by ringing a large bell. When they were gathered he ordered the usurpers killed in his presence and before all the other counts. This legend appears to have been blended with the story of Abd-al-Rahman's son, who had engaged in similar tactics a century before.

Aragonese kings and lords had powerful monasteries in which to entrust their memory and lineage, the women of the family did not have such clear links to one monastery, with the exception of Santa Cruz de la Seros.

Sancha built on the traditions of both her natal land and her marital land. She bridged the traditions, taking advantage of the autonomy given to Aragonese queens in their distribution and authority over their dowry and dower lands, and building on the traditional association with monastic orders in Castilla and León as well as active political involvement in the courts of her husband and son. Sancha embraced the association with a monastic order and used it to affirm her authority over her son and future generations. Whether she recognized the need to appear the pious queen, or simply embraced her piety, the result is the same: she successfully navigated rulership through her role as a pious queen.[112]

Sancha's contemporary, Leonor Plantagenet, appears to have acted in similar ways but her situation was rather different. Her surviving reputation portrays her as more maternal and regal than pious. I will demonstrate, however, that her actions and patronage follow a very similar pattern to those of Sancha. The very different legal structure of the realm and her inability to claim her dowry land or use its resources have obscured the position of this queen in relationship to her subjects, the church, and the state. Leonor came from a very different familial background than that of Sancha but, like Sancha, she balanced her own traditions with those of her new court.

[112] González Anton may question her vocation for politics, but her ability to manage a kingdom fragmented in its creation at the same time as reigning in a rambunctious son was successful. Luis González Antón, R. Ferrer, and P. Caterna, *La consolicación de la corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1988).

Leonor Plantagenet: Troubador Queen, Regal Intercessor

> When the court was gathered, queen Leonor arrived dressed in a way that none saw her body. She was dressed with a cloak of a beautiful and fine silk . . . it was red with a sash of silver that had upon it a lion embroidered in gold.
>
> Ramón Vidal de Bezaudú[113]

Ramón Vidal de Bezaudú describes Leonor Plantagenet as regal, beautiful, and decorous in the only extant poem describing the queen from the twelfth century. The poem narrates the entry and celebration of troubadours at the Castilian court. It presents the monarchs as avid patrons as they welcome openly the arrival of the troubadours. The Castilian court, however, was not known for its troubadours. The poetry associated with the court, and with the Leonese court, relates to battle narratives almost exclusively.[114] Although Vidal de Bezaudú does not speak at length of the queen, the very existence of troubadours at court has been attributed to her influence.[115] As the narration continues, Leonor bows to her husband Alfonso VIII and joins her maids in a separate part of the hall. She is present as the court enjoys the games and songs of the troubadours, but she

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[113] E can la cort complida fo
Venc la teyn' Elionors
Et anc negús no vi son cors.
Estrecha venc en un mantel
D' un drap de seda bon e bel
Que hom apela sisclató
Vermelhs ab lista d' argen fo
E y hac un levon d' aur devís.
Manuel Mila y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, 126.

[114] Mila y Fontanales, *De los trovadores*, 70-74.

[115] Dulce Ocón Alonso, "El papel artistico de las reinas hispanas en la segunda mitad del siglo XII: Leonor de Castilla y Sancha de Aragón," *VII Jornadas de arte: La mujer en el arte español* (Madrid, 1997). Mila y Fontanals also suggests this role in *De los trovadores*, 112.

does not actively participate nor place herself at the center of the gathering. She leaves that to Alfonso. The description of her dress, which occupies the poet to a greater extent than anything else about the queen, identifies her as a member of the Plantagenet family: the Plantagenet crest bore three lions.

The Plantagenet court was known for its patronage of the arts and troubadours in particular. Leonor's mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was an avid patron of troubadours and was exalted and condemned by them; her great-grandfather William of Aquitaine wrote poetry as well as patronizing troubadours. Leonor grew up in an environment that emphasized the developing courtly love tradition and the musical arts. The description of the Castilian court during games marks a change in the participation of troubadours at court, a change that also suggests a transformation of the court under French influence. Leonor was not the first French queen at the Castilian court. Alfonso VI had had five French wives, including Agnes of Aquitaine, his first. Constance of Burgundy, his second wife, was the most prominent of the Castilian queens of French descent. Constance's influence at court had brought about a transformation in the patronage of the monastic orders and the arts. While Alfonso VI was not the first king to support the order in the peninsula, he was one of the most avid patrons, and it is under Constance's oversight that a closer bond between Alfonso VI and the Cluniac order arose, an order closely linked to Constance's Burgundy. It is quite likely that Leonor had a similar powerful effect upon the court in her own day.

Leonor was the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine by her second husband Henry II Plantagenet. The marriage was negotiated soon after Alfonso VIII took power in 1169. Leonor was just ten years old when they married in Tarazona the following year; Alfonso

was fifteen.[116] Leonor came to Burgos with a large entourage headed by the bishop of Bordeaux along with the Aragonese king Alfonso II and his mother Petronila who had negotiated the marriage.[117] Although Leonor moved into the Castilian court, the marriage was likely not consummated until she was of age; her first child, Berenguela, was born in 1180. Of Leonor's eleven documented children, five survived childhood. It appears that the girls, Berenguela, Blanche, and Urraca spent most of their time at their mother's side in Burgos or, once Las Huelgas was habitable, at the monastery. Chroniclers suggest that Leonor's primary residence was in this city, a city more closely connected to the climate of her homeland and on the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela. Yet these same chroniclers also affirm the close relationship with her husband and the intercessory and advisory role she played at his side.

Three chroniclers speak extensively of the queen (by contemporary standards), Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada in *De rebus hispanaie*, the anonymous chronciler of the *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, and her great-grandson Alfonso X in the *Primera cronica general*; the first two were written by men in the Castilian court who were in contact with the queen, and it is in these chronicles that any real information about the

[116] The couple was married on Aragonese territory before Alfonso II and his mother Petronila. Rios Mazcarate notes Leonor's age to be 15, by other accounts she is 8, however, the date of her birth is rather firmly placed in 1160. Marquez de la Plata, *Reinas medievales*, 149-162.

[117] The bishops of Anguleme, Poitiers, and Agen appear to have been in the entourage as well. Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en el epoca de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1960), 190. It is possible that at this point Sancha may have already moved to the Castilian court, she would have been fifteen or sixteen.

queen is found.[118] The chronicles stress Leonor's intercession for her people and her maternal role.

Ximenez de Rada related Leonor's active role in the establishment of peace between Castilla and León; Alfonso X expanded upon his narration. The peace involved the marriage of Berenguela, their eldest daughter, to Alfonso IX, the king of León. Ximenez de Rada noted that: ". . . even though the noble king [Alfonso VIII] was reticent to this, because he and the Leonese king were closely related [first cousins], queen Leonor, wife of the noble Alfonso, who was extremely judicious, considered with clarity and profound discernment the risk of the situation that might be solved by this marriage. . .."[119] Alfonso X expounded, noting that it was the people of León and Castilla that asked for her intervention in the matter, pleading with her to take into consideration their suffering.[120] Leonor took pity on them and actively sought the betrothal that did in fact bring a decade-long peace, though the pope placed the kingdom under interdict until the

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[118] Ximenez de Rada was a close councilor to the king. Initially his confessor, Ximenez de Rada eventually became the archbishop of Toledo, the most powerful see in Spain, and he attempted to affirm his primacy over all the bishoprics in the peninsula.

[119] "Y aunque el noble rey era reticente a esto, porque él y el rey Leónés estaban emparentados, la reina Leonor, esposa del noble Alfonso, que era sumamente juiciosa, calibrada con claro y profundo discernimiento el riesgo de la situación, que podia solucionarse con un enlace tal. . ." Jimenez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos de España*, 303.

[120]"… metieronsse a conseiar al rey don Alffonsso de Castiella que diesse al rey don Alffonso de León a su fija, la inffante donna Bernenguella por muggier. Et maguer que el noble rey de Castiella lo reffusasse porque el et el rey de León eran muy parientes, pero asmaron que la reyna donna Leonor muggier del noble rey don Alffonso de Castiella, porque era ella muy sabia et muy entenduda deunna et muy anuisa et entendie los peligros de las cosas et las muertes de las yentas que uernien en este desamor et se podrien desuiar por este casamiento di se fiziesse, fueron a ella et fablaronlo con ella en poridad… La reyna, como era muy entenduda segunt auemos dicho, quando oyo de los omnes Buenos tantas buenas rezones, otorgoloes quell plazie de coraçon, et que ella guisarie como se fiziesse este casamiento…" *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, 682-683.

couple separated. The marriage was a powerful tool to establishing peace in two kingdoms racked by divisive wars.

Alfonso VIII had powerful adversaries in his uncle Fernando II and his cousin Alfonso IX. Alfonso VII had split the kingdom between his two sons, leaving Sancho, his eldest and the father of Alfonso VIII, the kingdom of Castilla, and his younger son Fernando II, León. Although León was the traditional seat of government leading back to the early kingdom of Asturias, Castilla had greater opportunities for expansion, and with the incorporation of Toledo had retaken the ancient seat of the Visigothic rulers of Spain (See Map 1). After Sancho's death, Fernando II attempted and succeeded, to some extent, in claiming vast Castilian territories. The tension between uncle and nephew was intense and warfare frequent. After Fernando's death in 1188, his son Alfonso IX came to power and continued the hostilities with his first cousin. It was the marriage brokered by Leonor that finally brought relative peace to these kingdoms, at least on one border.[121] It is also an example of Leonor's activity at court, the respect her husband had for her opinion, and – very important to the idea of a "good" queen – her compassion for her people and willingness to intercede for them.

Leonor appears clearly designated as a good queen in the chronicles of the period and her great-grandson used her as a model for a good queen in the legal treatises of the *Siete partidas* and the *Espéculo*.[122] The only appearance of anything close to avarice is in the battle over Gascony. The territory, as noted above, was supposed to have been Leonor's dowry. Alfonso attempted to take control of the territory in 1204-1205.

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[121] Berenguela had been betrothed to Conrad of Germany before, but the arrangement had dissolved after the birth of Fernando.
[122] Theresa M. Vann, "The Theory and Practice of Medieval Castilian Queenship," in *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. Theresa Vann (Cambridge, 1993), 129-130.

Chroniclers again place this problematic deed in Alfonso's career upon the queen's shoulders. The *Cronica latina* ascribes directly to the queen the quest for these lands for which Alfonso had already developed a distaste: " . . . for his love for his wife and the desire not to cause her any sadness, caused him to push forth in this enterprise . . . ."[123] The quest was unsuccessful, and Alfonso released the people and lords of Gascony from their oaths to him and Leonor.[124]

Although Leonor's presence in chronicles records her advisory role, she is strangely absent from the documents of the period, or more accurately, does not enact her own documents. Recognized by modern scholars primarily as the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and mother of Blanche of Castile and Berenguela of Castilla-León, Leonor has remained an enigma due to her apparent lack of agency. Even articles purporting to deal with the queen focus more on her mother and daughters than on any of Leonor's activities.[125] Miriam Shadis's scholarship is an exception to this treatment of the queen.[126] Looking principally at chronicler's depiction of her, she describes Leonor as an

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[123] Paupertas siquidem terre, inconstancia huminum, in quibus rara fides inueniebatur, terram Vasconie ipsi regi rediderant odiosam, sed amor coniugis, et me ipsam contristaret, ipsum cepto pertinaciter insistere compellebat…." *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, 22.

[124] This was not the end of Castilian claims on the land. Alfonso X used this territory as dowry for his sister Leonor to the son of Edward I, finally bringing an end to the dispute. Gonzalo Martínez Diez, *Alfonso VIII, rey de Castilla y Toledo* (Burgos, 1995), 44-45, 247.

[125] Valentín de la Cruz, "El enigma de doña Leonor," *Reales Sitios* 27/105, (1990): 65-68 and Fidel Fita, "Elogio a la reina de Castilla," *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* 53 (1908): 411. Jesus María Jabato Saro's "Los monarcas fundadores: Don Alfonso VIII y doña Leonor de Inglaterra," *Reales Sitios* 92 (1987): 56-57.

[126] Miriam Shadis' "Piety, Politics, and Power," 202-227, expands upon her dissertation "Motherhood, Lineage, and Royal Power in Medieval Castilla and France: Berenguela de León and Blanche of Castilla" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1994).

important advisor to Alfonso VIII, and a powerful influence on her daughters, their regencies, and their patronage.

Where Sancha appears as a clear actor in documents, though not so in chronicles, Leonor appears as a secondary character in Castilian court documents.[127] She authors but one document: the dedication of a chapel in the cathedral of Toledo to Thomas Becket in 1179.[128] Her father, Henry II, had been responsible for Becket's assassination, and Leonor may have been attempting to mitigate his faults. Yet even in the couple's bequest of 100 *aureos* to the monastery of Fontevrault at the death and for the memory of her father in 1190, Leonor appears subordinate to Alfonso. The formulaic treatment of the queen follows a standard Castilian form, noting: "I, Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castilla, with my wife Leonor do bequeath . . . " a certain property. For the Becket bequest the positions of king and queen are simply inverted in the text.

The standard interpretation of the diplomatic formula is to recognize Alfonso as the primary donor. Yet this is too simple an explanation given the actions attributed to the queen by chroniclers, including her great-grandson Alfonso X. The foundation and support of Las Huelgas, and the rapid construction of the monastery, are attributed to Leonor's generosity and devotion in chronicles, yet in none of the monastery's documents does she appear commissioning any work of her own accord. Two elements

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[127] This problem is made more serious by the loss of the court archives in the fourteenth century during the war between Pedro the Cruel of Castilla and Pedro the Ceremonious of Aragón. The documents that survive are those that were stored in cathedrals and monastic foundations. This creates a bias by more clearly emphasizing documents of a religious nature.

[128] In this document Leonor inverts the order of the legal formula noting: "… ego Alienor, Dei gratia regina Castelle, una cum coniuge meo rege Aldefonso…" Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en el epoca de Alfonso VIII*, vol. 2, *Documentos 1145-1190* (Madrid, 1960), 324.

appear to contribute to this situation: a standard diplomatic formula and Leonor's lack of a dowry.

Diplomatic documents in Castilla, including those recording Leonor's benefactions, maintain the formula noted above with few exceptions. These arise when women are single or widowed. *Infantas* are the most prominent and consistent example of this trend. Sancha, the unmarried sister of Alfonso VII, for example, appears in her brother's documents, as queen and *infanta*, and acting on her own, as in the bequests to San Isidoro de León. Her legal and social status allowed her to act of her own accord. She had her own properties and authority under which to act.

Leonor did not fall into this category. As a married woman she appeared as subordinate to her husband's bequests, though there is an implied consent on her part. Leonor appears at Alfonso's side in 91% of his documents, a marked contrast to Sancha's sparing presence in those of her husband.[129] Even here, though, there is a distinction: although Sancha rarely appears in the formulaic treatment above, when she appears in the documents of Alfonso II she signs them even when not mentioned in the text. This is another unusual feature of Leonor's documents: even though she apparently gives consent to the bequests, she rarely signs them: only 4 out of Alfonso's 927 documents are signed by Leonor.[130] It is not clear from the documents, furthermore, whether her

[129] This number derives from a count of the documents in González. Neither he, nor Sánchez Casabon for that matter, focus on the documents of the queen. Whereas documents from other sources, compilations from monastic and ecclesiastic archives, transcribe the documents authored by Sancha, a similar search for such documents in Castilla did not result in any new documents for Leonor.
[130] Again according to a count of the documents in González, *El reino de Castilla*.

presence was necessary for her to consent to a gift in a document.[131] The only consistent trend in the few documents in which Leonor does not appear is her absence from treaties with other kingdoms. This is rather consistent, however, with prior behavior as well: unless a queen was regent she did not appear in military treaties. An exception to this is Sancha's signature on the 1186 treaty between Alfonso VIII and Alfonso II regarding the territories of Albarracin; Leonor did not sign the document.

The formulaic treatment of Leonor in documents does not explain the situation fully, though. Sancha and Leonor were in very different financial situations. Whereas Sancha maintained authority over her dowry and dower lands, Leonor did not fare so well. Leonor's dowry was the county of Gascony, which she was supposed to have received at the death of her father, but did not.[132] Alfonso attempted to claim the territory forcibly in 1204-1205, as noted above, but was not successful. This meant that Leonor was not receiving wealth from her own lands and depended upon her husband's generous dower lands for her activities. Alfonso endowed her with ten percent of his wealth and half of any new territories he gained through conquest. Theresa Vann calculates this would have given Leonor lordship of Burgos, most significantly and approximately five thousand *maravedis* a year.[133] Her material wealth was thus clearly subordinate to her

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[131] This problem becomes important given the belief Leonor spent most of her time in Burgos rather than at her husband's side. If she was present at court on the numerous occasions when her name appears in the document (actually giving consent…) then the chroniclers have provided an erroneous vision of the queen's itinerary.

[132] Vann notes that she did have recourse to some other revenues such as the mills of Domfront and the demesne of La Fontaine Ozent, although the only appearance of this is in an 1195 document. Vann, "Theory and Practice," note 18.

[133] See Vann, note 22, for the list of cities and castles Leonor held. These numbers are not available for Aragón. Gonzalo Martínez Diez expands this to include Najera and Castrojeriz and notes that the 5,000 *maravedis* came from Toledo. Martínez Diez, *Alfonso VIII*, 44-45.

husband's, and yet she appears to have had authority over its distribution even though the documents are unclear.[134]

An enigmatic image of Leonor in the frontispiece of the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla*, known as the Ucles manuscript, at the Archivo Nacional in Madrid supports this contention (Figure 9). The thirteenth-century manuscript is a compilation of documents collected and transcribed by the Templars beginning with Alfonso VIII and Leonor's first major donation to the order: the castle of Ucles. Ucles was one of Leonor's dower lands. This fact is recognized by her position in the illumination if not in the document proper, whose text follows the formula described above. The image is read from left to right with Leonor occupying the largest space among the figures; only the castle is larger. She sits on a throne alongside Alfonso VIII and holds the end of the deed. The image gives Leonor agency even though the document does not. It certainly suggests Leonor was more involved in the distribution of her lands than is apparent from the legal documents.

The problem that arises is thus reconciling the diplomatic formulae with the reality of who actually owned and deeded property. The standard interpretation is that in a joint gift, the donor was the husband (or father, brother, son) and the wife was simply named in recognition of the gift. This is certainly the way in which David Herlihy treats the evidence.[135] When compiling the documents of bequests during this period, Herlihy ascribes to the husband the donation unless specifically written to exclude him, which was highly unusual. He only identifies a woman as the property owner if the documents begin with her name. Herlihy finds that Spain and Southern France had the most prominent and numerous documents relating to women as property owners, partly due to

[134] Vann, "Theory and Practice," 125-147.
[135] Herlihy, "Land, Family, and Women," 89-120.

Visigothic law in Spain, but also possibly due to chivalric traditions and a stronger crusading impetus.[136]

Yet the problem remains: does the inclusion of a woman's name as secondary in the document necessarily mean she acknowledges her husband's gift, rather than giving the gift herself? An example of this problem can be found in the question of gift-giving regarding Leonor's mother Eleanor of Aquitaine. In the final months of her marriage to Louis VII, the couple gave several land grants to the monastery of Fontevrault, a favorite of Eleanor's and one patronized by her father.[137] The bequest gave the monastery Aquitainian territories, territories Eleanor had inherited and brought with her to the marriage. Reading the document at face value, one sees Louis giving a series of lands with his wife's acquiescence; reading the document within its context, one must understand that Eleanor gives these lands to her favorite monastery but that legal formulations give her a role secondary to that of her husband in the transaction. This problem clearly arises in Spain as well; as noted above, it is the same situation Leonor finds herself regarding Las Huelgas.

The two contemporary chronicles of the period, Ximenez de Rada's *De rebus hispainie* and the anonymous *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, both ascribe to Leonor the foundation and structure of Las Huelgas.[138] Even here, though, the foundation is not solely given to Leonor, just the impetus. Alfonso X, Leonor's great-

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[136] Herlihy notes that in Aragón this goes further to include the matronym rather than the patronym in oaths of fealty.

[137] I thank Kristen Collins for bringing this case to my attention. Documents found in J. Horace Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, vol. 1, *AD 918-1206* (London, 1899).

[138] Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos de España*, transl. Juan Fernandez Valverde (Madrid, 1989), 303 and Charlo Brea, *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, 26.

grandson, in the *Primera cronica general de España* notes that: "because of the many petitions and for the great desire of the very noble queen Leonor, his wife, he [Alfonso VIII] began to build a monastery of nuns of the Cistercian order close to Burgos . . . ."[139] The only documentary sources that aid in solving the dilemma are references to the hospital that came to be subordinate to Las Huelgas. The earliest documents, no longer extant but copied into a *tumbo*, record the activities of two clerics in Leonor's service who accumulated the land for the hospital and refer to it as the hospital of the queen.[140] These references and the chapel dedicated to Thomas Becket are the only moments documenting Leonor's agency. The accumulation of land for the hospital also links Las Huelgas more closely to the monastery of Fontevrault through the establishment of a quasi double monastery and provides an important element to the persona of the "good" queen: charity.

Leonor's involvement with the monastery of Las Huelgas followed both Castilian and French traditions. The foundations of San Salvador de Palat del Rey, Covarrubias, and San Isidoro de León were all important foundations run by the women of the royal house of León and Castilla, the seats of the *infantazgos*, and the burial sites of counts and kings.[141] Las Huelgas took on all of these responsibilities and, following the traditions of

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[139] "El muy noble don Alffonso, dexadas las otras priessas et los otros fechos, por los muchos ruegos et por el grand afficamiento de la muy noble reyna donna Leonor, su mugier, començo a laurar et a fazer çerca de Burgos un monesterio de duennas de la orden de Çesteles…."Alfonso X, *Primera cronica general de España*, ed. Ramón Menendez Pidal (Madrid, reprint 1977), 685.

[140] This hospital was later renamed the Hospital of the King in acknowledgement of the great support given to the institution by Leonor's grandson Fernando II. Palacín Gálvez, María del Carmen and Luis Martínez García. *Documentación del Hospital del Rey de Burgos (1136-1277)* (Burgos, 1990).

[141] Perhaps the most important precedent was San Salvador de Palat del Rey. The monastery was associated with the abbess Elvira, regent for her nephew Ramiro III (r.

Leonor's Aquitainian homeland, expanded the role of the abbess at Las Huelgas. The monastery of Fontevrault appears to have been a powerful model for Las Huelgas in structure if not architecturally or through monastic affiliation.[142] Robert of Arbrissel, the founder of Fontevrault, had placed a woman, initially a widow, at the head of the entire institution. Most double monasteries placed the supreme rule of the institution into the hands of an abbot. Robert, however, had founded Fontevrault to care for his female followers; the men who joined the monastery were specifically charged with their care, but not with their control.

The abbess of Las Huelgas maintained supreme authority over all aspects of the monastery's dealings, even maintaining authority over the hospital of the queen. The abbess acted as a secular lord over her lands and even had some ecclesiastical responsibilities normally associated with men, such as the choice of confessors and priests for parish churches.[143] Even though Leonor did not choose to affiliate this foundation with Fontevrault, she did emulate the structure of the monastery where she had spent a large part of her youth and treated it as the place for the retirement and education of royal women, a role Fontevrault had played for the duchesses of Aquitaine.

If Leonor's counseling activities helped consolidate her reputation as a proper queen, despite the disastrous attempt to claim Gascony, as did her charity as a pious

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967-984). The monastery held the bodies of Ramiro II, Ordoño III, Sancho I, and Ramiro III.

[142] Thomas S.R. Boase, "Fontevrault and the Plantagenets," *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 34/3 (1971): 1-10, Penny Schine Gold, "Male/Female Cooperation: The Example of Fontevrault," in *Medieval Religious Women: Distant Echoes*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank (Kalamazoo, 1984), 151-168, and Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* (Ithaca, 1997).

[143] Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power," 206-207.

queen, chroniclers also extolled her role as a devoted wife and mother. The most vivid example of this is her reaction to the deaths of her son Fernando and her husband Alfonso. Fernando died in battle and the author of the *Cronica latina* describes Leonor's reaction as follows:

> The most noble queen Leonor, upon hearing of the death of her son, desired to die with him and entering into the chamber where her son lay, she placed her mouth over her son's, and embracing his hands with hers she attempted to revive him or die next to him. As those who witnessed it affirm, never was seen pain as deep as hers.[144]

If she did not die by her son's side, she did expire soon after her husband. All three chronicles note the proximity of her death to Alfonso's and her desperation at his loss.[145] Leonor's maternal and spousal love is highlighted: she is the devoted and loving wife and mother. Alfonso left the regency of their only surviving son, Enrique I, to Leonor. Her death a month later left the regency to her eldest daughter Berenguela who had returned to the court after the dissolution of her marriage to Alfonso IX of León. Although Leonor did not rule, Alfonso did place the rule of the kingdom into her hands.

In general the descriptions of Leonor by chroniclers are close to Peire Vidal's of Sancha. Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada refers to her as serene, modest, noble, discrete, judicious in judgement, and discerning. The author of the *Cronica latina* notes that she was most noble in customs and lineage, honest and prudent. Alfonso X adds chaste,

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[144] "Nobilissima regina Alienor, audita morte filii, mori cum eo uoluit, et intrauit lectum, in quo iacebat filius et, supponens os ori et manus minibus complicans, nitebatur uel eum uiuificare uel cum eo mori. Sicut asserunt qui uiderunt, nunquam dolor illi similes uisus fuit." *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, 26.

[145] Ximenez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos* (vol. VIII, I), 8; *Crónica latina de los reyes de España*, 42; and Alfonso X, *Historia General*, 709.

wise, and of good judgement. All of the chroniclers extol her virtues even though troubadours did not. Whereas her mother appears lauded in poetry, active at court, manipulative of her sons, and actively undermining her husbands, Leonor remained separate from all of these deeds and appears instead to counter them. She was a trusted advisor, consummate wife and mother, and devout member of the court. She was charitable, did good works, and interceded for her people. Her reputation, like Sancha's, was that of a good queen.

Chapter II: Monastic Choices for Women in Twelfth-Century Iberia

> In the name of God, let it be noted by all, present and future, that I Sancha, by the grace of God queen of Aragón, countess of Barcelona, and marquise of Provençe, with glad spirit and free will, give to the Lord God and the sacred Hospital of Jerusalem and the brothers in the service of God, all of my inheritance that I have in the vicinity of Tarazona which is called Codong… And I Sancha, queen of Aragón, accept from the Hospital in exchange for the aforesaid manor called Codong, the village and monastery of Sigena with the aforesaid villages and their lands and possessions, for the construction and erection of a monastery and house of ladies, accordingly always living there for the honor of God Almighty and the Blessed John the Baptist, and under the rule of the most sacred Hospital, together with an additional rule, which I add of course to that of St. Augustine…
>
> Huesca, March 1188[146]

> In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, . . I, Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castilla and Toledo, and my wife Leanor, queen, with the consent of our children Berenguela and Urraca, with the desire for the remission of our sins on earth and in order to obtain a place in heaven with the saints after death, we build in honor of God and the most holy mother and queen Mary a monastery in the vega of Burgos, named Holy Mary Queen of Heaven, in which the Cistercian rule will be observed in perpetuity . . .
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> Burgos, June 1, 1187[147]

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[146] Agustin Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena* (Valencia, 1972), 14-15. Translated by Karl Frederick Schuller in "The Pictorial Program of the Chapter House of Sigena," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1995), 235-236.

[147] "In nominee Sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis. . . ego, Aldefonsus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, et uxor mea Alienor, regina, cum consensus filiarum nostrarum Berengarie et

The foundation of the royal monasteries of Sigena and Las Huelgas fits a prescribed model of queenship that dictates the importance of a queen's association with a monastic community. This association did not require that the queen retire to the monastery upon widowhood, nor did a queen necessarily need a single monastery as a focal point for patronage.[148] There are as many examples of queens who do not appear to have had such an association as there are of queens who do. Yet it is the queens who show this kind of preference who also received praise for their piety by their contemporaries. In the quotations above, both queens (and spouse in the latter case), use a set model in their foundation: they provide the property, buildings, and endowment in exchange for an intimate relationship with the monastery for themselves and their families. The selection of the monastic order to patronize was a delicate one, one that reveals the changing trends of monastic patronage on the peninsula. The choice of the Hospitaller order in Aragón and the Cistercian in Castilla had political as well as monastic implications. The queens aligned themselves with orders that suited their needs as new queens, balancing precedents in their homeland and new territories. They also recognized the vital relationship between the monastic orders and the reconquest, a connection that in Spain created a more intimate bond between the royal family and their monasteries.

Urracce, cupientes remissionem peccatorum it terries et postmodum in celis locum obtinere cum Sanctis, construimos ad honorem Dei et Sancte eius genitricis Uirginis Marie monasterium in la uega de Burgis, quod uocatur Sancta Maria Regalis, in quo cisterciensis ordo perpetuo obseruetur. . . " José Manuel Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación del Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos (116-1230)* (Burgos, 1985), 21.

[148] See discussion in Chapter I.

Vicente Lampérez y Romea and Fernando Chueca Goitia in their studies of royal monasteries discuss the profound connection between the Spanish monarchies and their monastic houses.[149] Both recognize the spread of the monasteries along with the reconquest: the greatest concentration of monastic construction was almost inevitably preceded by major victories on the battlefield. This is a logical result as the victory provided land to be distributed, the desire for intercessory prayer, and the very real need to populate the new territory with friendly occupants. Furthermore, Chueca Goitia concentrates on the monasteries as royal palaces, institutions that were retreat house and monastery, serving the needs of the royal family continually both temporally and spiritually.

Both Sancha and Leonor visited their monasteries often, placed the education of their daughters in the nuns' hands, and retreated to their monasteries upon their husbands' deaths. Both queens stipulated early in the documents of the monasteries that they would take monastic vows within the order. This relationship was certainly not unique to the Iberian Peninsula. An example of this comes from Leonor's own background; Eleanor of Aquitaine, Leonor's mother, maintained a close relationship with the monastery of Fontevrault, visited the site, and sent her daughters to be educated there, and she retired and was buried there.[150] Leonor and Sancha went out of their way to make their monasteries synonymous with the royal family, and by the ends of their lives both

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[149] Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Los grandes monasteries de España* (Madrid, 1920), and Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Casas reales en monasteries y conventos españoles* (Madrid, 1966).

[150] Edmond-René Labande, "Les filles d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine: Étude comparative," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale Xe-XIIe siecles* 29 (1986): 101-112. The suggestion also exists that Eleanor's son John may also have spent long periods of time at Fontevrault.

women had placed the greatest portion of their resources at the service of these monasteries and linked them so profoundly with the royal family that the monasteries retained that power for over two centuries. Their ability to forge such a bond suggests a keen understanding of the needs of their kingdoms and recognition of the important monastic trends of their period.

The twelfth century in Aragón and León-Castilla, as in most of Europe, saw the development of two new major trends in monasticism: the rise of the Cistercians and the growth of the military orders. Sancha and Leonor chose to place their monasteries in the hands of these relatively new orders, orders that still maintained the fervor and strict life of their founders. The development of these orders in the two realms took different paths, as did the queens' interests. For this purpose I will look briefly at the development of these two orders in Aragón and León-Castilla, the growth of female monasticism within the orders, and finally the reasoning behind the choices made by these queens to support different orders.

Women and the Hospital in the Twelfth Century

> We also wish and concede that in this place let there always be a prioress, under whose power is everything belonging to the aforesaid house. Brothers and Sisters as well as lay brothers and everyone who shall reside in the same house, are under the authority of the same prioress and will obey the same whether cleric or lay, and everyone living under the religious institutions which the brothers of the Hospital shall make accustomed to those who reside there . . . We also stipulate and pronounce that the master is not allowed at all, without the consent of the prioress, to expel or install or even to transfer any sister.[151]
>
> Armengol de Aspa, October 1187

Female monasticism had a powerful resurgence in the twelfth century after an extended period of decline.[152] The twelfth century marked a growth not only in regular religious observance in monastic life, but also in the appearance of strong lay piety movements associated with a rise in religious fervor and reformation.[153] If the tenth century saw a decline in monastic life for women, due in part to invasions, the loss of

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[151] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 13 (doc. 5); translated in Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 231-232.

[152] For an analysis of the trends in the eleventh century, see Jane Tibbetts Schulenberg, "Women's Monastic Communities, 500-1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline," in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judith M. Bennett (Chicago, 1976), 208-239, and "Strict Active Enclosure and its Effects on the Female Monastic Experience (ca. 500-1100)," in *Medieval Religious Women: Distant Echoes*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank (Kalamazoo, 1984), 51-86. See also Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago, 1991), and Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* (Ithaca, 1997).

[153] The rise in warfare, cities, a merchant class, and charismatic movements have all been given some role in the rise of lay movements in cities. Dennis Devlin, "Feminine Lay Piety in the High Middle Ages: The Beguines," in *Medieval Religious Women*, 183-196.

frontier lands, and the growing enforcement of strict active enclosure, the twelfth century shows a growth in options for women's monasticism alongside that of men.[154] Fontevraultists, Premonstratensians, Cistercians, Hospitallers, all had female houses, even though most – the exception being Fontevrault – resisted the incorporation of women into the order.

The orders perceived women's foundations as a drain on their resources. They needed priests to aid them in their spiritual life and, as the push towards strict active enclosure persevered, nuns were increasingly dependent on monks and priests for their financial survival: they could not visit their families to ask for financial assistance, they could not easily recruit and influence others, and governing their lands was difficult if they could not visit them to oversee their care. In the twelfth century, although strict enclosure was preferred, it was not always enforced, and in many cases it was actively resisted. Yet the perception existed that women were a burden upon the orders. Due to their bellicose nature, the military orders had all the more reason to perceive women religious as drains on their resources, as they could not participate in battle or in the recruitment of war funds. Yet in Aragón and Barcelona, the Hospital did have a flourishing women's movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, quite possibly a direct result of the patronage of Sancha of León-Castilla.

The incorporation of women into the military orders has only recently received scholarly attention.[155] The differences in the goals of the military orders allowed for a

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[154] Schullenburg, "Strict Active Enclosure," 51-86.
[155] Alan J. Forey, "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987): 63-92; Juan Manuel Palacios Sanchez, *La sagrada, soberana e ínclita orden military de San Juan de Jerusalem (Orden de Malta) y sus monasteries de religiosas en España* (Zamora, 1997); María Echandiz Sans,

distinction in their perception of women. The Templars were the most resistant and appear to have allowed an association with women – placing them under the order's protection – but not the creation of monasteries for them.[156] The Hospitallers had been founded with a different purpose than the Templars, even though they were both fighting orders. The Templars were founded with the crusade in mind; the Hospital as a place to care for ailing pilgrims in Jerusalem.

The Hospital in Jerusalem appears to have been established as a double monastery with branches to care for men and women at the end of their pilgrimage in separate areas.[157] Women traveled the pilgrimage roads alongside men, and they required the same services as they passed through Jerusalem – this often included hospice care for those who did not have the health to survive the return trip. Aside from this first hospital, it is not clear if all Hospitaller monasteries were double monasteries; indeed documents indicate otherwise. Once the order took up arms, initially by extending protection to pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem, then assisting in the fight to claim Jerusalem and surrounding areas for Christian rulers, the place of women in the order underwent a

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"Espacios de religiosidad de las mujeres dentro de una orden military: La orden military de Santiago (s. XII-XIV)," in *Las mujeres en el cristianismo medieval* (Madrid, 1989), 183-200; and María Soledad Ferrer Vidal y Diaz del Requero, "Santa Eufemia de Cozuelos: Un monasterio femenino de la Orden Militar de Santiago," *En la España medieval*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1982), 337-348. In addition María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Las ordenes militares en Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1994), 63-67, and H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994), 145-155, both provide sections on the experience of women in the Hospitaller order.

[156] Forey, "Women and Military Orders," 65-67.

[157] Forey, "Women and Military Orders," 63-92. The Hospital had a prior association with a seventh-century hospice, destroyed in the eleventh century by the Caliph Hakem. The Benedictines established a new hospice under the name of St. Mary of the Latins. This abbey had a lay fraternity that was a dependent but separate community and that followed a different rule, the Augustinian rule. The lay fraternity was the founding block of the Hospitaller order. Sire, *Knights of Malta*, 3-4.

substantial transformation. This did not halt the development of Hospitaller houses in Aragón where they grew to prominence alongside the male military wing of the order.

The military orders found fertile ground on the Iberian Peninsula for the recruitment of monks as well as funding for their battles. Studies on the spread of the order have been late in coming but have received substantial attention in the last two decades.[158] The Hospitallers, like the Knights Templar, initially perceived their battlefront to be solely in the Middle East and came to the Iberian Peninsula in search of military and financial support. The Iberian kings were waging a crusade of their own, and both parties recognized the potential for a mutually beneficial relationship: the military orders found patrons committed to the crusade and the Iberian kings hoped to involve the military orders on the Iberian front. The earliest references to them appear during the reigns of Queen Urraca in León-Castilla (r. 1109-1126), Ramón Berenguer III of Barcelona (r. 1096-1131), and Alfonso I of Aragón-Navarra (r. 1104-1134). The

[158] Carlos Barquero Goñi, "La orden del Hospital en España durante la edad media: Estado de la cuestión," *Hispania sacra* 52/105 (2000): 7-20; Prim Bertrán, "La orden del Hospital en Cataluña, los inicios," *L'Avenç* 179 (1994): 22-27; Maria Bonet Donato, *La orden del Hospital en la corona de Aragón: Poder y gobierno en la Castellania de Amposta (s. XII-XV)* (Madrid, 1994); Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1992); Paul H. Freedman, "Military Orders in Osona during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Acta Histórica et Archaeológica Mediaevalia* 3 (1982): 55-69; María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Las ordenes militares en Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1994); Ledesma, *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982); Derek W. Lomas, *Las ordenes militares en la peninsula Ibérica durante la edad media* (Salamanca, 1976); Angel J. Martin Duque, "La restauración de la monarquia navarra y las ordenes militares (1134-1194)," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 11 (1981): 59-71; Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les casas de Templars y Hospitalers en Catalunya: Aplech de noves y documents historiches* (Barcelona, 1910); Sire, *Knights of Malta* (New Haven, 1994).

documents refer to donations given to Hospitaller knights in the first decade of the twelfth century, before the approval of the order by Calixtus II in 1120.[159]

The will of Alfonso I in 1134 brought about a transformation in the perception of the battlefronts of the crusade, and helped establish a foothold for the military orders in Aragón, Navarra, and Barcelona. Alfonso I left the kingdom to the knights of the Temple, Hospital, and Sepulcher.[160] The will was not enforced, but it did ensure that the military orders had a firm footing in the peninsula and opened up a second front in the crusade for these orders.[161] Count Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona in his position as prince of Aragón successfully mediated the inheritance by bequeathing vast territories, most yet to be conquered, to the orders.[162] The will of Alfonso I had its intended result, and in 1143 the Hospital and Temple participated in their first armed conflict on the peninsula. The Battle of Tortosa was a pivotal battle on the Barcelona front of the reconquest.[163] The military orders participated in the battles to gain territories promised them by Ramón Berenguer; they were engaged consistently on the military front from

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[159] Bertram, "La orden del Hospital," 22-27. The order had been recognized by Paschal II in 1113 as a hospice and not a military order. Sire, *Knights of Malta*, 3, 5-6.
[160] The implications of Alfonso's will are discussed in chapter I.
[161] The Knights of the Holy Sepulcher never gained the prominence of the Hospitallers or Templars. The churches associated with them are few and far between, and their study is less advanced for this reason. As they are not directly pertinent to my study, I will not refer to them from this point forth.
[162] Bertram, "La orden del Hospital," 22-27; Ledesma Rubio, *Órdenes militares*, 42-43. Although Ramón Berenguer actively negotiated, following Ramiro's lead, the exchange of land for relinquishing the rights over the kingdom, García Ramirez, who took advantage of the situation in order to claim the Navarese kingdom, never acknowledged the will. He did, however, provide generously for the orders; 20-30 % of all documents extant are gifts to the military orders. Martín Duque suggests it is the refusal to acknowledge the will directly that prevented papal recognition of the kingdom; until Sancho el Fuerte, the papal court referred to the kings as *duc* rather than *rex*. Martín Duque, "Restauración de la monarquia," 65.
[163] Ledesma Rubio, *Órdenes militares*, 43.

this point forward. Although the Hospital received active support and lands from the Aragonese monarchs, they did not initially participate as actively in warfare as did the Templars. The monarchs appear to have used them when needed but also recognized a distinction between the goals of the two orders.[164]

The will of Alfonso I ensured the prominence of the military orders in a way that did not arise in other areas of the peninsula. Although the presence of the military orders had appeared early in León-Castilla, and in Portugal, the fate of the orders there was rather different. Even as the Knights Templar and the Hospital maintained their close connection to the crown and to their international offensives, in León-Castilla the orders were less successful. Instead of supporting the orders that took resources to a different battlefront, namely Jerusalem, the Castilian kings founded similar military orders that were completely devoted to the Spanish reconquest. Orders such as Calatrava, Avis, Santiago, Montegaudio, and Alcantara dominated the Castilian, Leonese, and Portuguese fronts.[165] They were not entirely spun-off from the Templar or Hospitaller models in their vows or their customs. In many cases, knights had more freedom in the Spanish orders, including the freedom to marry.[166] Double houses were thus not uncommon as the wives of the knights had to be cared for either permanently or for extended periods

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[164] Sire, *Knights of Malta*, 140-141.
[165] Lomas, *Órdenes militares*, 10-11.
[166] The question of women's houses in this area follows this, as they were often set up to care for the wives and children of the knights going to war, or the widows of those who did not return. In many cases they appear to have been perceived as charitable duty towards knights and later became quasi-confraternities when they lost their military stature – although they retained a certain prestige well into the sixteenth century. Studies of this phenomenon have concentrated on the Order of Santiago: Echandiz Sans, "Espacios de religiosidad," 183-200; and Ferrer Vidal y Diaz del Requero, "Santa Eufemia de Cozuelos," 337-348. This question is also treated by Forey in "Women and the Military Orders," 63-92.

during wartime. Thus, women were associated with the native military orders in a way the international orders of the Templars and Hospitallers had never intended.

All of these native-born orders appeared after the will of Alfonso I had irrevocably associated the international military orders with the Aragonese crown. It is this will that may have caused the transformation of the international orders into something more easily controllable in Castilla, León, and Portugal. The military orders in Aragón changed the power relationships of the realm in a way the other kingdoms may have resisted. Yet their early presence cannot be denied and it is most likely that Sancha arrived in Aragón with a developed predilection for the Hospitallers. Both her father and grandmother had supported the order handsomely during their lifetimes.[167]

Sancha's Foundation of the First Hospitaller House for Women

Sancha grew up in a court committed to the reconquest. Her father, Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, had opened up new territories and his wealth had grown through the taxes levied on the border *taifas*.[168] Sancha must have been aware of the potential for the military orders, and was committed to her aunt Sancha's ideals of charity.[169] When Sancha arrived in Aragón the Hospitallers and Templars were powerful participants in the reconquest, with territories predominantly on the borderlands. Ramón Berenguer IV

[167] Sire, *Knights of Malta*, 139-143.
[168] Bernard R. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia, 1998).
[169] Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha, hermana del emperador* (León, 1972), 16-45. For further discussion of the queen's relationship to her aunt Sancha, see Chapter I.

favored the Templars, but under the rule of Alfonso II, the Hospitallers gained significant ground, possibly thanks to Sancha's influence.[170]

The incorporation of women into the Hospital also appears to be the result of the queen's patronage. The first foundation for Hospitaller women on the Iberian Peninsula was the monastery of Grisen in 1177.[171] Founded under the watchful eyes of Sancha and Alfonso II it does not appear to have flourished.[172] No further documents exist prior to 1240 when it appears subject to the monastery of Sigena. Sigena was, in effect, the first successfully established monastery for women within the Iberian branch of the Hospitaller order.[173] The monastery became the motherhouse of all subsequent foundations.

Sancha's monastery was the result of many years of labor and negotiations with several orders. In her desire to establish a monastery for women of the Hospitaller order she appealed to the head of the order. None of these documents survive. Yet in the foundation document of 1187, Armengol de Aspa, master of the Castellania de Amposta, stated: ". . . the aforesaid donation we make to you because of repeated requests which

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[170] Ledesma Rubio, *Órdenes militares*, 50.
[171] Sire, *Knights of Malta*, 145. A further complication in chronology appears with the monastery of Cervera in the county of Barcelona. Sire and Forey both place this monastery as a potential establishment, but moved to Alguaire; Piquer I Jover places the foundation of Cervera, in the county of Barcelona, in 1172. Piquer i Jover, "L'expansió monastica," 12-14. If Grisen's foundation and operation is shrouded in confusion, Cervera's foundation is even more obscure. Cervera is a site associated with Sancha of León-Castilla, it was one of the dower lands provided for her in 1174 by Alfonso II, and confirmed as hers in 1187. This places the monastery, if there was one built at that time, under Sancha's authority. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón, *Alfonso II rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza: Documentos (1162-1196)* (Zaragoza, 1995), 236-238, 585-586 (doc. 161 and 442).
[172] Forey, "Women and the Military Orders," 71.
[173] Mariano de Pano y Ruata, *La santa reina doña Sancha, fundadora del monasterio de Sijena* (Zaragoza, 1944), 15-16.

the master of the Hospital of Jerusalem made from there and the aforementioned treasurer [Godfrey], namely of such kind that we construct and establish in that place Sigena, a house of God and hospital in which all the sisters who under the guardianship of Amposta offer themselves to the Hospital can be assembled and established and shall be able to dwell there living together."[174] Sancha had appealed to the center to compel the authority of the land. An initial problem still had to be overcome: the designated location of the monastery was divided between the Hospital and Temple.

Sancha's foundation of the monastery of Sigena in 1187 appeared after three years of negotiations with the Templars and the Hospitallers. The chosen site for the monastery was a strategically located swamp by the towns of Sena and Sigena, which were held by the Hospitaller order.[175] The churches on the land were in Templar hands. These territories were part of those seized by Ramón Berenguer IV and designated for the military orders' use. Thus Sancha placed her monastery on lands between the traditional kingdom of Aragón and county of Barcelona – a neutral territory of the new combined kingdom. The land was almost equidistant from Huesca, Lleida, Barbastro and Zaragoza (a major *taifa* Alfonso I had conquered in 1118).[176] These cities were the most important in the southern area of Aragón and were the route that linked Aragón to Barcelona, and Barcelona to the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela.

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[174] Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 230.
[175] Ramón Berenguer IV had given these lands to the orders in 1157. Ledesma Rubio, *Órdenes militares*, 45.
[176] María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "La catedral de Zaragoza," in *Las catedrales de Aragón*, ed. Buesa Conde (Zaragoza, 1987), 309.

Sancha exchanged the villages and castles of Santa Lecina and Pueyo de Monzón for the churches of Sena and Sigena with the Templars in 1184.[177] Sancha's desire to establish a monastery of the Hospitaller order is clear in the document: she had the assent of Armengol de Aspa, the prior of the Castellania de Amposta, head of the order in Aragón and Provence.[178] In October of 1187 and March of 1188, the agreement between Armengol and Sancha was further codified through the exchange of the lands of Sena, Sigena, and Urgelleto, in the Hospital's possession, for Sancha's lands in Tarragona and the Manso de Codong, cited above. The agreement with the Hospital placed Sigena under the protection of the powerful Castellania de Amposta and made the prioress of Sigena the head of the female branch of the order – this may be a reference to the nuns at Grisen if the monastery actually had survived its foundation.[179] The foundation of Sigena marked a substantial shift in Sancha's patronage patterns.

Prior to Sigena's foundation, Sancha had signed documents alongside Alfonso II benefiting the Cistercians, Hospitallers, and Templars in almost equal proportion. After

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[177] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 9-10

[178] These lands appear again in 1187 when Armengol gives the lands to Sancha to exchange with the Temple. There is some confusion of lands vs. churches, but it clearly appears that Santa Lecina was a territory placed in Sancha's hands to exchange for the churches. The agreement and transfer of lands must have occurred on the earlier date, then confirmed later when agreement is made regarding the status of the abbess and the Castellan de Amposta is made.

[179] Two important aspects are established in Aragón in October of 1187, the supremacy of the prioress of Sigena over all Hospitaller women, and the lines of power between Amposta and Sigena. It is worth noting, though, that the prioress is not named, nor did she sign a document, until August of 1190 when Sancha exchanges a garden (*huerta*) for an annual tribute with the Jews of the town of Huesca. Sancha de Abiego, the first prioress, signs the document though she is not mentioned in it. Queen Sancha acted as the highest authority of the monastery until her death in 1208. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 40-42. The documents surrounding the establishment of the monastery do not allow a clear reading of the exact date construction began on the monastery, or ended for that matter. It is generally believed that the nuns began to live in the monastery by 1188, although it is possible that it was not until 1190.

the foundation not only does Sigena become the focus of Sancha's patronage, but Sancha also extended her support to the Hospitaller order as a whole. Her donations to the Hospital (distinct from Sigena) doubled the donations to the Templars or any given Cistercian monastery.[180] The Cistercians, however, followed the Hospital in garnering the queen's support, particularly the women's branch of the order.[181] Sancha also clearly wanted a foundation that would remain under her direction and whose future she could control.

Sancha's desire to establish a foundation that brought together her view of Cistercian and Hospitaller interests is revealed in the customary she commissioned Bishop Ricardo of Huesca to write for Sigena. The bishop was the prior abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Poblet and wrote a customary that established a pattern of behavior that linked the monastery's life to Benedictine monasticism. Sancha had made provisions for a rule in March 1188 in her agreement with García de Lisa, the Castellán de Amposta, regarding the monastery. By October of that year a new customary was added to the Augustinian rule used by the Hospital.[182]

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[180] Seen as a whole, the Cistercian order received six donations as did the Hospital, again if Sigena is discounted. If viewed solely by order, the Hospitallers, including Sigena, received a disproportionate amount of Sancha's resources.

[181] As noted in the previous chapter, patronage patterns do not necessarily follow gender. Constance Berman, "Men and Women's Houses: The Relationship Between the Sexes in Twelfth-Century Monasticism," in *The Medieval Monastery*, ed. Andrew MacLeish (St. Cloud, 1988), 43-52. Sancha, however, did support women's foundations to the detriment of men's.

[182] Palacios Sánchez suggests the customary had been in the works beginning in 1184, when the transfers of land were made. Palacios Sánchez, *El real monasterio de Sijena*, 25. In these documents it is noted that Garcia de Liesa, future Castellan, would formulate an extension of the rule of St. Augustine for Sigena. It is unlikely, however, as no new input is added of the Castellania's role in the creation of the customary. Their role is primarily that of approving the rule Ricardo has written. The 1188 customary states that it was "Established by Lord Ricardo, bishop of Huesca, and the master of the hospital of

Bishop Ricardo wrote a customary for Sigena that follows a prescribed Cistercian contemplative life, as opposed to the Augustinian rule, used primarily by active orders. Armengol de Aspa recognized the difference in purpose when he approved the document, stating:

> In view of the fact that our order has always been accustomed to agree with just requests, and especially from those who famous and righteous, with passion and purpose would embrace and advance it, we and the whole religious society of our brothers consent to your petition. For it is fitting that this *new and unusual manner of life* should be petitioned from us to be instituted by us because it proceeds from an abundant fountain of religious devotion and you yourselves propose to live with God's help under the same rule of discipline: therefore we confirm and approve your laudable proposition.[183]

Armengol de Aspa acknowledges that there is a departure from the active life of the order in this statement. He consents to the petition of the "famous and righteous" queen as a laudable but different construction from St. Augustine's rule and the practice of the order. Yet the customary must be paired with the rule of St. Augustine as it does not treat the important concepts of monastic life, but focuses entirely on the itemization of daily activity from matins to vespers. It maintains, nonetheless, the spirit of St. Augustine's rule. His rule is a short exposition of the major themes he deemed important to monastic life: mutual love expressed through community prayer, care of the community and body,

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Amposta, with the assent of the illustrious Sancha, queen of Aragón, made in the monastery of Sigena." Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 254 (translated from Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 18 (doc. 8, October 6, 1188)).

[183] Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 253-254. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 18. The italics are mine.

mutual responsibility, service to one another, and love in authority and obedience even in conflict.[184] St. Augustine, however, did not map out an ideal day in community.

Ricardo's expansion of the rule is similar to the *Constitutions of Lanfranc* in his expansion of the Rule of St. Benedict. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote his Constitutions for his monastic community of the cathedral of Christ Church at the end of the eleventh century.[185] Lanfranc and Sancha both appear to have found that the details of daily life in the respective rules needed to be developed but did not find it necessary to reiterate the main concepts of the rule. Sigena's customary does not provide the few sentences of introduction with general exhortations on monastic life; it simply begins with the performance of matins.[186]

Like the *Constitutions of Lanfranc*, Sigena's customary follows the daily life of the nuns as they rise, perform the divine office, administer daily affairs, correct wrong doing, and sleep.[187] The customary also considers administrative roles and rituals of life and death. The life of the nuns was primarily devoted to the divine office; a few hours were set aside for reading. Interestingly – for an order that cared for pilgrims and was on a pilgrimage road – the customary does not address the needs of pilgrims.[188] The

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[184] Tarsicius J. Van Bavel, intro., Raymond Canning trans., *The Rule of Saint Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions* (New York, 1986), 6-8.
[185] David Knowles, trans., *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (London, 1951), vii-ix.
[186] Sancha's rule does not provide the detail of Lanfranc's customary. It is a shorter document, actually shorter that St. Benedict's rule. It also differs in that the focus on constant vigilance and punishment in Lanfranc's customary is missing in Sancha's. Punishment is only mentioned twice in the rule.
[187] The entire customary is translated in the appendix in Marian T. Horvat, "Queen Sancha of Aragón and the Royal Monastery of Sigena" (M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1994), 125-162.
[188] Interestingly the rule of St. Augustine does not either. It could be argued that it was unnecessary to discuss this aspect – or that the *medias cruces* or lay sisters might have

infirmary is only mentioned in relation to ailing nuns of the order. There are words of charity, but they do not intimate the daily activity of a rest house or hospice. This customary assigns the activities of the contemplative Cistercian order to the active order of the Hospital.[189]

Sancha's customary, like Lanfranc's *Constitutions* and all customaries, spends the greatest proportion of the text describing the procedure of each element of the divine office, including who is to perform which duty and which psalms, prayers, and readings are to be sung or read. The day follows the prescribed Benedictine form of matins, lauds, prime, terce, mass, sext, nones, vespers, and compline. This process was broken by time for reading, particularly for the girls, and manual labor could be assigned with the permission of the prioress. Reading and prayer fill the day. Within this construction the different members of the community are revealed, namely girls, novices, and ladies. The girls and youths had different mistresses, and the girls had a different chapter from the rest of the community. Although the rule does not state this distinction, the care given to designate activities of the girls as opposed to those of the rest of the community suggests that the girls are young women being educated by the community – in literacy, obedience, decorum, and spiritual life – who will not necessarily become novices on the way to religious life.

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taken care of this aspect of the monastic duties – however, the daily activity that is prescribed does not allow for the time to perform these activities. The divine office fills the day as it does in the Benedictine rule.

[189] Concessions are clearly made to the Hospital, however. In the section regarding punishment of wrongdoing, the customary states: "If any one should be contumacious, stubborn, proud, disobedient, or any other incorrigible things, let the judgment for the delinquent one follow the decisions of the rule of the Hospital; and if any fault should be serious, let it be according to the will of the prioress." Horvat, "Queen Sancha," 135-136.

Issues of literacy appear throughout the text, particularly in relation to the girls who are called upon to provide the reading at different times. Allowances are made for the possibility that a prioress may not be literate. It is stated she may give a sermon rather than a reading, "in their native tongue."[190] A library is mentioned specifically on two occasions, a book chest on another. In each the text is addressing the activity of the girls. The active life of this order relates to the education of young noble and royal women, not the care of pilgrims. The issue of decorum and social standing appears further in two letters Sancha wrote to different prioresses regarding the order of procession.

The letters to the prioress present Sancha's concern with social status and the preservation and recognition of it within the conventual walls. Where this is most evident is in the constant processions of the members of the community to and from the church and chapter house. The regular observance of both the Augustinian and the Benedictine rule based seniority on the length of time the nun had been in the order. Sancha's rule proposes this construction based on age and role in the community. In the description of the activities within the chapter the procession into the chapterhouse advances as follows: " . . . the prioress should ring the bell for a long period of time; and she, going alone before the ladies, following two by two, and after them the *juniors* [novices], and then, the youngest girls with their mistresses, should enter the chapter and make supplications before they sit down."[191]

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[190] "If the prioress is lettered, let her make a sermon, or by her order, let one of the capable ladies do this. But if they are illiterate, let them always speak first of spiritual things and about things regarding the edification of souls, in their native tongue, naturally." Horvat, 134. This appears in the section on the chapter.
[191] Horvat, 134.

Sancha's letters modify this order of procession and seating in choir by introducing the idea that the social hierarchy outside the community walls affected the internal processions. She specifically creates exceptions for her own family, present and future. In her letter of 1196 to the prioress Beatriz de Capraria, she states:

> On that account, beloved prioress, we beseech you attentively by the flesh of the mercy of God and to the extent of our power we command strictly that you should not permit in the future by any means any lay woman within the choir stalls while the sisters are singing through the office, nor should any lay woman attend unless she should be very noble and the daughter of a prince and in this declaration we include Constanza, our daughter, and not our sisters, because we well believe that you at the same time in your essence should make her or them sit not in the prioral seat, which is where the prioress alone sits, but together with persons proceeding from royal progeny and not others, unless they should be somehow constituted in dignity, for this is what gathers you to this your monastery.[192]

[192] "Ratio postulat ne personas laicas, aliquo pretextu se misceantur personis Deo dedicatis, maxime in choro presertim et dum divina officia celebrantur, nam de facile potest meus divagari cum earum presencia, etiam dit mulieribus, perlatum fuit nobis quod quedam persone desiderant, simul sum sororius estare in choro, dum in eodem divina officia persolvunt et quia contrarium est omni jure. Ideo dilecta priorissa vos attente rogamus et per viscera misericordie Dei nostri vos absecramus et in quantum nobis est mandamus estricte, ne permitatis in posterum ullo modo intus stallum chori, dum sorores oficium percantant nulla femina laica simul cum sororibus asistat nisi esset nobilissima et filia alicuius principis nam tunc in hac declaratione comprehendere Constantiam, filiam nostram nec sorores nostras, quia bene credimus quod vos simul in estractu vestroeam seu eos faciatis sedere, non sedes prioralis slum competit priorisse et personis ex progenie regali procedentibus et non aliis nisi sint in dignitati aliqua constitutis nullo modo aliter faciatis, nam hoc est quod convenit vobis et ad profectum vestri monasterii." Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 58 (doc. 25, October 1196).

Constanza was a lay woman at the monastery; her father had provided funds for Sigena to care of his eldest daughter in his will in April of that year.[193] Sancha was clearly concerned with Constanza's position at the monastery. Constanza, though, did not remain at Sigena; she was married to Emmeric of Hungary (r. 1196-1204).[194] She and her son Ladislas II (1204-1205, d. 1208?) returned to Aragón after her brother-in-law Andreas II came to power in 1205. Constanza's presence at Sigena appears again in documents upon her marriage to Frederick II of Sicily, future Holy Roman Emperor. She does not appear to have lived continuously at Sigena as Sancha wrote from Ceste to abbess Ozende in 1208 to prepare the monastery for her arrival and that of her daughter Constanza, here called queen of Sicily, and her daughter-in-law Marie of Montpellier.[195] It appears that Constanza remained in Aragón with Sancha between these two marriages. Sancha provided instructions to make sure her daughter would be given priority seating and the respect she would have received at court.

In a second letter in 1198 to prioress María de Stopagna Sancha returns to this question of priority for royal women. The document does not refer to any specific

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[193] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 55 (doc. 22). The six thousand *sueldos* appears to be a standard as Pedro II provides an equal number of funds for his sister Leonor.
[194] Schuller clarifies the record of Constanza's presence at Sigena between documents. Most earlier scholars had placed Constanza at Sigena as a widow in 1196 and remaining at Sigena until her marriage to Frederick II. Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 245-246.
[195] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 86 (doc. 49). The letter is interesting as it places Sancha along with her daughter, the new queen of Sicily and her daughter-in-law Marie of Montpellier. April 1208 places the visit within a few months of the birth of Marie's son Jaime I on February 1, 1208. The birth of Sancha's grandson was not received with joyous celebrations. Pedro II began divorce proceeding soon after. It is quite possible that Pedro's need for Marie was satisfied after the birth of the child. Marie spent the next four years, until her death in 1213 in Rome, fighting the annulment of her marriage. No one has suggested that the child might not have been Pedro's; instead the queen's extreme piety seems to have been one of the problems within the marriage.

member of the royal household and creates greater ambiguity regarding the prioral chair and the dignity of those who may sit in it.

> We received your letters and through them the newest dispute among you regarding entering and following into the choir and in procession . . . so to you we speak and attentively entreat since seeing them by no means should you admit into the choir lay persons of whatever dignity (*pregulgeant)* unless they should come from our royal house or from our successors; whereas in such case you should be obligated to grant them a place in the prioral chair behind the prioress; for the prioress should sit with the chair and the cushion placed before her; for she is the head and she should precede everyone. When true heirs of the king arrive the prioress should concede to them the place at her side and their children placed behind the chairs of the prioress and the king. However, in the great prioral chair, if that other one should be a religious daughter of the king or grandchild to the fourth degree, then the prioress should cede to her the place in her prioral chair a little behind her chair and with faithful honor of the king's dignity, I cause these things with great council with the procession and especially the bishop of Huesca, I entreat and beseech that this my decree be observed with a strong will.[196]

[196] "Recipimus vestras literas et per eas novissimus contentio inter vos orta super sedendo et sucedendo, in choro et in procesionibus et quia equum est ipsam decernere et no amplius ulla eveniat, vobis dicimus et atente rogamos quatenus nullo modo admitatis intra corum personas laicas quacumque dignitate pregulgeant, nisi fuerint de domo nostra regali seu successoribus nostris aut in tali eam debitis concedere locum in sitiali priorale post priorisam, nam priorisa debet cum silla et cuxino ante eam posita sedere, nam caput est, et precedere debet omnibus, quando vero succederit sui reges venire, priorissa concedat ibidem locum in latere suo et filii eorum post sillam priorisse et regum. In magna silla priorali sed pio honore regis dignitatis, si ibidem aliqua religiosa fuerit filia regis seu nepote usque ad quartum gradum tunc priorissa concedate sibi locum in eadem sella priorali post sella sua minima et cum cuxino stet cum priorissa hoc, namque cum magno consilio habito cum procesibus et precipue episcopo Oscense facio vobis istas, rogo et obsecro hunc decretum mee voluntatis observare cunctis furetis." Ubieto Arteta, 1972, 65 (doc. 30, December 1198, Huesca).

In her vision of proper observance Sancha makes distinctions between royal women who take Hospitaller vows, and those who visit, or indeed live in, the monastery. The royal women were to take the place of honor immediately to the side of the prioress, who was to share her prioral seat with royal religious. Sancha only had one daughter who became a nun, Dulce, who died shortly after her vows in 1188.[197] This distinction, thus, was made not for her own child, but for future generations. Constanza and Leonor both appear to have been educated at Sigena but did not take vows.[198] These letters attest to Sancha's willingness to make concessions to social norms and hierarchies.[199]

These letters also affirm Sancha's control over the monastery's internal affairs. Sancha de Abiego, the first prioress, appears as a signatory of official documents not as the author.[200] Queen Sancha acts as the official face of the monastery until her death.[201]

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[197] Dulce was eleven at the time of her death on February 3, 1189. E.L. Mirón, *The Queens of Aragon: Their Lives and Times* (Port Washington, 1972c), 77

[198] Sancha may have had a fourth daughter – Sancha – but the record is ambiguous on whether it is a confusion of names. If this daughter did exist it is said she married Raymond VIII of Toulouse, placing three women of the family in Toulouse – Rica, Sancha's mother, and her two daughters Leonor and Sancha.

[199] Sancha's willingness to make this concession may also suggest she wanted to encourage the most prominent noble families to chose her monastery for the education of their daughters over that of the Benedictine Santa Cruz de la Séros or the Cistercian Casbas.

[200] Sancha's authority over the affairs of the monastery is also revealed in the document of 1191 in that she had the authority to decide who should enter the monastery. She sends to Sancha de Abiego the widow Maria de Stopagna (who would become the third prioress) and three companions, stating that she should "admit all to [. . .] our habit and profession since they have certainly the requisite quality according to our institution . . . [omnes admitite ad recoptionem habitum et professionem, cum iam mos sumus certe habent qualitatem requisitam secundum nostrum institutem.]" While she notes the worthiness of Maria de Stopagna, a noble widow full of holiness and days, the only quality she attributes to the three young girls is their noble origin. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 43 (doc. 10).

The prioress is always addressed in documents regarding the monastery after Sancha, and as signatory. Sancha did not retreat to the monastery after her vows, but she is recognized as a sister immediately after Alfonso's death. On August 7th, 1196, Pope Celestine III took Sancha and the monastery of Sigena under his protection.[202] He refers to her as " . . . beloved daughter of Christ, Sancha, queen of Aragón, and ordinary sister of Saint John in the monastery of Sigena."[203] Her vows did not establish enclosure for the queen.[204] The documents she authored between 1200 and 1208 were all written outside the conventual walls. She wrote from Daroca, Huesca, Tortosa, and Ceste.[205] She set a precedent for movement between monastery and court that would be followed thereafter.

Sancha's rule does not speak directly to the issue of enclosure, but does present the reality of nuns traveling.[206] The harsh climactic conditions of building on a swamp caused the real need to allow women to return to their homes to rest and recuperate.

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[201] This is the case for the first three abbesses and for the tenure of the fourth prioress Ozenda de Lizana. Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sijena (1188-1300)* (Valencia, 1966), 50-55.
[202] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 57 (August 7, 1196, Letran, doc. 24).
[203] ". . . charissime in Christo filie Sancie, regine Aragonum, ac sorori ordinis Sancti Iohannis in cenobio Xixenensi, . . ." Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 57 (doc. 24)
[204] In the fourteenth century Doña Blanca de Anjou, daughter of Pedro IV, el Ceremonioso, built a palace adjacent to the entry of the monastery. It does not survive today. It is not clear whether Sancha joined the community in the massive dormitory, or whether there was a palace on site. The room adjacent to the dormitory has been identified as both a palace and as the infirmary.
[205] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 85-86 (April 1208, doc. 49). In this document Constanza is named queen of Sicily. Her marriage by proxy had already taken place. Constanza also signs her brother's confirmation of properties their father had provided the monastery in addition to the Ciurana rights. This was her last act as Sancha's daughter, perhaps attempting to bind her brother to his deathbed promises to their mother prior to her departure to Sicily.
[206] The privilege to move outside the conventual walls was hard fought in later years. Even after the Council of Trent the prioress succeeded in gaining exceptions to enclosure rules due to the harsh living conditions above a swamp.

Sancha's daughter Dulce was the first victim to the inhospitable climate. The realities of movement were made evident in the customary in the arrangements surrounding the death of a sister. The customary states:

> If she has died in some subject territory or some other place far away, the dead sister should be brought to the monastery and taken to the door of the church. Afterwards, let her be placed in the choir. If a sister of the congregation of the monastery dies in the diocese or some other town or distant place of a day and a half journey, let her be brought to the major monastery.[207]

In the customary Bishop Ricardo acknowledges the reality that there will be moments when nuns will not be present. This reality is borne out in the very active court appearances of Sigena's nuns.[208] The nuns of the community also traveled to oversee their properties. The territory they held was significant, as was the wealth and power they controlled. They accompanied Constanza to Sicily to marry Frederick II.[209] They also were present to defend their territories and interests.[210] As Sancha opened up the possibility of active involvement at court, she sought to create a powerful community with independence from external involvement, including from the Castellania de Amposta.

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[207] Horvat, "Queen Sancha," 161.
[208] Jeronimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (1562, reprint Zaragoza, 1967).
[209] Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 245-246.
[210] Defense of land and interests could lead to war, as in the fourteenth century example of Cervera where the prioress waged a private war against Lleida and the count of Urgel to defend her lands. Sire, *Knights of Malta*, 145. In the nineteenth century the prioresses were still involved in court intrigue. After the Carlist War, Isabella took away the monastery's possessions, for having backed Carlos. This was the second time an abbess had backed the losing monarch, the first was during the rise of the Trastamara dynasty.

Sancha's relationship with the Castellania de Amposta was a contentious one. She clearly sought its protection, placed the community under its umbrella of power, but also actively limited its control. The relationship of the Castellania de Amposta with Sigena was not an easy one, even during Sancha's life. Sancha wanted the utmost independence for her monastery, but the financial backing and military support of the Order. The financial protection she initially received was substantial. In the 1187 foundation document Armengol de Aspa states that if Sigena " . . . should remain in too great a need, as occasionally happens, let it be in the foresight of the master to come to its aid and mercifully lift its burden."[211] This burden appears to have become great, and Pedro II mediated between these two sides. The dispute lasted five years. On March 4, 1202, Pedro freed the Castellan de Amposta, now Jiménez de Lavata, from the obligation to respond for the debts of Sigena.[212] By 1207, with Sancha attempting to resolve all disputes prior to her death, a balance was struck, one that limited the financial responsibility of the Castellania, but upheld the independence of the prioress and monastery.[213]

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[211] The context of this statement is the appearance of the prioress before the annual chapter of the Hospital in Aragón to report new donations and to make a " . . . transferal of annual alms for the infirm poor of the Hospital in Jerusalem." Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 232.

[212] Perhaps in retaliation, Innocent III placed the monastery under the protection of the bishop of Lleida. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 69 (doc. 35). Zaragoza and Lleida are almost equidistant from Sigena, but Sancha had already had disputes with the Bishop of Zaragoza, in this case resolved in her (and the monasteries') favor in 1198. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 63 (doc. 29).

[213] On October 1, 1207 Fray Guerrin, master of the order in Jerusalem confirmed the foundation and exchanges of land and put forward the connection between the Hospital and Sigena. Sancha also succeeded in getting the approval of Pedro to give the castle of Ciurana to the master of Amposta until the Castellania was able to recover two thousand *sueldos* for the monastery. Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 82-88 (doc. 46 and 50). Constanza signed the latter document.

The Castellania did not attempt to control the internal running of the monastery until after Sancha's death. This kind of activity was addressed from the beginning in the customary and its stated election process, which the Castellania had approved in October 1188. The prioress had complete control over the lands, internal organization, and administration. The identity of the prioress was thus pivotal. There were provisions made in the customary to ensure that the sisters, and no one else, had control over the election process.

> Let the prioress be chosen in this way: Let three of the most holy ladies be chosen from the whole chapter, and let these three choose five others from the chapter, who should make the choice. However, let the whole chapter convey their vote on the choice of these five; then let these five, or a majority of these five, make the election; afterward, *with the consent of the master [Castellan de Amposta] having been sought*, let the prioress provide for the whole house.[214]

In this construction, the Castellan de Amposta could only consent to the choice, but not have any involvement in who was elected.[215] A stronger statement was made by his predecessor Garcia de Liesa earlier in March 1188, stating:

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[214] Horvat, "Queen Sancha," 162. Italics are mine. This is a departure from Lanfranc as well, where it is simply stated: "In the election of an abbot all, or at least the larger and more weighty part of the community, must agree upon their choice." Knowles, *Constitutions of Lanfranc*, 72.

[215] The Castellan de Amposta did attempt to control the process in later years. In the thirteenth century when he was unable to make the choice, he attempted to exert control by not consenting to an election. In the end the primacy of the election process was upheld in favor of Sigena. As with most women's houses, Sigena had Hospitaller priests and brothers who assisted in the care of the monastery. Interestingly the Hospitaller knights who were part of Sigena sided with the prioress and community against the Castellan, who excommunicated them for their disobedience. Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *Real monasterio de Sigena*, 37-40. In the customary this allegiance is instituted in some

> This we also concede to you, lady Sancha, queen of Aragón, that none of our successors, neither prior nor master, have permission or power to remove or expel the prioress or other ladies of the aforesaid monastery except as ordained by canon law. Therefore for better establishment and confirmation of this aforesaid deed I, Garcia de Liesa, master of Amposta, by order of our master of Jerusalem and with the counsel and wishes of the aforesaid brothers in perpetuity, for us and for our successors we pronounce and confirm accordingly that in all other respects neither master nor prior nor any other brothers have permission or power to diminish or darken the aforesaid house of Sigena and the remaining aforesaid donation and its possessions or to take away anything from it or to burden it in any way, but according to what is written above, shall be (?) always steadfast and faithful, free of any pretext.[216]

This document provides extraordinary freedom to the prioress of the house. Armengol de Aspa, on the other hand, did try to maintain the idea of consent or counsel in the process. In the founding document of 1187, he stated that ". . . now the prioress herself will never be chosen without the counsel of the master and yours [Sancha's], as long as you shall

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ways. At the end of the document it is stated that "Let it be the duty of the prioress to choose, with the consent of the chapter, the cellarer, the sacristan, the cantrice, the servants (male and female) of the house, and *the priests and clerics*, and to watch over wisely the workers of the house." Horvat, "Queen Sancha,"162. Italics added.

[216] Translated by Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 237. The relationship between Garcia de Liesa and Sigena was close: three women of his family were part of the original Sigena community. Schuller includes the known biography of the original community of Sigena. The women who joined the early community were widows and daughters of the most important Aragonese noble families, many of them with ties to the military orders. Only two of the twenty-eight who enter the archival record were Catalan. Schuller, "Pictorial Program," 239-249.

live. . ..”[217] In this case he provided equal rights to Sancha and to himself in the counsel given. Sancha’s role, however, was much more profound.

Sancha provided handsomely for her monastery and attempted to wed its fate to the military order poised for greatest expansion in the kingdom: the Hospitaller order. The documents clearly reveal her monastic preference for the Hospital and Cistercian orders. She had already been involved in the foundation of a Cistercian monastery – the monastery of Peramón – and in the major donation of lands that allowed the construction of the church of the Cistercian monastery of Valbona in Barcelona.[218] Sancha’s affinity for the Hospital lead her to devote most of her resources after the foundation of Sigena to the order, and she promised to take vows at the monastery if her husband’s death should precede her own. She also attempted to make Sigena the new royal necropolis.[219] In her goal to establish Sigena as a royal burial site she endeavored to wed the royal family to Sigena in a symbolic, spiritual, and real sense through the act of burying kings there. She did not succeed in convincing her husband of this – he was buried at Poblet – but her son Pedro did promise burial there, and was brought to the monastery after his death at the battle of Muret in 1213.

The Hospital provided Sancha with prestige, power – temporal and military – and independence. The existence of Cistercian and Benedictine houses in the territory would have made Sigena subject to the prior foundations. By founding a Hospitaller house, Sancha established the first major house of the order for women, thus giving primacy to her institution. She was also the daughter, wife, and mother of crusader kings. She

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[217] Schuller, “Pictorial Program,” 232
[218] Josep-Joan Piquer i Jover, “Cartulari de Vallbona (1157-1665),” *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 37 (1975): 67-109.
[219] I will discuss this concern in the final chapter.

herself had been involved in military offensives; thus her choice of a military order reflects what is known of her in the literature.[220] Her choice of the Hospital reveals her association with the ideal of crusade more so than with the care-giving ideal of its origin, the duty the women could have taken on. This is evident in that Sancha did not give her monastery any duties other than the divine office and the education of young women. Sancha's predilection for the order in this light might have made the Templars a more logical choice. Yet Sancha did not appear to provide any donations to that order singly, and only in negotiations for land exchanges. The Templars did not welcome the idea of a female monastery. Forey has noted that the Templars on occasion took on the protection of a woman donor, but were reticent to establish houses of women as noted earlier.[221] Given the early association of the order with the Cistercians, the place for a women's foundation may have been perceived as resolved already. The sole focus on military endeavors was not consistent with the incorporation of women into the fighting ranks. If a military order was to be chosen, then Sancha's choice would have logically turned to the Hospital. Yet the duties of caring for the sick and weary on the road to Santiago does not appear anywhere in the customary. Whereas hospitality is a basic responsibility in all of the rules, it is downplayed here. Sancha's choice of order and transformation of the duties of the order portray her desire for prestige and independence in a land where the military orders were still poised for the greatest expansion and power.

Another strong force in Sancha's foundation was the attempt to transform the court through the education of noble women. The instruction of the young girls, both lay and novice, appears consistently throughout the customary. Decorum and literacy are

[220] This aspect is discussed in Chapter I.
[221] Forey, "Women and the Military Orders," 63-92.

focal points of the document. Alfonso II provided six thousand *sueldos* in 1196 for the education of Constanza.[222] Sancha was confronted with a worldly court upon her marriage to Alfonso; perhaps her focus on decorum was a reaction to this. Zurita in particular focuses on Sancha's pious retinue, implying that it had a monastic rigor.[223]

Sancha chose to elevate the Hospitaller order in its relations with the court through her foundation. Her choice marks the importance of the order in the kingdom of Aragón and county of Barcelona at the end of the century. This was a direct result of the crises in succession after the will of Alfonso I, but also signaled the ideals of reconquest of the court and queen. The queen's unusual decision to found a monastery for women linked to a military order reflects the growing prestige of the order and Sancha's desire for independence. Although women's foundations appear throughout the Mediterranean in later years, Sigena remained a dominant force in the territory. Her foundation also made the women's branch of the order in Aragón and Barcelona the most numerous in Europe. Sancha's ability to commission a customary and her power over the running of the monastery gave her flexibility of oversight and created a clear link to the royal house. In effect she attempted to leave her mark on the court of Aragón for generations to come in her manipulation of the order. The monastic trends in Castilla were to be quite different. The choices made by the royal house reveal a consistent expansion of Cistercian houses with the development of this order in France and England. This expansion was accompanied by the growth of diverse contemplative orders and reveals the monarchs' greater independence in patronage.

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[222] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 55 (doc. 22).
[223] Pano y Ruata, *La santa reina doña Sancha*, 56-59.

Women and the Cistercian Order in the Twelfth Century

> Brother William, abbot of Cîteaux, and the entire assembly gathered at the general chapter [to] the venerable abbesses of León and Castilla . . . we find agreeable the request made by you through your dear master and father, Martín, by God ordained Bishop of Siguenza, in which you ask our permission to appear at the monastery of Santa María la Real once a year for a celebration of a chapter in that place, as to a Mother House . . .
>
> William, abbot of Cîteaux, 1187[224]

The growth of the Cistercian order on the peninsula diverged from the Hospitaller model. If the Hospitallers had arrived early in their history to Spain, taking advantage of the magnanimity of the Iberian kingdoms, until the will of Alfonso I of Aragón they did not set up strong roots in the area. The Cistercians, on the other hand, made strong, stable foundations on the Iberian peninsula beginning in the 1130s.[225] The reform of existing Cluniac monasteries into Cistercian houses were the first inroads into the area, but they were followed by the patronage of small houses in the territories of important

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[224]"Frater Willelmus, Cistercii dictus abbas, et totus abbatum conuentus capituli generalis venerabilibus abbatissis Legionis et Castelle, accenssa lampade boni operis, agnum sequi cocunque ierit. . . De feruore, siquidem, animi et deuotione cordis [sic] induuitaret emanare credenda est fauorabilis illa petitio quam per karissimum dominum et patrem uestrum Martini, Dei ordinatione episcopum segontinum, nobis fecistis et per interuentum regalium literarum nostris afectibus curiosus imprimere studuistis, rogantes ut postulantes ut uobis de permissione nostra liceat ad monasterium Sancte Marie Regalis semel in anno, tamquam ad Matrem Ecclesiam, pariter conuenire et ad excidium viciorum et perfectum uirtutum annium ibidem capitulum celebrare." Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación*, 25-26 (doc. 13, 1187).

[225] Maur Cocheril, "L'implantación des abbayes cisterciennes dans la peninsula iberique," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 1 (1964), 229-234; Javier Pérez-Embid Wamba, *El Cister en Castilla y León: Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII y XIII)* (Salamanca, 1986), 40-58; José Carlos Valle Pérez, "La introducción de la orden del Cister en los reinos de Castilla y León: Estado de la cuestión," *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal* (Burgos, 1991), 133-161.

noble families and members of the royal house.[226] By the 1140s foundations began to appear in isolated areas following the model of Cîteaux.[227] Although it was not a fighting order, like the Hospitallers, it did, however, take advantage of the same crusading mentality of the reconquest kingdoms. The various kingdoms needed to repopulate frontier territories with friendly inhabitants. Cistercian houses sprang up in frontier lands, though not on the border with the Islamic south. The conflict between Cluniac and Cistercian interpretation of the Benedictine rule marked the entry into the peninsula. The Cistercians, however, benefited greatly from the model that Cluny had already set up for the area.

The Cistercian order arose as a reform movement within Benedictine monasticism.[228] Cluny had controlled the most powerful monastic houses beginning in the tenth century. The order grew along with major donations of land, and a centralized construction of authority. Through a major privilege, Cluny became independent of episcopal oversight; it was subject only to the pope. Monastic life was filled with ritual and the hours devoted to the divine office had expanded to an extent that the monks had entered into a feudal system dependent on the labor of others. The wealth of these institutions, further, provided the opportunity to embellish the monastic houses.

Begun by a group of monks from the Benedictine monastery of Molesme who traveled to Cîteaux, an inhospitable, remote territory, the Cistercian order spread across

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[226] María Jesús Alonso Malcon, "Relaciones entre el Cister y la nobleza durante los siglos XII y XIII: Un ejemplo leones," *Cistercium: Revista monástica* 207 (1997): 921-933.
[227] Pérez-Embid Wamba, *El Cister*, 269-281.
[228] Clifford H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 86-110.

Europe with reforming fervor during the twelfth century.[229] The reform movement sought a stricter interpretation of the Benedictine rule, particularly regarding labor and poverty. The order had a troublesome beginning but spread rapidly after the arrival of the charismatic and fervent Bernard of Fontaine, known as Bernard of Clairvaux after his foundation and rule of the daughter house.[230] The new order insisted upon self-sufficiency and upon the isolation of its houses. The puritanical zeal of the order permeated and thrived under a new nobility who attached themselves to the order for religious as well as socio-economic reasons. The aristocracy established new houses as well as reforming Cluniac houses – sometimes against the wishes of the monks who resided there. The Iberian peninsula, with an escalation of the reconquest drive southward, was an ideal area in which to expand as vast new territories became available.

The diffusion of the Cistercian order on the Iberian peninsula has received extensive study; indeed the concentration upon this order has obscured the study of other important monastic communities, although this is slowly beginning to change.[231] The

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[229] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 174-205. See also René Locatelli, "L'expansion de l'ordre cistercien," in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Histoire, mentalités, spiritualité* (Paris, 1992), 103-40; and Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, 1996), 1-13.

[230] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 174-176, 182-186. Lawrence notes, though, that the order must have already had some following prior to Bernard's arrival, and contrary to his hagiographers. The Cistercians have been extensively studied, and have generated journals and series dedicated to them. For the purposes of this section, however, I will focus on some basic texts, particularly Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent State, 1977) and Frederic van der Meer, *Atlas de l'ordre cistercien* (Paris, 1965). Robert of Molesme guided twenty monks in search of a simpler and more ascetic life of labor and prayer in 1098. Bernard of Clairvaux arrived in Cîteaux in 1112 along with thirty men including some of his own brothers. He arrived at a dire time for the monastery and helped bring about a new age of expansion for the monastery.

[231] The most important studies of the rise of the order in this area are the following: María Jesus Alonso Malcón, "Relaciones entre Cister y la nobleza durante los siglos XII y XIII," *Cistercium* 207 (1997): 921-933, Vicente-Angel Álvarez Palenzuela, *Monasterios*

transition from patronage of Cluny to Cîteaux on the Iberian peninsula was swift and came early. The patronage of kings helped bring about this change echoing the incorporation of Cluniac reform during the previous century. Sancho Garcés II el Mayor (r. 1000-1035) is credited with the incursion of Cluniac reform on the peninsula.[232] His sons, who ruled the kingdoms of León-Castilla, Navarra, and Aragón, aided in the spread of the order, but, it was not until the reign of Alfonso VI of León-Castilla (r. 1065-1109) that Cluny became the major recipient of Castilian riches associated with the reconquest. Alfonso VI not only continued the reform and implantation of the monasteries, but also sent considerable sums to Cluny for the construction of a new and expanded church, known as Cluny III, in 1085.[233] At this point, and with the continued patronage of his wife Constance of Burgundy, Cluniac monasteries flourished. This model of reform, which involved favoring a foreign order, linking the rulers with religious reforming zeal, was to be the model for the Cistercians.

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cistercienses en Castilla (siglos XII-XIII) (Valladolid, 1978), Isidro Bango and Angel Almazón, *Monjes y monasteries: El Cister en Castilla y León* (Burgos, 1998), Maur Cocheril, "L'implantacion des abbayes cisterciennes dans la péninsule ibérique," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 1 (1964): 229-234, Joan Fuguet Sans and Carme Plaza Arqué, *El Cister: El patrimony dels monestirs Catalans a la corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 1998), Jean Leclerq, " Las convergencias entre la orden cisterciense y la España del Cid," *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal* (Burgos, 1991), Cristina Monterde Albiac, "La orden del Cister, nexo de union entre reinos hispanos," *XV Congreso de Historia de la corona de Aragón: Relación de la corona de Aragón con los estados cristianos peninsulares (s. XIII-XV)* (Zaragoza, 1997), 363-374, Roberto Muñiz, *Medula histórica cisterciense* (Valladolid, 1786), Javier Perez-Embid Wamba, *El Cister en Castilla y León: Monacato y dominios rurales (siglos XII-XIII)* (Salamanca, 1986), Jose Carlos Valle Perez, "La introducción de la orden del Cister en los reinos de Castilla y León: Estado de la cuestion," *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal* (Burgos, 1991), 133-161.

[232] Xavier Barral i Altet, "Observaciones sobre les relacions historiques i artístiques entre Cluny i la peninsula ibérica (segles X-XII)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 925-941; John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27/1-2 (1988): 93-101.

[233] Barral i Altet, "Observaciones," 932-933. See also Otto Karl Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27/1-2 (1988): 103-112.

By the early twelfth century the tides of patronage had turned in favor of the Cistercian order. It is Alfonso VII, grandson of Alfonso VI, who introduced the reform of the order in León-Castilla. Although he did not found many new monasteries – this fell to Alfonso VIII – he did begin the massive alteration in patronage patterns and in the reformation of the Cluniac houses.[234] If Cluniac supremacy lasted half a century in Spain, Cistercian supremacy would continue well into the thirteenth century, until after the advent of the friars. Even though the first monastery to have been reformed is still debated, most scholars agree that the first Cistercian monasteries appeared late in the 1130s.[235]

Early introduction of the reforming order appeared under the rule of two kings, Alfonso VII, mentioned above, and Ramón Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona and prince of Aragón.[236] Both of these kings came to power after periods of great turbulence and crises in succession.[237] They brought order to their realms, expanded their reconquest drives, and ruled for long periods, affording a greater stability to their territories. The growth of the Cistercian order during their reigns has been linked to a greater fervor for the reconquest. The Cistercian order provided a way to establish a new monastic

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[234] A. Linage Conde, "La diffusion de la Regula Benedicti en la peninsula ibérica," *Regula benedicti studia* 1 (1972): 297-325.

[235] Most scholars agree that the first Cistercian monastery was either Fitero or Moreruela. Antonio Linaje Conde in "Maur Cocheril, O.C.R. y nuestra historiographia cisterciense," in *El Cister: Ordenes religiosas zaragozanas* (Zaragoza, 1987), 10-13, places the first in Aragonese land using Cocheril's arguments. More recently, though, Valle Perez argues that while it is possible these were reformed first, the donation of count Fernando Pérez, his wife Sancha, and niece Urraca is likely the first monastery built within the peninsula. This would date the implantation, rather than reform, beginning in February of 1142, under the auspices of Clairvaux. Valle Pérez, "Introduction del Cister en Castilla y León," 131-161. See also Nemesio Arzalluz, *El monasterio de Oña, su arte y su historia* (Burgos, 1950).

[236] Fuguet Sans, *El Cister*, 21-23.

[237] See Chapter I for further discussion of this crisis.

association, and align the rulers with an order perceived as being more pious. Because of their desire to live in isolation, the Cistercians provided an ideal group to repopulate reconquered areas in a way that did not provide the kingdom's at times seditious knights with greater power. It is interesting to note that the area of greatest territorial growth for the order was not the southern border, but rather the border between the Christian kingdoms. Recognizing the non-bellicose nature of the Cistercians, military orders were placed in the southern border areas instead.[238] The Cistercian presence on the border between these two nations at once provided a neutral zone and the possibility of argumentation for expanded territories as both monarchs often patronized a single monastery.[239] Monasteries for women were not placed in disputed territories, yet they expanded alongside their male counterparts.

The rapid growth of women's houses of the order on the peninsula mirrors a similar expansion in the eighth century studied by Jane Schulenberg in England, France, and Germany.[240] Schulenburg identifies a frontier mentality as one of the factors that led to the flourishing of monastic houses for women. In this situation women had greater

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[238] Cristina Monteverde Albiac "La orden del Cister, nexo de union entre los reinos hispanos," in *XV congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón: Relación de la corona de Aragón con los estados cristianos peninsulares (s. XIII-XV)*, vol. 2 (1997), 363-374, and Perez-Embid Wamba both found similar results in their survey of the order and in the use of the monasteries to establish the line of demarcation between the kingdoms. This created problems over jurisdiction and a single monastery (Monteverde uses Fitero as an example of this) could fall under the control of different sees and kingdoms. This could be used to the monasteries' advantage as they sought assistance from both kingdoms when they had need.

[239] Huerta and Veruela received support of both Castilla and Aragón. María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, "Los privilegios reales de Veruela en la segunda mitad del siglo XII," *Mélanges à la mèmoire du Père Anselme Dimier* (Benoît, 1987), 471-485, and Agustín Romero Redondo, et al, *Santa María de Huerta, un monasterio cisterciense* (Almazan, 1995), 21-24.

[240] Schulenberg, "Women's Monastic Communities," 217-220.

control over their land, their families found rewards, spiritual and material, in the placement of unmarried or widowed women in monasteries, and religious women were perceived as being able to provide services for local parishes and missionaries as conversion was a central goal on the frontiers. All these features were present in Iberia, with the addition that the laws of the land allowed women greater authority in the disposition of their property.[241] Cistercian nuns appeared shortly after the introduction of the order into the peninsula and maintained their prominence throughout the first century of their existence. During this period the number of new Cistercian monasteries for women were almost equal in number to the men's foundations, an unusual demographic for the expansion of the order in other European areas.[242]

Navarra was the first fertile ground for Cistercian women's houses on the peninsula. King García Ramírez invited the nuns of Lumen-Dei to found a monastery in Tulebras in 1157.[243] Tulebras was the initial motherhouse of all the major women's foundations in Iberia. Nuns from Tulebras opened houses in León (Cañas, Gradefes and Carrizo), Aragón (Valbona), and Castilla (Perales and Las Huelgas). The nobility of these territories were the most fervent founders of Cistercian houses for women.[244] The monasteries were placed on their territorial lands, and the founders' daughters (or widows) become abbesses when they came of age. The foundation of Las Huelgas would

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[241] For a discussion of women and property in Spain, see Chapter I.
[242] By the end of the century there were 28 male foundations and 26 female. In other areas the proportion was closer to 4:1. Isidro Bango Torviso and Angel Almazán, "Monjes y monasteries: El Cister en Castilla y León, la exposición de Huerta," *Revista de Soria* 22 (1998): 3-14.
[243] The nuns appear to have been present already in Tudela a decade before. In either case the women's foundation followed closely the foundation for men of the order.
[244] Alonso Malcon, "Relaciones entre el Cister y la nobleza," 921-933.

depart from this pattern both in the relationship of the royal women to the monastery and by creating a rift in the normal hierarchies of the order.

The greatest expansion of women's monasticism in the twelfth century, or the most studied, appeared in the Cistercian order. Although resistant to taking charge of the spiritual and material needs of women, the Cistercian reform attracted women into the order in large numbers alongside the men. This had a prior corollary to the reform monasteries of Cluny which also had not actively provided for the incorporation of women into the order. The first affiliated monastery for Cluniac women did not appear until 1055. The Cistercian women followed the foundation of Cîteaux with the monastery of Jully in 1113. When Saint Bernard entered Cîteaux in 1112 he came with 30 men, many of them married.[245] Jully was the solution for the women left behind.[246] The affiliation with Cîteaux appears to have stopped at following the same rule and customs. Jully, then Tart, were not directly under the authority of Cîteaux by the order's own design. Yet the perception was that these foundations were Cistercian, and new foundations for women grew feverishly in the succeeding years regardless of the perception of Cîteaux.[247]

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[245] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 175.
[246] The first abbess of Jully was Bernard's sister-in-law Elizabeth, the second his sister Humbeline. Elizabeth Connor, "The Abbeys of Las Huelgas and Tart and Their Filiations," in *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women* (Kansas City, 1995), 38.
[247] For an overview of this issue, see Sally Thompson, "The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), 227-252. The acceptance of women into the order, and the development of the female branch during its first century, is still hotly debated. For an analysis of this deepening debate see Constance Berman, "The Cistercian Nuns and the Development of the Order: The Abbey of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs outside of Paris," in *The Joy of Learning and the Love of God: Studies in Honor of Jean Leclercq*, ed. Rozanne Elder (Kalamazoo, 1995), 121-156; Jean de la Croix Bouton, *Les moniales cisterciennes (*Grignan, 1986-1989); Elena Casas Castells, "Origenes, fundación y

Alfonso VIII and Leonor Plantagenet founded Las Huelgas in 1187, having begun the process of land acquisition with the goal of foundation as early as 1180. From the beginning the monastery held a special relationship with the royal house. Placed on royal lands outside of Burgos, the county seat and northern capital of the kingdom, construction moved quickly and was provided with significant privileges from foundation. The foundation of the monastery has been credited to Leonor, but owing to the constraints of legal documents of the period, the donation and all subsequent actions in relationship to the royal house appear as joint ventures. Not surprisingly, the

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expansión de la rama femenina en el orden del Cister: El caso del monasterio de Villamayor de los Montes," *Cistercium: Revista monástica* 213 (1998): 1143-1153; Casas Castells also has en extensive bibliography of the development of the female branch of the order in "Ayer y hoy en los monasteries femeninos: Datos para un estudio bibliográfico," *Cistercium: Revista monástica* 51/217 (1999): 813-840; Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "Zahlreich wie die Sterme des Himmels: Zisterzienser, Dominikaner und Franziskaner vor dem Problem der Inkorporation von Frauenklöstern," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1985): 37-50 and her specifically her article "The Incorporation of Cistercian Nuns into the Order in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century," in *Hidden Springs*, 85-134; María Alegría Fernández Marques, "Les premières nonnes cisterciennes au Portugal: Le rôle des femmes de la famille royale," in *Cîteaux et les femmes*, ed. Benadette Barrière and Marie-Elizabeth Henneau (Paris, 2001), 213-226; Roger de Ganck "The Integration of Nuns in the Cistercian Order Particularly in Belgium," *Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 35 (1984): 235-247; Herbert Grundmann, *Riligious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, and the Historical Foundation of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995); Ernst Günther Krenig, "Mittelalterliche Frauenklöster nach den Konstitutionem von Cîteaux," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Citerciensis* 10 (1954): 1-105; Brian Patrick McGuire, "The Cistercians and the Transformation of Monastic Friendships," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 37 (1981): 3-65; McGuire also expanded this analysis in "The Cistercians and Friendship: An Opening for Women," in *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, Medieval Religious Women 3 (Kalamazoo, 1995), 171-200; Hiltrud Rissel, "Entdeckung einer Inkorporationsurkunde für ein frühes frauenkloster im 12 Jahrhundert," *Citeaux* 31 (1988): 43-64; Simone Roisin, "L'efflorescence cistercienne et le courant feminin de piété au XIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 39 (1943): 342-378; and Janet I. Summers, " 'The Violent Shall Take IT by Force': The First Century of Cistercian Nuns, 1125-1228" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986).

relationship between the women of the royal house, Leonor and her daughters Constanza and Berenguela in particular, set up a very intimate relationship between the women and the monastery. The importance of the monastery to Alfonso and Leonor is evident in the special attention given to the foundation and the desire to give the monastery primacy among the Cistercian houses of the realm.

Alfonso and Leonor, with the help of Bishop Martín de Finojosa, prior abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Huerta, sought the status of motherhouse for Las Huelgas and received it from Cîteaux immediately upon foundation in 1187.[248] The privilege legislated that the abbesses of all the Cistercian houses of Castilla and León should appear at Las Huelgas once a year. This elevated the stature of the foundation, and the document has been used to suggest that Las Huelgas was the first women's monastery to enter into the order.[249] Constance Berman has recently questioned the process a monastery underwent to be recognized as Cistercian, whether a male or female foundation.[250] In many respects she brings to light the problems not only of primacy, but

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[248] Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación*, 25-26. For a further discussion of Bishop Finojosa's role in the realization of motherhouse status see Agustín Romero's discussion in "San Martin de Finojosa y la supremacia de Las Huelgas," *Cistercium* 173 (1987): 299-316.

[249] Surveys such as Lawrence's *Medieval Monasticism* present the entry into the order with the 1191 document (227-228). The presentation of the primacy of Las Huelgas has caused a series of articles defending the position of Tart as the original center of women's foundations. For this discussion, see Connor, "The Abbeys of Las Huelgas and Tart," 29-48; Jean de la Croix Bouton, Benoît Chauvin, and Elisabeth Grosjean, "L'abbaye de Tart et ses filiales au moyen-age," in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Père Anselme Dimier*, 19-61; and Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "La filiation de Tart: L'organisation des premiers monastères de cisterciennes," in *Naissance et fonctionnement des réseaux monastiques et canoniaux: Actes du premier colloque international du CERCOM* (Saint-Etienne, 1991), 53-60.

[250] Berman presents a highly contentious but careful distinction between "congregations" and "order" based on documentary analysis. She argues that the Cistercian order, as a centralized organization did not truly exist until the 1160s. Constance Berman, *The*

also of how the foundations for men and women and their expansion have been treated by scholars. Specifically, did Cîteaux have to name the new foundation in its charters for the foundation to be Cistercian? This rule has not been expected of male foundations but has become the norm when looking at women's foundations. The problem of course comes not only from Las Huelgas being founded with nuns from Tulebras, but also the fact that Tulebras was founded by Lumen-Dei nuns who were associated with Escale-Dei and Morimond. The "motherhouse" of the female order can be traced back to Tart, the monastery to which the nuns from Jully moved.[251] Nuns enter Cîteaux's record due to Alfonso and Leonor's wish for primacy for Las Huelgas.

The abbess of Las Huelgas did not have a smooth transition ahead for the yearly meetings or the agreement of the newly subject houses to the order of Cîteaux. The abbesses of the houses of Gradefes, Perales, and Cañas spearheaded the resistance to the interference of men's orders upon their houses.[252] They asserted the primacy of Tulebras over their foundations, not the upstart Las Huelgas. In the end Guido, abbot of Cîteaux, was brought to Spain to compel Tulebras to release these houses from obedience. This final document appears in 1199, the same year that Alfonso and Leonor finally swore to take Cistercian vows if they ever entered religious life and promised burial at Las Huelgas. The twelve-year struggle presents many questions of relevance not only to Las

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Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe (Philadelphia, 2000). See also Chrysogonus Waddell's response to her distinction between real and forged documents in "The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C.H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources," *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 51 (2000), 299-386.

[251] See note101 above.

[252] María del Carmen Muñoz Párraga, "Monasterios de monjas cistercienses (Castilla-León)," *Cuadernos de arte español* 65 (1992): 3-31 and Connor, "Abbeys of Las Huelgas and Tart," 33-36.

Huelgas but also to the question of how the chapter general at Cîteaux perceived women's houses.

Two documents exist from 1187 that establish the authority of Las Huelgas over the women's houses of Castilla and León. The first letter follows immediately upon the foundation of Las Huelgas in June 1187.[253] In the letter Abbot William addressed the abbesses of the monasteries of León and Castilla and acquiesced to the requests of Martín de Finojosa, and the king of Castilla to hold an annual chapter at Las Huelgas and to treat Las Huelgas as the motherhouse, *Matrem Ecclesiam*.[254] Alfonso had also succeeded in gaining the agreement of Fernando II of León to incorporate the women's foundations in his territory. Fernando had just married Alfonso's daughter Berenguela and appears in the document by name. In the second letter in September of that year abbot William erroneously addresses Misol, the abbess of Las Huelgas, as Sancha,[255] and informs her that, following the demands of Alfonso VIII, the bishop of Siguenza (Martín de Finojosa), and other abbots, he has authorized the abbesses of León and Castilla, *who had solicited this*, to appear annually at Las Huelgas, and, advised by neighboring abbots, to celebrate an annual chapter general to perfect themselves in observance of the rule and to watch over the correction of their customs. Perhaps the most important statement in the careful reading of the document is that William states that the abbesses had requested this privilege. This was an illusion.

The monarchs were not content to stop there. In January and May of 1188, they received letters from pope Clement III, who first took Las Huelgas under his protection

[253] The document does not have a month attached to it, but the letter of September mentioned below is assumed to be later.
[254] A section of that letter appears above on page 29.
[255] The question of why he names her Sancha is unresolved.

and then, in May, ordered the diocesan bishop of Burgos to refrain from celebrating orders, consecrating the chrismon, treating causes, or organizing public assemblies at the monastery. He further forbade the bishop from any intervention in the selection of abbesses, whom he would be unable to oblige to appear at synods of the diocese, or demand anything contrary to the privileges of the Cistercian order – aside from appropriate obedience.[256] This document went a great distance to provide the abbess rights above those of other monasteries in the territory. The bishops of Burgos would consistently seek to diminish these rights, but were inevitably hindered by the relationship between the monastery and the royal house. As the founding monarchs intervened with the Cistercian chapter general and the papacy, so would future monarchs on behalf of their favored monastery. Thus in the first two years of the foundation of the monastery, Alfonso and Leonor had succeeded in acquiring rights and privileges for their foundation far beyond those of any other house in the Iberian territories, and in the process forced the chapter general of Cîteaux to acknowledge the existence and association of women's foundations. The delicate nature of this arrangement was soon to be tested.

On the 27th of April 1189 the first chapter general at Las Huelgas was held. At the chapter the letter of abbot William was read to the assembled bishops of Burgos,

[256] Lizoain Garrido *Documentación*, (doc. 21 and 22), 38-45. Fernando Diez Moreno, "El monasterio de Las Huelgas: Régimen jurídico del real patronato," *Reales Sitios* 31 (1994), 2-11; Lamberto de Echevarría y Martínez de Margarita, *En tormo a la jurisdicción ecclesiástica de la abadesa de Las Huelgas* (Burgos, 1945); José María Escriva de Balaguer, *La abadesa de Las Huelgas: Estudio teólogico jurisdico* (Madrid, 1988); and Félix Sabastián, *Privilegios de la abadesa de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (Burgos, 1969).

Palencia, and Siguenza along with abbots and abbesses from León and Castilla.[257] This meeting did not go as smoothly as the monarchs would have desired. All but two monasteries acquiesced to the letter sent by Cîteaux. To Perales and Gradefes a third, Cañas, soon joined forces. These monasteries did not refuse, but conditioned their incorporation into the fold on the absolution of obedience from the abbess of Tulebras whom they held as their spiritual mother.[258] Thus they accorded the women's foundation of Tulebras greater authority over them than the male foundation of Cîteaux. The following document, written the same day, states that the other monasteries accepted Las Huelgas as motherhouse, but also established that the abbesses of the new daughter houses had the right to visit Las Huelgas as well. The chapter general ended with some dissention, but with the possibility that an easy solution was at hand for the dissenters. This matter, however, did not resolve itself in any easy manner.

The next mention of the general chapter at Las Huelgas appears in 1191 and brings to bear the problems that existed for an order with an uneasy relationship with its sister houses. The chapter general of Cîteaux informed Alfonso and Leonor that although they may have recommended that all the Leonese and Castilian houses submit themselves to the direction of Las Huelgas, they did not have the power to compel them to do so. Clearly the abbesses of Perales and Gradefes were not as easily controlled as had been hoped. It would take eight more years to get the agreement the monarchs sought. In 1199 from Zaragoza, abbess Urraca verified to the new abbot of Cîteaux, Guido, that her predecessor had released Perales, Gradefes, and Cañas from obedience to Tulebras so

[257] Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación* (doc. 24), 46-48.
[258] The possibility was even given that Tulebras would join the fold as well.

they could submit to Las Huelgas.[259] Guido then traveled to Burgos, where he ordered Perales, Gradefes, and Cañas to treat Las Huelgas as their motherhouse and to attend an annual chapter at the monastery.[260] Between 1191 and 1199 a radical shift occurred that evoked the power Alfonso VIII held in relation to Cîteaux. Not only was he able to get the chapter general involved in the affairs of women, but he also was able to compel the abbot of Cîteaux to come to the peninsula to settle the affairs of women within the order.

Abbot Guido certainly did not come to the peninsula solely to see to these affairs. He visited all the major men's houses, but his presence in Zaragoza and Burgos among women of the order indicates a transformation of the power relations between the different houses and the chapter general. The letter of 1191 portrays the reality of the order: the abbot of Cîteaux did not mix himself in the affairs of women.[261] He did not have, or did not choose to take on, the authority over women's houses that were not recognized by the order. In compelling these foundations to his obedience he recognized that the authority existed. He was not compelling the abbess of Las Huelgas for whom the monarchs had sought a relationship; he was compelling the monasteries of women who had existed without recognition. If the abbot could compel these abbesses to act, he had to accept his relationship with them. In 1191, the chapter general avoided this relationship; in 1199 the conditions had changed enough to make this a necessity.

Alfonso and Leonor could not have three errant abbesses flouting their rule and the rule of their foundation. They moved bishops, abbots, and kings to establish a clear authority for Las Huelgas. They built a monastery on the scale of large men's houses,

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[259] Lizoain Garrido (doc. 47), 83-84.
[260] Lizoain Garrido (doc. 48), 84-85.
[261] Lizoain Garrido (doc. 28), 53-54.

including a chapter house that is the largest among Cistercian houses in the territory – men's or women's – in recognition of the annual event that was to occur there.[262] In essence they sought to create for Las Huelgas the kind of authority over women's houses that Cîteaux had among the men's houses. At the heart of this desire for a foundation of women with authority over all others stands Leonor.

Leonor's voice is obscured by the fact of legal strictures.[263] The only document she issued in her own name was one providing for a chapel for Thomas Becket after his canonization in 1179.[264] Yet all the major chroniclers of Castilla attribute to her the impetus towards the foundation at Las Huelgas. In her desire to found a monastery of this magnitude and with this authority, Leonor's relationship with the monastery of Fontevrault appears constantly affirmed. Leonor had been educated at Fontevrault. The monastery had a special association with Aquitaine and Anjou and had been created as a foundation where women held absolute authority and where the members of the nobility could educate their daughters.

Founded by Robert of Arbrissel about 1100, the monastery consisted of three convents: one for converted wayward women, one for virgins and widows, and one for the men who would care for them.[265] At the head of all these was an abbess, not an

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[262] Isidro G. Bango Toviso, *Monjes y monasteries: El Cister en el medievo de Castilla y León* (Valladolid, 1998), for the section on chapterhouses, see 204-205 and 213-224.
[263] The implications of legal formulas on our perception of women's patronage are discussed in Chapter I.
[264] Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1960), 542-543 (doc. 324); Valentín de la Cruz, "El enigma de doña Leonor," *Reales Sitios* 27/105 (1990): 65-68.
[265] Penny Schine Gold, "Male/Female Cooperation: The Example of Fontevrault," in *Medieval Religious Women: Distant Echoes* (Kalamazoo, 1984); Jean-Marc Bienvenu, "Origines et évolution, au XIIe siècle, de la mixité d'un ordre double: Fontevraud," *Naissance et fonctionnement des réseaux monastiques et canoniaux: Actes du prémier*

abbot. The abbess was to be a widow who would have had experience running a household. Robert established a foundation where women held ultimate power of governance.[266] Women had been his most faithful followers and patrons, and it was for women that he established this house. Women could not continue to follow him on his itinerant preaching trips. In this foundation Robert found the support of two major noble houses, Aquitaine and Anjou, as well as the support of the kings of France and England thanks to the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine.[267]

The foundations of Las Huelgas and Fontevrault shared many important features beyond the powers of the abbess. This power, though, is the one area most cited as the connection. The abbess of Las Huelgas held authority not only over her monastery but also over the Hospital of the Queen.[268] Once the monastery of Las Huelgas was on the way to completion, Leonor began making arrangements for a subject hospital. Burgos was on the pilgrimage roads and the hospital was placed outside the city walls next to the monastery of Las Huelgas, a ten-minute walk from the monastery. The one area Las

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colloque internacional du CERCOM (Saint-Etienne, 1991), 61-79; and Michel Parisse, "Fontevraud, monastère double," in *Doppelkloster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen im Mittelalter*, eds. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse (Berlin, 1992), 135-148.

[266] Gold, "Male/Female Cooperation," 151-168.

[267] Jean-Marc Bienvenu, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine et Fontevraud," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale Xe-XIIe siècles* 29 (1986): 15-27 and "Henri II Plantagenêt et Fontevraud," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale Xe-XIIe siècles* 37 (1994), 25-32; and Thomas S.R. Boase, "Fontevrault and the Plantagenets," *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 34 (1971): 1-10. This has also recently been the focus of a conference paper. Karen Christianson looked specifically at the patronage that came to Fontevrault through women of two major houses, the lords of Montsoreau and the counts of Anjou in "Women, Patronage, and Power: The Early Abbesses of Fontevraud in Twelfth-Century France," 39th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 6-9, 2004, session 56.

[268] María del Carmen Palacín Gálvez and Luis Martínez García, *Documentación del Hospital del Rey de Burgos (1136-1277)* (Burgos, 1990), and subsequent text based on the transcription Luis Martínez García, *El Hospital del Rey de Burgos: Un señorio medieval en la expansion y en la crisis (siglos XIII y XIV)* (Burgos, 1986), 50-57.

Huelgas did not venture into was the convent for wayward women; perhaps this might be explained by the reluctance to have such a foundation associated with a queen and her daughters.

Las Huelgas, like Fontevrault, was also a place of education of the royal family. Perceived as retreat house, the women of the royal family established a clear connection as well in the education of young girls at the monastery. No document such as Alfonso II's providing funds for the education of his daughter at Sigena exists for Las Huelgas, yet the treatment in chronicles intimates this. The connection also extended to the presence of royal women at the monastery over succeeding generations. The princesses, counter to custom, did not take on the role of abbess. Instead Las Huelgas instituted, informally then formally, an administrative role for the women of the royal house.[269] The abbess ran the internal administration of the monastery and hospital; the princesses "señora doñas" were the official face of the monastery in judicial and economic matters. Documents often carried both the signatures of the princess and that of the abbess, but it was Constanza and Berenguela who wrote the papacy for approval of administrative matters and negotiated important settlements with high-ranking officials, ecclesiastic or otherwise. This points toward a continuation of the role Leonor maintained during her lifetime and which her daughter Berenguela took on upon her death.

This is a departure from the customs of Fontevrault where daughters of the noble houses of Aquitaine and Anjou did take on the role of abbess. When Berenguela took over for her mother the monastic buildings were close to completion, the monarchs had

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[269] Andrea Gayoso, "The Lady of Las Huelgas: A Royal Abbey and Its Patronage," *Cîteaux: Comentarií Cistercienses* 51/1-2 (2000): 91-109; and P. Balbas, "Un caso excepcional en la historia monástica: Las infantas 'Señoras de Las Huelgas,'" *Reales Sitios* 92 (1987): 65-69.

been buried there along with several of their children, and two daughters of the royal house had taken vows at Las Huelgas. In many ways separating these roles left the princesses with greater autonomy. Given the close judicial formation of Las Huelgas and Fontevrault, the question that begs to be answered is why Leonor would not simply have founded a Fontevraultist abbey in Castilla to mirror the one in her homeland.

The answer may lie in simple preference for one order over the other. Although Fontevrault was the monastery Leonor grew up in, it had a more limited expansion by virtue of its ideals, which were revolutionary. The Fontevraultists spread during the first decades of the twelfth century alongside the rapid expansion of the Cistercians.[270] Daughter-houses of the order were more limited geographically. The greatest growth was in English territory and in the Angevin and Aquitaine territories where Robert of Arbrissel had his greatest following. Their expansion was curtailed by the rapid growth of the Cistercians in these very areas between 1132-1152.[271] In England, monarchs supported many Cistercian houses; Henry II and Eleanor made significant donations to the monasteries of Basingweck, Buckfast, Flaxley, Furnesse, Holmcultram, Merevale, Stanley, and Stonleigh.[272] The Cistercians had a contentious relationship with Henry,

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[270] There were also foundations present in León-Castilla as early as 1125. Countess Aixe founded the first community in Valle del Cea, Valladolid. It received the protection of queen Urraca and count Rodrigo González. In 1153 Gontrado Pérez, an Asturian noblewoman and mistress of Alfonso VII, founded the Monastery of Vega, close to Oviedo. These were important enough that the abbess of Fontevrault, Petronila, visited Spain and founded Paramont in the diocese of Zaragoza. Luisa Garcá Calles, *Doña Sancha hermana del emperador*, Anejos del *Anuario de estudios medievales* 2 (León-Barcelona, 1972), 72-73.

[271] David Robinson, ed. *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far From the Concourse of Men* (London, 1998), 19.

[272] For the support received by each of these monasteries, see the essays on each of these in Robinson, *Cistercian Abbeys* and Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian*

however, over the protection Pontigny had extended to Thomas Becket (d. 1170). Henry threatened the English Cistercian houses if refuge for Becket continued. Yet it was under his rule that the greatest architectural expansion occurred. Clairvaux itself benefited from direct support from Henry and Eleanor: they paid for the new roofing needed for Clairvaux III in 1179.[273]

Leonor was a child of nine or ten when she married Alfonso in 1170.[274] Her first child, Berenguela, was not born until early 1180. In essence she grew up in her husband's court and was aware of the growing importance of the Cistercians in the royal household. The creation of a monastery that mirrored the importance of Fontevrault was at the core of the decision to found Las Huelgas. This can be seen in the similar organization, powers accorded the abbess, the creation of a subject hospital, and the association with the royal household. Fontevrault also has a great church. The scale alone of Fontevrault's church affirms its importance. Las Huelgas was the largest monastery for women on the Iberian peninsula. The monastic church mirrors the breadth and height of Fontevrault, and not those of prior royal foundations for women in Iberia. At this time, Sigena was the only monastery for women whose church came close in dimension, and even here Las Huelgas almost doubles its breadth.

Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England (Princeton, 1984). In the case of Stanley and Stonleigh Henry continued the support his mother Matilda had provided.

[273] Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude*, 82. The years between 1160 and 1180, Fergusson's third phase of Cistercian architectural development in England, happened under Henry's watch. This period was marked by a strong renewal of French forms associated with early Gothic. The connections seem to extend to Clairvaux, no longer extant. Fergusson, 103-104.

[274] Miriam Shadis, "Motherhood, Lineage, and Royal Power in Medieval Castile and France: Berenguela de Leon and Blanche of Castile" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1994), 29-37

Las Huelgas was not a foundation that mirrored local constructions for women. The monasteries of Carrizo and Gradefes, while modern in construction, were of modest size. These were the most recent houses for women built in León and Castilla. Leonor had a prior sense of what a royal women's foundation should look like, and that pulled upon the precedent of her homeland – Fontevrault. Fontevrault also provided another major precedent for Las Huelgas: in 1189 Eleanor buried Henry II at Fontevrault. She would later bury her son Richard I there, and she stipulated her own burial by their side.[275] Leonor followed her mother's model in choosing her own burial at Las Huelgas and convincing her husband to do the same. It may have taken ten years; the two stipulated their burials there only in 1199, after the situation with Gradefes, Perales, and Cañas was resolved and the powers of the abbess were established.

Leonor did not seek to create a house in Castilla subject to her homeland's Fontevrault. Perhaps she could not get her husband's support for a little known order in the region; perhaps she herself had a preference for the austerity of the Cistercian order.[276] The Cistercians were well established by 1170 when Leonor arrived in the kingdom, construction was well under way on the largest of the houses, in Huerta, Valbuena, Moreruela, and Sacramenia, and monks of the order occupied important ecclesiastic positions, most notably Martín de Finojosa, the bishop of Siguenza mentioned above. Furthermore, the privileges granted the Cistercians far outweighed

[275] The decision to bury Henry at Fontevrault is in debate. Bienvenu clearly favors Henry's own agency in the matter although no document to that effect exists. Bienvenu, "Henri II," 25-32. It was Eleanor, however, who brought Richard to burial at Fontevrault.
[276] There were Fontevraultist houses in Iberia, but they were never prominent. Bienvenu, "Origines et evolution," 61-79.

those of other orders.[277] Leonor would have been familiar with the Cistercians from her childhood. The creation of a woman's house must have appeared ideal: none of the monasteries held the title of motherhouse in the territory, Tulebras was in Navarra. In her establishment of Las Huelgas as motherhouse she established the power and prestige she perceived that Fontevrault possessed.

Conclusion

The choices available to Iberian women religious were manifold; the decision of which foundations to support provided monarchs seeking this relationship an equally varied array of possibilities. The choices made by their predecessors involved building upon foundations that were already in existence, San Isidoro de León being a prime example of this.[278] Expanding monasteries and canonates that had been founded by important rulers of the past created a ready association. Sancha and Leonor sought a different route, establishing new houses for new territories. Sancha went further than Leonor in her deviation from set patterns. The selection of a military order in newly conquered territory created an aura of a pious crusading queen. Her association with past queens and monarchs was done stylistically rather than through monastic affiliation.[279] Yet she sought the kind of daily devotion for her order akin to the contemplative Cistercians. In essence she balanced the daily devotion with an affiliation that brought her prestige and ready privileges through the association with the Castellania de

[277] Pérez-Embid, *El Cister en Castilla y Leon*, 269-281
[278] Therese Martin, "Queen as King: Patronage at the Romanesque Church of San Isidoro de Leon" (Ph.D. University of Pittsburgh, 2000). For a discussion of the different approaches to the patronage of San Isidoro, see also Chapter I.
[279] This subject is discussed at length in Chapter III.

Amposta. Leonor's desire to create alongside her husband a contemplative monastery was more in keeping with the period. The Cistercians had grown tremendously in power and privilege, and their devotional austerity was attractive for the foundation of a monastic house. Leonor and Alfonso modeled the experience of her past so as to create a powerful independent institution.

Leonor and Sancha had to overcome many obstacles to create institutions that would have lasting ties to the royal family. In both cases the queens sought autonomy and control for their abbess/prioress. Both of these offices were given administrative powers, made head of their orders in the territory, and provided with immense territories to rule. The struggles ahead for the abbesses would have their roots in the actions of these rulers. While the prioresses of Sigena were to have conflicts with the Castellan de Amposta and the neighboring counts, particularly the counts of Urgel, Las Huelgas' disputes focused on privileges accorded early that the bishops of Burgos, the Hospital of the King, and even the chapter general of Cîteaux would contest.[280] In both cases the struggles were rooted in the pervasive powers provided the abbess/prioress that extended beyond the regular power accorded her in other institutions. The perspicacity of these queens is most revealed in the long success of their institutions. Women of the royal household continued to be associated with Sigena and Las Huelgas well beyond the fourteenth century, even after the advent of the extremely popular Poor Clares into the peninsula. It would be this new reform order at the end of the thirteenth century that

[280] The latter excommunicated the monastery between 1261 and 1263; Urban IV had to intervene. At the center of the problem was the refusal of the abbess of Las Huelgas to subject her monastery to a surprise visit by an ambassador of Cîteaux when they already had a visitor. Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación del Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos 1263-1283, Indices (1116-1283*) (Burgos, 1985), doc. 519-533.

would pose the greatest threat to the monasteries' primacy in royal patronage. The survival of the monasteries as royal institutions leads back to the power accorded the institutions, the physical association with the royal family, and their ability to build in accordance to that desire.

Chapter III: Architectural Style and Meaning in Twelfth Century Aragón and Castilla: The Role of New Trends in Architecture at Sigena and Las Huelgas

> We Sancha, by the grace of God queen of Aragón, countess of Barcelona, and marquise of Provence, to the venerable and esteemed by Christ Sancha of Abiego, prioress of Sigena, monastery of the order and religion of Saint John and the Hospital of Jerusalem, salute you in God's name . . . I send you this Saracen for the construction of a mill, [and] to build within this place . . . a large dwelling; take care that he build just as he has been instructed. I urgently wish and call upon you to build the tower within the walls and *menia* of the monastery, not for the custody of the monastery nor for the enclosure within the religious space but because a monastery without towers or walls appears without virtue itself and your noble breast without defenses, appear then as if a fortress and military camp from a long distance while in hostile combat . . .
>
> Huesca, October 25, 1191[281]

> . . . I, Alfonso, by the grace of God king of Castilla and Toledo, with my wife, Leonor, the queen, and my son Fernando, with free spirit and spontaneous will, with praiseworthy indulgence in recompense for the construction of our Burgalese monastery of Santa Maria la Real . . . we

[281] "Nos Santia, Dei gratia Aragonum regina, comitissa Barchinone et marchissa Provincie, venerabili et dilecte nobis in Christo Santia de Abiego, eiusdem gratia priorissa monasterio de Xixena… salutem …etiam mitto illum sarracenum pro construccione molendini, habet ad hoc prout dicunt habilitatem magnam, curate illum construere et edificare prout asignatum est. Desidero vehementer ut turris vestra quam edificatis inter muros et menia monasterii sit citius facta, non pro custodia monialium nec pro clausura cum ipsemet (sic) moniales religiosa sint mura et turres nam virtus ipsarum est versus murus et nobilitas pectorum suorum sicut turres, sed ad prespectivam et bellum visum nam de longe videtur quasi propugnaculum et castrum bellicum cum in eo non sint arma ofensiva nisi defensiva, prout sunt orationes nominalium et lacrime, rogate eis ut pro me aliquas ad Deum faciant et precent et vos cum illi valete; cetera dicebit domna Maria et nos quando ibi fuerimus quod spero fore non post multos hos dies." Agustin Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena* (Valencia, 1972), 43.

make the letter of donation, concession and support to you, master Ricardo, and to your wife Alde . . . and give you [the property of Salarzal] as a hereditary possession . . .
Burgos, July 9, 1203[282]

These quotations, although different in character, mark the substantial completion of the monasteries of Sigena (Aragón) and Las Huelgas (Castilla). The architecture of these foundations would have a powerful effect on subsequent building in their respective kingdoms. Sancha of León-Castilla and Leonor Plantagenet, the queens who founded them, shaped trends in architecture for the following generation by balancing the forms of their natal lands with those present in their new kingdoms. The two sites differed dramatically in architectural style: Sigena was built in a Romanesque style, while Las Huelgas was an early example of Cistercian Gothic architecture on the peninsula. The construction of the monasteries was carried out almost simultaneously, although the speed of execution and completion varied. The styles chosen reflect not only the tendencies in construction in each realm, but also desired regional affiliation and national meaning. Both sites present a signifier for the architectural transformation of their realm over the next generation; they anticipate new tendencies and identify innovative ventures in the architecture of their kingdoms. Furthermore the stylistic differences between the

[282] ". . . ego, Aldefonsus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, una cum vxore mea, Alienor, regina, et cum filio meo Ferrando, libenti animo et voluntate spontanea, pro laudabili obsequio quod in constructione burgensis monasterii nostri Sancte Marie Regalis nobis exibuistis, facimus cartam donationis, concessionis et stabilitatis vobis, magistro Ricardo, et uxori vestre Alde … Damus, namque, uobis et concedimus omnem hereditatem agriculture et partum que habemus in villa que dicitur Salarzal, cum eiusdem hereditati et prato pertinentibus, iure hereditario in pertpetuum . . .." Juan Manuel Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos (1116-1230)* (Burgos, 1985), 123.

two sites reflected the queens' desired affiliations and set the directions for architectural developments in their kingdoms.

Today the Romanesque construction of Sigena appears remarkably conservative when compared to the Gothic architecture at Las Huelgas. The basic forms of Sigena's church are visible from the exterior: the single nave, extended transept, rounded apse, and side chapels (Figure 10). The transpet and crossing are the tallest volumes; the lower apse and still lower chapels extend from the building as discrete spaces. Only the apse and side chapels are marked by windows at ground level; a thin arch with two or three archivolts and thin decorative engaged columns frames the single window that illuminated each of these spaces. The portal uses a similar decorative scheme, but explodes it to a remarkable sixteen arches surrounding a blank typmanum. Embellishment is kept to a minimum; even capitals are simple flat forms. The interior of the church is similarly simple. Flat ashlar walls are broken only by small windows, in the nave only at the cleresory level. Engaged piers and transverse arches support a broad, pointed vault (Figure 2). The austerity of the church is maintained throughout the monastery and the royal pantheon, which extends from the north transept. The use of a pointed arch appears consistenly through the use of pointed diaphragm arches in the remainder of the structure.

The Romanesque structure follows turn-of-the-century Romanesque architecture closely, except that it uses pointed arches and pointed barrel vaults consistently. This feature was consistent in important royal and ecclesiastic structures and commissions during the reign of Sancha and Alfonso II of Aragón. The buildings they commissioned in recently reconquered territory used a unified style similar to that of the royal

family'sofficial. The large expenditure entailed in the rapid construction of Sigena, its prominence among royal commissions, and its close association with the palace and cathedral of Huesca, gave the style an official stamp. It was widely emulated in Aragón for the next generation**.**

The architecture of Sigena was innovative for the time of its construction. Early Gothic architecture had reached the borders of Aragón through the Cistercian order, yet even here it had not been adopted fully. Only the rudiments of early Gothic architecture can be found in mid-twelfth-century Cistercian monasteries in Aragón and Catalunya. The decision at Sigena not to adopt a style associated with a specific foreign monastic order was appropriate to the time period and to the temperament of the monarchs. In Aragón, the Romanesque of Sigena was innovative both in its construction and in its ability to recall the great period of kingdom formation and expansion during the reign of the first kings of Aragón at the end of the eleventh century.

In contrast, the architectural style of the Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas embraced the early Gothic forms that Sigena had rejected. As at Sigena, the exterior structure of the church reveals the forms of the interior. A larger structure than Sigena, the church of Las Huelgas includes side aisles and a portico along the length of the south aisle on the exterior. Windows appear both in the clerestory and at ground level in the side aisle walls. The polygonal apse is preceded by two straight bays and is marked by two levels of windows. The interior of the church uses ribbed vaulting consistently. The portico, side aisles, and nave all rise to quadripartite ribbed vaults. The nave arcade consists of pointed arches, and the thinner engaged colums extend through the clerestory into the vaulting. Sexpartite vaults appear in the apse. The capitals are foliate forms used

elsewhere in Cistercian buildings. Just as Sigena reveals a single building campaign in a consistent Romanesque style, the church of Las Huelgas is cohesive and consistent in its early Gothic construction.

The Gothic forms adopted at Las Huelgas were only a generation old; their use at Las Huelgas is early but is consistent with other early Cistercian buildings in Castilla. Yet this association is not as straightforward as it appears. The construction of Las Huelgas was carried out in two major phases with distinct stylistic idiosyncrasies. The first campaign, marked by a late Romanesque cloister and Mudejar chapels, presents a blending of the styles of the region. The second, which incorporates Cistercian Gothic forms fully, marks the dramatic expansion of the monastery to a size unparalleled in monastic houses for women on the Iberian peninsula.

The essential question is why Gothic architecture appears here earlier than in Aragón although Castilla was geographically more distant and with fewer socioeconomic ties to the Ile-de-France. Leonor, the daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, may well have been the catalyst for the arrival of Gothic architecture on the peninsula. The second stage of construction, then, marks the site with the northern style of her birthplace.

The debate surrounding the dating for these two phases of early construction has not been completely resolved. New studies by Karge, D'Emilio, and Rico Santamaría in combination with a careful study of the documentation of the monastery suggest a much faster rate of construction than previously assumed.[283] The second portion of this

[283] Henrik Karge, "Die königliche Zisterzienserinnenabtei Las Huelgas de Burgos und die Anfänge der gotischen Architektur in Spanien," *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten des Kolloquiums der Carl-Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der*

chapter focuses on the blending of styles at this site and what this suggests about the patronage of the queen and the adoption of the new style for its religious and political content.

The two sections of this chapter, focusing on these two monasteries in the contexts of their respective realms, will show that, while the two queens may have chosen radically different styles, both styles were innovative and politically charged, and both successfully influenced the architecture of their respective realms for many years. The influence of these queens' patronage should not be underestimated. They reigned during a pivotal time in the transition between Romanesque and Gothic architecture, one that allowed the queens greater power in their ability to influence the outcome of the stylistic conflict for their realm. Both queens arrived in territories heavily influenced by early Romanesque architecture. In order to fully understand the trends in architecture present in the both Aragón and Castilla, I will begin by discussing the repercussions of this early formative period on the architecture of the middle of the twelfth century.

Universität Göttingen, Göttingen 4-6 Feb 1994, ed. Christian Freigang (Vervuert, 1999), 13-40, 373-376; James d'Emilio, "The Royal Convent of Las Huelgas: Dynastic Politics, Religious Reform and Artistic Change in Medieval Castile" to be published by Cistercian Publications; and Marcos Rico Santamaría, "Real monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos, un somero análisis de sus arquitecturas," *Academia* 73 (1991), 89-101. Over the course of the next year more may be known about this early period: the Patrimonio Nacional has begun an archaeological study of the early areas of the monastery. This site is also part of a Spanish dissertation from the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid by the architectural historian Elena Casas Castells. This dissertation looks at the architecture of all of the Cistercian foundations for women in Castilla and León from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This study is a detailed architectural study that follows from the article by Maria del Carmen Muñoz Párraga, "Monasterios de monjas cistercienses (Castilla - León)," *Cuadernos de Arte Español* 65 (1992): 3-31.

The Frómista-Jaca style: The Development of Romanesque Architecture on the Iberian Peninsula

On the Iberian peninsula the forms of Romanesque architecture were diverse but followed closely as the so-called León-Frómista-Jaca style.[284] These cities were central to the expansion of the Romanesque along the pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela, and their main churches adopted a conservative approach to building. Frómista presents the clearest version of early Iberian Romanesque, as both Jaca and León underwent considerable reconstruction in later years (Figures 11-12).

Frómista follows a basic basilican plan with nave and single side aisles.[285] An enlarged crossing defines the transept; the arms of the transept only extend as far as the outer walls of the side aisles. The dome rests on a square base, four windows pierce the octagonal drum, and ends in a cupola. There is no clerestory; the only windows within the structure are in the side aisles, in the transept, and in the apse and transept chapels. The compound piers in the nave rise from simple bases with engaged columns that extend upward to meet the transverse arch. A carved geometric stringcourse defines the transition from the nave arcade to the barrel vault. The capitals are highly articulated, in forms varying from fanciful creatures to historiated columns.

The exterior decoration reflects the austerity of the interior. The exterior reflects the interior architectural volumes and only uses decorative elements to highlight the

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[284] Serafin Moralejo Álvarez, "Sobre la formación del estilo escultorico de Frómista y Jaca," *Actas del XXIII Congreso internacional de historria del Arte: España entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlantico* (Granada, 1973), 427-34.

[285] Jesús Herrero Marcos and Carlos Arroyo Puertas have studied the arqueological evidence both of the medieval structure and of the nineteeth and early twentieth century renovations in *Arquitectura y simbolismo de San Martín de Frómista* (Palencia, 1995).

transitions between these spaces. As on the interior, the geometric stringcourse defines these transitions. The other decorative features include engaged columns, decorative capitals, gables, and Lombard porches. The masonry of the building follows the more articulated workmanship of a mature Romanesque style, and is consistent with the workmanship of both San Isidoro in León and the cathedral of Jaca. Both of these sites also resemble Frómista's architectural plan and exterior fabric, although they vary in the form of their compound piers and in decorative details. The most extensive decorative motifs on the exterior surround the portal.[286] The decoration derives from a series of repeated arches.

The connection to San Isidoro in León is important to the developments in Aragón and Castilla, as the site was the largest and most recently completed royal structure in León-Castilla (Figures 13-14). It would mark not only the developments in León, but also marked Sancha's experience of royal foundations in her youth and her sense of the patronage responsibilities of royal women. This experience had profound effects on her architectural patronage in Aragón.[287]

The date and patron of San Isidoro de León have been the subject of debate. Most recently Therese Martin has convincingly argued that the fabric of the present structure – the third – was the project of Queen Urraca, Sancha's grandmother, and thus dates from the first quarter of the twelfth century.[288] She paid homage to Alfonso VI, her father, and

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[286] Frómista's tympanum is bare today, yet the west end has undergone substantial renovation.
[287] Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha hermana del emperador* (León-Barcelona,1972), 16-45.
[288] Therese Martin, "Queen as King: Patronage at the Romanesque Church of San Isidoro de León" (PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2000). More recently, Martin has come back to this question adding the importance of decorative elements – the polylobal

Fernando I, her grandfather, by extending the church they had begun. In so doing, Urraca also affirmed her connection to them and her right to rule. San Isidoro was attached to the palace where the countess Sancha – Urraca's daughter – lived and very likely raised Queen Sancha until her death in 1159.[289] The church, with the particular exception of the polylobed arches that set off the interior of the transept, expands and embellishes the plan and elevation at Frómista. As the premier royal foundation of León-Castilla, it also affected the architectural landscape Leonor Plantagenet had to contend with on her arrival in Castilla.

At the church of San Isidoro the transept extends out from the body of the church, creating a Latin-cross basilica plan. The addition of a clerestory extended the height of the church. A double-bay system also transformed the fabric of the nave through the use of decorative engaged columns. As at Frómista, though, the columns rise to meet the transverse arch of the vault, unifying the space across the nave. The exterior follows the same model, as well, including the pattern of the geometric stringcourse connecting the chapels to the apse. The original round apse no longer survives, but evidence suggests a similar format to Frómista's. The masons at San Isidoro also embellished the exterior portals, areas used for specific political messages in addition to their religious ones.[290]

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arches in the crossing – to connect the site with Toledo. She argues that queen Urraca purposely attempted to create a visual connection with the advances of the Reconquest during the reign of her father, Alfonso VI, in "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain," forthcoming in Speculum

[289] See chapter I.

[290] Therese Martin addresses this in her dissertation. See also Rose Walker, "Sancha, Urraca, and Elvira: The Virtues and Vices of Spanish Royal Women 'Dedicated to God'," *Reading Medieval Studies* 24 (1998): 113-138; Susan Havens Caldwell, "Urraca of Zamora and San Isidoro in León: Fulfillment of a Legacy," *Woman's Art Journal* 7/8 (1986): 19-25; and John Williams, "Generationes Abrahae: Reconquest Iconography in León," *Gesta* 17/2 (1977): 3-14.

The expansion of the decoration of the portal on the spandrels beyond the tympanum is reminiscent of the forms developed over time at Santiago de Compostela.[291] The structure exhibits the development of Romanesque and parallels the cathedral of Jaca in Aragón. Jaca, too, within this triad of churches, maintains and manipulates the form of Romanesque on the peninsula (Figure 15-16).

As at San Isidoro, Jaca's builders varied the construction of the nave arcade, preferring a single column, rather than a compound pier, in each double-bay construction. Furthermore, they did not render the stringcourse consistently, as it ends at the transept. David Simon has also argued recently that the original ceiling, no longer extant, was probably a flat wooden beam construction reminiscent of early Christian structures and particularly of St. Peter's in Rome.[292] Jaca, however, does maintain the connection with the other sites in the treatment of the exterior with the geometric stringcourse, and the decorative gables on the roof. Jaca also covers the crossing with an octagonal dome, similar to Frómista again, although in this case ribs enhance the structure.[293]

Builders could adapt this Romanesque style of wall articulation and façade decoration to incorporate styles indigenous to the region, particularly Mudejar forms, as seen in the polylobed arches at San Isidoro de León. Romanesque forms proliferated not only on the pilgrimage roads, but also in monastic architecture and the architecture of

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[291] Indeed this church was constructed to attract pilgrims; the countess Sancha even reformed the double monastery into an Augustinian canonate for that purpose. Martin, *Queen as King*, 175-179.
[292] David Simon, "Court and Cathedral at Jaca," paper given at "Court and Monastery in Medieval Spain: A Symposium in Honor of John Williams," October 18-19, 2002.
[293] These sites also share stylistic connection in their use of figural sculptural in the capitals.

repopulation.[294] The areas conquered by Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII of León-Castilla quickly began construction to resettle the areas taken from the *taifa* rulers at the end of the eleventh century.[295] The expansion of this style in repopulation architecture occurred earlier in Castilla and León than in Aragón. Examples abound in Segovia, part of the territories taken with Toledo. In Aragón the expansion was closely associated with the process of kingdom formation, but was broken by a series of succession crises.[296]

Aragonese Romanesque is closely associated with the rule of Ramiro I of Aragón (r. 1035-63) and his son Sancho Ramirez I (r. 1063-94).[297] These early kings and their families were responsible for the construction of the cathedral at Jaca, in addition to expansions of San Juan de la Peña, the early construction of the palace of Huesca, the monasteries of Santa Cruz de la Serós and San Pedro de Huesca, and the fortress of Loarre. These structures maintain the architectural form seen at Frómista: a single nave, massive unarticulated walls, small recessed arched windows, decorative capitals, and simple façades. The adoption of the Romanesque style in the area also coincided with the expansion of the Cluniac order. Sancho Ramirez, like his grandfather Sancho Garcés III of Navarra, supported the Cluniac reform and the expansion of its monasteries.[298] This

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[294] Pascual Martínez Sopena, "Las repoblaciones de Castilla y León: Organización del espacio y cambios socials entre los siglos X y XIII," *Actas del III Curso de cultura medieval: Seminario de repoblación y reconquista* (Aguilar de Campoo, 1991), 57-64.
[295] Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London, 1996), 130-153, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, 1975), 193-214.
[296] See chapter I.
[297] Fernando Galtier Martí, "La formación del arte románico aragonés, entre la reconquista y la repoblación," *Actas del III Curso de cultura medieval, Seminario: Repoblación y Reconquista* (Aguilar de Campoo, 1991), 127-143.
[298] The most recent studies of this relationship are by Xavier Barral y Altet in "Observaciones sobre les relacions historiques i artístiques entre Cluny i la peninsula ibèrica," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 925-941; John Williams, "Cluny and

period of architectural ferment ended with the rule of Alfonso I, the Battler. The expansion of the Romanesque forms of the turn of the twelfth century had very different effects on Aragón and Castilla, a result of the political division of these territories.

Sigena and the Persistence of Romanesque Architecture at the End of the Twelfth Century

The Architecture of Aragón at Mid-Century

Alfonso I (r. 1104-1134), Sancho Ramirez's second son, spearheaded the Reconquest in Aragón in the early part of the twelfth century.[299] After the unexpected death of his elder brother, Pedro, Alfonso inherited his father's kingdoms of Aragón and Navarra. The thirty-year rule of Alfonso I was consumed in warfare as he strove to conquer territories to the south and west. Building was only a secondary concern. While continuing construction of sites already begun by his brother and father, Alfonso did not initiate his own active campaign of church building. During his reign, new construction on churches and palaces in his conquered territories took two chief forms. At some sites temporary structures with wooden roofs were built in expectation of future permanent structures. At others, earlier structures were expanded and altered, often converting mosques into churches and thus contributing to the acceptance and adoption of Mudejar

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Spain," *Gesta* 27/1-2 (1988): 93-102; and O.K. Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago," *Gesta* 27/1-2 (1988): 103-112.

[299] José Angel Lema Pueyo, *Instituciones políticas del reinado de Alfonso I 'el Batallador,' rey de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134*) (Bilbao, 1997).

forms in the future.[300] Carmen Roche notes that in this early stage, Romanesque buildings in the new territories tended to be constructed in brick, since stone was less plentiful and used only for major construction.[301] The use of brick articulated with elaborated geometric designs, a marker for many scholars of the influence of Mudejar architecture, expanded at mid-century.[302] The Romanesque architectural style associated with the early rule of Ramiro I and Sancho Ramirez remained influential in the area surrounding Jaca and Huesca.

The will of Alfonso I affected both building and governance of the realm dramatically.[303] He left the kingdom to the military orders, none of which had either a military presence or permanent structures in the kingdom. His will, even though it was not carried out, effectively established for these orders a strong foothold in Aragón and a vested interest in the success of the Reconquest. Ramiro II the Monk, Alfonso's brother, was crowned the new king of Aragón.[304] The attempts of Ramiro II to rule did not

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[300] Antonio Naval Mas, "Arquitectura religiosa de la edad media en el somontano de Huesca," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 41 (1987): 151-236.
[301] Carmen Roche, "La extension del romanico aragones," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 1 (1945): 39-48.
[302] It is not clear that the construction in brick in areas of repopulation were perceived initially as Mudejar, they were constructed in available materials. The embellishment of the forms through pattern may not initially have necessitated an association with Islamic architecture. By the thirteenth century, however, and with the influence of Almohad architecture, elaborately patterned brick structure do become associated with Mudejar craftsmen. The written sources for mosque to church conversion are more plentiful for the thirteenth century. See Julie A. Harris, "Mosque to Church Conversion in the Spanish Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters* 3/2 (1997): 158-172. Yet the conversion process, as Roche explores above, had existed as long as the Reconquest, as was the reuse of building until the resources for a stone structure could be acquired.
[303] See chapter I above.
[304] The raising of Ramiro II was used as an excuse by the Navarrese lords to elect Garcia Ramirez IV the Restaurer as their new king. The lords perceived Ramiro as an ineffective potential ruler, and given bloodlines, Garcia had a powerful claim on the throne. The other ruler who also had a claim was, of course, Alfonso VII. Ramiro had

succeed and in breaking his vow of chastity through his marriage to Agnes of Poitou brought condemnation and excommunication from the Pope. Their only child was Petronila, and the couple separated soon after her birth and retired to religious life: Agnes to the monastery of Fontevrault, Ramiro to San Pedro de Huesca. Petronila's betrothal to Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, twenty-seven years her senior, placed the kingdom under his regency during her infancy and their subsequent marriage. His rule over the kingdom lasted twenty-five years (1137-1162). This long lordship had a profound effect on architectural practices, establishing a close connection to the styles and techniques associated with both Catalunya and the south of France, particularly with the Languedoc and Provençal areas that had a strong tradition of Lombard architecture.[305]

The years leading up to the reign of Alfonso II and Sancha saw the development of new structures for the military orders, principally the Templars and Hospitallers. Ramon Berenguer IV adeptly negotiated territorial bequests that compensated the orders' loss of their inheritance by making them participants in the Reconquest effort: Ramon Berenguer granted them lands yet to be taken.[306] This solution affected the architectural landscape, as fortresses and fortress churches multiplied on the borderlands. The greatest beneficiaries of this practice during Ramon Berenguer's rule were the Templar knights;

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two new frontiers to defend as soon as he was crowned. Federico Balaguer, "La Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris y la elevación de Ramiro II al trono aragonés," *Estudios de la edad media de la corona de Aragón* 6 (1956): 7-40, and Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I, 'El Batallador,' King of Aragon and Navarre: A Reassessment," *Speculum* 50/4 (1975): 635-651.

[305] Naval Mas, *Arquitectura religiosa*, 230-236. See also Frédérique Barbut, *La route des abbayes en Languedoc-Roussillon* (Rennes, 1999), 6-8.

[306] María Luisa Ledesma Rubio has explored this issue in *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el Reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982) and in *Las ordenes militares en Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1994). See also Percy E. Schramm's *Els primer comtes-reis – Ramón Berenguer IV, Alfons el Cast, Pere el Catolic* (Barcelona, 1960), and Luis Anton González's *La consolidación de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona-Zaragoza, 1988).

under Alfonso II the Hospitallers would shift into a more prominent position, possibly because of his queen's preference for the order.[307]

Templar architecture in Catalunya and Aragón followed the basic lines of the Romanesque, using the heavy unarticulated walls to their advantage in a defensive setting. In this situation, builders favored stone over brick. A powerful model for this architecture is the fortress castle of Loarre (Figures 17-18).[308] The fortress stands on a high promontory with a heavy defensive wall formed by the outer wall of the buildings, including the church. The church is made up of a single nave, with transept and rounded apse, and consistent barrel vault construction throughout the site. A simple succession of columns and arches decorate small arched windows. The decoration conforms to the early structures of the late eleventh century associated with the rule of Sancho Ramirez.

The fortresses of Monzón, Montalbán, and Montearagón use this form with little variation. A small exception is the lower room of the castle of Montearagón, where the ceiling is a pointed arch vault. This structure, later associated with the Hospital, was the burial place of Alfonso I. The pointed vault, however, is a later addition, and reflects the new style associated with late twelfth-century architecture in Aragón and Catalunya, to which I will turn below.

It was under the rule of Alfonso II, the son of Ramon Berenguer IV and Petronila – and his wife Sancha – that an active building campaign traversed the kingdom of

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[307] Angel Juan Martín Duque, "Politica monástica de Alfonso II y Pedro II de Aragón: Datos y sugerencias," *VII Congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón*, vol. 3 (Barcelona, 1962), 41-47.

[308] Janice Elaine Mann's study of this site remains the most thorough. She dates the church to the end of the reign of Sancho Ramírez, and certainly its completion by his death in 1094. Janice Elaine Mann,"San Pedro at the Castle of Loarre: A Study in the Relation of Cultural Forces to the Design, Decoration, and Construction of a Romanesque Church" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University Dissertation, 1991).

Aragón. The new Romanesque architecture permeated newly conquered territories through the monarch's active support for repopulation efforts. Ashlar masonry and barrel vaults appeared during this period in frontier monasteries, hermitages, and parish churches.[309]

Embellished Architecture at Mid-Century

The architecture of the mid-twelfth century in Aragón elaborated upon the forms developed at Jaca. Jaca's architecture had an immediate impact on Aragonese sites such as Santa Cruz de la Serós – funded by Countess Sancha of Urgel, the sister of Sancho Ramirez - and the fortress and church of Loarre, the construction of which continued into the first part of the twelfth century.[310] Both Serós and Loarre maintain most of the characteristics of the Jaca-Frómista style, particularly in the use of ashlar masonry, engaged columns, geometric stringcourses, and the expansive character of the walls. The differing contexts – in a monastic house and a fortress – account for variances between the churches at Serós and Loarre. Each of these, in turn, served as a model in mid-to-late

[309] Naval Mas's 1987 study "Arquitectura religiosa," 151-236, is useful here in his surveying of relatively obscure, often isolated areas in Aragón. Naval Mas's previous survey, from which much of the data comes, with the architect Joaquin Naval Mas *Inventario artístico de Huesca y su provincia* (Madrid, 1980) is a systematic survey of all of the surviving structures of the province through the nineteenth century.

[310] Countess Sancha of Aragón should not be mistaken with Countess Sancha of León mentioned above. Countess Sancha of Aragón was the widow of the Count of Urgel and played an important administrative role for her brother. The countesses were both discussed in Chapter 1. The two most important studies on the countess are Marina González Miranda, "La condesa doña Sancha y el monasterio de Santa Cruz de la Serós," *Estudios de la edad media de la corona de Aragón* 6 (1956): 185-202, and Domingo J. Buesa Conde and David L. Simon, *La condesa doña Sancha y los origenes de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1995).

twelfth century architecture in their respective building class. Especially Serós, the most important monastic house for women in the kingdom, had a profound effect on the construction of monasteries for women in Aragón; both Sigena and Casbas relate to this site in their construction style. I will discuss the similarities of character of Sigena with fortress churches later in this chapter.

The new structures that survive from the second half of the twelfth century were primarily associated with the pilgrimage roads in northern Aragón and Navarra and developed a highly decorative version of Romanesque architecture and sculpture.[311] Santa María la Read de Sanguesa, San Miguel Arcángel de Estella, La Magdalena de Tudela, and Santa María de Ripoll are all examples of the educational and decorative effects of this movement. Ripoll is the most extravagant example (Figure 19). Its sculptural ensemble extends outward from the tympanum beyond the spandrel to the entire portal; the sculptural program appears to become the wall, expanding almost the width of the façade. [312] This preference for elaborate sculptural programs on the exterior of portals and in the interior capitals of the churches and cloisters can be found at smaller sites on the pilgrimage roads as well, sites such as Estella, where even without a

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[311] It is the architectural decoration that often defines this period, which falls squarely into the debate about the rise of monumental sculpture and the arrival of Gothic forms on the pilgrimage roads. Pita Andrade looks at the transformation of the sculptural style in portals at Santiago de Compostela between the Puerta de las Platerias and the Pórtico de la Gloria and discusses precedents in regional sculpture in Galicia. While the Aragonese and Catalan variant does not fit stylistically into this "proto-Gothic" paradigm – it remained Romanesque in form, but adopted the extended use of sculpture spreading from the portal into the spandrel. José Manuel Pita Andrade, "España en la crisis del románico," in *España en las crisis del arte europeo: Coloquios celebrados en conmemoración de los XXV años de la fundación del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (Madrid, 1968), 85-92, and *Los maestros de Oviedo y Avila: Los maestros de la transición al gótico* (Madrid, 1955).

[312] Joaquin Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura en España 500-1250* (Madrid, 1997), 257-282, 287-294.

tympanum, the archivolts explode into decorative embellishment: geometric, floral, and figurative forms abound.[313] The archivolts are activated to attract the lay community and the pilgrims on the road.

Queen Sancha in her commission of the portal at her monastery of Sigena rejected the embellishment found in mid-twelfth century pilgrimage church portals and capitals. Not only is the portal devoid of such detailed decoration, but the capitals on the interior in both cloister and church are also left almost bare. In fact, there is little evidence of any decoration on capitals in the cloister. This could be reflective of the new aesthetic of the Cistercians, whom Sancha greatly favored and aided in their expansion, however, it also reflects the simplicity of the architecture of the fortress churches of the Hospitallers, fortress churches that, to a great extent, follow the construction of Loarre, mentioned earlier.

Fortress Architecture in Aragón

The construction of the churches and their monastic buildings associated with Alfonso II and Sancha's patronage follow some basic features of fortresses: the construction on a rocky outcrop, outside cities, and with strong supportive walls. The development of these fortresses advanced under the rule of Alfonso I as he tried to expand the boundaries of the kingdom both south and west.[314] His favored monastic fortress, later a Hospitaller site, was Montearagón outside Huesca, now in ruins. Alfonso

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[313] Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura*, 287-294.
[314] Mann, "San Pedro at the Castle of Loarre," 111-171. See also José Angel Lema Pueyo, *Instituciones políticas del reinado de Alfonso I 'el Batallador,' rey de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134*) (Bilbao, 1997).

ordered his burial at this foundation instead of San Juan de la Peña – the first Aragonese king to defy this tradition. Montearagón, while smaller than Loarre, pushes the austere features further: the decorative elements of columns and archivolts are left behind for recessed windows and pathways. The royal chapel appears to have been the largest single architectural unit; it consisted of a single nave with two ribs that traversed the barrel vault. It is consistent with the constructions of the early century, although possessing a greater rigor.

The fortress church of Monzón, which has survived in better condition than Montearagón, presents an important example of the transformation of fortress architecture. It was an important site to Sancha, as it was part of her dower lands.[315] The construction of Monzón, like both Loarre and Montearagón before it, follows the topographical formation by sitting on a rising hill (Figure 20). In plan it maintains the basic areas found in the previous sites: palace, chapel, great hall, and dependencies. The chapel and great halls have partially survived, and reveal the change in construction. The chapel follows Montearagón's basic structure of a single nave, massive masonry, and round apse, but differs in the use of the broad pointed barrel vault (Figure 21). The exterior of the great hall reveals the same pattern of construction. The broad pointed arches and pointed barrel vaults used at Sigena find an echo in this construction and can also be linked to royal civil and religious construction in Huesca.

Huesca had been the episcopal see for Aragón prior to the Islamic invasions. After Huesca fell to Islamic forces the see was moved to Jaca until the historic location

[315] Sancha is said to have had to reaffirm her rights over this territory forcibly. E.L. Miron, *The Queens of Aragón: Their Lives and Times* (Port Washington, 1972c), 76. See also Mariano de Pano y Ruata, *La santa reina doña Sancha, fundadora del monasterio de Sijena* (Zaragoza, 1943).

could be retaken. It was finally reclaimed in 1109.[316] Huesca as the original see underwent significant architectural patronage by successive kings beginning with Pedro I after he and his brother, Alfonso I, retook the city. A new palace and cathedral had to be built before the city could become the center of administrative and religious life in the kingdom.[317] The Romanesque cathedral no longer survives, as a Gothic structure replaced it in the thirteenth century. The palace, however, still exists.

The palace of Huesca was built in three major phases of construction during the twelfth century. The three halls of the building can be identified through the transformation of the masonry. The first was begun under Alfonso I, but plans had certainly been underway before the death of Pedro I, who died soon after claiming the territory. This hall, upon which all else followed, is a single nave construction with double apses and uses course stone (Figure 22). It is a dark space with only a few small windows. It is referred to as the Sala de la Campana (Hall of the Bell) after a legend that claimed Ramiro I had beheaded all errant lords in the hall after summoning them by ringing the bell. It was probably constructed in the 1120s.[318]

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[316] Antonio Naval Mas, "Huesca: Desarrollo del trazado urbano y de su arquitectura" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense, 1979), 171-179, and Cristobal Guitart Aparicio, *Castillos de Aragón: Desde el siglo IX hasta el segundo cuarto del XIII* (Zaragoza, 1976), 146-154.

[317] It should be noted as well that the church of San Pedro de Huesca followed the strict form of early Romanesque (with some later Gothic additions). Ramiro II was abbot of the monastery and retired there after ceding government to Ramon Berenguer IV. His burial chapel maintains the construction associated with Sigena and Huesca's palaces in the continued use of the broad pointed barrel vault. See Ricardo Uson Garcia's archaeological report in "El panteon real de Aragón en la capilla de San Bartolomé de San Pedro el Viejo de Huesca," *Aldaba: Revista de arquitectura* 7 (1987): 36-39.

[318] Naval Mas, *Huesca*, 212-214, and José Laborda Yneva in *Huesca: Guía de aquitectura* (Zaragoza, 1997), 10, argue that the hall was built after Ramiro.

The second phase of construction added a hall above the Sala de la Campana (Figure 23). This hall is known as Petronila's Hall after Ramiro's daughter, the queen of the kingdom.[319] Whereas the Sala de la Campana is spartan, Petronila's Hall incorporated elaborate historiated capitals, expanded the windows in both number and size, and used engaged columns and archivolts around the windows. The hall reflects the taste at mid-century for elaborate carving in architecture.

The palace is closely connected to Alfonso II, born in Huesca. He and Sancha were responsible for the third stage of construction. Using the length of the previous halls as the width of the new structure, the monarchs built a vast hall uniform in height with the combined previous halls (Figure 24). The great hall is more than twice the size of the previous structures and would have allowed for a larger audience space as well as an administrative unit. The hall is a vast single nave capped with a massive broad pointed vault. It underwent substantial renovations in the past century; they do not, however, impede an understanding of the original structure.

Alfonso II used architecture to suggest the power of the king through scale and to reaffirm his connections to Pedro I and Alfonso I by physically connecting the buildings. In doing so he articulated a powerful bond with the glorious early period of kingdom expansion. This association was one that Petronila, herself, had attempted to make for Alfonso: he was baptized Ramón after his father, but upon succession was renamed to make clear his succession from his great uncle Alfonso I. The use of the pointed barrel vault also gave the architectural element official status as the preferred royal style. The

[319] It is also referred to as Ines's Hall and the Hall of St. Nicolas.

transformation of the architecture may have also suggested a new era, a cleansing from the conflicts of the previous decades where succession was at issue.

This broad pointed arch was used again in what remains of the original cathedral's dependencies, specifically the bishop's palace. In a recent archaeological dig, Eduardo Carrero Santamaría found the consistent remains of a hall with a pointed diaphragm arch.[320] Evidence of the structure can still be seen today in the remnants of a broad pointed arch adjacent to the church (Figure 25). The same form is used at Sigena, suggesting a contemporary constructions; the structure of the arch is identical (Figure 1). It also links these sites to the Huesca palace and Monzón, where the shape of the diaphragm arch mimics the pointed barrel vault. The cathedral also appears to have been vaulted, but there are no surviving visual records to give us more information. Thus the two most important surviving structures of the period in the capital city of the realm present the consistent use of pointed arch constructions, whether vaults or diaphragm arches. This form affirms the connection with the fortress churches.[321] The use of this architectural frame is not unique to the reign of the kings of Aragón, or to the geography of Aragón.

The most extensive and pervasive use of the pointed barrel vault at the end of the twelfth century appears in Aragón, Catalunya, and the south of France: Toulouse, Langedoc, and particularly in Provence. This is also consistent with the strong resistance

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[320] Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, "Reconstructing the Bishop's House: The Architectural Ensemble of the Bishop's Palace at Huesca," International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 12, 2001 (paper 1503-b).

[321] I use the term fortress church as a church constructed for and within a fortress, and not as a fortress-church like those discussed by Sheila Bonde in *Fortress-Churches of Languedoc* (Cambridge, 1994). Bonde's fortress churches are not part of a fortress, but rather use the architectural elements of fortress architecture in the structure of their churches, more on this below.

to Gothic architecture in the region.[322] During the eleventh and twelfth centuries strong economic and political ties - among them marital ties - linked these areas. Ramon Berenguer IV was not only count of Barcelona upon his marriage to Berenguela, he was also marquis of Provence, a county he had inherited from his mother, Dulce. Alfonso II followed his father's example in maintaining strong ties with this region through both travel and marriage alliances: he married his daughter, Leonor, to Raymond VI of Toulouse.[323] The county of Provence remained in the family, passing to younger brothers, who died without progeny. Pedro II, Sancha and Alfonso's eldest son, also affirmed a trans-Pyrenean policy in his marriage to Marie of Montpellier and his strong involvement in the attempt to stall the Albigensian crusade. The connections are also found architecturally. The broad pointed arch and pointed barrel vault were used by the Cistercians in their early constructions, but gave way quickly to groin vaults, and narrow pointed arches.

The architecture of broad pointed vaults appears to survive primarily in Aragón, Provence, and, as explored by Sheila Bonde, in the fortress-churches of Languedoc.[324] Bonde's focus is on defensive additions to the churches, such as machicolation, hoarding,

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[322] The slow development of Gothic architecture in the French Midi has been the focus of several studies, including Vivian Paul "The Beginnings of Gothic Architecture in Languedoc," *Art Bulletin* 70/1 (1988): 102-22; Raymond Rey, *L'art gothique du Midi de la France* (Paris, 1934); Marcel Durliat, "L' architecture gothique méridional au XIIIe siècle," *Ecole antique de Nimes, Bulletin annuel* 8-9 (1973-74): 63-132**,** Pierre Héliot, "Les débuts de l'architecture gothique dans le Midi de la France, l'Espagne et le Portugal," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 9 (1972-73): 105-41; and Emile Mâle, "L'architecture gothique du Midi de la France," *Revue des deux mondes* 1 (1926): 826-57.

[323] There is also the suggestion that a young daughter, Sancha, also married Raymond VII of Toulouse. This would place grandmother and two granddaughters in the county of Toulouse. As noted in the previous chapter queen Sancha's mother, Rica of Poland married a count of Toulouse after the death of Alfonso VII.

[324] Bonde, *Fortress-Churches*, 1-10.

and the creation of portcullises. In several cases these features are more decorative than functional, but they reflect the aesthetic of the period as the area entered deeper into the conflict arising from the Cathar and Albigensian heresies and the crusade that followed their spread. None of the churches Bonde discusses were part of fortresses, such as those described at Monzón and Montearagón, but they reflect the idea of defensibility, a feature that Sancha clearly valued.[325]

Sigena, however, does not use machicolation, hoarding, or portcullises. What the site shares with Saint-Pons de Thomiers, Magouleme, and Agde, sites Bonde analyses, is the character of the massive ashlar masonry – designed to emulate the fortresses and monasteries of the turn of the century – the use of towers, and the compact plan. In addition the monastery shares the use of the pointed barrel vault with all three of Bonde's sites. It is the feature that most clearly links the kingdom with the architecture of the French Midi. Certainly this form appears in other areas of France, including Burgundy and Aquitaine, but the largest number of broad pointed vaults at the end of the twelfth century appears in Provence and Aragón; more importantly they continue to be constructed into the following century. Bonde's sites were all begun early in the century. The consistent use of the pointed barrel vault at the end of the century appears isolated within the area of the kingdom of Aragón's domination.

There are no surveys of architecture that focus on the pointed barrel vault construction. Where mention appears, it is in passing and relates to Cistercian architecture and the development of an early Gothic style. A review of the surveys of Romanesque and Gothic architecture in France and Spain, however, presents a clear trend

[325] As noted in the quotation at the beginning of the chapter.

toward this vaulting system.[326] Early Cistercian churches in Catalunya such as Poblet and Santes Creus, and, in Provence, Silvanes and Thoronet (Figure 26) used the pointed barrel vault, but this form did not move into the ribbed vault construction of the next generation of Cistercian churches in eastern Spain and southern France. Instead, builders used the form of the pointed barrel vault at sites such as Notre-Dame-des-Doms in Avignon, Salagon, and Montmajour (Figure 27) as they did in Aragón in the Somontano and Cinco Viñas regions that followed the important royal commissions of Sancha and Alfonso II.

Aragonese cities conquered between 1089 and 1169 did not begin active building campaigns until they received support from Alfonso II and Sancha. Both Guitart Aparicio and Naval Mas have treated this aspect as characteristic of Aragón; Guitart Aparicio goes further, noting that while Aragón maintained what he refers to as proto-Gothic elements, Catalunya moved much more quickly to adopt Gothic forms.[327] Sigena and the construction campaigns in Huesca are at the core of this question.

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[326] Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800-1200* (Middlesex, 1972); Marcel Aubert, *L'architecture cistercienne en France* (Paris, 1947); Marcel Aubert and Simone Goubet, *Romanesque Cathedrals and Abbeys of France* (New York, 1965); and Oliver Eaton Bodington, *The Romance Churches of France: A Manual of French Ecclesiastic Architecture in the Twelfth Century for the Student and the Traveler* (London, 1965).

[327] Cristóbal Guitart Aparicio, "Un grupo de iglesias protogóticas en la 'tierra nueva' de Aragón," *Seminario de arte aragonés*, 25 (1978) 5-45, and Naval Mas, "Arquitectura religiosa," 151-236. Jose M. Establés Elduque describes the same tendency toward "conservative" forms within the area in *Arte románico en el viejo Aragón: Jacetania y Valle del Gállego-Serrablo* (Zaragoza, 1983). Many of the scholars who look at the Romanesque in Aragón, however, tend to ignore this later period; Fernando Galtier Marti for example finds the Romanesque form a consolidation of Lombard and Catalan architecture as creating a distinct indigenous form in the kingdom but does not look at the late twelfth century. See Galtier Marti, "La formación del arte románico aragones," 127-134.

The style developed at Sigena became synonymous with power and royal commission in ways that it did not in Catalunya. Catalunya was a loose confederacy of counties, of which Barcelona was the largest and most powerful. Although the counts of these territories owed fealty to the king of Aragón, they guarded their independence fiercely. It is quite likely that a defined official style would have encouraged many to seek a new form to distinguish them from Aragón. This may explain the persistence of the late Romanesque style in Aragón and not Catalunya, but not the reasoning for the adoption of the style by the monarchs and by Sancha for Sigena in particular, given the options available in Cistercian architecture.

Arrival of Cistercian Gothic Architecture and Its Repercussions

The expansion of the Cistercian order into the kingdom of Aragón received its first royal support from Ramon Berenguer IV with the bequest of land to develop the abbey at Poblet. This was followed closely by the foundation of Santes Creus, in Barcelona, and by Veruela in Aragón.[328] Monks from Fontfroide founded Poblet and Santes Creus; although from a different branch, Veruela too was a 'granddaughter' of Clairvaux.[329]

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[328] Veruela had been founded earlier but royal support arrived later. *Abadia de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1997), 4. Alfonso II followed his father's example in the support of Cistercian houses as well. He and Sancha, as will be discussed below, actively supported and aggrandized the order. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón and Maria Jesús Sánchez Usón, "Alfonso II y el Cister en Aragón," in *El Cister: Ordenes religiosas zaragozanas*, (Zaragoza, 1987), 17-34. For a balance of the shifting patronage of the orders during this period, see Angel Juan Martín Duque, "Política monástica de Alfonso II y Pedro II de Aragón, datos y sugerencias," *VII Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. III (Barcelona, 1-6 October 1962), 41-47.

[329] The foundation of Veruela was not a daughter-house of Fontfroide, but rather of L'Escale Dieu. Both of these monasteries were dependents of Clairvaux. Nicolas

A comparison of Poblet, Veruela, and Fontfroide provides an excellent example of the innovations of the Cistercians at this early date (Figures 28-31). While Fontfroide was a reformed monastery, founded in 1093 by Benedictines, the construction of the church was begun after the reform of 1145 and was likely completed after the major donation of Vicomtess Ermengarde in 1157.[330] This construction makes the church nearly contemporary with the foundations of Veruela (1136) and Poblet (1146). Examination of Fontfroide, Poblet, and Veruela allows a detailed appraisal of mid-century architecture, which balances the expansion of late Romanesque structures that still followed Cluny III, and the beginnings of Cistercian Gothic, which did not reach a fully developed form until the end of the century.

The stylistic connection between Veruela and Poblet is intimate, and Martinez Buenaga, in his authoritative study of Cistercian houses in Aragón, goes so far as to suggest that they initially shared their master mason.[331] Martinez Buenaga pushes the dating of the construction of Veruela to 1160, a date consistent with a close connection between the monasteries.

This connection is made even closer through the involvement of the monarchs, initially Ramon Berenguer IV, and later Alfonso II and Sancha, who actively supported

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D'Andoque, *The Former Cistercian Abbey of Fontfroide* (Moisenay, 2002), 5, and Frederik van der Meer's *Atlas de l'ordre cistercien* (Paris, c.1965).

[330] D'Andoque, *Former Cistercian Abbey*, 40.

[331] Ignacio Martinez Buenaga, *Arquitectura Cisterciense en Aragón (1150-1350)* (Zaragoza, 1998). See also Martinez Buenaga, Javier Jimenez Zarzo, Jose Antonio Martinez Prades, and Jesus Rubio Samper "El Real Monasterio Cisterciense de Veruela y los monasteries navarros de Fitero y La Oliva: vinculaciones formales y signos de cantero," *Actas, III Coloquio de arte aragonés* (Huesca, 1983), 109-128. In this article the connection between Veruela and the earliest of the Cistercian foundations is explored and affirmed. This could suggest the construction moving from Navarra, to Aragón, to Catalunya; although this is not a popular idea, it is not improbable.

both sites – in addition to Santes Creus, Piedra, and Rueda. Sancha was directly involved in financing the construction of the church for the female house of Vallbona de les Monjes, as well, and she is reputed to have founded the monastery of Grisen, no longer extant.[332]

Poblet, Fontfroide, and Veruela follow a basic single nave plan with side aisles. The transept extends east in each case with the addition of chapels on the arms. The naves are all pointed barrel vaults with thick, squared-off ribs defining each bay. The nave arcades have broad pointed arches with simple compound piers. In each case a stringcourse separates the vault from the lower story of the nave, but the upper walls in Poblet and Veruela includes a clerestory. Fontfroide does not have a clerestory.[333] The only windows in the structure are in the apse, the facade, and the side aisles. The windows at Poblet and Veruela are not embellished; massive, simple constructions, they fit into a broad pointed arch and vault that unites the window and arch below that forms the modular unit of the nave. The walls, even with this extra break, maintain the sense of a dense masonry wall identifiable with Catalan Romanesque. The most significant advancement in Poblet is the addition of radiating chapels around the apse. The chapels do not alter the continuity of the nave: they extend from the transept without transforming the fabric of the walls with an ambulatory.[334]

All these monastic churches maintain the form of a late Romanesque structure, although already emphasizing many of the identifiable elements associated with what

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[332] Pano y Ruata, *Santa reina doña Sancha*, 15-16.
[333] In its omission of a clerestory, Fontrfroide resembles the important Cistercian church of Fontenay in Burgundy.
[334] A massive Renaissance altarpiece obscures Poblet's apse, but the same system is evident from the surroundings and the exterior.

would come to be called Cistercian Gothic.[335] On the peninsula the progression can be followed slowly. The presence of elements typically recognized as Gothic arises in the monastic dependencies and particularly in the chapterhouses. Even here, though, the simplicity of the ribbed vaulting maintains a consistency with the architecture of the church. The distinction of style often accompanies the function of the space within the monastery.[336]

During the reign of Alfonso II and Sancha, the Gothic style in architecture began to spread across the continent. The rapid rise of Gothic forms in the Ile-de-France and their transformation at sites such as Laon and Chartres by the end of the twelfth century was not paralleled on Aragonese soil. It was not until the third quarter of the following century that a full Gothic style appeared in the collegiate church of Zaragoza.[337] The arrival of Gothic forms coincided in Aragón with the second wave of Cistercian monasteries, which adopted an austere, simplified version of the style. A similar spread of Cistercian building campaigns emerged in Catalunya and the areas of southern France

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[335] These are of course also the forms referred to as proto-Gothic on the peninsula, most notably by Guitart Aparicio in "Un grupo de iglesias protogoticas," 5-45.

[336] In the monasteries of Poblet and Fontfroide, the broad pointed arch appears in the dormitories; Poblet employs it in the refectory, as well, and its scriptorium adds broad crossing ribs that appear more decorative than structural. In these monasteries the use of ribbed vaults appeared early in the construction of the cloisters. The ribs are broad, not intricately beveled. Narrower vaults of the cloister corridors present a clearer connection to Gothic architecture through the thinner, more sculptural treatment of the rib. This articulation of the ribs appears consistently in the chapter houses of these structures. Four columns sub-divide the chapterhouses; each of these meet eight ribs which come together to create a canopy of lines. The styles of the ribs vary, yet the structure remains strikingly similar. The chapterhouses of both Poblet and Veruela, however, are generally dated to the early part of the thirteenth century.

[337] The slow incorporation of Gothic elements in Aragón and even Catalunya can be found in broad surveys of Gothic architecture in Spain, and particularly in Élie Lambert, *La arquitectura gótica en España en los siglos XII y XIII* (Madrid, 1977). Lambert's work sets the tone for the study of the period.

under the control of the Aragonese monarchs, most notably Provence, and in the Languedoc and Roussillon regions, which owed fealty to the king of Aragón.

Southern France experienced a similarly slow incorporation of Gothic architecture. The conflict that led to the Albigensian crusade had begun, and fortifications became more prevalent than churches. This phenomenon resembled the architectural preference for Romanesque in fortifications on the southern front of the Reconquest in Aragón. The Albigensian Crusade (1209-1255) transformed the architectural landscape of the area to the extent that churches, even Gothic churches, appear fortified. This is not the case only in Albi, the brick exterior of which resembles a fortress with turrets, but also in Toulouse, and even the small church of Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, in southern Provence (Figure 32-33). Fortress churches with heavy Romanesque masonry exhibit the tension of the period, even after the crusade had come to an end.[338]

Builders used pointed arches and ribbed vaults in Provence at the end of the twelfth century. This is not surprising given their existence in Romanesque structures such as Cluny III. This form is actively employed in Provence in the single-nave churches of Cavaillon, Cabestany, and Notre-Dame-des-Doms in Avignon.[339] These all add an extended transept and side chapels to the basic form, but maintain the thick

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[338] Albi is an excellent example, as the interior reveals the articulation of ribs, ribbed groin vaults, and an elaborate fresco cycle. The rather dark structure, however, does not utilize flying buttresses, nor does it open up a large clerestory for light, preferring a solid, self-contained, defensible structure or at least one that gave this appearance. The abundance of Gothic decoration on the interior is largely later in date, yet the structure is solidly late Romanesque. The cathedral of Albi is a late example of this phenomenon (begun c. 1277), but reveals the slow incorporation of Gothic masonry into the area. Paul "The Beginnings of Gothic Architecture in Languedoc," 102-122. See note 42 above for further discussion.

[339] Aldo Bastié, *Les chemins de la Provence romane* (Rennes, 2000),10-12.

articulation of the walls, small windows, and rounded apse. These churches of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries demonstrate a survival of Romanesque forms in southern France, consistent with the use of the same form in Catalunya and Aragón. Alfonso II traveled regularly to Provence, and Sancha accompanied him on at least one occasion, in 1176.[340]

In Aragón construction between the reign of Alfonso I and Ramiro II had lagged, yet the county of Barcelona was prosperous with no succession crisis, and the counts were actively building.[341] During the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV, the Romanesque churches in the style of the turn of the century proliferated and maintained their strong regional character.[342] Churches such as S. María de Llucà, S. María de Vilabertran, S. Maria de L'Estany, Seu de Urgell, S. Pau del Camp, S. Joan de les Abadesses, and Besalú, all from the latter part of the twelfth century, use pointed barrel vaults. This form was also particularly popular in the first campaign of Cistercian architecture in the region – on both sides of the border.

The question, therefore, remains, what elements of Gothic architecture had appeared in Aragón and its counties at the end of the twelfth century? Sancha and Alfonso were aware of the changes in architectural detailing present at their royal Cistercian foundations. They were aware and supportive of the new architecture with their kingdom's resources. Yet the strongest influence present within the royal

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[340] José María Lacarra y de Miguel, "Alfonso II el casto, rey de Aragón y conde de Barcelona," *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1962), 95-120. See also the royal documents edited by Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón, *Alfonso II rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marquez de Provenza: Documentos (1162-1196)* (Zaragoza, 1995).
[341] See page 127 above
[342] Eduard Carbonell I Esteller, *L'art romanic a Catalunya, segle XII: De Sant Pere de Roda a Roda d'Isavena* (Barcelona, 1974).

commissions related to palaces and regular ecclesiastic structures (other than the Cistercians) appears to come from different sources, namely fortress architecture and the persistent need to associate their reign with the strong legitimate kingdoms of the past. The Cistercian lessons, however, provided a counterbalance to these forms. The monastery of Sigena presents the middle ground in the monarchs' patronage.

Sigena and Fortress Architecture

The monastery of Sigena is a compact, consistently articulated architectural unit. The uniform use of a broad pointed barrel vault and a succession of broad pointed transverse arches strongly suggests a rapid construction and immediate occupation of the monastery (Figure 1-2). The documents, too, imply a rapid building campaign: the initial transfer of lands took place in 1184 and the nuns occupied the structure perhaps as early as 1187-1188 or by 1191 at the latest.[343] The monastery was not complete, however, and the 1191 document cited at the beginning of this chapter finds Sancha making provisions for continued construction on the site: she sends a Muslim craftsman to construct a mill and a fortified tower.[344] By 1196 Sancha gave instructions to the abbess regarding procession into the choir of the church, indicating that the church was already in use. Thus the monastery's main construction was likely carried out over approximately fifteen years, between 1184 and 1196. This places the monastery's construction forty years after the beginning of both Veruela and Poblet, and well within the second phase of construction of monasteries that incorporated more Gothic elements.

[343] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 4-5 and 42-43 (documents 4 and 10).
[344] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, 43.

Typically the living areas of a monastery were the first areas built in women's houses, and the most uniform in construction. Space for women to live and the walls to protect and enclose them regularly comprised the initial campaign in monastic construction for women, whereas male foundations began permanent construction with the church.[345] Sigena had the benefit of two small churches already present at the site. Sancha had received them from the Templars in exchange for land in 1184. Given the presence of a worship space, work could proceed immediately on the monastic dependencies. With the exception of the church, the entire structure rose to one level and was built with a broad, slightly pointed diaphragm arch system. It is possible that the construction was initially covered with wooden beams, as in the dormitory in Santes Creus. The only surviving photographs of the interior of the dormitory, refectory, and other dependencies were taken after the destruction of the monastery in 1936.[346] In these photographs only the diaphragm arches and supporting walls survive; the ceiling was destroyed. The construction at Poblet and Santes Creus both relied on this technical structure, but the builders at Sigena made a unique adaptation. They designed the dormitory to extend around a corner of the structure, an unusual decision given the standard forms of monastic organization. The transformation of the corner unifies the space and was probably wrought to create a shared dormitory for all of the novices and nuns, as Sancha's customary specified.[347] It also reflects the ability of the builders to conform to the queen's specifications for her monastery.

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[345] Stylistic evidence provides the strongest argument for this trend.
[346] Walter F. Oakeshott includes the photographic documentation in *Sigena: Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists* (London, 1972).
[347] The form has more in common with ribs radiating from a central column, such as in San Baudelio de Berlanga or in the Cistercian chapter houses above. The unusual aspect

The chapterhouse of Sigena was the only space to be fully photographed before the destruction of the site. It maintained the use of the same vaulting system, but was elaborate in its decoration. Whereas the Cistercian houses created a distinction architecturally between chapter house and the other areas of the monastery – including the church – Sigena creates it through decorative embellishment. Perhaps, again, it reflects the speed of execution that a single system of construction was used for the entirety of the structure and that decoration was relied on as a means of highlighting certain areas. The chapter house blended an exquisite Sicilian-Byzantine fresco cycle and Mudejar geometric wooden paneling in the flat spaces in between the diaphragm arches.[348] It was Sigena's most extolled feature, the aspect of the monastery that has caused scholars to return to a site that otherwise might have fallen into oblivion because of its conservative use of Romanesque in an area where examples of early Gothic architecture had begun to appear.

Although all the monastic dependencies at Sigena wrapped closely around the cloister with the same system of construction, the church is accentuated through scale and structure. Sigena's church follows a Latin cross plan, with an extended transept, round apse and adjoining chapels. It has a single nave, no side aisles, no clerestory or gallery, and opens to the exterior from the bay west of the south transept. With the exception of

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of this feature is its attachment to a wall and not a column. The construction resembles the formation of ribs that might cross a dome in Mudejar or Gothic architecture. There is a consistency in the Cistercian monasteries in Spain in that the chapterhouses appear to be built in a later campaign of construction. They tend to reveal a greater tendency toward the Gothic in the extending and thinning of their ribbed vaults growing from four central columns. The ribs in this case are usually lighter and more sculptural than other areas in the monastery. See Chapter II for a discussion of Sancha's rule/customary.

[348] Karl Frederick Schuller, *The Pictorial Program of the Chapterhouse of Sigena* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1995), 149-196.

the pointed barrel vault the church could be confused with a construction from the early part of the century. In doing so it specifically looks backward and thus rejects both the Romanesque of the middle of the century and the new forms available in Cistercian architecture. With the incorporation of the pointed barrel vault, it follows the austere, monumental quality of early Romanesque art associated with the era of kingdom formation in Aragón.

Sancha's Patronage and Serós

Sancha's patronage decisively influenced the architecture of Aragón. Her preference for the more conservative styles of the turn of the century emerges clearly at her monastery in Sigena, over which she had complete oversight. The style made a strong political statement of continuity after the succession crises of the previous decades. Alfonso I, the last powerful king of the realm, had not been a builder, nor was he known for his generosity toward the contemplative orders. Sancha's preference recalled the reign of the early kings who had adopted and defined the style of the new kingdom with the Romanesque, and whose architecture had echoes of her native León. Sancha's dedication to Sigena was complete. She ruled over the abbess, provided most of the early land and wealth, promised to take vows there after her husband's death, a vow she fulfilled, and adopted it as her burial site. In doing this, Sancha linked herself to the fate of the monastery. Sancha was following a model of pious queenship, a model

that had a powerful exemplar in Aragón: the countess of Urgell, Sancha, daughter of Ramiro I.[349]

The countess had played an important political and religious role in the reign of her brother Sancho Ramirez.[350] Once a widow, she retired to the monastery of Santa Cruz de la Serós with her sisters and funded the construction of the Church of Serós (Figure 34-36). Her brother, however, called her out when he needed her advice or administrative and negotiating skills. She helped administer Pamplona during crises and even appears to have been placed in charge of the ecclesiastic affairs with Bishop Garcia for a period of time.[351] She was a powerful role model for the young queen, and her monastery of Serós was still the most important monastery for noblewomen in the realm.

The queen had had her own example in her aunt, Sancha of León, with the intimate connection between power and religious patronage at San Isidoro de León. Like her aunt in León and the countess Sancha in Aragón, queen Sancha perceived the need for a clear base of power that affirmed her piety. Both of these predecessors had reigned over powerful monasteries that were associated with the development of the Romanesque in their respective kingdoms. This style must have had a strong association with power, deep faith, and, in Aragón, military might. Sancha could not have missed the early stages of Gothic forming in the Cistercian houses she funded. Her choice however, was to set the new style aside in favor of a form that portrayed the strength of the kingdom and its past.

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[349] As discussed in the previous chapter.
[350] Buesa Conde and Simon, *Condesa doña Sancha*, 37-51 and González Miranda, "Condesa doña Sancha," 185-202.
[351] Buesa Conda, 38.

Sancha's foundation at Sigena had to compete not only with Serós for favor among the nobility, both for financial support and novices, but also with two contemporary Cistercian monasteries. Both Casbas and Vallbona de les Monges are earlier sites. The countess Oria of Pallars had founded Casbas in 1172, over a decade before Sigena. It was the first female house of the Cistercian order in Aragón.[352] Casbas was one of the very few Cistercian houses that did not receive any support from Sancha. Sancha's support of the Cistercians was second only to her support of the Hospitallers, and Sancha is said to have founded the Cistercian Grisen – no longer extant – before she founded Sigena.[353] The only documents that link Sancha to Casbas are the joint recognition with Alfonso II of the lands of the monastery.[354] Sancha must have perceived Casbas as a rival to Sigena, particularly since Oria had also made similar connections through architecture to Serós.

The architecture of Casbas is Romanesque, and it incorporated the chrismon on the tympanum of the portal (Figure 37).[355] A feature that had appeared on Serós' tympanum, it was ubiquitous in the early Aragonese Romanesque. It was a clear affirmation of the primacy of the site, as it connected the monastery not only to Serós, but also to Jaca. The only use of a broad pointed arch is in the entry into the complex, which

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[352] The issue of primacy was discussed in the previous chapter.
[353] Pano y Ruata, *Reina santa doña Sancha*, 15-16.
[354] Not a gift, but through the recognition of its status and property it established the official boundaries of the monastery's lands. Agustin Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Casbas* (Valencia, 1966). As noted in Chapter I, it was unusual for Alfonso II to author a document along with Sancha. Her presence in the document, suggests some agency on the part of the queen. The documents do not appear, however, until after Sigena had been clearly established.
[355] For a study of the importance of the form to Aragón see "El crimson trinitario en las tierras de Aragón" in *Seminario de arte aragonés* and for a focus on the earlier sources Domingo Iturgaiz Ciriza, *El crimson románico en Navarra: Cuanca de Pamplona* (Pamplona, 1998).

opens onto a courtyard before arriving at the portal of the church; it was likely a later addition.

Vallbona de les Monjes had been a hermitage, then a double monastery, prior to its reform into a Cistercian monastery for women in 1174 under the auspices of Sancha and Alfonso.[356] Sancha also provided for the construction of the church in 1197, after her husband's death.[357] The church of Vallbona is a building that reveals clear divisions in its fabric (Figure 38). The walls of the church reflect Sancha's preference for massive constructions, small windows, and pointed vaults. The ceiling of the nave, however, reflects the changing aesthetic in Catalunya in the second quarter of the thirteenth century; the Gothic remodeling also included the use of the ribbed vault construction. The new church also added larger windows on the east-west axis of the church, opening up the apse to a large clear stained glass window that included a triple lancet form. The late Romanesque construction can also be found in the cloister, though again, the ribbed vaulting of the corridors was added later. The austerity of the form appears on the portal where a series of simple archivolts frames an image of the Madonna and Child in the tympanum. The style of this tympanum is Romanesque, suggesting the survival of the early church's portal. The completion of the new church and vaulting was likely the result of Sancha's substantial donation.[358] Both Casbas and Vallbona used the tympanum to convey a message iconographically. Each announced its role through traditional iconic

[356] Josep Joan Piquer i Jover, *Monasterio de Vallbona de les Monges* (Barcelona, 1988), 4-5, see also Josep-Joan Piquer i Jover, "Cartulari de Vallbona (1157-1665), *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 37 (1975): 67-109.
[357] Piquer i Jover, "Cartulari de Vallbona," 67-109.
[358] Piquer i Jover, *Monasterio*, 85.

constructions, using the chrismon and the image of the Virgin and Child respectively. Sigena, instead, affirmed the austerity of the order through the architecture.

Sigena's portal consists of sixteen repeated arches framing the entrance (Figure 39). The sixteen repeated arches on a portal are unique on the peninsula. The repetition of four, six, or eight archivolts is common, but not sixteen. The format resembles the entry into the church of the Cistercian monastery of Veruela in that both lack a tympanum and use of repeated solid unadorned archivolts. The lack of tympanum was certainly not original to either site; earlier buildings like Estella, Tudela, and Uncastillo on the pilgrimage roads contain highly elaborate geometric or figural sculpture on the archivolts, but choose not to add a tympanum (Figure 40).[359] Both Veruela and Sigena, however, simplify the volumes; Sigena goes further, though, to use a simple extended porch without any decoration above the arch or in the spandrels.

In the construction of the porch, Sigena and Casbas both rely on Serós. They use the gabled porch, the repeated arches, and at Casbas the chrismon. Given that the chrismon had already been used so recently and prominently at a competing institution, the form was rejected at Sigena. Instead the structure of the arch was used to provide the visual marker of the institution. The austerity of form is consistent with the interior, the massive monumental quality expressed in the broad span of the ashlar masonry, and the dependence on the forms of the past. Sancha's mason balanced the forms of the new with a reliance on the past and established a new royal style connected primarily with the queen.

[359] Mickey Abel Turby, "portals" (Ph.D. University of Texas at Austin, 2003?).

The portal is an excellent example of the choices made at Sigena that link the site to the foundation of the kingdom in the previous century without appearing retardataire. In essence, the mason created a form that identified a new government without losing the strong sense of continuity and legitimacy the monarchs needed. Through the adoption of this design Sancha and Alfonso II created a new royal style that would be followed in Aragón for another generation, especially in areas of repopulation.

Sancha's construction of Sigena crystallized a specific court style that balanced civic, military, and ecclesiastical needs with a program of legitimacy and power linking it to the city of Huesca. The choice of Huesca as a visual center for the architectural program was a powerful statement: it was the seat of government of Aragón, , it was the original capital of the Visigothic kingdom both in the religious and political spheres, and it had been retaken by the last uncontested heir to the kingdom. The decision to move the bishop's seat back to its original location was not without conflict; Jaca was associated with Ramiro, first king of the realm, and had been the see for over a century. The re-establishment of the see at Huesca needed a visual marker that could suggest both continuity with the past and a new direction. Sancha aided this political program by solidifying the association with the new royal style in the construction of Sigena.

In the use of new architectural forms but traditional masonry and construction, the architecture of palace, cathedral, and royal monastic house linked past and present; power of the new was achieved through scale and the piety of the monarchs repeated in their patronage of the cathedral and monastic house. Sancha also succeeded in creating a close connection between her house and the power of the realm. Sigena's abbess was second only in authority to the queen – and successive queens for another century – and the

monastery provided the space for continual remembrance of Sancha and her family through burial and prayers. Sigena's architecture may be conservative and may disregard the growing movement toward the Gothic in Cistercian architecture: Sancha chose a style that affirmed the continuity and legitimacy of the new dynasty. Rather than emulate the Cistercians or the architecture of northern France, Sancha's builders used a style that could link all the areas of the kingdom, Aragón, Barcelona, and Provence, simultaneously presenting the primacy of the royal seat of government. The choices at Las Huelgas and in Castilla were dramatically different.

The Patronage of Alfonso VIII of Castilla and Leonor Plantagenet in the Early Incorporation of Gothic Architecture on the Peninsula

The architecture of the kingdom of Castilla as Alfonso VIII came of age was very similar to that of Aragón: a mature Romanesque style prevailed. Contrary to Aragón, however, Castilla provided fertile ground for the new Gothic forms. Simultaneous with Alfonso's attempt to distinguish his realm from León, a greater emphasis on new form developed. This included not only the incorporation of Mudejar influence drawn from reconquered territories and from assimilated Muslims, but also a wholehearted adoption of new forms coming from northern France and England. The policy of linking Castilla to northern, non-Iberian powers had begun with Alfonso VI, his multiple French wives, his use of French knights in the Reconquest, and his patronage and support of Cluny and

its Spanish dependencies.[360] The marriage of Alfonso VIII to Leonor Plantagenet brought new life to this policy, and her influence on the architectural patronage of the realm was substantial.

The divergent architectural developments in the last quarter of the twelfth century also reflect the different political situations that Alfonso VIII of Castilla and Alfonso II of Aragón inherited. Alfonso II was consolidating a new dynasty that unified two neighboring territories. His inheritance through his mother complicated his rule. Alfonso VIII inherited through the agnatic line; his struggle to affirm his power and legitimacy was that of a boy king who needed to affirm his power over those who had reigned in his name, the Lara nobles, and those who would have taken power from him, his uncle Fernando II of León.[361]

At his grandfather's death, the most important religious and architectural centers of the combined kingdom were in León. The great churches at Santiago de Compostela and San Isidoro de León on the pilgrimage roads were nearing completion. This situation provided the new king with more freedom in how to define his rule visually and allowed Castilla to become the locus of Gothic innovation on the peninsula. It is in this territory that High Gothic first arrived. In the process of adoption of the new style, the monarchs presented themselves as open to new ideas and to new monastic orders. They also affirmed the connections with the center of royal continental power, and at once embraced the new lands they oversaw.

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[360] See Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Princeton, 1988).

[361] For a discussion of Alfonso's early years, see Julio González's *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1960) and Gonzalo Martínez Diez, *Alfonso VIII, rey de Castilla y Toledo* (Burgos, 1995).

Leonor and Alfonso VIII founded the monastery of Las Huelgas in 1187 and created for the site a closer relationship to the royal house than at any of the other Cistercian houses they supported. This relationship has generally been ascribed to Leonor's devotion to the site.[362] Her connections to Las Huelgas have been described in the previous chapter; they included the promise to take vows at the monastery and be buried there, and sending her daughter Constanza into religious life there. Given these strong connections to the site, and the vast resources and oversight given to the building of the monastery, Las Huelgas was the clearest marker of an official style of the monarchs. The construction of Las Huelgas began with a style consistent with late twelfth-century interest in Mudejar architecture and reflected the interest in the decorative qualities of the style in palace architecture.[363] Early Gothic forms quickly began to be used in the public areas of the monastery, however. In this development Leonor's French background had a profound influence.

Because architecture changed dramatically in response to divergent influences in the territory, I will begin by looking at the development of Mudejar influence in frontier cathedrals. This influence appeared primarily in the adoption of decorative architectural elements, rather than structural techniques. These decorative additions quickly became markers for wealth and power in the secular realm. The next major trend in the area was

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[362] Valentín de la Cruz, "El enigma de Doña Leonora," *Reales Sitios* 27 (1990): 65-68; Fidel Fita, "Elogio a la reina de Castilla," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Historia* 53 (1908): 411; Jesús María Jabato Saro, "Los monarcas fundadores: Don Alfonso VIII y doña Leonora de Inglaterra," *Reales Sitios* 92 (1987): 56-57. This is also the case in chronicles of the period, see chapter I for more detailed discussion.

[363]It has also been suggested that a palace already existed on the site prior to it becoming a monastery. While popular in the nineteenth century, this idea has been discredited by modern scholarship; if there was a palace on the site no evidence of it appears to have survived.

the construction, as in Aragón, of Cistercian monasteries. While the monastic order had been in the territory for half a century, the growth of the order had relied on reform of existing monasteries rather than the bequest of new lands and construction of new buildings. Alfonso and Leonor actively supported new construction, and their nobles followed suit, and it is in these constructions that early Gothic forms appeared.[364]

The monastery of Las Huelgas had a powerful effect on the incorporation of Gothic elements on the peninsula; it defined the style and pushed bishops to take the next step in the following century. Las Huelgas also blends Mudejar decoration and Gothic structure and opens up the possibilities of using these elements outside secular structures. Leonor had a profound effect on the adoption of the new style and the merging of the different forms.

The Architecture of Castilla at Mid-Century

At the death of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla in 1157 the kingdom of Castilla was bequeathed to his elder son, Sancho III, and the kingdom of León to Fernando II. This division of the kingdom left the two most important architectural centers – Santiago de Compostela and León – outside the Castilian kingdom. Exacerbating this situation, Sancho III did not live long enough to establish a pattern of patronage or even to favor a particular religious order. After a year in power, Sancho III died, leaving his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII, as heir. Alfonso was an orphan; his mother, Blanca of Navarre,

[364] María Jesús Alonso Malcón provides the most detailed study of this relationship, but it can be found through documentary evidence in the various monastic cartularies. Alonso Malcon, "Relaciones entre el Cister y la nobleza durante los siglos XII y XIII: Un ejemplo leonés," *Cistercium: Revista monástica* 207 (1997): 921-933.

had died during childbirth.[365] The regency of the realm fell to the Lara family until Alfonso's coming of age and marriage to Leonor Plantagenet in 1170.[366]

Alfonso inherited a realm that eighty years of Reconquest had heavily influenced. In essence, there were two capitals in the kingdom: Burgos, the seat of government of the original county of Castilla, and Toledo, conquered by Alfonso VI and subsequently expanded. This territorial enlargement had enriched the kingdom dramatically, an enrichment that also expressed itself stylistically. The conquest of Islamic territories brought together an amalgam of Islamic architecture native to the land, Romanesque architecture of the north, and Mudejar forms of the assimilated Islamic craftsmen. The employment of Muslim masons and artisans in Christian territories, at the core of the concept of Mudejar architecture, appeared first in palaces.[367] The style became a sign of luxury and military power in the conversion of existing *taifa* palaces in conquered territory. While Mudejar forms appeared in palace architecture in Toledo and other frontier cities, Romanesque forms with elements of Mudejar decoration dominated religious construction.[368] This early and conservative blend of styles preceded the

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[365] For further discussion see chapter I.

[366] González, *Reino de Castilla*, 150-179. Jerrilyn Dodds notes that the term Mudejar is primarily a stylistic and not an ethnic term. While primarily associated with Muslim craftsmen because the style incorporates elements of Islamic architecture, particularly decorative motifs, Mudejar structures were most likely carried out by Christian and Jewish craftsmen as well. Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Mudejar Tradition in Architecture," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, vol. 2 (Leiden, 2002), 592-598.

[367] María Teresa Pérez Higuera, "El mudejar, una opción artistica en la corte de Castilla y León," *Historia de Arte de Castilla y León*, vol. 4, *Arte Mudejar* (Valladolid, 1996), 129-222, and in the same volume Manuel Valdés Fernández, "Arte de los siglos XII a XV y la cultura mudejar," 9-128; See also Miguel-Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los mudejares en los reinos de la Corona de Castilla: Estado actual de se estudio," *Actas del III Simposio internacional de mudejarismo* (Teruel, 1986), 5-20.

[368] José Camón Aznar and Leopoldo Torres Balbás break down the differences in dome structure in "La boveda gótico-morisca de la capilla de Talavera en la catedral vieja de

dramatic Mudejar forms in southern Aragón a century later. This adoption of Mudejar elements was reticent, however, and appears either as a decorative embellishment in stucco detailing or in an austere structural transformation of specific areas, particularly domes and rib vaults. These new architectural forms appeared poised for extensive use as markers of a new realm but were eventually superseded by the adoption of the imported French style.

When Alfonso VIII inherited the kingdom, the most important constructions on the frontier were the cathedrals of Zamora and Salamanca, on the western edge of the kingdom, begun in 1151 and 1152.[369] The treatment of their domes is a dramatic fusion of Romanesque and Mudejar forms. The use of repetition and decorative geometric patterning appears in Zamora where sixteen ribs subdivide its dome (Figures 41). The ribwork of domes under Islamic construction activates and subdivides the dome in a multiple of eight – a number having celestial meaning in Islamic numerology.[370] Alternating colors of the voussoirs at Zamora emphasize the ribs. This practice is similar, although not identical, to the vaults of the mosque of Cordoba. Yet the most typical identifier of an Islamic dome – that the ribs do not meet at the center – is not present.

Salamanca," *Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada* 5 (1940): 174-178. See also David Raizman's discussion in "The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of Mudejar Architecture in Toledo," *Gesta* 38/2 (1999): 128-141. Much of the discussion of Mudejar influence in church decoration often includes extensive sections on Las Huelgas. This is the case with Angela Franco, "Caractéres islamiques et mudéjars dans l'architecture des monastères cisterciens de femmes en Castille et Léon," *Cîteaux et les femmes*, ed. Bernadette Barrière and Marie-Elizabeth Henneau (Paris, 2001), 82-98; Rosario Mazuela, "Arte mudejar en Burgos: Las huellas musulmanas en Las Huelgas y en el Hospital del Rey," *Reales Sitios* 92 (1987): 37-69; and José María Azcárate i Ristori, "La capilla de Santiago en Las Huelgas de Burgos," *Reales Sitios* 8/28 (1971): 49-62.

[369] Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura*, 257-259.

[370] Camón Aznar, "Boveda gótica-morisca," 174-178.

The decorative, rather than the structural, elements are assimilated. Furthermore, a geometric stringcourse that isolates the drum windows from the ribs follows the style of Frómista, León, and Jaca.[371] While the influence of Mudejar elements can be found on the interior, it is the exterior of Zamora's dome that is its most idiosyncratic aspect. Rather than a plain masonry dome, the exterior is embellished through the manipulation of the stone roof tiles. Roughly rounded, the dome appears to undulate with a sea of waves encircling the form. The tradition of embellishing the exterior of domes is characteristic of Islamic structures; Zamora does not integrate colored tile, but does manipulate the tiles to activate the exterior of the dome.[372]

The dome of the Torre del Gallo at the cathedral of Salamanca refines this idea further (Figure 42). The tower uses highly articulated masonry and pointed arches to extend the height of the dome. This change in dome structure reflects the slow incorporation of *proto-Gothic* elements in the area.[373] The format of Salamanca's tower is remarkably similar to Zamora's, with the exception that eight ribs rather than sixteen form the dome. In both structures the architectural embellishment combines the expansion of Romanesque and Mudejar decorative trends. The architectural manipulation allowed for the expansion of the materiality of the stone and its possibilities for pattern embellishment.

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[371] Described in the previous section.

[372] The dome also adds four turrets. The addition of three windows in each turret changed the pattern of numbers from exterior to interior. The interior sixteen windows in the drum becomes twenty-four on the exterior. The dome thus plays with multiples of the number eight, a number system found in both mosque and mausoleum architecture in the Islamic world.

[373] Here I use "proto-Gothic" with all its implications for a development of elements from Romanesque into Gothic. There is no evidence that the use of pointed arches here is Gothic influenced, more likely it is a transformation of pointed arches from the south and a development growing in Romanesque forms.

The domes of the collegiate church of Toro and of the cathedral of Orense, both begun in 1160, followed within the decade and continued in this stylistic line. While Toro is well within the realm, Orense is on the boundary between Galicia, León, and Castilla. The cathedral of Orense exposes the taste of the period for elaborate drums and domes and also unveils the beginning of the expansion of Gothic forms into the kingdom. It continues the subdivision of the windows in the octagonal drum, but incorporated extended ribwork, pointed arches, and ribbed vaults. The most complex vaulting is a later addition, but the early cathedral reveals the form of the pointed rib vault structure.

All of the cathedrals mentioned above are Romanesque buildings that manipulate the decorative form of Islamic domes. The domes of the cathedrals, however, are but one element in the construction of these Romanesque structures. Zamora, Salamanca, Orense, Toro are Romanesque in their interior fabric including the use of ashlar masonry, their layout, and structure. These churches all relate to the expansion of Cluniac dependencies in Spanish territories.[374] Two cathedrals suggest a further division in style based on connection to monastic orders. In the 1180s Mudejar elements begin to appear in both proto-Gothic and early Gothic structures associated with the Cluniac and Cistercian orders respectively. This influence will more clearly be seen in Las Huelgas' La Asunción chapel discussed below.

The cathedral of Avila balances the new structural and decorative trends found in the previous sites, while maintaining the characteristics of a Romanesque great church (Figure 43). The burial of Bishop Sancho in the cathedral of Avila in 1181 suggests that

[374] Barral i Altet, "Observaciones," 925-941, and Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "Cluny y los origenes del románico palentino: El contexto de San Martín de Frómista," *Jornadas sobre el arte de las ordenes religiosas en Palencia* (Palencia, 1989), 9-27. See also the discussion of the reform in chapter II.

a substantial part of the construction had been completed by this date.[375] The cathedral follows closely the pilgrimage church model of Santiago de Compostela, but adds pointed arches in the nave arcade as found at Cluny III.[376] Lambert has closely connected this cathedral with the church of Vezelay in Burgundy in groundplan, elevation, and style of ribwork. While both sites include elements of the Gothic form, the proportion of glass to wall has not been altered. This impedes the plays of light and height associated with Gothic forms in the north. Indeed, whereas Avila presents connections with the Cluniac churches of northern France, the first cathedral identified as early Gothic is Cuenca, which is closely associated with the Cistercian order. The cathedral of Cuenca, linked to the patronage of Alfonso VIII and Leonor, presented an important alternative to Romanesque and Mudejar trends, one that would succeed in the religious architecture of the realm. Cuenca combines a number of current trends blending Mudejar elements, proto-Gothic structure, and Cistercian early Gothic forms.

The Cathedral of Cuenca, Cistercian Architecture, and the Advent of Gothic Architecture

Alfonso VIII conquered the city of Cuenca in 1177.[377] Seat of government of a wealthy *taifa*, the city sat atop a rocky enclave that provided natural defenses. The conquest of the city revealed Alfonso's desire to extend his kingdom east, and particularly to take the powerful *taifa* of Valencia later conquered by Aragón. The

[375] Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura*, 260.
[376] Lambert, 54-58.
[377] Lambert, 153.

beginning of the construction of the cathedral of Cuenca is usually linked to the donations of Alfonso VIII in 1183 and 1188.[378] The altar was consecrated in 1207 or 1208, in large part thanks to the consistent financial assistance of the king. The construction of the cathedral, however, continued into the 1250s.[379]

The cathedral of Cuenca is basilical in plan with single side aisles flanking the nave (Figures 44-45). A prolonged apse extends from the crossing. Lacking a triforium, the transition between nave arcade and clerestory was again created through a simple stringcourse. Two blind polylobed lancets, elements associated with Mudejar decorative elements, lead to a small rose window that forms the clerestory windows. The crossing tower consists of a more conservative square construction with two levels of lancet windows. Sexpartite vaults cover the nave. Simple foliate capitals are consistent with the design of Cistercian capitals in the area.

The importance of Cuenca to the king is revealed not only in financial assistance but also in the power accorded to the bishops of the see. Bishop Julian (1128-1208) was but the first of Cuenca's bishops to have a strong connection with the royal city of Burgos. The bishop of Cuenca appears in royal documents regularly alongside the bishops of Toledo and Burgos, and Cuenca may have been a stepping-stone in the ascension to the see of Toledo, the most powerful of Castilla.[380] Lambert, Karge, and d'Emilio have all related the architectural style of Cuenca to the mature Gothic cathedral

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[378] Jesús Bermejo Diez, *La catedral de Cuenca* (Barcelona, 1977), 9. Lambert, however, argues that the construction likely did not begin until the tenure of Bishop Julian in 1195. Lambert, 156.

[379] Bermejo Diez, 10-17 and Lambert 153-157. It could be argued it never was completed; the blind clerestory suggests stained glass was intended but never incorporated.

[380] Lambert, 156.

of Burgos, begun in the 1220s, and to the Cistercian monasteries of Las Huelgas and Huerta.[381] This later connection is particularly important, as it relates the earliest Gothic cathedral in Castilla with Cistercian architecture. Lambert further associates the early Gothic style with the Franco-Burgundian structure of Saint-Yved at Braine and Notre-Dame at Dijon, buildings loosely connected with Laon and Soissons.[382]

Given the early construction of these sites the connections seem feasible, particularly with the arrival of Leonor Plantagenet from northern France.[383] Stylistically Braine and Cuenca share a similar aesthetic. In both, sexpartite vaults link to thinly orchestrated beveled ribs on compound piers and use geometric patterns on stringcourses and archivolts. Cuenca has a clear division in construction at the crossing, most visible in the construction of the clerestory. It is the later construction of the nave that shares a connection with the cathedral of Burgos, a fully Gothic building. Cuenca has a less dramatic height, less emphasis on the subdivision of decorative motifs, especially in the stained glass, and does not include a triforium or gallery. It does maintain the importance of the crossing tower, although we see a distancing from the stylistic preference for Mudejar forms at earlier sites.

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[381] Lambert, 157-159; Henrik Karge, *La catedral de Burgos y la arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España* (Valladolid, 1995); and James d'Emilio, "Royal Convent."
[382] The stylistic connections with Braine appear quite clear, those to Dijon less so.
[383] Lambert, 157-158. Lambert dismisses Leonor's agency in the adoption of the style. He rejects the connection of Cuenca with Anglo-Norman masons, favoring the Burgundian connection. During the period, however, Burgundian forms were also appearing in England through Cistercian architecture. See Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton, 1984), 54-69, and David Robinson, ed., *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far From the Concourse of Man* (London, 1998), 44-49. The connections between the development of Gothic forms in Norman territories, such as Saint-Etienne in Caen, should also not be dismissed.

The appearance of early Gothic elements in a non-Cistercian site, however, suggests the early support on the part of the monarchs for this new style. Whereas the monarchs of Aragón chose to maintain the structure of Romanesque form even as the Cistercian alternative presented itself, the Castilian choice was dramatically different. The eager incorporation of new architectural developments, first in the incorporation of Cistercian Gothic and then in a full-bodied Gothic form in the cathedrals of Toledo and Burgos, placed Castilla at the forefront of architectural developments on the peninsula. The influence of Leonor Plantagenet's patronage of monastic orders or architectural style should not be underestimated.[384] Cistercian Gothic in particular marked the expansion of Gothic architecture on the peninsula, as noted above for Aragón, yet in Castilla the form was adopted wholeheartedly not only in monasteries but also in cathedrals, Cuenca being the prime example. Alfonso VIII and Leonor were avid patrons of the Cistercians.[385] These early Gothic structures paved the way for the innovations decades later under Fernando II and his mother Berenguela. Berenguela and Fernando completed the construction of the Cistercian monasteries begun under their predecessors Alfonso VIII and Leonor and expanded the Gothic presence in their foundations.

At the same time as the monasteries of Poblet, Veruela, and Santes Creus were under construction in Aragón, Huerta, Valbuena, and Las Huelgas were being built in Castilla. These Cistercian monasteries were not the sole beneficiaries of the support of

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[384] In the study of the development of Gothic architecture Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada has always been ascribed a powerful role. As archbishop of Toledo, advisor to both Alfonso VIII and Fernando III, Ximenez de Rada is credited with the arrival of High Gothic architecture in Toledo in the 1220s. He had studied in Paris, and was decisive in the decision to convert the mosque of Toledo into a Gothic cathedral. Lambert, 196-200. Ximenez de Rada's role, however, falls to a later moment. Leonor was his precursor in the quest to develop the Gothic form in the kingdom.

[385] As noted in chapter II.

Alfonso VIII and Leonor, nor were they the earliest foundations. Yet Alvarez Palenzuela's study has demonstrated that the greatest number of new foundations occurred during their reign.[386] Prior to this, the expansion of the order was mostly limited to the reform of existing Cluniac monasteries. In terms of construction, Alfonso VIII and Leonor granted the territories and wealth to aid in the erection of the great churches of the order.[387]

The support of the monarchs may well be responsible for the distinction between sites that maintained the Romanesque architecture of mid-century and those that adopted the early Gothic forms. Monasteries such as Sacremenia, Moreruela, and the women's houses of Gradefes and Carrizo were founded in the 1140s and 1150s and maintained the strong Romanesque tendencies of the mid-century even though their construction was still underway at the end of the century.[388] While Valbuena and Huerta were also founded in this period, construction of the church and dependencies were later and mark the advent of early Gothic forms associated with the French Cistercian style.

In Aragón the strong presence of the military orders and fortress architecture had a great impact on royal architectural patronage. In Castilla the divide between fortress and monastic architecture appears starker, perhaps because of the clearer division between secular and religious architecture. The military orders certainly found support in the monarchy and helped defend its southern boundaries, but they did not have the strong presence of the Hospital or Templar orders in Aragón. Furthermore, the greatest support

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[386] Vicente-Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla (siglos XII-XIII)* (Valladolid, 1978), 239-241.
[387] José Carlos Valle Pérez, "La implantación cisterciense en los reinos de Castilla y León y su reflejo monumental," *Monjes y monasterios: El Cister en el medievo de Castilla y León*, ed. Isidro G. Bango Torviso (Valladolid, 1998), 35-42.
[388] Alonso Malcon, 921-933.

for the military orders in the territory was for the native orders that could more easily be controlled by the monarchy and that did not have to defend other borders in the Middle East.[389] The order of Calatrava was but the first of these, followed by the order of Santiago. In addition, their architecture has not survived to the extent that it did in Aragón. The growing Gothic forms, however, only penetrated the fortress churches, and then only starkly. The arrival of Gothic architecture appears clearly within the monastic sphere and with the cathedrals associated with monasteries.

Lambert identified two major Cistercian Gothic movements, and Yarza modified them to present two distinct forms in the arrival of early Gothic architecture in the realm.[390] These tendencies can be seen in the distinctions between the Cistercian foundations of Valbuena and Huerta. The sites were roughly contemporary, and both exhibit a strong Gothicizing force. Valbuena is likely earlier and has been linked to the Aragonese site of Veruela and the Catalan Poblet and Santes Creus (Figures 46).[391] Lambert has identified all of these sites as Hispano-Languedocian Gothic architecture. In the process of successive influence, the foundations link to Morimond, as the distant mother-house, through the southern monasteries of Fontfroide and Flarans, both in the broadly defined Languedoc region. This is the form already discussed above in the section on Aragonese Cistercian architecture. Valbuena follows within this tradition,

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[389] Derek W. Lomas, *Las ordenes militares en la peninsula ibérica durante la edad media* (Salamanca, 1976), 10-11; Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Houndmills, 1992), 23-31.
[390] Lambert, 77-117; Yarza, *Arte y arquitectura*, 339; and José María Azcárate, *Arte gótico en España* (Madrid, 2000), 12-18.
[391] Lambert, 102-104.

refining and developing the form along the way, using quadripartite vault structure rather than a pointed barrel or diaphragm arch, for example.[392]

The movement of the Aragonese-Languedoc style in a westward fashion that connects the architecture of Valbuena to Poblet follows a certain logic of stylistic influence, even though these houses did not have a mother daughter relationship. This progression suggests that the stylistic influence appears through contact and shared affiliation.

The anomaly is the development within Castilla of a style associated with the north of France, rather than the south. This second style appears in Huerta, Las Huelgas, and the cathedrals of Cuenca and Siguenza. Lambert has called these four structures Franco-Burgundian due to their close stylistic relationship with Saint-Yved of Braine and Notre-Dame of Dijon, both of which follow the construction of Laon Cathedral. Yarza prefers to call them Anglo-Norman, perhaps recognizing the role of Leonor Plantagenet in the advancement of this style. The monasteries of Huerta and Las Huelgas, placed next to the structure of Valbuena, show a greater proximity to the architecture of the Ile-de-France, though never to the point of pushing the form towards that of Notre-Dame de Paris.[393] Instead the sophistication of quadripartite vaults and appearance of sexpartite vaults, the thinning of engaged columns, and the expansion of the clerestory all point to the influence of early Gothic forms of northern France.

The cathedral of Siguenza bridges the two early Gothic styles (Figures 47). The first master followed the Languedoc form, including the use of quadripartite vaulting.

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[392] Yarza, 340-346.
[393] This would have to wait for the construction of the cathedral of Toledo in the 1220s when Ximenez de Rada was archbishop of the See. Azcárate, *Arte gótico*, 35-38.

This first construction was likely completed circa 1169, but it underwent substantial changes with the addition of the chapterhouse and cloisters in the 1180s. Geographically, Siguenza is near Huerta, and Lambert suggests a close link between them, perhaps even the sharing of an architect.[394] The connection has also been made in terms of administration, since both Siguenza and Huerta had ties to Martín de Finojosa, who was abbot of Huerta prior to becoming archbishop of Siguenza. Martín also had close connection with Las Huelgas, taking an active role in its foundation as well as in gaining the privilege of motherhouse for the monastery from Citeaux.[395] The heavy quality of Cuenca Cathedral is gone from Siguenza, where the thinning of the decorative elements and enlarged windows of the clerestory create a greater height to the structure. Siguenza cathedral underwent more substantial changes in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century than Cuenca; the role of the second master, who is linked to Huerta and Las Huelgas, is clearly present, however, in the crossing and nave. It is here that the connection to Huerta can most clearly be seen.

Alfonso VII founded the monastery that became Huerta in 1151 outside of Soria, but the community had to be transferred to Huerta in 1162 because of border conflicts.[396] Huerta's position on the border with Aragón also facilitated its use as an official site for embassies. Queen Sancha, widow of Alfonso II of Aragón, and her son Pedro II visited the site in 1199 and 1200 to sign treaties with Alfonso VIII; they made important

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[394] Lambert, 175-189.
[395] For a discussion of the documentary evidence see Chapter II. See also Agustín Romero, "San Martín de Finojosa y la supremación de Las Huelgas," *Cistercium* 39/173 (1987): 299-316.
[396] Agustín Romero Redondo, Luz María Luzón Núñez de Arenas, Isidoro María Anguita Fontecha, *Santa Maria de Huerta, un monasterio cisterciense* (Almazan, 1995), 21-27.

donations on each occasion.[397] Pedro II returned there again after Sancha's regency was over. Alfonso VIII laid the first stone of the new church in 1179.[398] Construction had probably already begun by this point, and certainly the apse, crossing, walls, and façade date from the last quarter of the twelfth century.[399]

While the royal support of this monastery was substantial, the Finojosa nobles had the closest familial link to it.[400] The Finojosa family donations also allow for a closer dating of the different parts of the monastery.[401] The earliest parts of the structure are the east end and the cloister (Figure 48). These sections are consistent with the early incorporation of what Lambert calls Languedoc Gothic forms. The Franco-Burgundian elements, however, appear in the nave, façade, and, most significantly, in the refectory. These areas have been dated to the 1220s.[402]

The refectory in particular marks a clear extension of new Gothic vocabulary into the peninsula (Figure 49). It presents an early moment for the incorporation of sexpartite vaults, a beveled rib, and extensive opening up of the north wall to two levels of lancet windows. The pattern continues through the entire refectory, opening up the space to extensive westerly light. The refectory of Huerta presents a major movement toward the Gothic traditions of northern France, particularly Laon and Noyon. The foliate capitals

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[397] Lambert, 168.
[398] Lambert, 167-175.
[399] Luzon Nuñez de Arenas, 120.
[400] The monastery had a very close connection to the royal family and to the Finojosa nobles. Martín de Finojosa and his nephew Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada were among the most important religious figures of the period. Abbot Finojosa was named Bishop of Siguenza where he served for four years before retiring to his beloved Huerta in 1191. Romero Redondo, 21-24. Ximenez de Rada followed his uncle as bishop of Siguenza and was elevated to the see of Toledo in 1208. Azcárate, *Arte gótico*, 36-38.
[401] Lambert, 168-171.
[402] Lambert, 172.

have been simplified to accommodate the austerity of the order, but the patterns certainly suggest a French connection here too.[403]

The façade of the church and the entry into the refectory also present a pattern that links Huerta to the monastery of Las Huelgas. The pointed arch in the refectory is surrounded by plain archivolts, highlighted by a single geometric dogtooth pattern at the center. This pattern is extended on the façade both on the portal and in the rose window. In the façade, six archivolts extend from a plain cornice. Variations in the dogtooth pattern appear in three of the archivolts. The forms vary in size, creating a rhythmic balance to the structure. This same pattern is found at Las Huelgas in the portal and in the entry into the chapter house.

Las Huelgas as a Marker for the Trends and Development of Gothic Architecture on the Peninsula

Las Huelgas has been closely linked to the construction of Huerta, Cuenca, and Siguenza in style and dating. The monastery exemplifies the transformation of the architecture of the realm prior to the adoption of French High Gothic architecture in Toledo and Burgos. Sites relatively close in date to the foundation of Las Huelgas in 1187 suggest a later date for the church, but the impact of the construction of the monastery affected all these sites suggesting that Las Huelgas was the flagship Franco-Burgundian site on the peninsula. Problems surrounding the dating of the site and the different styles present contribute to confusion over the preeminence of the site.

[403] D'Emilio, "Royal Convent."

The earliest areas of the monastery, surrounding the smaller cloister known as Las Claustrillas, suggest two defined periods of construction specifically designed for the immediate habitation of the nuns while the construction of the great church was underway (Figure 50). The chapel of La Asunción is a Mudejar construction that follows closely the form of an eight-sided polygonal chapel (Figures 51-52).[404] In this it is closely linked to the phenomenon of Mudejar construction of domes discussed earlier in this chapter. The ribs extend from the sides, multiplying to sixteen, and as in Muslim constructions, do not meet at the center, but create an eight-pointed star.[405] The drum of the polygon is decorated with patterned brickwork and ogival arches. The ribs link to create four niches on the corners; these were possibly used as funerary niches.[406]

Rocio Sanchez Ameijeires suggests that this centrally planned chapel was once a rectangular church that had been subdivided into a closed corridor and chamber.[407] This would create a church and cloister of closer dimensions to those more typical of women's foundations, even on the humble side.[408] Although the space may fit the plan of a small

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[404] Contemporary examples of Islamic dome construction appear in San Miguel de Almazán, dated to 1200, and the church of Vera Cruz in Segovia, dated to 1208. Of the two, the construction of Almazán more closely resembles La Asunción chapel dome. Almazán, however, is a late Romanesque structure. For views of these domes, see Isidro Bango Torviso's *El románico en España* (Madrid, 1992), 280-81, 303-305.
[405] Camon Aznar, "Boveda gótica-morisca," 174-178.
[406] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeires, "El 'cementerio real' de Alfonso VIII en Las Huelgas de Burgos," *Semata: Ciencias sociales e humanidades* 10 (1998): 77-109.
[407] Sánchez Ameijeiras, 79-83.
[408] Pérez Higuera put forth this suggestion both to substantiate claims for later dates for the construction of Las Huelgas's church and to suggest evidence for a palace on the grounds. The idea is that this chapel was once part of an audience hall. Pérez Higuera, "El Mudejar," 162-166. During the reign of Alfonso VIII building trends followed those of the king's grandfather, and palace architecture was heavily influenced by the luxury of Muslim architecture found in conquered territories, most notably in Toledo. La Asunción thus would have been a palace chapel consistent with *taifa* palaces. The construction, however, does not appear to predate the monastery. The connection between Las Huelgas

monastery, it is unlikely this chapel was ever intended as the church for Las Huelgas. From its foundation, the founders clearly stated the importance of this site to the royal family, and they bequeathed great wealth and property to the monastery. This chapel was more likely intended as the temporary space for the nuns' worship while construction proceeded on the larger church. The Mudejar chapel emphasized the connection of the monastery to palace architecture. The chapels of Santiago and El Salvador further demonstrate a prolonged taste for the form in the enclosed areas of the monastery – El Salvador has been dated to the fourteenth century.[409] Mudejar decorative forms dating to the early thirteenth century also appear in the corridors of the cloister of San Fernando.[410] Instead of building the now more common ribbed vaulting in the corridors of the cloister, a pointed barrel vault allows its walls to be covered with flat stucco decoration pulled from tapestries, kylix, and palatial decorative motifs, in addition to royal insignia. The Mudejar decoration, however, remains completely in the areas of active enclosure, the private areas of the monastery. As the construction of the monastic buildings and church went forward, a rapid succession of styles, from late Romanesque to early Gothic, appear at Las Huelgas.

The chapel of La Asunción flanks a Romanesque cloister known as Las Claustrillas, a diminutive that suggests both a smaller scale and a feminine form (Figure

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and a leisure palace appears in its name. "Las Huelgas" is said to come from the verb "holgar," or to rest. María Jesús Herrero Sanz clarifies that it more likely comes from the term "terreno de huelgo," referring to a field for grazing in *Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Huelgas. Burgos* (Madrid, 1999), 13.

[409] The chapel of El Salvador is not open to the public. Valentín de la Cruz published photographs of the entry and ceiling in *El monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (La Coruña, 1998), 60-63.

[410] For discussions of the motifs on the pointed barrel vaults see F. Iñiguez, "Las yeserías descubiertas recientemente en Las Huelgas de Burgos," *Archivo Español de Arte* (1941): 306-308 and Mazuela, "Arte mudejar en Burgos," 37-69.

53).[411] The patronage and oversight of this cloister falls firmly during the reign of Alfonso VIII and Leonor.[412] A late Romanesque arcade frames the cloister. The double columns use thin floral capitals, which together with the four central architectural piers, are usually considered archaizing because of the advancements in Cistercian monasteries of the area by this period.[413] The traditional dating of the cloister to the last quarter of the twelfth century has been narrowed to the late 1180s, contemporary with the first work on the east end of the church. This is quite remarkable as the stylistic choices made in the church are strikingly different. It furthers the idea of a fast construction, using native craftsmen to build the dormitories, cloister, and chapel for the installation of the nuns.[414] For the church, the space open to the public, the choice was to integrate French stylistic developments instead.

The church of Las Huelgas is perhaps the most debated construction of the monastery. The dating ranges from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the

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[411] In Spanish cloister is masculine, "el claustro" whereas "las claustrillas" is feminine.
[412] The monarchs were not always recognized as the patrons, however. Early architectural guides suggested the cloister was the remainder of an earlier palace on the site from the middle of the twelfth century. Now that the structure is open to the public, the stylistic analysis has secured the monarchs' role. *Album artístico del real monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos y Cartuja de Miraflores* (Madrid, 1924), and Juan Ágapita y Revilla, *El real monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos: Apuntes para un estudio histórico-artístico* (Valladolid, 1903). Both of these texts follow the lead of authors from the end of the nineteenth century.
[413] This idea has even given way to the suggestion that the cloister along with the chapel of Las Asuncion were both part of the mythic palace on the site. Rafael López Guzmán, *Arquitectura mudejar: Del sincretismo medieval a las alteraciones hispanoamericanas* (Madrid, 2000), 203-204. Yet James d'Emilio's careful study of the capitals of San Andres del Arroyo and Carrizo, both of which predate Las Huelgas, reveals a cloister in keeping with the developments of the end of the century in late Romanesque cloisters. D'Emilio adds to this the connection with Aguilar de Campoo, a Premonstratensian house heavily supported by Leonese kings and nobles, suggesting the mobility of the style once in place.
[414] Although later moved to the second floor of the cloister of San Fernando, in its initial location the dormitory was attached to Las Claustrillas.

thirteenth.[415] At the center of the debate lie two major issues: the style of execution and the interpretation of documents. I will begin with the question of style. The church of Las Huelgas never went through a Languedoc Gothic phase. In style it is akin to the refectory of Huerta and to the cathedral of Siguenza, Lambert's so-called Franco-Burgundian style. The east end uses sexpartite vaults, thinly beveled ribs, extensive lancets, and the two-story elevation found at Huerta. Rather than a flat, rectangular, construction, however, the apse at Las Huelgas is hexagonal, with flat buttresses allowing for substantial lancets on both nave and clerestory level.[416] Quadripartite vaults are used in the nave and side aisles, differing from the sexpartite ones found in the apse. Other than this there is a consistency in style through the entire space, including the floral capitals in the side aisles and the clerestory. The *mensulas*, or keystones, of the nave vaulting are decorated with the coats of arms of León and Castilla, indicating they were established after the unification of the two realms under Fernando III, Alfonso and Leonor's grandson. This dates their execution to after 1251. Thus, from the

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[415] Lambert is the most important voice in arguing for a later date for the church, sometime between 1220 and 1225. In his scenario, the church begins at this time, and the construction is prolonged until the 1279 consecration (195). Torres Balbas built upon Lambert's 1931 text, affirming the late date of construction. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica VII in Ars Hispanie: Historia universal del arte hispánico* (Madrid, 1952). Valle Pérez polarizes Lambert and Torres Balbás to the extent that he argues that not a single stone had been laid prior to the king's death in 1214. José Carlos Valle Pérez, "Significación de la iglesia en el panorama de la arquitectura de la Orden del Cister," *Reales Sitios* 27/105 (1990): 49-55. Rico Santamaría and Muñoz Parraga provide a middle ground in this debate, arguing for continuity of construction through the 1220s. Marcos Rico Santamaría, "Real Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos: Un somero análisis de sus arquitecturas," *Academia* 73 (1991): 89-101 and María del Carmen Muñoz Párraga, "La iglesia," in in *Monjes y Monasterios: El Cister en el medievo de Castilla y León* (Valladolid, 1998), 144-147. Karge and D'Emilio as stated earlier are the torch bearers for the earlier dating. Karge, "Königliche Zisterzienserinnenabtei," 25-29; D'Emilio, 16-41.

[416] Adding the chapel of St. Juan Bautista later extended the east end in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

establishment of the monastery in 1187 until 1251, there are multiple ways of reading the process of completion of the church.

The first document to produce debate earlier in this century was the foundation in 1187. The debate focused on the reading of the tense of the Latin transcription of the original document. Today it is accepted that Alfonso and Leonor state that they are building, "construimus," and not have built, "construximus," the monastery.[417] If the latter was true, the monastery was complete in 1187. The first document after the foundation that addresses construction is a grant of a property in 1203 to the foreign architect, Ricardo, in compensation for the work done at Las Huelgas.[418] The interpretations of this document range from Ricardo's participation in the creation of the plan for the church to his having completed a substantial portion of the church.[419] Karge and D'Emilio both perceive the latter to be the more logical, and I agree with this assertion. D'Emilio further argues that the east end must have been well under way to completion by this date, as the influence of the site can be found elsewhere soon thereafter, particularly in San Andres del Arroyo, and quite possible at Huerta's refectory. I will return to this point below.

The second documented date is 1279.[420] In this year, the bishop of Sobrabe consecrated all the altars of the church, including the main altar and that in the chapel of

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[417] "ego, Aldefonsus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, et uxor mea Alienor, regina, cum consensus filiarum nostrarum Berengarie et Urracce, cupientes remissionen peccatorum in terris et postmodum in celis locum obtinere cum Sanctis, *construimos* ad honorem Dei et Sancte eius genitricis Uirginis Marie monasterium in la uega de Burgis . . . "Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación*, 19-23.

[418] Lizoain Garrido, 122-123. Leonor may have brought Ricardo with her from France on her visit in 1199.

[419] While the date is nearly universally ascribed to some portion of the church, Valle Pérez uses it to suggest work on Las Claustrillas. Valle Pérez, 54 n12.

[420] Lizaoin Garrido, doc. 596, 245.

San Juan Bautista. This consecration provides a terminal point for those who would suggest a later date of execution, under the rule of Fernando III (r. 1217-1255) and his mother Berenguela. The problem with this view is the mention of the chapel of San Juan Bautista, construction of which dates to the latter part of the thirteenth century and reflects innovations in high Gothic architecture at the cathedral of Burgos (Figure 53). Those who accept the 1279 date at face value suggest that the founders were responsible only for the Mudejar areas and Las Claustrillas. In this scenario the church was constructed after the ascent to the throne of Fernando III, and the main patroness was not Leonor but her daughter Berenguela; both women were clearly noted for their devotion to the site, and both were buried there. The main construction of the church would then be in the 1220s, not the beginning of the century. D'Emilio points out that by this point the construction of the cathedral of Burgos was under way, and that the style of the cathedral had clearly advanced toward a high Gothic form (Figure 54).[421] Furthermore, by the 1220s Villamayor de los Montes was under construction (Figure 55). This daughter house of Las Huelgas clearly follows the style of Burgos cathedral and not Las Huelgas, suggesting that a new style had become available by that date.

The construction of the cathedral of Burgos in a Parisian Gothic form would have been a response by the see in the conflicting relationship with the abbey and in competition with Ximenez de Rada's plans for the cathedral of Toledo.[422] The relationship with the royal family, privileges given to the monastery, and its location as the site for the coronation of Enrique I and the knighting of Fernando and his son Alfonso X, caused tension with the bishops' perception of their supremacy over the abbey, which

[421] D'Emilio, "Royal Convent," 34-37.
[422] Azcarate, *Arte gótico*, 35-36.

they tried to affirm in later conflicts taken before the papacy.[423] Thus the preference for a new style in the 1220s, rather than one linked to Las Huelgas, suggests that the form of Las Huelgas was no longer perceived as the most innovative.

Two other dates are important in revealing Leonor and Alfonso's agency: their son, Enrique I, was crowned at Las Huelgas in 1214, and Fernando III was armed there in 1217 prior to his ascension to the throne. While the chapel of La Asuncion was available, it was a small, intimate space. It did not have the room for a large ceremony at which the nobles of the land appeared, nor were they likely to have had access to a space this deep inside the cloister. D'Emilio has convincingly argued that at the time of the 1214 coronation ceremony the church must have been almost complete although a temporary wooden roof might have closed the building to the elements.[424] The monarchs' daughters, Berenguela and Constanza, would have been responsible for the completion of the permanent roof in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The *mensulas* of the nave, which include both the castle and the lion, suggest the completion simultaneous with the re-unification of León-Castilla in 1251. This is also the moment the founding monarchs would have been commemorated by the transfer of their joint sarcophagus into the choir from La Asuncion.[425]

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[423] The powers of the abbess in ecclesiastic matters have been the focus of several studies. See in particular Lamberto de Echevarría y Martínez de Margarita, *En torno a la jurisdicción eclesiastica de la abadesa de Las Huelgas* (Burgos, 1945); Fernando Diez Moreno, "El monasterio de Las Huelgas: Régimen jurídico del real patronato," *Reales Sitios* 31/122 (1994): 2-11; Félix Sebastián, *Privilegios de la abadesa de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (Burgos, 1969); and José María Escriva de Balaguer, *La abadesa de Las Huelgas: Estudio teológico jurisdico* (Madrid, 1988).
[424] D'Emilio, 20-29.
[425] I will return to the subject of burial in the last chapter.

This second scenario places the construction of the church largely under the aegis of the founders. Given the wealth that the founders invested during their lifetime into the monastery, it appears improbable the church would not have been well underway fifteen years after its foundation. It was in 1203 that Ricardo was rewarded for his work at the monastery. Furthermore, by 1203 Leonor was already in the process of establishing the hospital that was placed under control of the monastery. Here the references to the hospital are to the *Ospital de la Regina* and present the queen actively involved with the purchase of land adjacent to Las Huelgas in order to begin construction.[426] Starting a new project of this magnitude suggests that Las Huelgas no longer needed her financial attention.

If the monastic church was mostly complete before the death of the monarchs, the place of this monastery in the development of Gothic art on the peninsula takes on a key role. It would make Las Huelgas the flagship Franco-Burgundian structure in Castilla and place Leonor in a prominent position as a patroness of new architectural forms.

The often-overlooked Leonor was a logical vehicle through whom this new style might have arrived on the peninsula. She would have been aware in her youth of the new forms in England and Normandy, and in the 1190s she was actively involved with marriage negotiations between France and England. John I did not have any children and his niece Blanche, Leonor's daughter, was betrothed to Louis VIII of

[426] María del Carmen Palacín Gálvez and Luis Martínez García, *Documentación del Hospital del Rey de Burgos (1136-1277)* (Burgos, 1990). Documents 30 and 31, both from May 1209 refer to "Ospital de la Regina." 34-35. Until December 1217, the documents refer to Leonor or to joint gifts by the monarchs. The Hospital is either referred to as Hospital of Burgos or Hospital of the Queen.

France. Leonor traveled with Blanche to Poitiers in 1199.[427] Chroniclers of the period, and Ximenez de Rada in particular, described Leonor's connection with her homeland as the reason behind her preference for Burgos over Toledo as a residence and for her predilection for French orders.[428] Although she did not found a dependency of Fontevrault, which would have linked her more closely to her mother's patronage, she did base the organization of Las Huelgas on that of Fontevrault. Once the basic formation of the monastery was underway, she took steps to establish the hospital that, like that of Fontevrault, was under the administration of the abbess. Thus in a new assessment of the development of Gothic architecture in Castilla, Las Huelgas, not Huerta or Cuenca, would have been the catalyst for the entry of the fully developed second Gothic style.

The innovations of the architecture of Las Huelgas do not end with the church. Rather, they extend throughout the cloister and into the chapter house. The construction of the cloister of San Fernando has always been placed in the reign of Fernando III (r. Castilla 1217-1252) (Figure 56). The detailed analysis of capitals and the information that they might provide has been lost due to a seventeenth-century renovation that walled up the cloister. The columns that stand today are replicas from the knights' cloister adjacent to the church on the exterior. The knights' cloister was likely intended, as are many porches and porticoes, to establish a space for the burial of nobility at the monastery. Several sarcophagi survive from the thirteenth century. Given the similarity

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[427] She returned there in 1206 to deal with the question of the county of Gascony. It had been part of her dowry, but had never been put under her, or Alfonso's, control. D'Emilio, "Royal Convent," 15.

[428] Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos de España*, transl. Juan Fernández Valverde (Madrid, 1989).

of the frame of the pointed arches in the cloister of San Fernando and the knights' cloister the decision to use the capitals of the latter in the renovations of the former is reasonable. If these areas are contemporary in date, it further suggests the completion of the entire church prior to the construction of the cloister.[429]

The knights' cloister follows the construction of other Cistercian cloisters in the use of quadripartite vaults (Figure 57). The cloister of San Fernando uses pointed barrel vaults instead. These create a broad space that might be embellished, and embellished they were. The cloister of San Fernando presents a model of Mudejar decoration of the thirteenth century. Forms pulled from Muslim kylixes and tapestries are enlarged and interspersed with royal emblems. Created through flat relief stucco on the surface of the vaults, this space, that of the old labor hall adjacent to the chapter house and the early chapels, demonstrates a marked appreciation for Mudejar decoration, as seen primarily in palace architecture.[430] Both major periods of construction, under the founders in La Asunción, and under Berenguela and Fernando in the cloister, employ Mudejar decoration. This connection sets off this monastery as a royal space of privilege. The chapter house, however, takes a very different direction, pushing the Gothic forms and extending the size of the space.

The chapter house of Las Huelgas is a unique space within the Cistercian houses of Castilla (Figure 5). The chapter house is larger than those of all the surviving

[429] An unusual aspect that distances the knights' cloister from the cloister of San Fernando is that while the construction of the arches is similar, the construction of the corridors is not.
[430] Even though the surviving elements appear in royal monasteries, synagogues, etc. Mazuela, "Arte Mudejar," 37-69.

monasteries – both women's and men's houses.[431] Its size corresponds to the size of the monastery. At its height the monastery was restricted to 100 nuns, but this did not include novices or lay sisters.[432] The scale alone states the monastery's claim as motherhouse to all of the Cistercian women's foundations in León and Castilla. Las Huelgas received this honor in 1199.[433] The abbesses of all these monasteries were expected to appear once a year for a general chapter at Las Huelgas. Regardless of how often this actually occurred, the scale of the chapter house speaks to this role.

The designer took another step to suggest the supremacy of this house architecturally: the chapter house has a wide entry that engulfs those who enter and highlights the abbess's chair on axis. Established in a standard centralized plan, the height of the space is extended through the thinning out and multiplying of ribs within the vaults. A variant on the compound pier, each of the four columns has eight engaged columns that appear to transform under the capital into eight ribs, creating the nine vaults of the chamber. The vaults frame three lancet windows that cover two thirds of the height of the wall.

The architecture of Las Huelgas reveals the royal patronage that supported it. The innovations at Las Huelgas introduced new forms of Gothic architecture to the peninsula. The transformation of Huerta's architecture in the early decades of the century and the

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[431] Concepción Abad Castro, "El pabellón de monjes," in *Monjes y monasterios: El Cister en el medievo de Castilla y León* (Valladolid, 1998), 187-235. See, in particular, scale diagrams of chapter houses, 204-205. The chapterhouse of Huerta would fit within four of the nine vaulted bays of Las Huelgas' chapterhouse.

[432] The Infanta Berenguela (Leonor's great-granddaughter) and the abbess Elvira Fernández established an internal organization to guarantee the prosperity of the monastery: 100 nuns who were to be noblewomen (*hidalgos)*, 40 girls/novices, and a similar number of laywomen (*dueñas)*. Lizoain Garrido, 226, dated 27 Nov. 1257.

[433] For discussion of chronology of motherhouse status between 1187 and 1199 see chapter II.

construction of the cathedrals of Cuenca and Siguenza present the transformation of these ideas. The idea of a single workshop working at all these sites cannot be sustained: the geographical distance was great, and the constructions too close in date. Instead the dispersal of the new forms and the rapid movement thereafter toward Ile-de-France Gothic in Toledo and Burgos – both of which were important royal and episcopal sites – indicate a different progression at work.

The connections to northwestern France and England through Leonor provided a catalyst for the transformation of the architecture of the realm. Her heirs continued this role. Berenguela and Fernando III supported not only Las Huelgas, but also the Gothic cathedrals of Toledo, Burgos, and León after Fernando inherited the kingdom in 1251.[434]

Even in this new development of Gothic forms, however, there remained an autochthonous element to Castilian Gothic. The predilection at Las Huelgas for Mudejar detailing is an early example of this development. Much as Avila and Zamora balanced late Romanesque forms with Mudejar elements, Burgos and Toledo both accepted Mudejar influence on their form and decoration.[435] Among the features that separate these sites from the cathedrals of Paris and Bourges, to which they are heavily indebted, Mudejar influence is the most striking. At Las Huelgas, unlike these late sites, these elements were incorporated in enclosed areas. The area open to public worship – the church – maintained an austere Gothic form and thus provided the outwardly austere face

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[434] The cathedral of Leon was begun in 1255 with the support of the monarchs. Azcárate, *Arte gótico*, 38-39.

[435] Robert Bork, "Holy Toledo: Art-Historical Taxonomy and the Morphology of Toledo Cathedral," *Avila Forum* 10-11 (1997-1998): 31-37; Ángela Franco Mata, "La catedral de Toledo: Entre la tradición local y la modernidad foranea," *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten del Kolloquiums der Carl Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Göttingen*, ed. Henrik Karge (Madrid, 1999), 83-104.

of the Cistercian order. The cloister and chapels of the interior, with their Mudejar elements, reveal the most intimate connection to palace architecture and thereby maintained both a royal connection and a dichotomy between public and private space.[436]

Conclusion

Las Huelgas and Sigena exemplify two trends present in architecture at the turn of the century. Each balances the most recognizable royal architecture of its region with the needs of the monastic order chosen for the site, and further, each affirms the origin of its patroness. In their own ways, Sancha and Leonor found means of balancing the forms of their natal lands and those of their new realms. Their choices could not have been more different, even though their motivations may have been similar. Sancha affirmed the Romanesque tendencies of the architecture of León and Aragón, using a simplified, powerful architecture of fortresses that presented new technical developments in the use of diaphragm arches and pointed barrel vaults, but rejecting both the highly decorative Romanesque architecture associated with pilgrimage churches and the new "Languedoc" architecture of the Cistercians. Sancha affirmed power and tradition through the use of that architecture.

Given that Leonor was building for a Cistercian monastery the use of forms associated with the order was logical. She did not, however, stop there. The monastery of Las Huelgas could easily have looked like Valbuena or early Huerta and maintained

[436] This balance of architectural innovation and Mudejar palatial decoration is found in later royal monasteries such as La Cartuja de Miraflores outside of Burgos and Las Jeronimas in Madrid. López Guzmán, *Arquitectura mudejar,* 205

the association with the order and the scale that suggested the power of the crown and the importance of the house. Instead Leonor imported a new form of Gothic, the innovative forms of northern France, but did not go so far as to incorporate the more lavish form of Gothic applied to cathedrals. Her choice was one that affirmed the restrictions of the reform order but transformed it in the details to heighten and lighten the church. Leonor took this a step further to make Las Huelgas stand out among the Cistercian houses and all the women's monasteries of the area.

Both queens appear aware of the competition with prior foundations: Sancha with Serós and Casbas, Leonor with San Andres del Arroyo and the earlier Cistercian houses of Gradefes and Carrizo. These foundations made it necessary for the queens to distinguish and aggrandize their projects, to build on a larger scale, and to associate the site closely to the monarchy. To a great extent both queens were well aware of the necessity of these features for the longevity of their foundations. Both queens also had a powerful impact on the architecture of the realm. In Sancha's case, she aided in slowing the arrival of the Gothic; in Leonor's, she patronized and aided in a warm reception of the new form.

Chapter IV: Queens and Royal Burial at the Monasteries of Las Huelgas and Sigena

> I, Sancha, by the grace of God queen of Aragón, countess of Barcelona, and marquise of Provence, offer myself to God and the Holy Virgin Mary and Saint John and the Hospital of the weak and poor of Jerusalem in life and death. And I choose my burial in this monastery.
>
> October 1187[437]

> I, Alfonso [VIII], by the grace of God king of Castilla and Toledo, and my wife Leonor, queen, and with our son Fernando . . . promise . . . that we and our children, with our counsel and command, wish to be buried in this monastery of Santa María la Real. And if in our lives we should enter religious life, we promise we will enter the Cistercian order and no other.
>
> December 14, 1199[438]

Sancha of León-Castilla and Leonor Plantagenet established new royal burial spaces for the kingdoms of Aragón and Castilla at the female monastic foundations of Sigena and Las Huelgas. Each woman had a long tenure as queen and time to consider at length the burial practices of her new kingdom. Both Aragón and Castilla had emerged

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[437] "ego Sancia, Dei gratia Aragónis regina, Barchinone comitissa Provincieque marchissa, offero me ipsam Domino Deo et Beate Virgini Marie et Beato Iohani et infirmis pauperibus Hospitalis Iherosolimitanorum in vita et in morte. Et eligo mihi sepultura in supradicto loco…" Agustín Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena* (Valencia, 1972), 13.

[438] "ego, Aldefonsus, Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, et uxor mea Alienor, regina, una cum nostro dompno Ferrando. . . promisimus in mano predicti abbatis quod nos et fili nostri, qui consilio et mandato nostro acquiescere voluerint, in supra dicto monasterio Sanctee Marie Regalis sepeliamur. Et si contigerit quod in vita nostra trasferamus nos ad religionem, promisimos quod ordinem cisterciensem suscipiemus et non alium." José Manuel Lizoain Garrido, *Documentación del Monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos (1116-1230)*, 93.

from succession crises, and the kings were at the head of newly defined territories. As the queens, and their kings, contemplated the options for burial, they made similar innovative decisions to place their tombs in women's foundations. In the design and execution of their burials, the monarchs expressed a confidence in their dynastic line and yielded to the desires of their queens or queen mothers.

Sancha and Leonor brought the royal body into a female sphere during an age of military activism. While burial in a women's house was not unprecedented, no king had been buried in a woman's foundation since the early tenth century.[439] The queens did not enjoy equal success in their endeavors. Both queens succeeded in placing their sons' bodies within the confines of their new churches, but the monasteries would not be the resting place of future kings. Instead, Sigena became an important burial space for Aragonese nobles, Las Huelgas for royal children. In their quest to claim the kings' bodies for their monasteries, however, Sancha and Leonor recognized the vital role death rituals played for their kingdoms.

The burial of the royal dead, and particularly of the king, carried symbolic and political power in medieval Europe. It represented the convergence of secular and religious authority and was accompanied by public ceremonies. At its core it implied the idea of continuity and stability in the kingdom and the royal line. In *The King's Two Bodies: A Study of Medieval Political Theology*, Ernst Kantorowiczs argues that there was a convergence of the political persona and the private person during moments of

[439] Rose Walker, "Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial in Northern Spain, c. 950-c.1250," in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elisabeth Van Houts (Harlow, 2001), 150-172.

succession.[440] Royal burial ceremonials recognized both the death of the king and his continued reign in the person of his heir. The burial of the king encapsulated that moment of change and continuity, and his burial place commanded a great amount of authority. Dynastic continuity and the signs of that continued power in objects such as the crown, banner, and coins allowed for an ongoing stewardship of the kingdom, one where succession was supposed to be uneventful. The heir visited the tomb to claim his authority, seek advice, and pay his respects.[441] This tomb's location was therefore of utmost importance.

The intimate connection between burial and succession was recognized in France and England by the end of the thirteenth century: the tombs of kings and royal coronation insignia were kept in the same location. Westminster Abbey and the abbey of Saint Denis were focal points for succession through the recreation of complex burial genealogies in tomb cycles.[442] These monuments clearly present the theme of dynastic

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[440] Ernst H. Kantorowiczs, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

[441] Kantorowiczs also looks at the development of the use of effigies during the burial rituals in England and then in France. The effigies he focuses on are not the permanent stone effigies but rather images of the king that could be used to substitute for the king's corpse until the last moment prior to entombment. It is an interesting argument and agrees with the findings of Renata Kroos in "Grabbräuche-Grabbilder" in *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (München, 1984), 285-353. Kroos argues that the sculptural effigy served a powerful purpose in the anniversaries of the dead where cloth would be placed over the tomb to re-enact the mass of the dead. The effigy provided an eerie and poignant function in conjuring up the body of the deceased under the cloth, making the ceremony more real and less symbolic. The effigial tomb arrived late in Iberia and was less programmatic that in northern Europe – with the exception of the fourteenth-century program at Poblet. The ceremonies associated with the remembrance of the dead, however, were no less vivid.

[442] Whereas at Westminster Abbey the coronation ceremony actually took place within the precinct of the abbey, Saint Denis was the repository of the coronation insignia but not the place of coronation, which was held at the cathedral of Rheims. Elizabeth M.

continuity; ironically the embellishment and affirmation of continuity in tomb cycles was more exaggerated in periods of crisis in succession. Highly politicized burial spaces generally stood in the male realm of abbeys and cathedrals that were more accessible to the public and could thus manifest continuity more publicly.

Burial within Sacred Spaces

The placement of the royal bodies in church interiors had a long and controversial history in Western Europe. Certainly it was a custom with a precedent in the early church. Constantine the Great built a church to house his body, a tradition coming from Roman burial practice.[443] The placement of the body close to the altar also followed tradition, reflecting the desire of the faithful to have their dead lie close to both the Eucharist and the relics of saints located in or on the altar.[444] This burial practice reflected a desire to lie in a sacred space and close to the axis of prayer. By the seventh century the problem of too many bodies crowding the space of worship had to be addressed, and church leaders began to legislate the appropriate place of the dead at the

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Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330," *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982): 359-380; see also Gabrielle M. Spiegel "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship," *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975): 43-69.

[443] Michel Rayon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism* (Charlottesville, 1983), 50.

[444] Relics were often placed close to, or under, the altar, a practice often linked to early celebration of the mass in the catacombs. Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven, 1991), 101-105.

Council of Nantes in 658.[445] The Council also began a tradition of taking status into account in the accommodation of bodies within the church.

The Council of Nantes forbade burial, any burial, within the church. It allowed, however, the burial of important people in the atrium, portico, or in close proximity to the church exterior. It is apparent that the restrictions placed on burial were not followed: in 809, the Council of Aachen reaffirmed the legislation. The principal problem was that the lay community that supported local churches felt they had the right to be buried in these institutions. The Council of Mainz recognized this in 813, stating that "no dead body was to be buried within a church, except those of bishops and abbots, or worthy priests, or faithful laity."[446] Although this last remark left the possibilities quite open for the powerful, it also presented the reality of a hierarchy of burial. Initially, a privileged few rested at the foot of the altar, those who consecrated their lives to God: saints, clerics, and monks. Lay burial moved into the holy precinct but until the twelfth century ideally remained at the threshold of the church, in the portico, atrium, cloister, and surroundings.[447]

The preferred settings for royal burial during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were within the church and cloister of monastic foundations.[448] Whereas restrictions had been made for the burial in churches and cathedrals, papal privileges permitted religious orders to accept the bodies of laity in their monasteries.[449] The Benedictines, most

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[445] James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (New York, 1980), 73.
[446] Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 125.
[447] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), 72-73.
[448] Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 138.
[449] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 57.

notably in the reformed order of Cluny, were the first beneficiaries of this privilege. The Cistercians followed suit, although they attempted to restrict the practice. By 1240, internal legislation was necessary and the Chapter General at Citeaux affirmed: "Let none be buried in our greater churches but kings, queens, and bishops."[450] Other monastic foundations were also closely linked to their royal and noble benefactors. By the twelfth century, many institutions were designated as familial necropolises at foundation.

Monks and nuns provided spiritual benefits for their patrons in life and in death.[451] Their dedication to continual prayer provided a natural space for the prayers of the dead**.** These prayers eventually became burdensome. The Cistercians, for example, decided in 1225 that only one mass could be said a year for any person. By the 1270s, even this had proved too onerous, and the Chapter General replaced individual anniversary masses with twelve general commemorations.

The doctrine of purgatory contributed to the growing obsession with prayers for the dead. Although the doctrine was not legislated until 1274, it was based on a practice already in effect for over a century.[452] Both the routine of prayer offered by others on behalf of the deceased and the vicarious practice of good works set in motion by the deceased's will could mitigate the soul's posthumous suffering. In this way a queen could benefit from the good deeds of a monastery she founded, not only through the prayers of the religious community for its patron, but by virtue of the good deeds set in motion through her foundation.[453]

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[450] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 59.
[451] Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), 77-92.
[452] Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life*, 153.
[453] Le Goff presents the earliest use of the term "purgatory" in the 1170. The idea of expiation was, however, a concept in the works in the previous century. Jacques Le Goff,

The doctrine of purgatory may also explain a special intercessory role for women in the ritual practices associated with death.[454] Widows in particular maintained a degree of power through their role as intercessors, not only by securing the prayers of organized groups, but also through their own good deeds, from which their husbands and children could benefit. This belief also contributed to the practice of child oblation, the idea that a child could benefit her parents and extended family through her role in the religious community.

The formation of chantries (*capellania*) to assure prayers for a particular family or person developed along with the belief in purgatory.[455] Chantries varied in form. They could be built as part of a planned architectural program (popular in the thirteenth century and particularly with the mendicant orders), added to churches through private initiative, or created as new autonomous chapels or churches.[456]

The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arther Goldhammer (Chicago, 1981), 130-133, 362-365. See also Brian Patrick McGuire, "Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change," *Viator* 20 (1989): 61-84. See also M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1994), and T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement, and Remembrance* (London, 1972).

454 Penelope Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendome 1032-1187* (New York, 1981).

455 Rosemary Horrox discusses the effect of the concept of purgatory on burial and commemoration practices in "Purgatory, Prayer and Plague: 1150-1380," in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (New Brunswick, 2000), 90-118. See also Fernando Álvarez García, "El hombre medieval ante el purgatorio: un tiempo y un espacio en dirección a Dios," *Temas medievales* 6 (1996): 7-22.

456 Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life,* 153.

Burial Practice in Northern Iberia

The practice of allocating burial spaces within monasteries was adopted early in the Iberian realms. The Benedictine monastery of Leyre was a burial site beginning in the ninth century, when Sancho Garcés, the first king of Navarre, was interred in its crypt in 824 (Figure 58).[457] The Navarrese kings maintained the tradition of burial here at least until the reign of García Sánchez III in 1054. Likewise, the counts of Aragón had a long tradition of burial at the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, in this case in the atrium beside the church (Figure 59).[458] This tradition was maintained in the early years of the Aragonese kingdom.

While the kings of León-Castilla also favored monastic sites, they did not establish dynastic necropolises but exercised a number of other options. The early kings of Asturias and León were buried in the monasteries they had founded. Sites such as Covadonga, Oviedo, and Pravia functioned as the king's palace and then his mausoleum and were designated as such from foundation.[459] Ramiro II began a brief practice of burial in the female house of San Salvador de Palaz del Rey in León.[460] His daughter

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[457] *Monasterio de Leyre* (Zaragoza, 1984), 21-25.

[458] The relationship between atrium and church is unusual at San Juan de la Peña. Due to the topography and development of the church from a cave-hermitage, the atrium appears next to, as opposed to the usual position in front of, the church. Domingo J. Buesa Conde, *Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña* (León, 1996), 22-28. See also Pamela Patton, *Pictorial Narrative in the Romanesque Cloister* (New York, 2004), 23-27.

[459] Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Castilla* (Madrid, 1954), 13-15. The most famous example of this practice is the later foundation of San Lorenzo del Escorial. Phillip II designated the monastery as both his palace and his mausoleum. The various crypts were designed to hold future generations of kings – there are still unmarked sarcophagi awaiting their royal occupants.

[460] Neither the exact location of the sarcophagi nor their original appearance is known with certainty. They have been moved and often heavily remodeled or even remade.

Elvira was the abbess of the monastery and was regent for her nephew Ramiro III. Ordoño III and Sancho I followed Ramiro to Palaz del Rey, and it is possible Ramiro II and Ramiro III did as well.[461] The monastery thus housed Elvira's father, brothers, and possibly nephews. No other women's foundation was entrusted with a king's body until the end of the twelfth century. Yet the tradition of a familial pantheon and the importance of women in the traditions of remembrance and commemoration of the dead were maintained throughout this period.

The idea of a clear dynastic burial tradition associated with a particular kingdom had a strong attraction for the Navarrese kings whose heirs ruled all the kingdoms of northern Iberia by the mid-eleventh century. When Sancho Garcés III died in 1035, he split his kingdom into three parts.[462] At that moment three burial sites were designated, one at the heart of each new kingdom. García Sánchez III continued the Navarrese custom of burial at Leyre; Ramiro I affirmed his burial in the traditional mausoleum of the counts of Aragón at San Juan de la Peña; and Fernando I began a new burial tradition for León-Castilla.

Fernando I received the kingdom of León from his father in name, but in fact gained authority through his marriage to Sancha, the sole heiress. The county of Castilla came to him through his mother, Munia of Castilla, and through conquest.[463] In the

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This is the case of Ordoño II's sarcophagus. Ordoño II died in 924 and was buried at Santa María de León but his original tomb and burial location in the church are unknown.

[461] El Conde de Casal, "Enterramientos de reyes de España," *Arte español* 5-6 (1920-1921): 191-192, see also del Arco, *Sepulcros de Castilla*, 14-15.

[462] Roger Collins, "Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth Century León and Navarre," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993), 79-92.

[463] Fernando married Sancha after her betrothed, García Sánchez, the count of Castilla, was murdered on his way to see her. His assassins were executed of course. This paved

consolidation of this new kingdom, a new burial site was established. Sancha was most likely the force behind the decision to establish San Isidoro, as she moved her father, Alfonso V, there once the site was ready (Figure 60).[464]

By the end of the eleventh century, the three most important kingdoms of Iberia placed their royal dead in the hands of monastic communities, at Leyre, San Juan de la Peña, and San Isidoro de León. At San Isidoro de León, a double monastery, a mixed community cared for the bodies. The configuration of the burials at the three sites differed, however. Leyre maintained a royal crypt; León used the narthex; and in San Juan de la Peña new burials occurred on the inside the church. Moreover, a new burial space was created at San Juan de la Peña to distinguish counts from the new kings. The kings were interred in a chapel next to the altar. This followed a northern European tradition of establishing chapels adjacent to the apse for burial. Iberian kings were slower to move the bodies of kings into the church, but San Juan de la Peña established this new tradition.[465] Until this time Iberian kings had observed church legislation and had their bodies placed on the threshold of the church.[466]

The drive to establish dynastic burial spaces was more ingrained in Aragón than in Castilla.[467] The changing boundaries of the kingdoms brought changes to the policies regarding burial locations. In Aragón the connection to the original seat of government

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the way for Fernando to claim Castilla through hereditary rights by way of his mother's lineage in addition to his conquest of much of the area. See Chapter 1 for more details.

[464] For a discussion of the patronage of San Isidoro, see Chapter 1.

[465] Today there are many sites that present early kings on the interiors of churches. These are by and large 13 and 14th century transformations of original burial arrangements.

[466] Isidro Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos en la arquitectura medieval española," *Anuario del Departamento de História y Teoría del Arte* 4 (1992): 93-132 and José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, "Aproximación a los espacios liturgico-funerarios en Castilla y León: Pórticos y galileas," *Gesta* 36/2 (1997): 122-144.

[467] Rose Walker, "Images of Royal and Aristocratic Burial," 150-172.

was affirmed. In León-Castilla new sites were often founded in the newly conquered territories. Territorial transformations required rethinking borders and allegiances. Aragón and Castilla had opposing situations: Aragón had to accommodate two realms being brought together, Castilla the breakup and division of the unified kingdom. These transformations, however, allowed the voice of the queens to be heard and to argue for the burials of their families in their institutions. Sancha of León-Castilla attempted to balance the needs of her new realm in her establishment of Sigena. In doing so, she came into conflict with the desires of her husband, Alfonso II.

Sancha, Alfonso II, and the Struggle over Dynastic Burial Spaces

The crisis in succession in Aragón was recent and involved the building and dissolving of political allegiances and kingdoms.[468] The will of Alfonso I, the Battler, had left the realm to the military orders, dividing the kingdom among the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.[469] Rather than give the kingdom to foreign orders, the Aragonese nobles crowned Alfonso's brother, Ramiro II the Monk, king.[470] Following his coronation, he married Agnes of Poitou and fathered Petronila.[471]

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[468] For a more in-depth discussion of the succession crisis, see Chapter I. I will give a brief overview here.

[469] For a discussion of the early history of the Aragónese-Catalan realm, see Luis González Anton, R. Ferrer, and P. Caterna, *La consolidación de la corona de Aragón*, (Barcelona, 1988); Percy E. Schramm, Joan F. Cabestany, and Enric Bagné, *Els primer comtes-reis – Ramón Berenguer IV, Alfons el Cast, Pere el Catolic*, (Barcelona, 1960); and Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: Creación y desarrollo de la corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1987).

[470] The will of Alfonso I was ignored, probably by the monarch's own design. Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I "El Batallador" King of Aragón and Navarre: A Reassessment," *Speculum* 50/4 (1975): 635-651.

Ramiro betrothed his daughter to Ramón Berenguer IV, the powerful count of Barcelona, and returned to monastic life. He kept his title, but the control and administration of the realm fell to his son-in-law. This crisis not only caused the political transformation of the region, but also established a break with the established burial tradition.

Alfonso I had chosen burial in the Hospitaller stronghold of Montaragón. He thus became the first king of Aragón not to be buried at the monastery of San Juan de la Peña.[472] Ramiro was buried at San Pedro el Viejo, where he had been abbot.[473] Ramón Berenguer was buried in Ripoll, the traditional burial place of the counts of Barcelona and probably promised it the burial of his son, the future Alfonso II.[474] None of these locations presented an adequate site for the royal burials of a new kingdom that bound together Aragón and Barcelona, as they were all sites that would have given preference to the traditions of one realm over the other. The break in burial custom provided an opportunity for the establishment of a new royal pantheon.

Alfonso II inherited the realm as an eight-year old in 1162. He reached his majority in 1174, at the age of sixteen, and immediately set about affirming his

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[471] Szabolcs de Vajay, "Ramire II le moine, roi d'Aragón, et Agnes de Poitou dans l'histoire et dans la légende," in *Melanges offerts a René Crozet (a l'occasion de son soixante-dixiéme anniversaire)*, eds. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Rion, vol. 2 (Poitiers, 1966), 727-750. Ramiro followed Alfonso I's lead in marrying a widow with children. Alfonso's marriage to Urraca was not successful in producing an heir; Ramiro was more fortunate, although it cost him his kingdom. Papal disapproval of the marriage caused severe problems in the realm and fueled dissent from the Navarrese and the Castilians, exacerbating political unrest. See also Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Los esponsales de la reina Petronila y la creación de la corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1987).

[472] Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón* (Madrid, 1945), has yet to be superceded as the source for royal burial in Aragón.

[473] Federico Balaguer, "Las capillas del claustro de San Pedro el Viejo en Huesca," *Seminario de arte aragonés* 2 (1945): 39-49.

[474] Petronila is believed to have been buried in the cathedral of Barcelona, but no tomb remains nor is there any documentary evidence supporting this tradition.

sovereignty. He was crowned, knighted, married to Sancha of León-Castilla, and traveled the realm to be recognized. In 1176, two years into his reign, Alfonso II promised his body to the Cistercian monastery of Poblet. Alfonso's father, Ramon Berenguer IV, had given the land to Fontfroide in 1149 for the foundation of the first Cistercian monastery in the county of Barcelona. Alfonso left compensation to the monastery of Ripoll in his will for not following his father' earlier promise to be buried there.

Alfonso aligned himself with his father's county in his decision to leave the care of his body to the monks at Poblet. Barcelona was both wealthier and poised for greater expansion than Aragón, and it was also the area where his regal authority over neighboring counts needed constant affirmation.[475] He shifted the balance of power to Barcelona, but recognized the need for a new burial space that would distinguish the county from the kingdom. This decision was similar to the one made a century earlier upon the foundation of the kingdom of Aragón. While the burial site of the new kings of Aragón was preserved at San Juan de la Peña, a new location at the site was established, a chapel off the transept that highlighted the distinction between counts and kings. The counts and knights were buried in the Panteón de los Nobles in the atrium of San Juan de

[475] As opposed to Castilla or León, Aragón was a confederation of counties brought together under the rule of a new king. The county of Barcelona was not owed fealty by the other counts in the area, nor did these counts owe allegiance to the king of Aragón. Fiercely independent, the counts of Aragón and Catalunya held courts, and affirmed their power. Naming the king simply *primus inter pares*, first among equals, they accepted his rule as feudal overlord, but took the king regularly to court over territorial disputes and the like. Alfonso named himself in documents as king by the grace of god *Dei gratias* but his counts did not perceive him as a secular vicar of God in the land. This was particularly so in Catalunya. Adam J. Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior* of the Counts of Barcelona: The Cartulary as an Expression of Power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 1-22.

la Peña and the kings on the interior of the church. This placement also affirmed the greater privileges allowed for the burial of kings during the period.

Alfonso's patronage emphasized his dedication to the Cistercian and Hospitaller orders. His decision to leave the care of his body and memory to the Cistercians of Poblet appears consistent with that of other rulers of this date. For example, Louis VII of France was buried at Barbeaux in 1180, and Alfonso VIII of Castilla promised burial at Las Huelgas in 1199.[476] The contemplative nature of the reform order provided an appropriate environment for burial and prayer for the patron's soul and may have appeared more reasonable than to leave one's body to a military order.

Alfonso's wife, Sancha, however, made precisely that decision when she chose not to follow him to Poblet, but instead to place her body in the care of Hospitaller nuns. In establishing her own monastery she attempted to usurp the location of dynastic burial. The queen sought to establish a new pantheon that created a balance between Aragón and Barcelona physically. The monastery created a bridge between important cities in Aragón and Barcelona on the one hand, and the newer territories of Zaragoza on the other. Sancha sought to create a new space for a new realm, one strongly connected to Aragón. She established the monastery of Sigena in 1187 and promised to take vows and be buried at the institution.[477] She placed the monastery at the heart of the new expanded realm, upholding the Hospitaller affiliation of Alfonso I, but creating a new space, in a female house, for the kings' bodies. In this action Sancha followed the customs of her Leonese ancestors, both in stipulating her burial at her foundation, and in placing her

[476] Both of these promises happen after that of Alfonso II. The Cistercians, however, had already received the bodies of important noblemen into their institutions.
[477] See quotation at the beginning of this chapter.

monastery in newly conquered territory, in this case territories occupied by Alfonso I and Ramon Berenguer IV.[478]

Sancha's quest for the privileged position of Sigena as royal foundation and house of kings played out in her influence over her son, Pedro. Her desire to establish at Sigena a royal necropolis was in conflict with Alfonso II and his promises to Poblet and Ripoll, yet she honored them. Upon Alfonso's death in Zaragoza in 1196, his body was transferred to Poblet, his wishes to compensate Ripoll were carried out, and Sancha assumed regency of Aragón over the sixteen-year-old Pedro. Within months Pedro promised his body to Sigena.[479] The following year Sancha, with Pedro's agreement, made a donation to Poblet.[480] This act suggests compensation. Alfonso, as his father had done before him at Ripoll, may have suggested to Poblet that the monastery would be the dynastic burial place. Sancha interfered, and Pedro followed his mother's wishes. As Sancha neared her own death in 1208, Pedro took the monastery under his protection and gave greater privileges to the Hospitaller order.[481] His promise of burial was observed: after his death in the battle of Muret in 1213 the Hospitaller knights retrieved his body

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[478] Jaume Sobreques Callico, "La corona de Aragón o confederación catalano-aragonesa: Los origenes, siglo XII," *L'Avenç* 100 (1987): 14-23. The territorial expansion and consolidation is further discussed by González Anton in *La consolidación de la corona de Aragón*, 16-17.

[479] Pedro confirmed the properties of the Hospital in all of his territories and affirmed his burial at Sigena on June 6, 1196, while still in Zaragoza after his father's death. Ubieto Arteta, 56-57 (doc. 23).

[480] In *Cartulari de Poblet* the donation is dated to March 1198, yet Miret y Sans dates it to 1197. In either case the donation was signed by both Sancha and Pedro, but authored by Sancha. *Cartulari de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1938), 97-98 and Joaquin Miret y Sans, "Itinerario del rey Pedro I de Cataluña, II de Aragón (1196-1213)," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3-4 (1903-1904): 86.

[481] Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena*, 86-88 (doc. 50, October 27, 1208, Huesca).

and delivered it to Sigena.[482] Sancha's success was short-lived, however, as her grandson, Jaime I, moved burial back to Poblet; from this point Poblet became the most important burial place for Aragonese kings.[483]

In her desire to make Sigena the house of the royal dead, Sancha not only shifted the axis of power towards Aragón, but also attempted to place the body of the king in women's hands. Enclosure laws at the female monastery of Sigena restricted the space for lavish ceremonies of succession. A visual statement of continuity was thus limited, but there were precedents for this practice in Sancha's natal lands. Sancha had spent her early years in León, home of two important royal necropolises: San Salvador de Palaz del Rey - also associated with a queen regent - and the double monastery of San Isidoro. While her aunt had reformed the abbey into an Augustinian canonate and moved the nuns to the monastery of Carvajal, the importance of women in the remembrance of the dead must have been paramount in Sancha's mind.

Sancha also made the bold move of bringing royal burial within the confines of the church. Her source was local – San Juan de la Peña. The location of the tombs of the royal family at Sigena followed the plan of San Juan de la Peña (Figure 61).[484] A chapel was designated for burial in the transept of the church, in about the same position as the chapel at San Juan de la Peña (Figure 62). The sight axis for visitors, however, was inverted.

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[482] The negotiations for Pedro's body took a few years but had been completed by the time Jaime came to power in 1230.

[483] It was by no means the only burial site, though, as the Cistercian Santes Creus was also used for this purpose. Barry Rosenman, "The Tomb Canopies and the Cloister at Santes Creus," *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (Kalamazoo, 1984), 229-240.

[484] I thank Reuben Smith for his assistance in adapting these groundplans for my needs.

Sigena's chapel was visible upon entry into the lay space. Entry into the church of San Juan de la Peña required the visitor to walk along the atrium, the location of the tombs of the counts of Aragón; the royal burial space would have been on the left upon entry into the church. The sight axis moved the viewer into the nave toward the cloister. The viewer would have to turn left with prior knowledge of the location of burial. At Sigena entry placed the viewer on axis with the chapel. As the visitor approached the altar, the royal chapel would become prominent in their sightline. To this can be added that the visitor to Sigena would enter the monastery after passing the tombs of the knights who died at Muret alongside Pedro II. The tombs were on the exterior to the right of the portal.

Sigena's church has three burial chapels, royal, religious, and noble all to the left of the altar. The chapel that was adjacent to the altar space was designated for the burial of the nuns from the community. Adjacent to it and in the transept was the royal burial space. Sancha, her son, Pedro, and her daughters, Dulce and Leonor, were buried in this space.[485] The arrangement of Sancha and Pedro's niche tombs emphasized their burials: they were interred under a large pointed arch that unites the two burial niches (Figure 63). This organization also placed the tombs in the area open to the lay community. In the plan of the church the liturgical choir was moved back so the lay community could have access to the altar, a system not unusual for women's monasteries.[486]

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[485] The burial of Leonor is still in question. While two burials exist for Sancha's daughters, Leonor is known to have died in Toulouse during the Albigensian crusade and may have been buried there.

[486] Choirs in women's foundations in Spain often transformed the church plan in this way. Monasteries such as Gradefes and Tulebras maintain this arrangement, as opposed to their counterparts for male religious, who simply used the standard choir area. Photographs from the church of Sigena, prior to its burning, document the presence of a

Sancha's attempt to place the king's body in the hands of women was a radical one, but not unprecedented. The royal women of León and Castilla had had important roles in the care of the body and memory of the dead. This is the environment Leonor entered upon her marriage to Alfonso VIII of Castilla. Her role in burial and memorial was expected. Unlike Sancha, she did not have to contend with competition from her husband.

Leonor and Alfonso VIII: From Geographic Expansionism to Familial Necropolis

In contrast with Aragón, Castilla did not have a firm burial tradition. Unified with León until 1157, its monarchs had been buried principally at San Isidoro de León, Sahagún, and Oña.[487] Alfonso VII, however, split the kingdom between his two sons.[488] The elder, Sancho III, inherited Castilla, Fernando II, León. The most important burial spaces of the joint kingdom, San Isidoro de León and Sahagún, were in Leonese territory. Sancho III died within three years of his ascension to the throne leaving a five-year old son, Alfonso VIII. Sancho was buried in the cathedral of Toledo, a city conquered by his

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second altar within the choir suggesting a divide between services open to the public and those focused on the hours. Eventually Las Huelgas followed this same process by expanding the enclosed area the entire length of the nave, opening only the transept to the lay community. In both cases the monasteries were open to the public at the level of the transept or, as in the case of Sigena, just below.

[487] Del Arco's *Sepulcros de Castilla* is the best source for information on royal burial in Castilla and León.

[488] For a discussion of this period and of the problems in Alfonso VIII's succession, see Chapter 1.

grandfather.[489] This burial, like those of Ramiro II and Alfonso I in Aragón, was too recent to establish a tradition.

Leonor Plantagenet, Alfonso VIII's queen, created a new burial space at Las Huelgas, similar to Sigena in Aragón. The new space brought the burial of kings back to the capital of the original county of Castilla, Burgos. Here the first count of Castilla, Fernán González, had been buried at the Colegiata de Covarrubias.[490] The new location placed the royal dead in the traditional center of the new realm, rather than in the newly conquered territories.[491] And Leonor, like Sancha, moved royal burial into the female sphere.

Three major events in the north aided Leonor's plan to designate Las Huelgas the royal pantheon. These events may have triggered her desire to make her monastery into a mausoleum, and all three were linked to her mother, Eleanor of Aquitane. The first, an architectural feat, was the construction of the crypt and choir at Saint Denis in 1140-1144. Saint Denis had long been the principal burial place of the French kings. The reconstruction of the east end occurred during the period of Eleanor's marriage to Louis VII. In 1976 Eleanor Greenhill raised the possibility that Eleanor of Aquitaine not only provided the funds for this new venture but also brought masons with her from

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[489] Toledo, a reconquest city, may have been the most logical location, with two kings already buried there, Sancho and Alfonso VII. Leonor preferred Burgos, however, and in the tug-of-war between the two cites and burial sites, Leonor seems very present. The idea of burial in new territories would become the norm in the thirteenth century with Fernando III and Alfonso X both being buried in cathedrals, in Sevilla and Murcia. Eventually though the monastic allure won out with the establishment of El Escorial outside of Madrid. In the interim, examples exist of both forms of burial.

[490] Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, "Los primeros siglos de la reconquista (711-1038)," in *Historia de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, vol. 6 (Madrid, 1964), 228.

[491] Alfonso VIII did have major military victories expanding his territory southward, the most notable at Las Navas de Tolosa.

Aquitaine.[492] Certainly there is a great deal of debate over this issue, but even if Eleanor was not the financier, she was present at the consecration of the new east end. She would have been aware of the innovations brought about by this renovation.

While Louis VII may have been involved in the expansion of Saint Denis, he did not choose burial there, preferring instead an internment at the Cistercian monastery of Barbeaux.[493] He had been instrumental in its foundation and patronage and in 1180 became the first French king to be buried in the church of this new monastic order.[494] Alfonso II in Aragón was buried at the Cistercian monastery of Poblet in 1196. This placed the burial of two kings in Cistercian foundations.

The final decisive event in the north that contributed to Leonor's attitude towards a new royal necropolis was the burial of Henry II at the double monastery of Fontevrault in 1189. Rather than moving his body back to England, Eleanor of Aquitaine had Henry buried at her monastery of Fontevrault.[495] Leonor modeled her patronage and the

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[492] Eleanor Greenhill, "Eleanor, Abbot Suger, and Saint-Denis," in *Eleanor of Aquitane: Patron and Politician*, ed. William W. Kibler (Austin, 1976), 81-114.
[493] Alain, Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sepultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), 75-76, 86.
[494] It has been suggested by Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Georgia Sommers Wright, that this decision combined with Louis IX's patronage of Royaumont and his impending departure for the crusade with its inherent risks, all contributed to the new program of royal effigies in the crossing of Saint Denis in 1263-1264. Louis VII was not the only recent king to choose an alternate setting for his burial; Phillipe I had been buried at Saint Benoit-sur-Loire. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Le tombeau de Saint Louis," *Bulletin Monumental* 126/1 (1968): 7-28; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 95 (May-June 1980): 175-182, and "Burying and Unburying the Kings of France," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard C. Trexler (Binghampton, 1985), 241-266; and Georgia Summers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56/2 (1974): 224-243.
[495] Henry's will of 1170 indicates his intention to be buried at Grandmont. Hallam, "Burial and the Cult of Kingship," 369. Henry died near Fontevrault, but by this period

organization of Las Huelgas on her mother's favored abbey, Fontevrault. The primary role of prayer at Fontevrault fell to women. Eleanor created a precedent for the burial of a king in a foundation associated with a queen's patronage and run by women.

These three events provided the justification Leonor needed for her burial program: establishing the precedent of a Cistercian burial for kings, providing a recent source for placement of kings in the hands of women, and affirming the use of early Gothic forms. The placement of kings in women's monasteries had precedents in León-Castilla as well, but the precedents were old, dating back to the tenth century. Leonor could now call on new precedents as well; it is possible she also knew of Sancha's recent decisions in Aragón. Sancha had promised burial at Sigena in 1187, over a decade prior to Leonor and Alfonso's promise.

The actual location of Leonor's tomb is shrouded in some confusion, as it does not follow the standard burial placement for the period. The liturgical choir at Las Huelgas occupied nearly the full extent of the nave, and today the double sarcophagus of the founders is located on axis between the liturgical choir and its altar (Figure 64, no. 20-21).[496] The tombs of Leonor's daughter, Berenguela, and her granddaughter of the same name were placed in the enclosed space of the choir, next to the altar. Over the

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the practice of moving bodies a great distance (often after dismembering the body) in order to fulfill the monarch's wishes was in effect. While Bienvenu questioned whether Eleanor was the instigator, Henry's body was not moved in accordance with his earlier wishes. On the practice of moving bodies, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Burying and Unburying," 241-266; Brown also looks at legislation that attempted to control the practice in "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981): 221-270.

[496] This space is further restricted by the addition of a wall that spreads the entire eastern portion of the transept. Two openings exist in this wall, one for entry into the south side aisle, another that opens on axis with the altar. The lay community is restricted to the transept (Figure 75). It is not clear when these series of walls were put in place.

years the side aisles slowly filled with additional tombs, divided according to station, the right aisle for the royal and noble nuns, the left for the children of the royal family. The tombs of Enrique I, Leonor and Alfonso's heir, and Fernando de la Cerda, Alfonso X's eldest son, are both found near the entry into the enclosed space from the south end of the transept.

The placement of the kings' tombs in the main body of the church was not a standard practice, in the choir even less so. The most important example of royal burials in the area before the altar – whether nave, choir, or crossing – was a series of Carolingian and Capetian tombs at Saint-Denis.[497] In 1263-1264 these tombs were excavated, reorganized, and given new gisants, which were placed in two parallel lines in the crossing of the church, near their original burial sites. The new program created a seemingly unbroken line of rulers, a genealogy in concrete form (Figure 65).[498] Leonor and Alfonso VIII were buried 1214, predating the revamped program at Saint Denis by 50 years.[499]

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[497] Saint Germain-des-Près is another possible source. It appears that Childebert and Ultrogothe each have a tomb there, one of which was at the center of the choir space. I have not been able to determine which tomb was where based on the plan in Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, 7-8. Another suggested source is Fontevrault based on their present location in the nave of the church. The sarcophagi, however, were moved in the previous century during the renovation of the site. The original location of the tombs was in a chapel off the transept, much like the Sigena tombs. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Le 'cimetière des rois' a Fontevrault," *Congrés archeologique de France* 122 (1966): 482-492.

[498] Erlande-Brandenburg *Le roi est mort*, 75; Brown, "Burying and Unburying," 241-266; and Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of Saint Louis," 224-243. It has been suggested, furthermore, that the plan for the cycle had been in the works for many years, possibly since the burial of Louis VII at the Cistercian monastery of Barbeaux in 1180.

[499] It is possible that the precedent is again English. King Stephen appears to have been buried at the focal point of the choir of the monastery of Faversham in 1148. I have not been able to get more specific information on this, however. Hallam, "Burial and the Cult of Kingship," 369.

The original location of the tombs at Las Huelgas has been called into question by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeires, who suggests that until 1250, the sarcophagi of the monarchs and their children were in the chapel of La Asunción (Figure 51-52).[500] While the use of the chapel is also consistent with the traditional placement of burials within cloisters, the present state of La Asunción does not allow for the sarcophagi, as it is too small for that purpose.[501] If the chapel originally extended the length of Las Claustrillas, however, the location could have been a suitable place awaiting the final destination.[502] It is, however,

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[500] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Investigaciones iconográficas sobre la escultura funeraria del siglo XIII en Castilla y León" (Ph.D diss., Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1993), 104-116. María Jesus Herrero Sanz in "Los sepulcros del panteon real de Las Huelgas," *Reales Sitios* 27/105 (1990): 17-30 suggests the move in 1251.

[501] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras suggests in her 1993 dissertation "Investigaciones iconográficas sobre la escultura funeraria del siglo XIII en Castilla y León" that the tombs were moved into the choir in 1279 at the time that several altars were consecrated in the church. Her conclusions are based on three aspects: the document that speaks of the consecration of the tombs, the chronicles of the period, and the architecture of the chapel of La Asunción. The first speaks of the consecration of the *cemaetarium* of the king, the other kings, and the *infantes*. The second argument rests on the idea that chronicles would distinguish between a burial in the monastery and in the church of a monastery. This is not a distinction often made in chronicles. They simply state the general site of burial, not its specific location in the precinct. At Las Huelgas the notation is the typical identification of the monastery (not its church, chapel, or cloister) as the place of burial. The final assertion is based on the form of the chapel of the Assumption. This Mudejar chapel follows the basic form of the Holy Sepulchre, but does not, certainly, follow the style of the original structure. It is a small chapel with four niches. Sánchez Ameijeires believes the original burial of Fernando, Leonor and Alfonso VIII's heir, was in one of these niches. Fernando's tomb does appear to have been in this space. An *arcosolio,* an opening created between two arches, was constructed between the proposed sacristy and the apse/chapel. No comparable space was created for the kings, suggesting they were never buried at this location. I do think that the idea that the young *infantes*, who died in childhood, were buried here is plausible. Since this chapel was close to the secular space of the monastery, where the queen would have resided, it would have allowed her easier access to the burials of her children. These sarcophagi were later moved into the left aisle alongside that of Fernando.

[502] Sanchez Ameijeires presents the original groundplan of the chapel as extending the length of Las Claustrillas. Rocio Sanchez Ameijeiras, "El 'çementerio real' de Alfonso VIII en Las Huelgas de Burgos," *Semata* 10 (1998): 77-109.

an unlikely space due to its spatial constraints and isolation within the complex, especially in light of recent royal Castilian burial practice.

The monarchs had promised burial at Las Huelgas in 1199, at the time of Las Huelgas' conclusive designation as motherhouse of the Cistercian foundations of women in León and Castilla. The monastery had already received the bodies of the queen's children who died in infancy. While the great church was being constructed a temporary location at La Asunción provided the monarchs with a suitable pantheon for their children. It is unlikely, however, it was ever intended as the resting place of the king and queen. Castilian burial tradition with few exceptions designated highly accessible and visible locations for their monarchs' tombs, choosing their narthex entry, or chapels off the transept as appropriate. Leonor, too, came for a tradition that allowed for the burial of a king within the confines of the church in a chapel or crypt. A small chapel closed to the public was inconsistent with both traditions. The transfer of the sarcophagi to the center of the choir was an extremely bold move and it is this action that likely occurred in 1250 with the completion of the permanent roof of the church.

The enigmatic document of 1279 marked the completion of the Chapel of San Juan Bautista and the creation of a royal pantheon in the church interior, converting the entire nave and side aisles into a pantheon. The document dedicates the south aisle to St. John the Evangelist and designates for it the burial of the noble nuns. The north aisle is dedicated to Santa Catalina and is designated for the burial of the *infantes*. The final program centered on the presence of the monarchs in the choir can be ascribed to this moment. The question that arises is where the resting place of the monarchs had been up until this time. Sanchez Ameijeiras, noted above, argues that the octagonal groundplan of

La Asunción and its association with the Holy Sepulchre was a suitable location for the monarchs' burial. This transformation of the original structure, however, suggests a manipulation of the original nave construction for that purpose, creating a space unlikely to hold the sarcophagi of four *infantes*, who died in childhood, a royal heir, the king and queen, and their successor. This also precludes public access to the bodies of two kings: Alfonso VIII and Enrique I.[503]

At the death of Alfonso and Leonor, the church of Las Huelgas was in use awaiting a permanent roof. It appears more likely, therefore, that the monarchs were placed within the church space, probably in a chapel adjacent the apse. The portico of the church had already been designated for the burial of noblemen, and some of the earliest tombs that survive still inhabit that space. Leonor's daughters and granddaughters, the queen Berenguela and the *señora doñas* Constanza and Berenguela, preserved the role of the queen in the remembrance of their family. Queen Berenguela in particular was a savvy politician and preserver of familial sanctity.[504] Berenguela took over her mother's duties in the public ceremonies of burial of her father, repeated a month later for her mother. These could not have drawn the public into the cloister of Las Huelgas and given the deliberate allusions Leonor constantly makes to Fontevrault, the placement of the sarcophagus off the transept appears logical.[505] Leonor had orchestrated the

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[503] As noted in Chapter 3, the church was also the setting of the knighting and coronation of Fernando III in 1219.

[504] Miriam Shadis, "Berenguela of Castile's Political Motherhood: The Management of Sexuality, Marriage, and Succession," in *Medieval Mothering*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), 335-358.

[505] It is possible the final configuration of the monarchs' burial in the choir coincided with the burial of her granddaughter Berenguela who died in 1279. The succession of *infantas* at Las Huelgas created a continuum of powerful nuns devoted to familial

construction of the monastery, the designation of it for her burial, and centered the *infantazgo* at Las Huelgas. Her imprint in the placement of her tomb would not have been left open.[506]

Sancha and Leonor designated highly visible settings for their tombs. In both cases the tombs would have been visible to the secular community that visited the monastery. At Sigena, the visitors could penetrate the space of the tombs. The space of burial for the kings at Las Huelgas, however, was eventually enclosed in the choir. So, although the tombs were visible to the exterior world, the lay community could not enter the space. In both cases, the tombs were placed in an exalted space close to the altar. Sancha followed a traditional model. Leonor's configuration brought a significant innovation to the tradition of burial within the monastic church. The sculptural relief of the royal sarcophagi at Las Huelgas also makes them innovative.

Tomb Sculpture

The study of the medieval tomb as sculpture focuses on the extremes of the medieval period, stressing the early transformation of the Roman sarcophagus and picking up with the development of the effigial tomb. Erwin Panofsky's *Tomb Sculpture:*

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memory. Constanza followed her aunt Berenguela and it is under her direction that the final placement would have occurred.

[506] The existence and elaborate nature of the chapel of San Juan Bautista, in line with the pantheon of noblemen is an enigmatic one. It was the last accretion to the church in the thirteenth century. Its transformation suggests to me the expansion of the form for a new purpose after the monarchs were moved to the choir. The new style dates from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The prior existence of a chapel on the site is suggested by the very prominent position of the chapel, leading from the narthex. Without its early presence the Panteon de los Caballeros would have been an awkward accretion to the church.

Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini is emblematic of this bias toward figural motifs.[507] The eleventh and twelfth centuries provide the groundwork for the development of sculpted slab tombs in stone and bronze. This development is perceived as a transformation of the flat mosaic tomb slab, popular in southern Europe, into a three-dimensional stone lid contemporary with the resurgence of sculpture in the round.[508] Although Spain appears as a source for this development toward three-dimensionality, Panofsky does not present an analysis of the standard Iberian tomb type, which remained a non-figural slab.

Scholars have generally retained Panofsky's model for the examination of tomb sculpture.[509] The more elaborate the tomb, the more worthy of analysis. This, however, ignores the undercurrent of spiritual humility that was reflected in tomb decoration, or lack thereof, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and certainly in Spain. Phillipe Ariés observes in *The Hour of Our Death* that it was not until after the twelfth century that a

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[507] Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York, 1964), 39-64. It is interesting that, aside from historical treatments of the development of burial traditions, the twelfth century tends to be disregarded. Panofsky presents the period as formational for the new forms of the thirteenth; this is also the case in James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (New York, 1980). Not only is the twelfth century considered peripheral, but, not surprisingly, Spanish monuments are as well.

[508] James D. Breckenridge takes issue with Panofsky's identification of Spanish mosaics as a point of departure for the new forms in "The Role of Spain in the Revival of the Funerary Effigy in Medieval Art" in *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte: España entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlántico* (Granada, 1976), 313-319. His conclusion affirms Panofsky's view, although he extends the use of the mosaic figural slab over the entire Mediterranean, finding examples in Italy and North Africa as well.

[509] The tendency to focus on figural tombs of different kinds is also present in F.A. Greenhill's *Incised Effigial Slabs* (London, 1976), Judith Hurtig's "The Armored Gisant before 1400" (Ph.D. New York University, 1979), and even in Henriette s'Jacob's *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (Leiden, 1954).

steady decline in anonymity arose. The documentation of the lives of the wealthy and powerful began to appear in areas such as epitaphs and emblems.[510]

The twelfth century provides a radical change in the approach to tomb sculpture that reflects burial practice. This transformation is a slow one, and while sculptural sarcophagi appear dramatic and engaging, these tombs are exceptions. This is certainly the case in Spain, where an example of this tendency appears in the treatment of the sarcophagus of Blanca of Navarra, Alfonso VIII's mother (Figure 66). Most recently Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* has studied the iconography of the sarcophagus.[511] This elaborate program commemorating the young wife of Sancho III who died in childbirth, shows images from the life of Christ, while Blanca's family and court in mourning cover the sides and lid of the sarcophagus. Two other tombs have been associated with this form of late Romanesque sculptural sarcophagi, those of Saint Froilan's mother at the cathedral of Lugo and of Ramón Berenguer at Ripoll. Aragón had a similar example in the tomb of the countess Sancha (Figure 67).[512] Here scenes of horsemen are added to the images of the death of the countess and her soul rising to Heaven. These sarcophagi, however, remain the exception.

In León-Castilla, the standard sarcophagi for kings were stone boxes with flat, curved, or pointed slabs, but with no sculptural decoration.[513] The earliest consistently

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[510] Phillipe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York, 1981), 207-219. Colvin also ascribes the revival of funerary monuments as commemorative of an individual's life on earth to the twelfth century. Colvin, *Architecture and the After Life*, 137-138.
[511] Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, "Lament for a Lost Queen: The Sarcophagus of Doña Blanca in Najera," *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot, 2000), 43-80.
[512] David L. Simon, "Lo sarcophagi de Dona Sancha a Jaca," *Cahiers de Saint Michel-de-Cuxa* 10 (1979): 112-123.
[513] del Arco, *Sepulcros de Castilla*, 15-16.

incorporated sculpture is on the supports of the tomb. Used to raise the tomb a few inches off the ground in accordance with church legislation, these generally represent animals, either lions or dogs.

Heraldic reliefs embellish the ends of the tombs inserted into the atrium wall at San Juan de la Peña in Aragón. Supports were unnecessary, as the counts' bodies were embedded in the atrium wall and not on the interior of the church.[514] The only sculptural decoration was the family emblem or a Christological symbol in relief that faced the exterior courtyard.[515] The royal tombs were remodeled in the sixteenth century, but the spatial constraints suggest that they had been embedded in the walls from the beginning.[516]

The tombs of the Aragonese and Castilian kings at Sigena and Las Huelgas follow the general trends in these kingdoms. The tombs for Sancha and Pedro I at Sigena are plain stone boxes with peaked roofs.[517] The form closely follows the tombs at San Isidoro de León with the exception that, rather then being placed on lions, they are incorporated into wall niches.[518] They are thus embedded in the walls, just as at San Juan

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[514] Interestingly, sarcophagi do appear to have been used as well. Archeological evidence unearthed behind this area presents evidence of shallow slab sarcophagi.
[515] del Arco, *Sepulcros Aragón*, 21-22.
[516] Sarcophagi were found behind the wall of the funerary chapel. The sarcophagi lids have survived. This could suggest that the sarcophagi were initially laid out as at San Isidoro, but they appear to have extended behind the niche, rather than resting within the chapel. Del Arco, *Sepulcros de Aragón*, figure II.
[517] During the fourteenth century, paintings were added to the tombs. The best documented painting presents Sancha's soul being carried to the heavens. The painting on Pedro's tomb does not survive. Mariano Pano, "Actas de apertura y reconocimiento de los sepulcros reales del monasterio de Sijena," *Boletin de la Real Academia de Historia* 11 (1887): 462-469.
[518] While the Panteon de los Reyes in León has extremely simple sarcophagi, the setting in which they are placed is extravagant. The fresco cycle in the crypt has drawn a great deal of attention, most recently by Therese Martin in "Queen in Her Own Right: Urraca

de la Peña. Unlike Gothic wall tombs in the north, where pointed arches and rib work decorated elaborate niches during the thirteenth century, Sigena's tomb niches use rounded arches and are devoid of sculptural decoration.[519] Like the tombs themselves, the surrounding wall niches preserve the austerity of the architecture and the portal. A similar niche is present to the right of the portal at the entrance of the church (Figure 68). The bodies of the companions of Pedro I were buried at Sigena after being retrieved from Muret. This location clearly presented a division of space according to social rank. In the future, nobles would be buried within the confines of the church, but the initial use of the space as a pantheon appears to have been limited to members of the royal house. It seems that the monastery church began to incorporate the sarcophagi of the nobility only later, after it became clear that Jaime I had established a new royal necropolis at Poblet.

Within the sacred space of the church, Sancha created a division between royal and religious burial space, a distinction the Cistercian Chapter General would attempt in

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of León-Castilla," Kalamazoo Conference Paper May 2000) and Rose Walker in "The Wall Paintings in the Panteon de los Reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession," *Art Bulletin* 82/2 (2000): 200-225, but the fresco was not the only decoration. Anne de Egry discusses the program of the capitals of the monument in light of prayers for the sick and dying as well as the deceased in "Simbolismos funerarios en monumentos románicos españoles," *Archivo español de arte* 175 (1971): 9-17. See also Julio Pérez Llamazares. "El Real Panteon de San Isidoro de León," *Hidalgeria* 24/136 (1976): 493-496 and María Encina Prado Marcos, "Estudio Antropológico del Panteón Real de San Isidoro 'La antropología al servicio de la historia: Un caso real," *Promonumenta* 2 (1998): 12-26.

[519] Kurt Bauch's *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin, 1976), 45-62, is the most comprehensive discussion of the variations on the niche tombs and effigial sarcophagi. These tombs appear in the late twelfth century but are generally associated with figures lying in state, not with simple non-figural tombs. Fritz Arens looks at the prevalence of these niche graves in "Das Nischengrab in der Ostecke des Kreuzgangs in Zisterzienser-Klöstern," in *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, ed. Benoît Chauvin, vol. 3, *Architecture cistercienne* (Arbois, 1982), 7-15. This tomb type would be incorporated into the architecture of Cistercian monasteries in Spain during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but does not appear at Las Huelgas or Sigena.

1240 as well. The simplicity of the tombs would, therefore, maintain two of her primary interests: the creation of a connection with her Leonese predecessors and the affirmation of her piety. By denying the presence of family crests and emblems she affirmed an orthodox treatment of the body after death, one that did not exploit the deeds of the living, but rather focused on humility at the last moments.[520]

The sarcophagi of Las Huelgas, on the other hand, present a new trend toward decorative tombs. They do not, however, include recumbent figures, but rather depict royal and noble coats-of-arms in shallow relief and in a few cases figural decoration.[521] The first dated extant sarcophagus at Las Huelgas was for an *infanta* in 1194.[522] The sculptural relief uses themes present in the mourning motifs of Alfonso's mother Blanca of Navarra's sarcophagus (Figure 69). The sculptural motifs and architectural division of the decorative program on the sarcophagus is also consistent with the tombs of noblemen in the portico from the first decade of twelfth century. The sarcophagus, however, has few comparisons on the interior of the church, the most notable one being the

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[520] It is possible that the resistance to the form of the gisant also came from the association with Roman gisants. Rayon believes the gisant to be a resurgence in interest in pagan antiquity. Rayon, 84-86.

[521] The sarcophagi have been the subject of two studies in Spain by the works of Manuel Gomez-Moreno and the Patrimonio Nacional in addition to extensive emphasis in del Arco and Sánchez Ameijeires. These studies rely on Las Huelgas to a great extent because the sarcophagi have remained relatively untouched. Certainly, they have not undergone the extensive re-working that other tomb cycles, such as at the monastery of San Salvador de Oña, have endured. Manuel Gomez Moreno, *Panteon real de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (Madrid, 1946) and *Panteon real de Las Huelgas de Burgos: Los enterramientos de los Reyes de León y Castilla* (León, 1998) focus on the tombs and their contents, in particular the textile remains of the tombs not desecrated by Napoleon's troops.

[522] This sarcophagus has been assigned either to the burial of the *infante* Sancho who died in 1181 or the *infanta* Leonor of unknown death date. Herrero Sanz, "Sepulcros de Las Huelgas," 24-25, María Jesus Gomez Barcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos* (Burgos, 1988), 187-88.

sarcophagus of the *infanta* Berenguela. The majority of the sarcophagi are covered in coats of arms, painted or in shallow relief. This is the case of the sarcophagus of Fernando, Leonor and Alfonso VIII's heir, who died in battle in 1211. The painted remnants of the sarcophagus have a detailed network of geometric shapes with the castle insignia of Castilla in the interior forms.[523] With few exceptions this innovation was maintained for the subsequent tombs at Las Huelgas.[524]

The construction of the sarcophagi of Las Huelgas appears consistent with the construction of Sigena's tombs: peaked stone sarcophagi with painted motifs. At Sigena the tombs were embedded in the walls of the royal chapel. Las Huelgas sarcophagi consistently appear raised off the ground by the use of stone blocks, or stone eagles or lions, the latter being the most common. Leonor and Alfonso's sarcophagus follows this trend (Figure 70). It is a double tomb that demarcates the space for each monarch through the incorporation of two peak-roofed sarcophagi that share an interior wall. Their family emblems almost cover the entire surface, castles for Alfonso, three lions for Leonor. In the pediment at the head of each sarcophagus there is a small scene. Alfonso appears on his sarcophagus with Leonor and their daughter, Berenguela, at his side, presenting the letter of donation for Las Huelgas to doña Misol, the first abbess, and

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[523] The work done on this sarcophagus, as on Leonor and Alfonso's, demonstrates the influence of Mudejar decorative reliefs, the same kind of intricate work added later in the vaults of the cloister of San Fernando.

[524] A notable exception is the tomb of Berenguela. This tomb has occasioned a certain amount of debate. It has long been know as the tomb of Berenguela, but which Berenguela is the question. Queen Berenguela, the daughter of Leonor and Alfonso VIII, had ordered her entombment in a plain sarcophagus, devoid of decoration. Her request was not carried out, and an elaborate tomb, more similar to her grandmother Blanca's tomb than to her parents', was provided. It is believed that her granddaughter Berneguela, a nun (and *señora doña*), had her moved into a tomb more in keeping with her wishes. The nun Berenguela is believed to have then been buried in the old tomb.

another nun; on the back pediment, two angels lift a cross. The Crucifixion appears on the front of Leonor's sarcophagus; the back presents her soul lifted to the heavens.[525] Thus both monarchs appear in central positions on their respective tombs – and Leonor is present on her husband's – balancing images of the cross from both front and back. These scenes represent the monarchs' generosity and an affirmation of their faith. The donation scene is unique among the remaining sarcophagi. Even the coffins that incorporate figural reliefs, such as the tomb of Berenguela, depict religious images.[526]

The present sarcophagus of the monarchs has been dated to the middle of the thirteenth century. Herrero Sanz presents arguments both for its completion in 1251 and its final form in 1279. The tomb of the *infanta* Berenguela provides a balance to the construction of form. It is securely dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The sarcophagus is covered with relief images that focus on the Virgin, the most visible include the Adoration and Coronation. The foot of the form, facing the altar, incorporates an image of the death of Berenguela and her soul lifted to the heavens. Stylistically, this piece provides a significant transformation from the sarcophagi of Alfonso and Leonor.

The presence of queen Berenguela on the sarcophagus of her parents provides some clues as to the dating of this monument. The queen gave specific instruction in her will that she wanted to be buried in a simple, unadorned sarcophagus. Her image

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[525] Leonor's image is unusual as her soul rises clothed and crowned rather than as a nude or swaddled figure.

[526] The presence of Berenguela on Alfonso's sarcophagus pediment alongside her mother can be viewed either as affirming the role of women, daughters, in this institution, or possibly Berenguela's own hand in the creation of the sarcophagi. She thus places herself in line with her parents from whom she inherited the realm, and partaking of their good works.

survives on the sarcophagus of her father Alfonso where the queen is placed at her parents' side and as a participant in the donation to the monastery. The inclusion of the queen in the sarcophagus appears to be a tribute to her by her granddaughter Berenguela. The *infanta* Berenguela was a powerful force in the continued power of the monastery, and devoted to her family's remembrance. If the original tombs of the monarchs were moved into the choir in 1251, the completed complex of the "royal cemetery" in the nave provided the opportunity for the *infanta* to create a fitting tribute to the founders and her grandmother.[527] The addition of Berenguela suggests her hand, particularly as this is the only place marked with her form.

The sarcophagi of the royal family that followed this monument incorporate greater amounts of Mudejar decorative elements. The incorporation of these elements associated with palace architecture into a Cistercian monastic church may seem surprising to the modern viewer.[528] These elements first appeared in structures that attempted to absorb Muslim luxury goods into their surroundings.[529] Due to their early secular use, the decoration came to be a signifier of wealth. At Las Huelgas the Mudejar decorative reliefs found in the chapel, tomb decoration, and cloister walls all point to the wealth of the monastery, but also to the inclusion of palace decoration in this monastic

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[527] The *infanta* Berenguela was also responsible for upholding her grandmother's wishes. Berenguela was initially buried in an elaborate sarcophagus against her wishes. Her granddaughter translated her body into a simple sarcophagus as she had originally stipulated. It is likely this dated to her transformation of the nave and side aisles into a royal pantheon.

[528] It should be noted, though, that the oldest area of the monastery had a Mudejar chapel, one probably devoted to the burial of the monarch's children. See discussion in Chapter III and in Sánchez Ameijeires, "El 'cementerio real,'" 77-109.

[529] For further discussion of the question of the cultural meaning of Mudejar decoration, see chapter III.

setting. Thus the monastery asserted the connection to the royal family through decoration alone.[530]

The tombs of Las Huelgas and those of Sigena present radically different approaches to tomb decoration. Sancha adhered to the stipulations of the church toward simplicity in their outer decoration. Leonor, and later, Berenguela were more innovative in their decisions on tomb decoration. The sarcophagi are decorated, although largely with heraldic images rather than narrative scenes. The only representation of a king depicts him as donor and affirms his relationship with Las Huelgas. In the omission of effigies Leonor departed from the innovations of her mother Eleanor of Aquitane.

The sarcophagi of Henry II, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Richard the Lionhearted at Fontevrault are all recumbent figures (Figure 71). Erlande Brandenburg presents these tombs as revealing a new trend toward effigial tombs in France.[531] These tombs were probably made at the end of the twelfth century. Henry II was buried at Fontevrault in 1189, Richard in 1199. The similar decoration of the three coffins links them as parts of a single program.[532]

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[530] Rosario Mazuela, "Arte mudejar en Burgos: Las huellas musulmanas en Las Huelgas y en el Hospital del Rey," *Reales Sitios* 92 (1987): 37-69.

[531] Effigies were not an unkown in Europe, however. German examples exist from a century earlier, but had not been adopted in France. In Eleanor's use of a new form for the area, her innovations extended to her own representation. Philippe Ariés argues in *Images of Man and Death* (Cambridge, 1985) that Eleanor breaks away from the conventions of the recumbent by presenting herself alive, reading from a book of hours; he notes that it is striking that one of the earliest effigies of a woman should present her reading (58-62).

[532] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "La sculpture funéraire vers les années 1200: Les gisants de Fontevrault," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York, 197?) The later addition of the sarcophagus of Isabelle d'Angoulême presents a slight departure from the earlier tombs suggesting a new sculptor was adapting the original forms.

Leonor and her mother were in contact during this period. Eleanor visited Castilla after Henry's death to negotiate a marriage alliance for one of her granddaughters. The result of her trip was the marriage between Blanche of Castilla, Leonor's daughter, and Louis VIII of France. Alfonso and Leonor provided their daughter, but it was Eleanor's son John (r. England 1199-1216), who was childless, who provided the dowry. Eleonor came to Burgos to choose a granddaughter and took Blanche with her to France. It is possible that Eleanor shared her plans for the burial of Henry II with Leonor. Leonor, however, relied on traditions from the Castilian royal family instead; effigial tombs did not become popular in Castilla until the fourteenth century.

Leonor may have created more elaborate tombs than Sancha, but she did not emulate the new effigial tombs of the north.[533] Initially similar to the tomb of Blanca of Navarra, the decorative program emphasized religious iconography and developed into repetitive decoration, a pattern of heraldry identifying the occupant. The relative simplicity of these sarcophagi ties them to those of Sigena in that both rely on the traditions of Castillian and Leonese burial practice. Sancha, however, gave preference to the Leonese traditions once more, perhaps not surprisingly, as she continually modeled her patronage at Sigena on San Isidoro de León. Leonor, on the other hand, balanced the traditional simple sarcophagi with Mudejar techniques associated with palace decoration to create a new form for the new Castilian kingdom.

[533] The effigial tomb did have an early counterpart in Iberia. The construction of a burial chapel at Santiago used this innovation. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "¿Raimundo de Borgoña (†1107) o Fernando Alfonso (†1214)? Un episodio olvidado en la historia del panteon real compostelano," *Museo de Pontevedra* 43 (1989): 161-179.

Conclusion

Leonor and Sancha succeeded in placing the royal body into the hands of women. Patrick Geary, Elizabeth Van Houts, and Miriam Shadis have begun to re-assess the roles of women in the capacity of caretakers of memory and of the dead.[534] Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance* explores the transition from women to monks as keepers of memory. These "ritual specialists" slowly usurped the role women had maintained by calling into question their reliability. Cluniac monasticism seems to have been the most powerful, consistent, and deliberate eroder of women's authority in this matter.

Geary and Penelope Johnson look at prayer within a gift economy where goods could be exchanged for prayer. This was at the core of the power and wealth of the monks of Cluny, a wealth that the Cistercians initially resisted. Johnson sees a strong connection between the role of women as intercessors and the rise of the doctrine of purgatory.[535] Geary presents this power as dwindling in the eleventh and twelfth century due to the rise of monastic intercession.

Leonor and Sancha clearly resisted the trend that called upon women to relinquish their power and authority in the care of the dead. The two queens simultaneously took advantage of succession crises to establish new mausolea and affirmed their confidence in the authority and security of their kingdoms in this bold act. Miriam Shadis, when looking at Leonor's daughters, Berenguela and Blanche, found that women's authority

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[534] Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium*, (Princeton, 1994); Miriam Shadis, "Motherhood, Lineage, and Royal Power," 1994; and van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*.
[535] Penelope Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York, 1981).

was still active in the thirteenth century. Women educated, cared for, and, above all, remembered. They were vital players in remembrance and in an economy of prayer.

After crises of succession in England and France, rulers attempted to gain legitimacy through the adaptation and appropriation of previous sites. After the dynastic transition of 1328, the Valois buried their dead at Saint Denis close to the kings of the previous dynasty.[536] They built upon the burial program in the crossing installed during the reign of Louis IX and successive monuments add to it. A similar manipulation of church space occurred in England during the fourteenth century. In this case the space between the columns surrounding the choir at Westminster Abbey was adapted for burial by Henry III and his successors.[537] In both cases, ceremonies were embellished to bring more credibility to the new leaders.

In Aragón and Castilla, however, the rulers established new houses for their new dynasties. Choosing to affirm new territories and their new dynasties, Sancha and Leonor were pivotal players in this decision. Even so, their decisions also limited access to the body of the king. Enclosure laws for nuns limited access to the body of the king at Sigena and Las Huelgas. Access for the laity was restricted, limiting the possibility of grand ceremonies. The site, not the tombs, thus became the symbol of the families'

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[536] Hallam, "Burial and the Cult of Kingship," 359-380 and Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, 1981) discuss the changes at Saint Denis under Louis IX and the successive Capetian kings.

[537] Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven, 1995). Binski looks at the interaction between funerary monuments and consecration ceremonies at Westminster. He traces the development of royal burial there from association with Saint Edward to an association of place with dynastic continuity. Binski links the burial of kings with their extended family to Las Huelgas more than to Saint Denis. See also D. Carpenter's "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia, and Royal Ideology," in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. D. Carpenter (London, 1996).

burial. Sancha and Leonor did, however, recognize the importance of regal ceremonies. While succession ceremonies were carried out elsewhere, both queens had their sons knighted at their monasteries. Leonor's son, Fernando, became the first nobleman to be knighted at Las Huelgas. Her grandson, Fernando III, was knighted by Saint James; a statue of the saint was manipulated during the ceremony to bring the arm of the saint's statue down to perform the knighting. The statue still remains at Las Huelgas.[538] Alfonso X, the great-grandson of Leonor, had the same ceremony performed at the same site.[539] Similarly, Pedro II was knighted at Sigena, and his son Jaime's first act as king was to come to Sigena to pay his respects at his father's grave.[540]

Sancha and Leonor clearly recognized the importance of bringing together not only death rituals but also royal ceremonies, even in settings that limited the movement of the lay community. Sancha's and Leonor's patronage presents bold moves that affirmed women's powers of intercession and the strength of their new dynasties. Both queens also used architectural style to create a firm link to past traditions of burial in their original kingdoms. As in the construction style of their monasteries, their choices were extraordinarily different both in the placement and in the style of the tombs.

Leonor and Sancha used the monastic venue to maintain their control over the remembrance of the royal family. They moved the care of the bodies, and souls, of their family members into the capable hands of nuns. Their authority over these communities allowed them greater control over how their family would be remembered. In both

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[538] An image of the statue can be found in Fray Valentín de la Cruz, *El monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos* (León, 1998), 61-62.
[539] This was again repeated by Alfonso XI, Enrique II, and Juan I.
[540] Fernan Soldevilla, ed. "Cronica de Jaume I," *Les quatre gran croniques* (Barcelona, 1971).

kingdoms, the monarchs had actively established and supported many monasteries. The rise to power of the Cistercians in Castilla occurred during the reign of Alfonso VIII.[541] Alfonso II favored the military orders alongside the Cistercians in Aragón and the county of Barcelona.[542] Thus, both kings had many options for their burial. It is clear, however, that it was the queens who determined where the members of their family would be buried and which institutions would stand at the center of their kingdoms in the matter of succession. Leonor and Sancha, furthermore, acted when they were still married, demonstrating that women did not have to wait for the death of their husbands to exercise this role. Their actions affirmed a persistent role of women as keepers of dynastic memory and protectors of the dead.

Sancha and Leonor created institutions that gave preeminence to their womanhood, not simply by virtue of the women who inhabited their monasteries, but through their decisions to link them to precedents in their homelands. Their foreignness allowed both queens to maintain a degree of autonomy without becoming a threat. Sancha and Leonor affirmed women's roles as intercessors and caretakers of the dead, and they made their monasteries emblems of the royal family and of their power and piety.

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[541] Vicente-Angel Alvarez Palenzuela, *Monasterios cistercienses en Castilla (siglos XII-XIII)* (Valladolid, 1978); Maur Cocheril, "L'implantation des abbayes cisterciennes dans la peninsule ibérique," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964): 228-294; and Jose Carlos Valle Perez, "La introducción de la orden del Cister en los reinos de Castilla y León," in *La Introducción del Cister en España y Portugal* (Burgos, 1991), 133-161.

[542] María Bonet Donato, *La ordel del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón: Poder y gobierno en la Castellania de Amposta (s. XII-XV)* (Madrid, 1994); María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982); Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les Casas de Templars y Hospitalars en Catalunya: Aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona, 1910); and Isabel Sánchez Casabon and María Jesus Sánchez Uson, "Alfonso II y el Cister en Aragón," in *El Cister: Ordenes religiosas zaragozanas* (Zaragoza, 1987), 17-34.

Conclusion

> " . . . a king ought to bear in mind that she whom he marries should be endowed with four qualities. First, she should come from a good family; second, she should be handsome; third, she should have good habits; fourth, she should be wealthy."[543]

Sancha of León-Castilla, the queen of Aragón, and her counterpart in Castilla, Leonor Plantagenet, were "good" and beloved queens. Contemporary writers highlighted their lineage, beauty, intelligence, grace, and compassion, qualities noted as essential for a queen as in the quotation above compiled between 1251-1265. A queen served as counsellor to the king, protector of their children, advocate for their people - both lay and religious, and her ability to perform these roles was critical to the wellbeing of the crown. Sancha and Leonor successfully navigated the public and private roles available to queens in a way that affirmed their positions as counsellors and mediators to the king and court. Leonor fulfilled these roles in a more private manner than Sancha, but both women demonstrated the ability to advocate without challenging the power of the king. The written record provides evidence of these queens aiding their spouses and affirming the role of the crown in the kingdom. Furthermore, these queens created lasting institutions that preserved their memories and affirmed the power of royal women at court and in religious circles. Their architectural patronage defined the queens' personas and left the most tangible evidence of the queens' power.

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[543] Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, Vol. 2: Medieval Government, the World of Kings and Warriors (Philadelphia, 2001), Partida II, titulo VI, ley I. Alfonso goes on to state that if all of these qualities are not found, a wife "of good family and of good habits" should be sought above beauty and riches.

Sancha and Leonor recognized the important role they had in relation to the church and its effect on how they were perceived in their present and would be remembered in the future. In Castilla the connection between royal women and the church had been codified through the *infantazgo*. Sancha and Leonor recognized this essential role, and expanded it, creating for themselves personas as pious queens. Rather than extend her wealth and power far and wide, where the impact would be less visible, each of these queens concentrated her benefactions on a single institution: Sancha founded the monastery of Sigena and Leonor Las Huelgas.

The names of the queens are documented as founders of monasteries, but their influence on the court and monastic organizations was felt for two centuries thereafter as the institutions they founded maintained their power in religious and in political spheres. Power brokers at court, the roles of Sigena and Las Huelgas survived as the queens provided land, wealth, and independence for the monasteries. In both cases the queens aligned their institutions with new, growing, monastic orders: Hospitallers in Aragón, Cistercians in Castilla. The orders benefited from the queens' favor, but also provided protection to their foundations. In their zeal to create lasting institutions the queens linked their foundations to future generations of royal women by placing the queens' properties under the monasteries' control. In Castilla, the *infantas* maintained authority over the *infantazgo*, separating the roles of abbess and royal princess; in Aragón, where an *infantazgo* did not exist, the abbesses held power over both secular and religious affairs, yet Sancha established special protections for royal women and affirmed the hierarchies of the court in the day to day practices of the monastery. Through these

maneuvers, the queens established a special place and role for royal women at their foundations.

While the role of Sancha and Leonor has been recognized in the foundation of their monasteries, their role in the arts has been overlooked. Both queens had powerful effects on the transformation of architectural style in their kingdoms. Sancha preferred the Romanesque style. The creation of a regal style at Sigena that emphasized fortress architecture and austere Romanesque forms had a powerful effect on the persistence of the Romanesque through the middle of the thirteenth century. Leonor advocated the new Gothic style of the north, creating at Las Huelgas one of the earliest examples of a cohesive Gothic structure. Leonor's advocacy of Gothic forms at Las Huelgas and Huerta, and her openness and willingness to support the building ambitions of Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, placed Castilla at the forefront of the new Gothic style on the peninsula.

Sancha and Leonor, both aware of new forms, moved in opposing directions of architectural style. These divergent choices reflected their monastic preferences and regional affiliations. Sancha advocated a native form, associated with fortress and palatial architecture. Leonor advocated a style of the north, her homeland, and of an order that, while Burgundian in origin, already had a foothold in her parents' lands of England and Aquitaine. Through these preferences the queens marked the architectural landscape. Castilla became the forerunner of Gothic on the Iberian Peninsula, Aragón the last bastion of the Romanesque. Sancha and Leonor were critical players in these developments. The queens, likewise, created spaces of dynastic remembrance and affirmed the role of women in the rituals of death.

Sancha and Leonor were effective in linking their foundations with royal burial. The practice of burial within monastic institutions was certainly not new; the queens innovated in the establishment of dynastic necropolises at women's foundations, and thus affirmed the role of women in the economy of prayer associated with the dead. The placement of kings' bodies within the monastery church created a royal space within the monastic setting. At Sigena the organization maintained the initial design of the queen using a burial chapel; burial at Las Huelgas, however, transformed the body of the church into a royal cemetery. Through the organization and control of these monasteries, the queens claimed a greater role for women of the royal house in remembrance.

The role of a queen in patronage was critical to her public persona. The institution she supported, how she behaved in public, what kind of influence she had on the king, and whether she was an advocate for her people all affected her status and ability to maneuver as queen. While chronicles and documents might record the latter three, the first investment could leave lasting physical evidence of her contributions. Sancha and Leonor chose to leave their mark through their architectural patronage, and particularly through the focused patronage of a specific religious institution that could be charged with preserving their memories. Through the initial dependence of these institutions on their benevolence, these women were able to shape the monastic institutions to preserve their legacies. These roles included providing a space for their remembrance, a place for their daughters and granddaughters to exercise their power, and a lasting mark on the monastic and architectural landscapes of their respective kingdoms.

The memories of Sancha and Leonor survive as good queens, both in private and public spheres. As foreign queens, they successfully balanced the traditions they brought

with them with the expectations of their new territories. As contemporaries, their actions helped define an Iberian ideal of a good queen, one that balanced pious action and effective power.

Illustrations

(All photographs by the author unless otherwise specified.)

Map 1. Iberian Peninsula at the Death of Alfonso VIII (Drawing: Kiersten Norbrothen after Williams, *The Art of Medieval Spain*)

Figure 1. Pointed Diaphragm Arches, Dormitory, Santa María la Real de Sigena, begun 1187

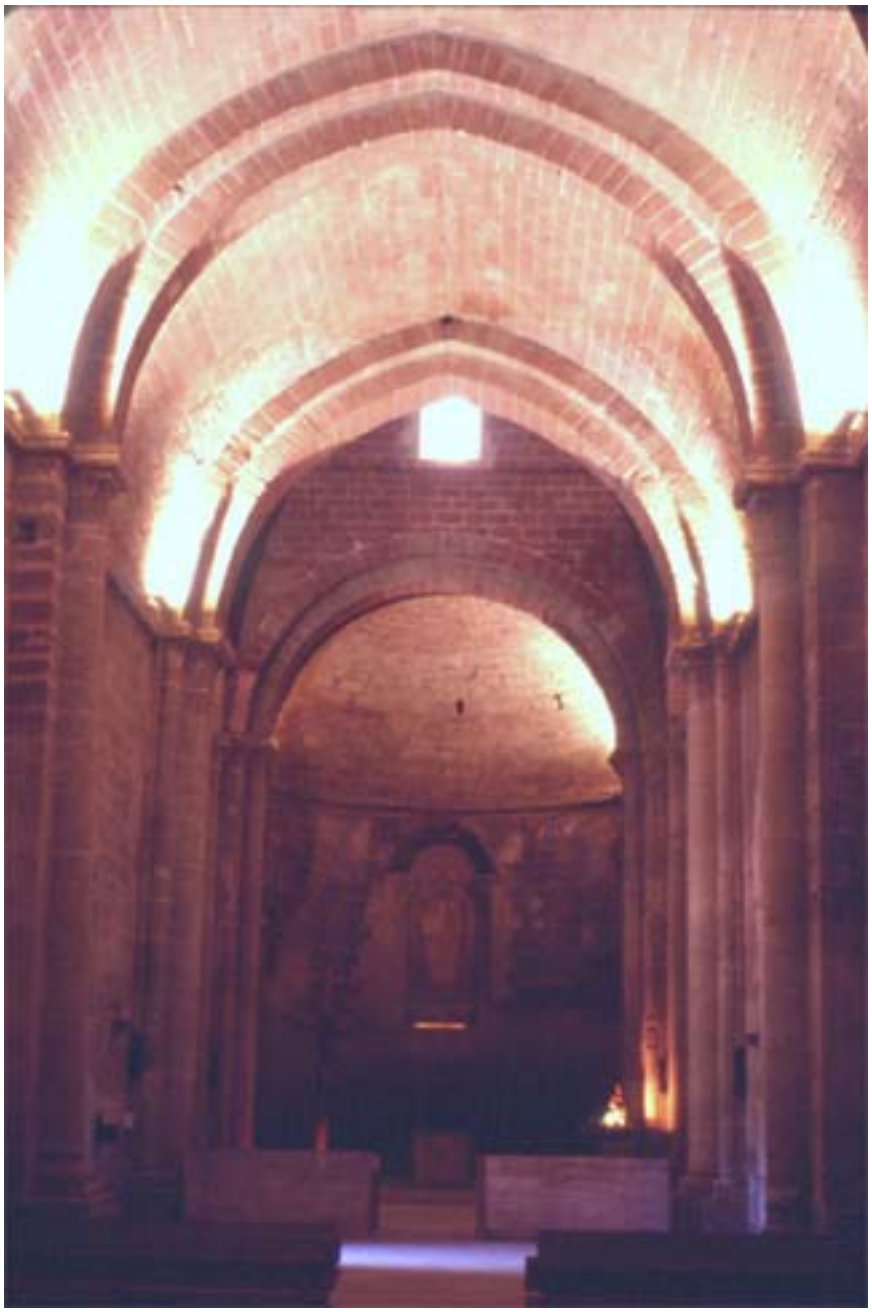


Figure 2. Pointed Barrel Vault, Nave, Sigena

Figure 3. Exterior, Apse and Side Chapel, Sigena

Figure 4. Quadripartite Vaults, Nave, Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, begun 1187

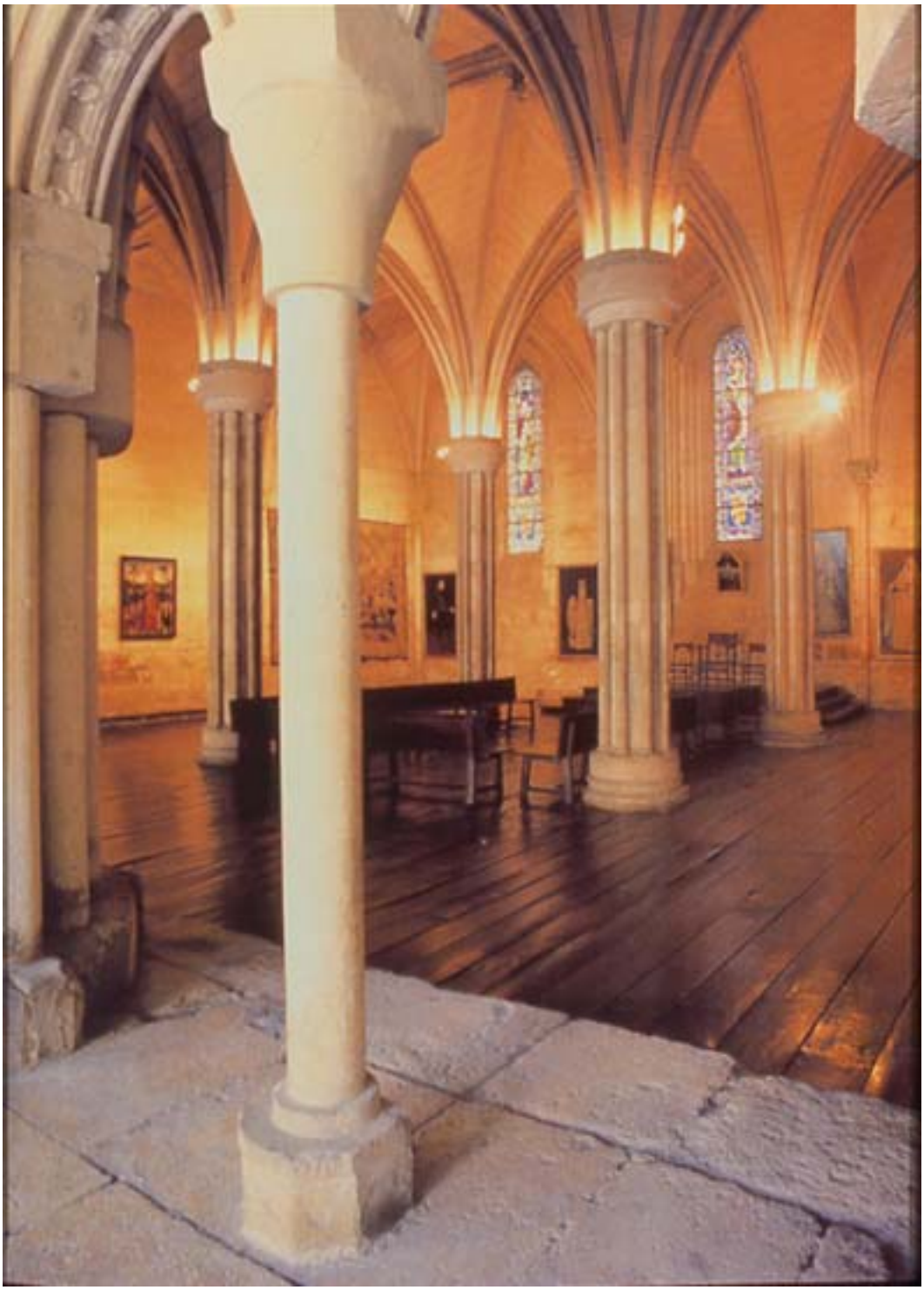


Figure 5. Chapter House, Las Huelgas (Photograph: de la Cruz)

Figure 6. Polygonal Apse, Las Huelgas

Figure 7. Petronila, *Liber Feudorum Maior*, end of XIIth century, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Registros, 1 (Photograph: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón)

Figure 8. Sancha and Alfonso II, *Liber Feudorum Maior*, end of XIIth century, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Registros, 1 (Photograph: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón)

Figure 9. Leonor and Alfonso VIII, *Tumbo Menor de Castilla*, mid-XIIIth century, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Codices, 1046B, libro 3

Figure 10. Exterior, Sigena

Figure 11. Apse, founded 1066, San Martin de Frómista

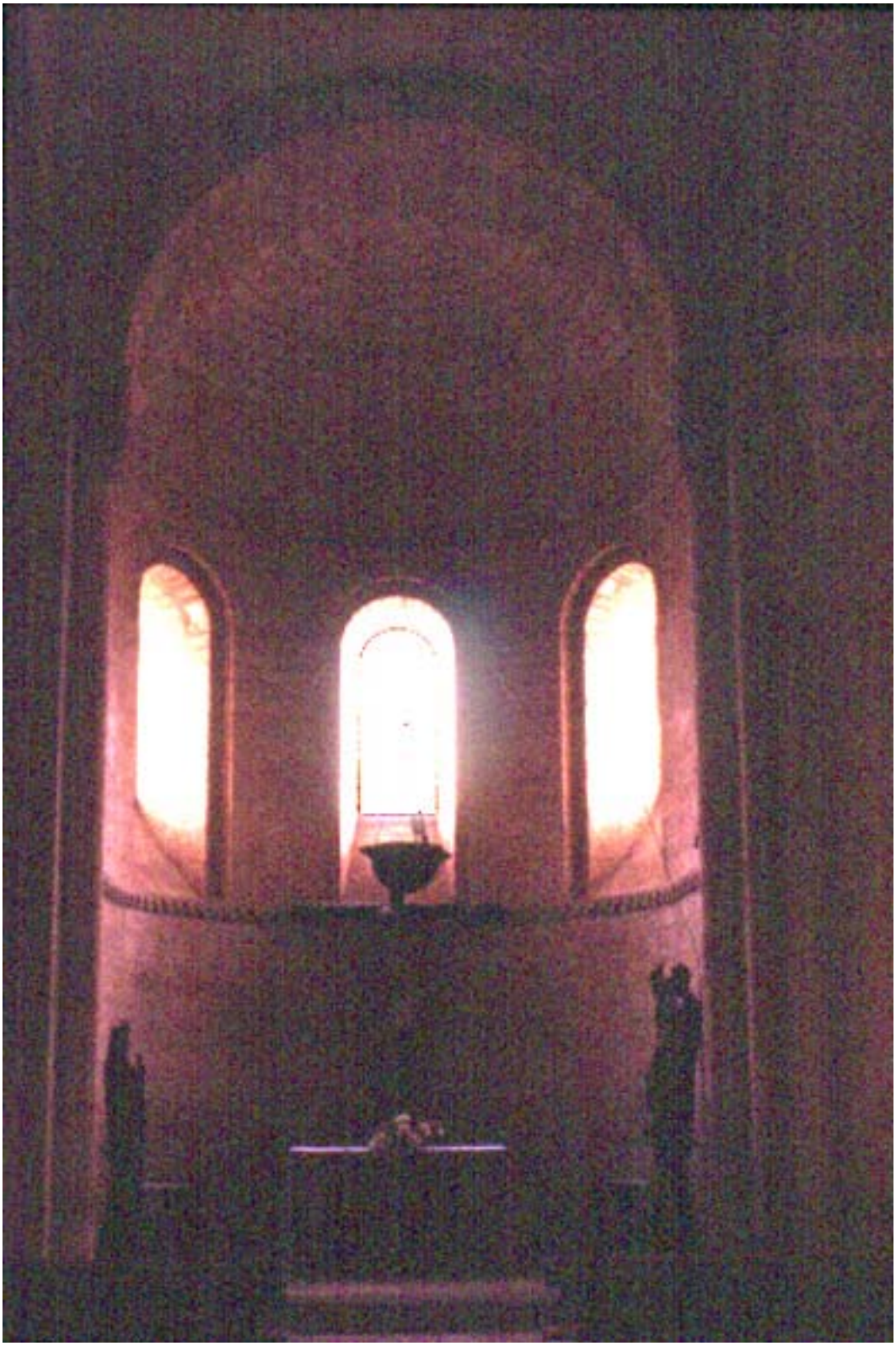


Figure 12. Nave, San Martin de Frómista

Figure 13. Side Chapel, early XIIth century, San Isidoro de León

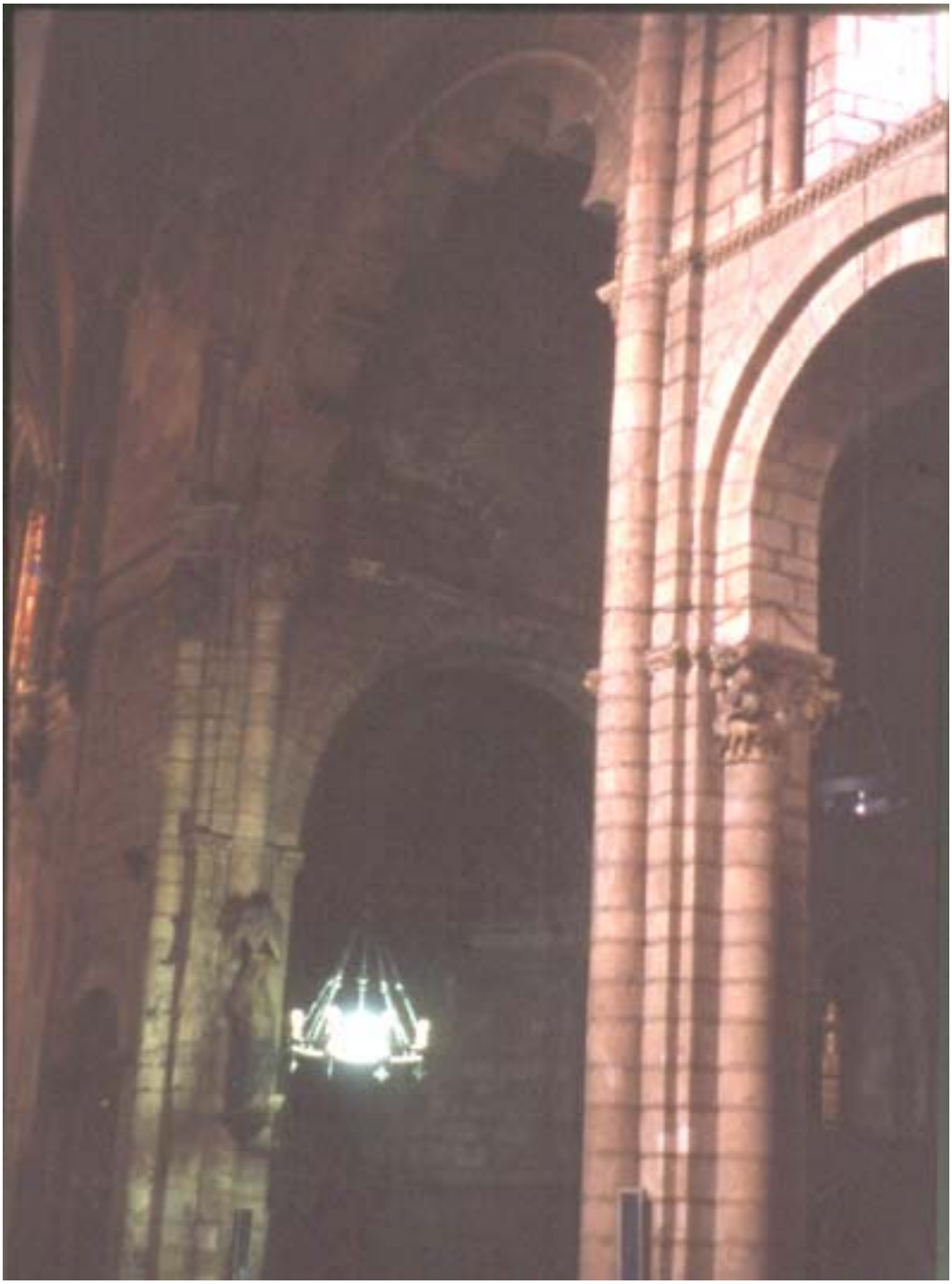


Figure 14. Polygonal Arch in Crossing, San Isidoro de León

Figure 15. Apse and Side Chapel, c. 1075-1094, Cathedral, Jaca

Figure 16. Nave, Jaca Cathedral

Figure 17. San Pedro, completed c. 1095, Loarre

Figure 18. Nave, San Pedro, Loarre

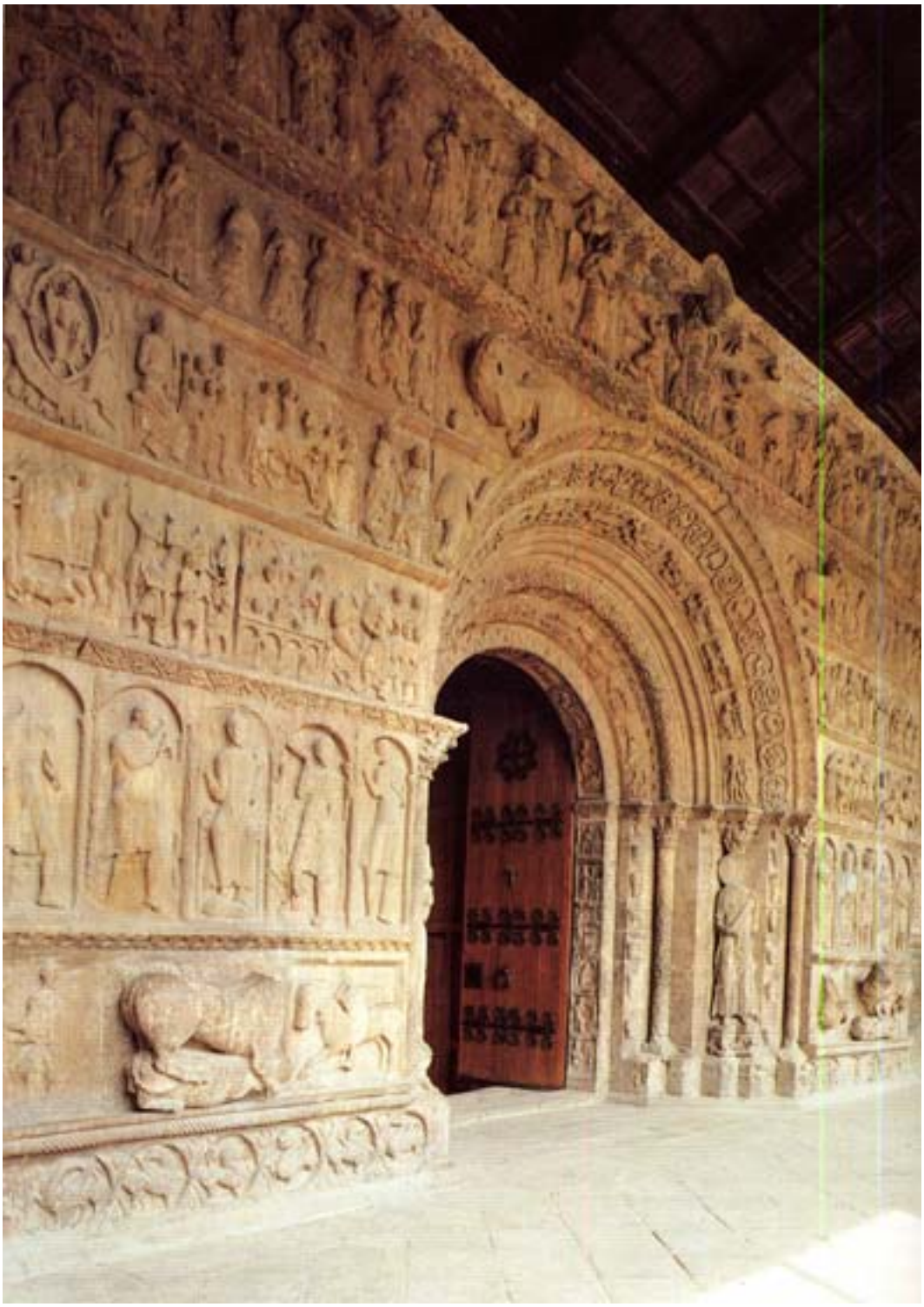


Figure 19. Portal, completed c. 1169, Santa María de Ripoll

Figure 20. Exterior view, mid-XIIth century, Fortress of Monzón

Figure 21. Nave, Monzón

Figure 22. Sala de la Campana, early XIIth century, Palace, Huesca

Figure 23. Sala de Petronila, mid XIIth century, Palace, Huesca

Figure 24. Audience Hall, late XIIth century, Palace, Huesca

Figure 25. View of Remaining Diaphragm Arch, late XIIth century, Cathedral, Huesca

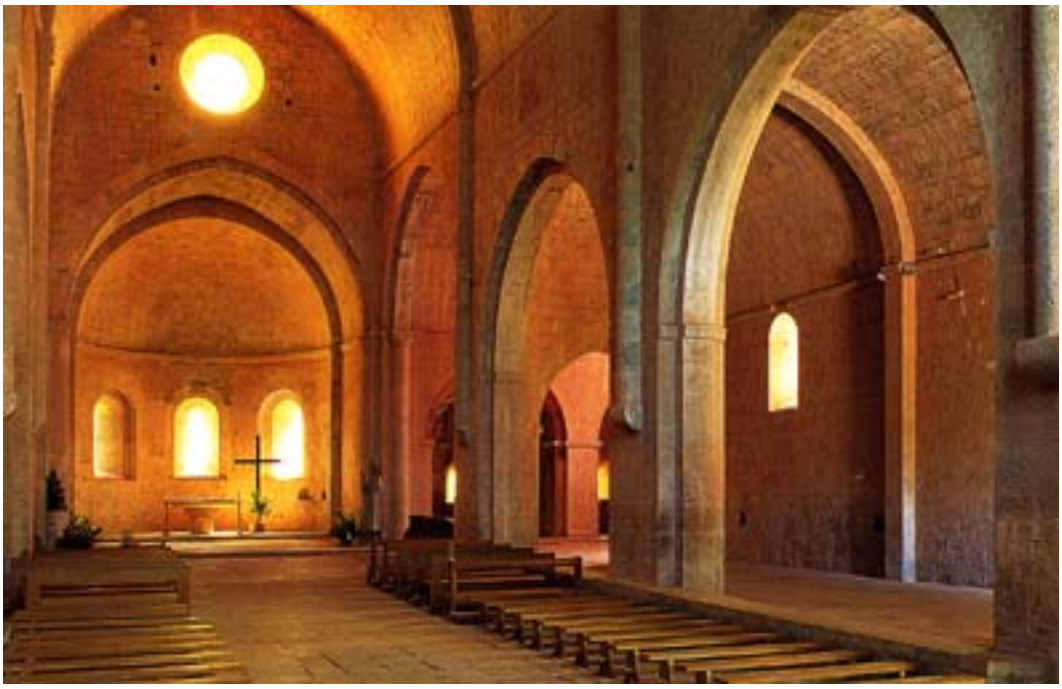


Figure 26. Vaulting, c. 1160-1200, Thoronet (Photograph: Champollion)

Figure 27. Vaulting, late XIIth century, Saint-Pierre de Montmajour

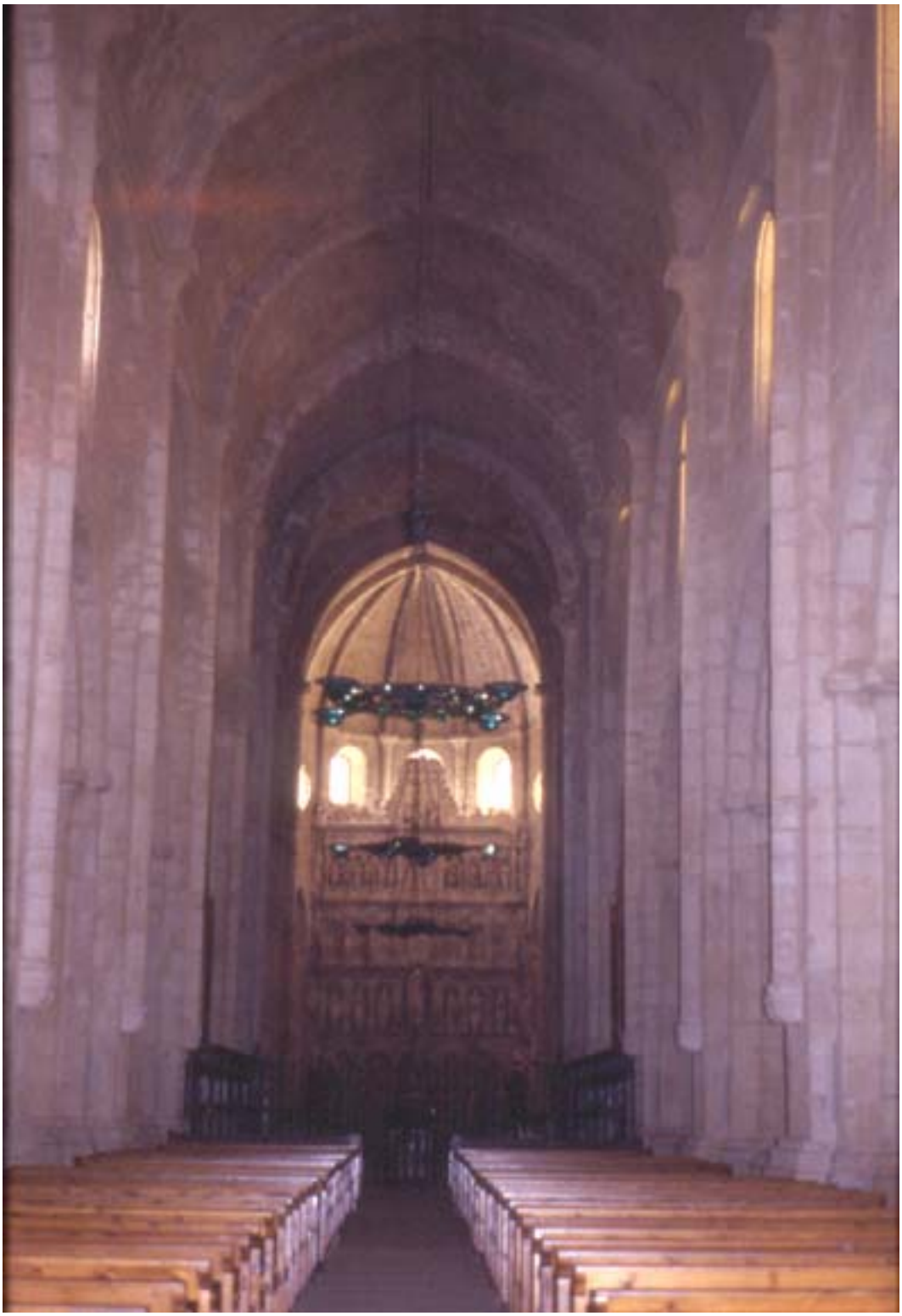


Figure 28. Nave, f. 1149, Santa María de Poblet

Figure 29. Dormitory, Monastery, Poblet

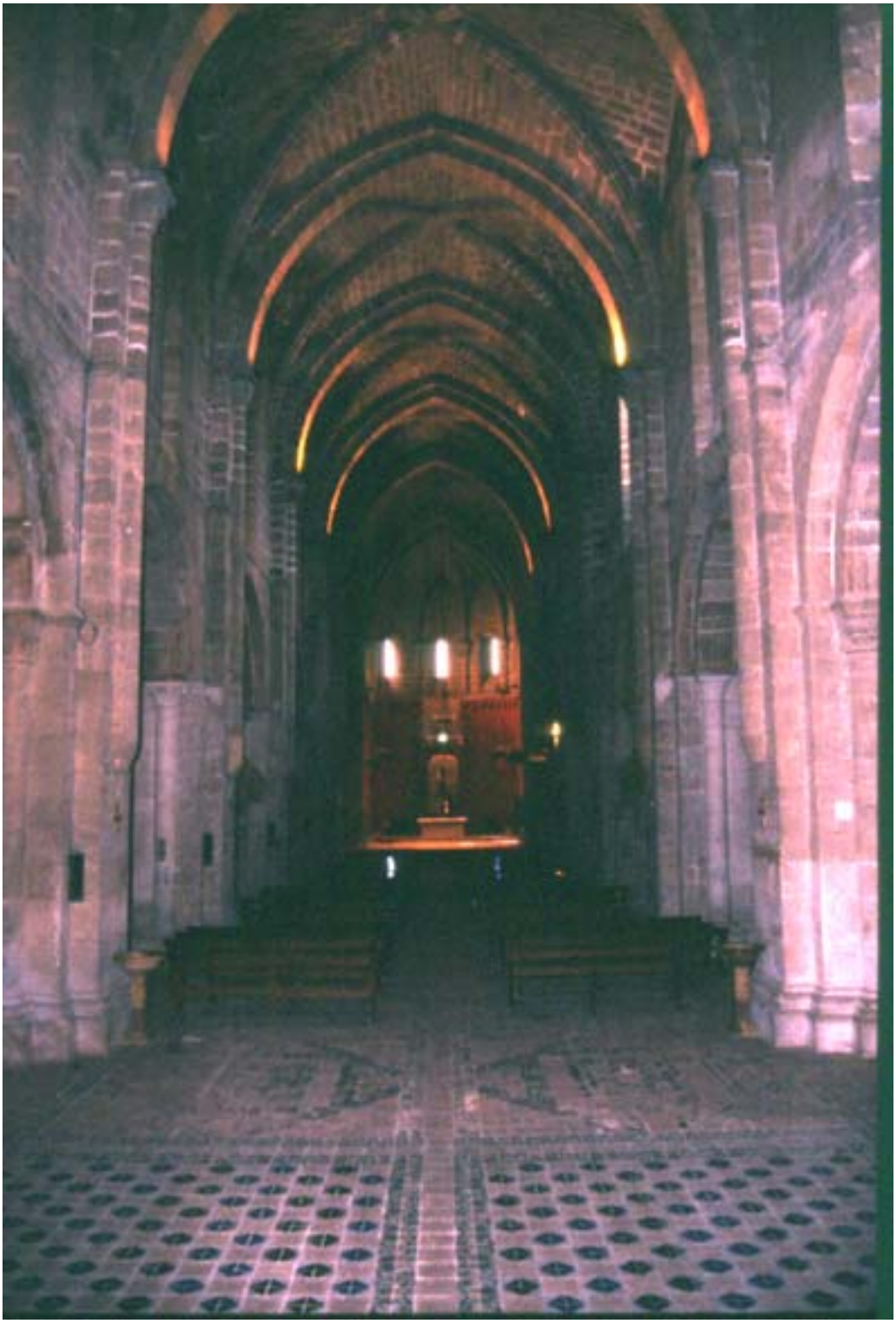


Figure 30. Nave, begun f. 1146, Nuestra Señora de Veruela

Figure 31. Nave, c. 1157, Abbey, Fontfroide

Figure 32. Façade, mid XIIth century, Les Saintes Maries de la Mer

Figure 33. Nave, Les Saintes Maries de la Mer

Figure 34. Apse, c. 1070, Santa Cruz de la Seros

Figure 35. Nave, Seros

Figure 36. Chrismon Tympanum, Seros

Figure 37. Chrismon Tympanum, c. 1170, Santa María de la Caridad de Casbas

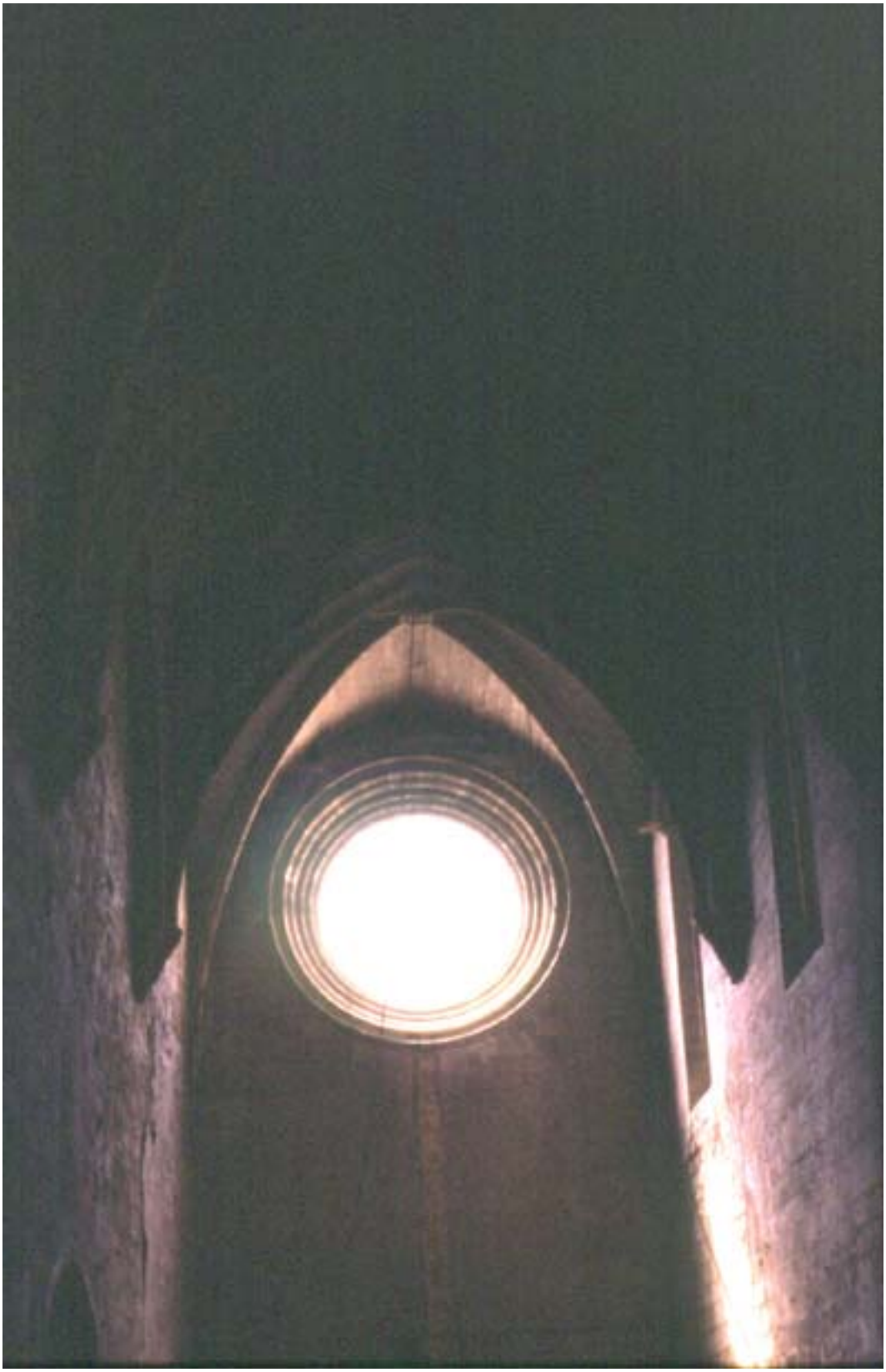


Figure 38. Nave, begun c. 1175, Valbona de les Monjes

Figure 39. Portal, Sigena

Figure 40. Portal, XIIth century, Santa María de Uncastillo

Figure 41. Exterior Dome, 1151-1174, Cathedral, Zamora

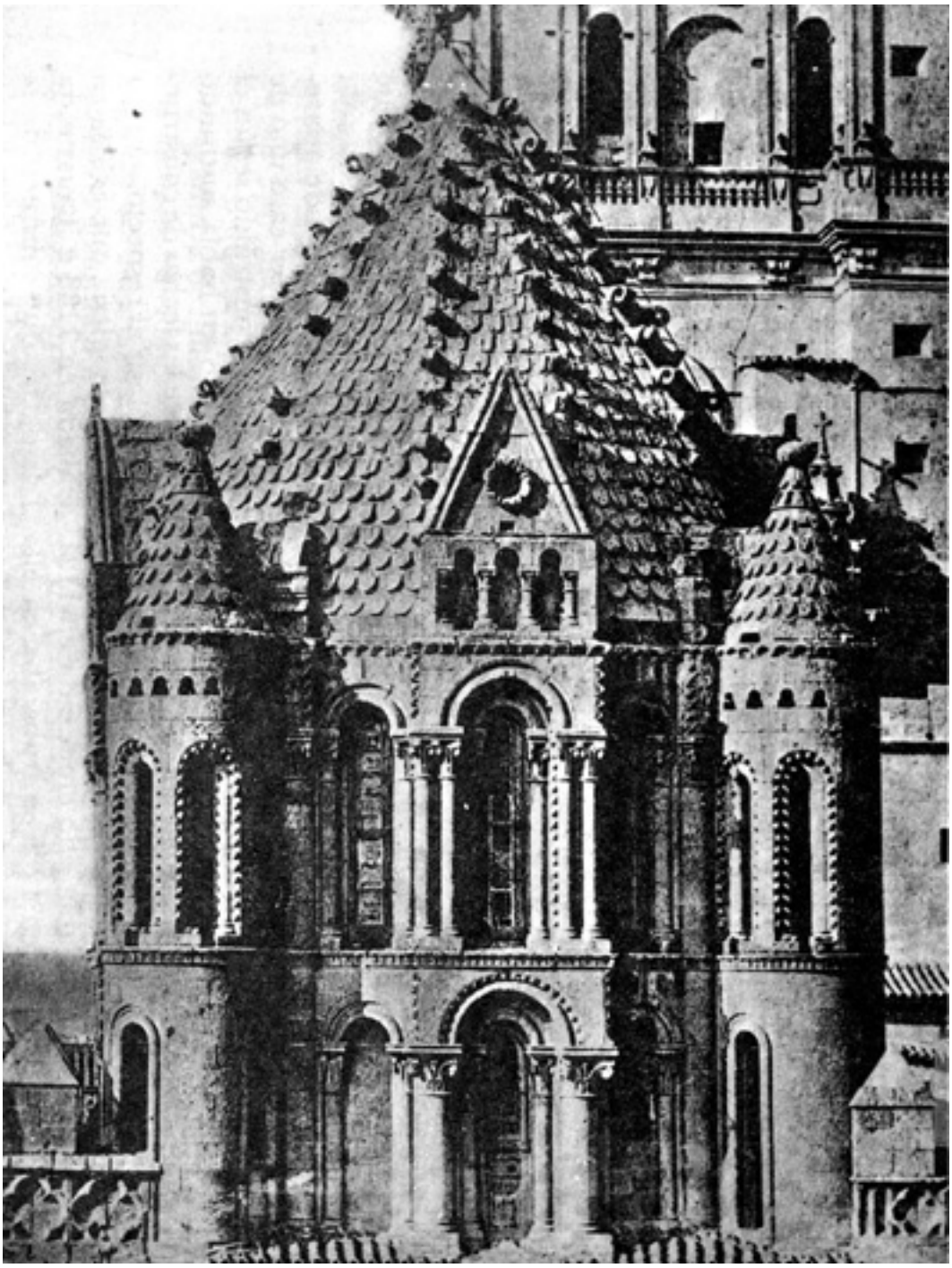


Figure 42. Torre del Gallo, begun c. 1152, Cathedral, Salamanca

Figure 43. Nave, late XIIth century, Cathedral of San Salvador de Avila (Photograph: Lambert)

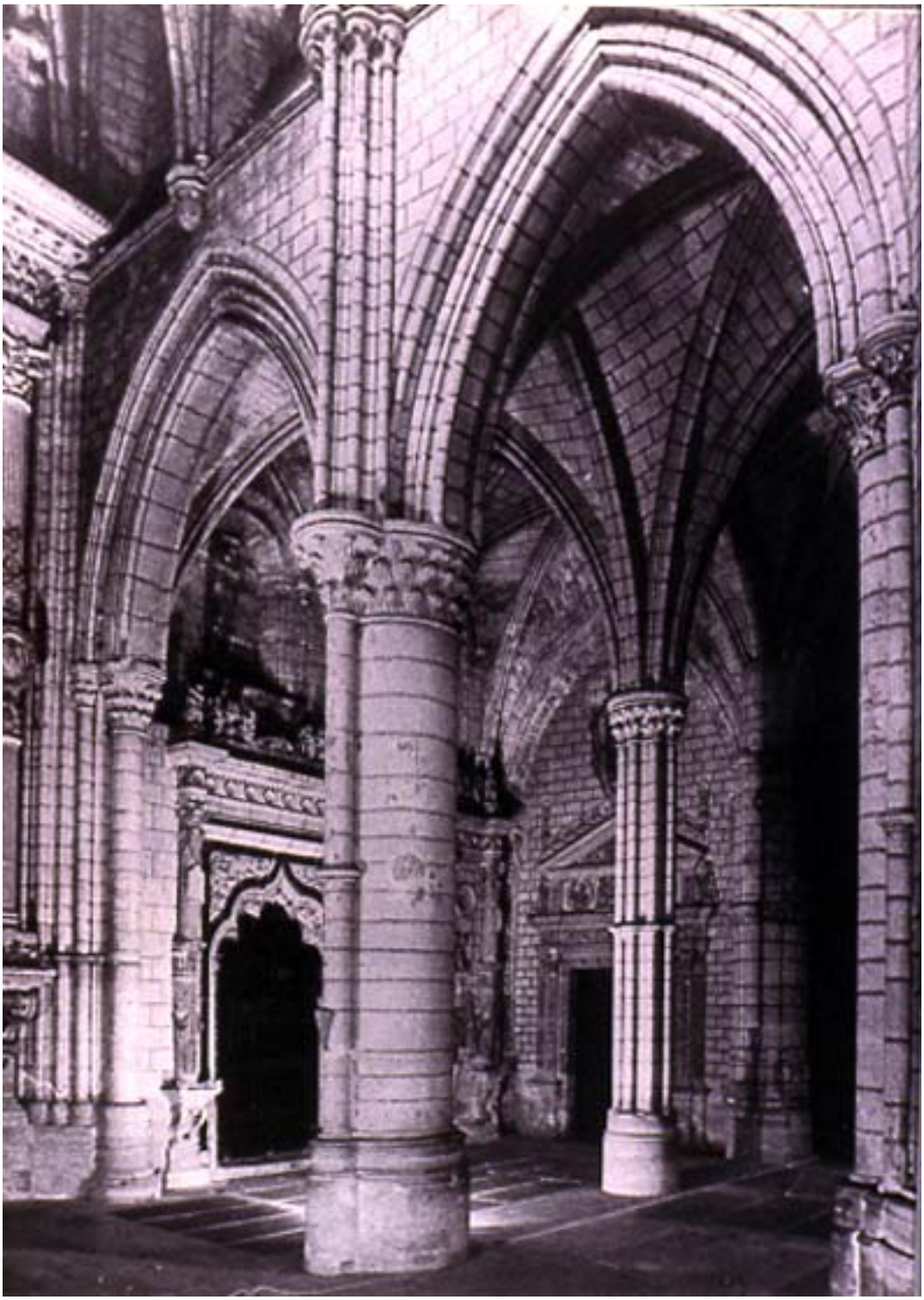


Figure 44. Nave, late XIIth century, Cathedral of Cuenca (Photograph: Bermejo Diez)

Figure 45. Clerestory, Cathedral, Cuenca (photograph: Bermejo Diez)

Figure 46. Nave, XIIth century, Monastery, Valbuena (Photograph: Bango Torviso)

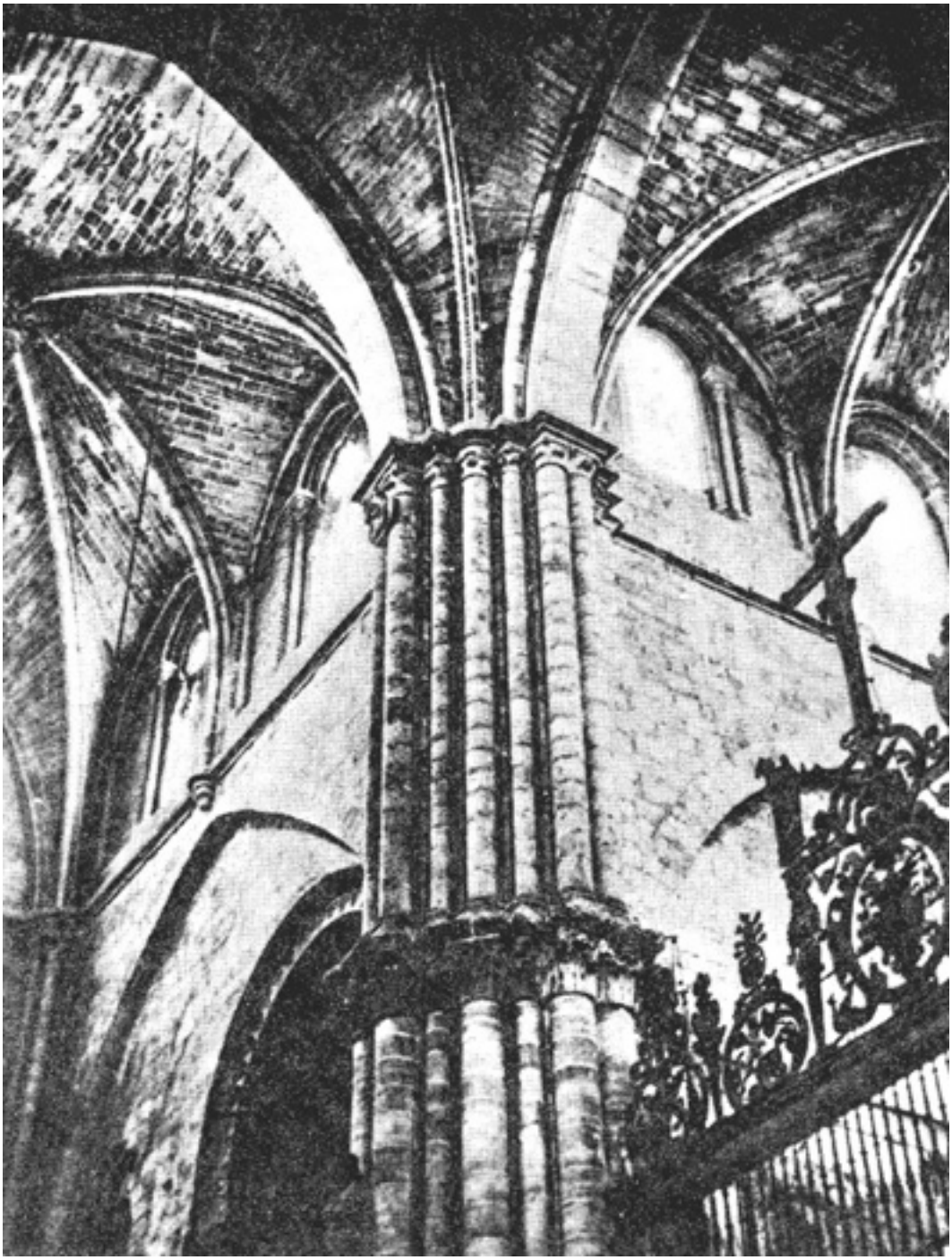


Figure 47. Interior, late XIIth century, Cathedral, Siguenza (Photograph: Lambert)

Figure 48. Nave, late XIIth century, Santa María de Huerta

Figure 49. Refectory, Huerta

Figure 50. Las Claustrillas, b. 1187, Las Huelgas

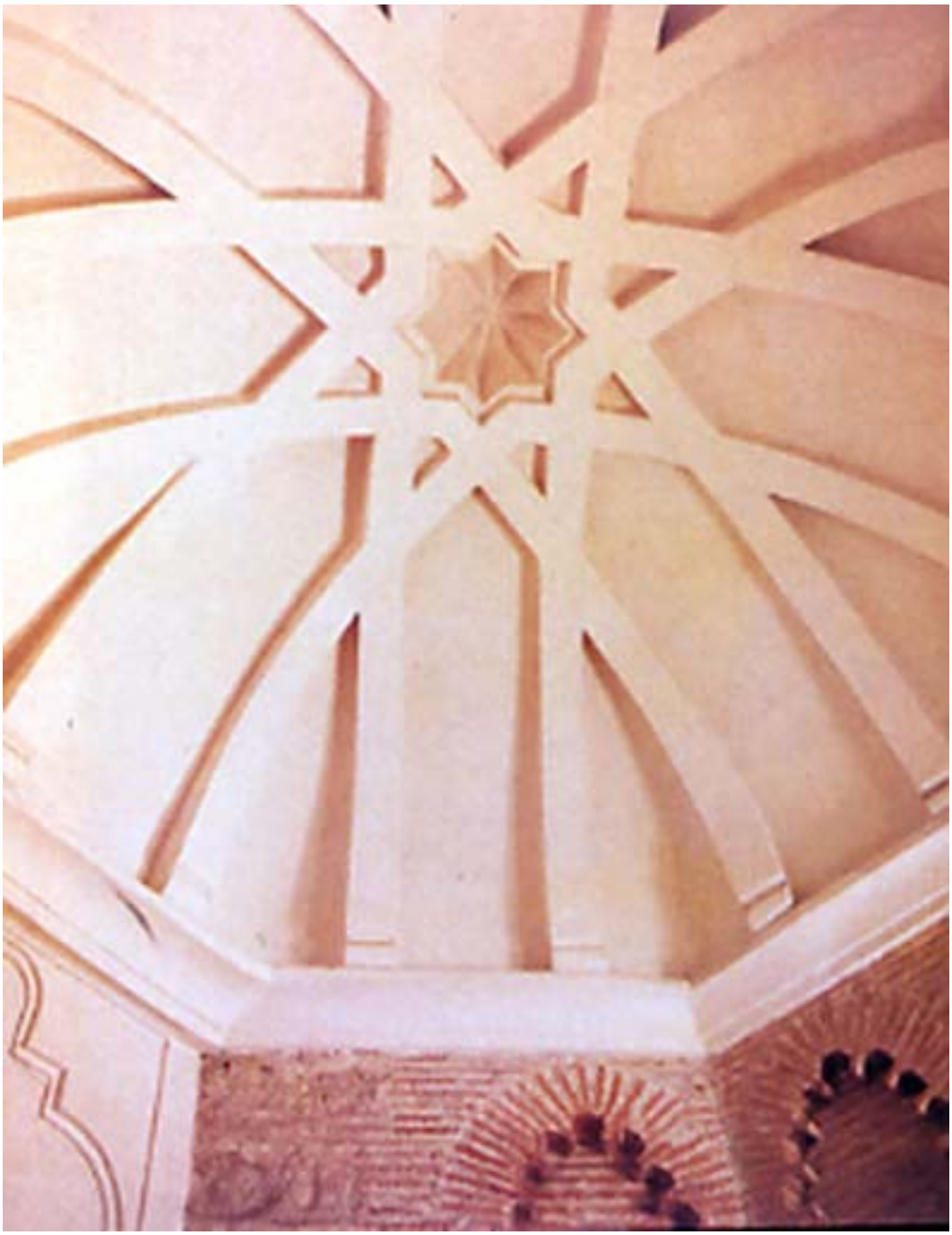


Figure 51. Capilla de la Asunción, Las Huelgas

Figure 52. Capilla de la Asunción, Las Huelgas

Figure 53. Chapel of San Juan Bautista, Las Huelgas

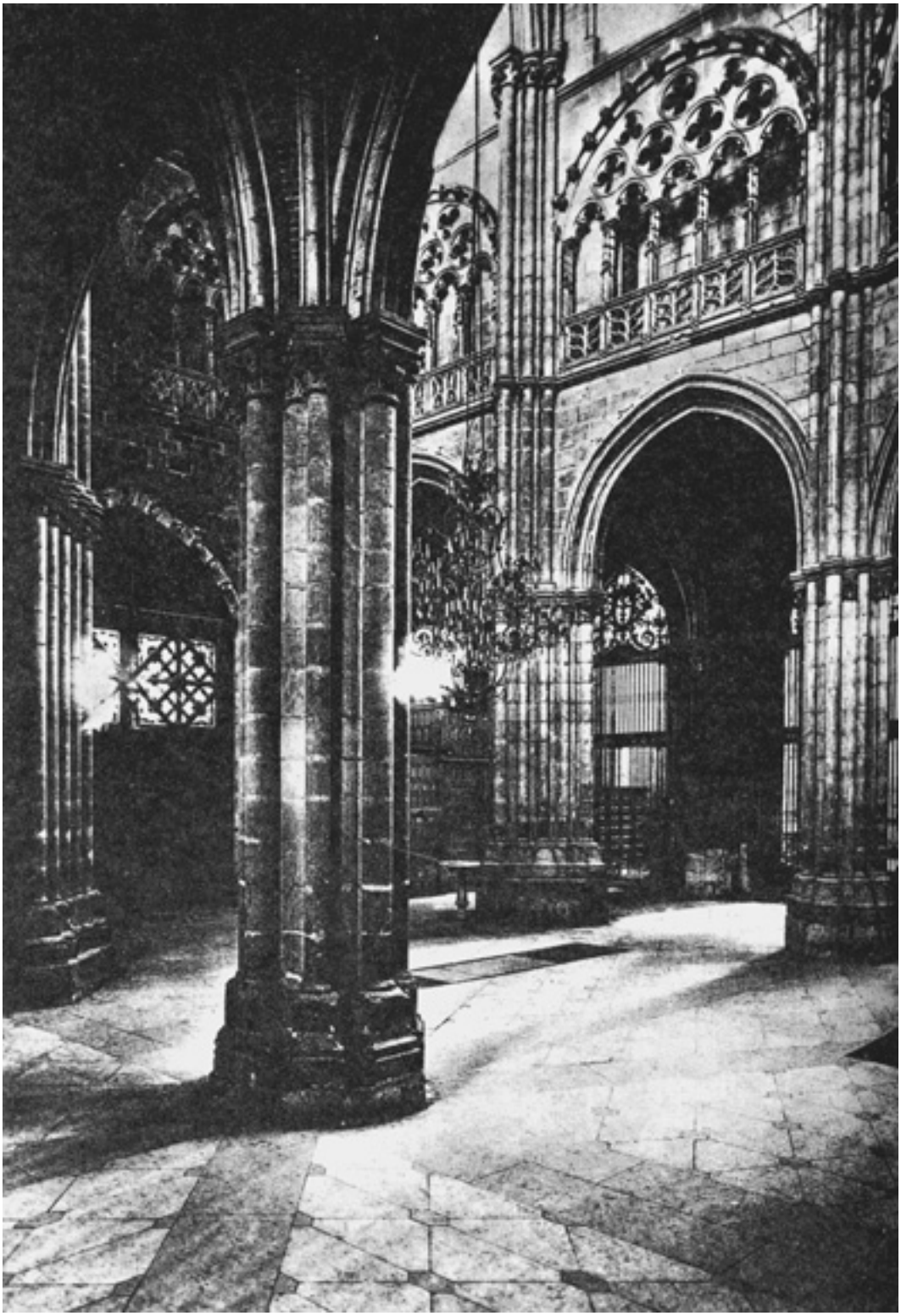


Figure 54. Nave, begun c. 1220, Cathedral, Burgos (Photograph: Lambert)

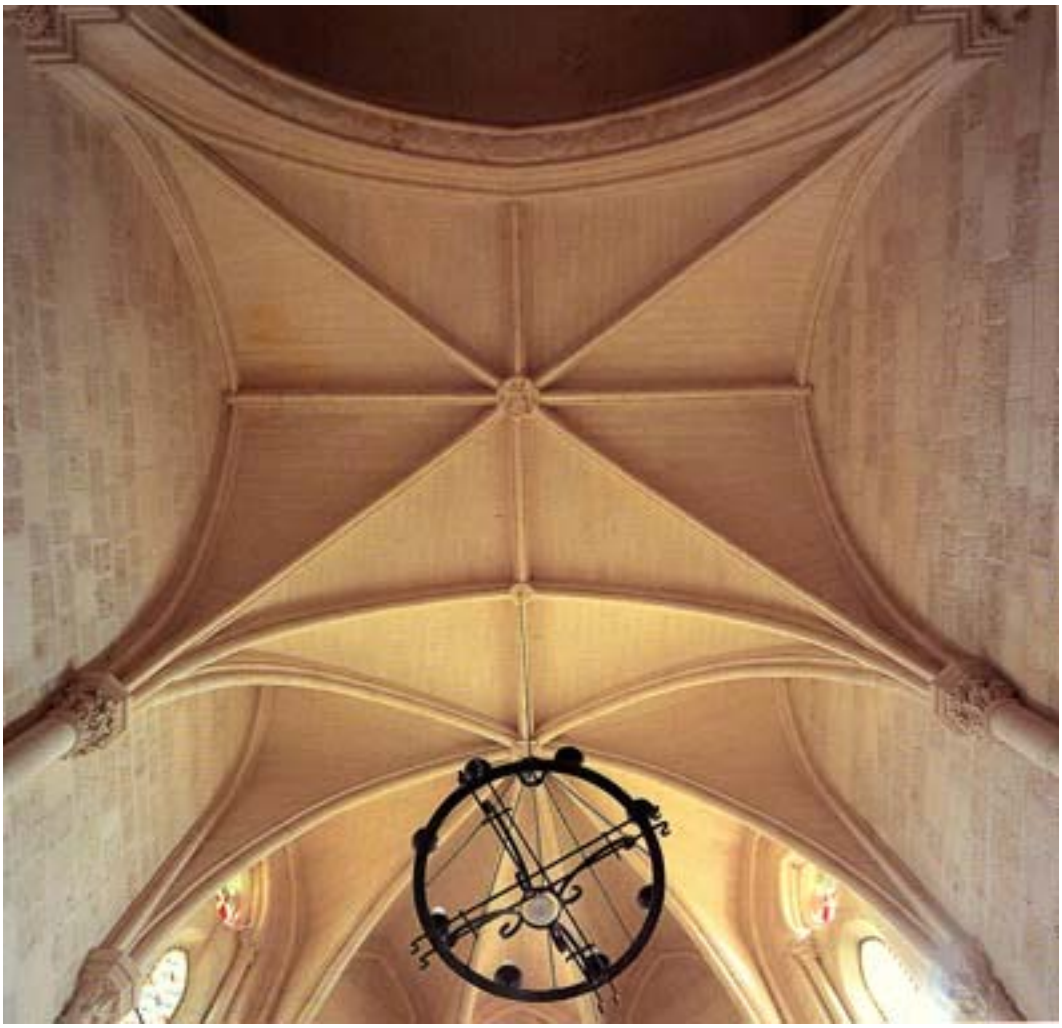


Figure 55. Sexpartite Vaults, f. 1228, Santa María la Real, Villamayor de los Montes (Photograph: Bango Torviso)

Figure 56. Cloister of San Fernando, Las Huelgas

Figure 57. Knights' Cloister, Las Huelgas (Photograph: de la Cruz)

Figure 58. Crypt, cons. 1057, San Salvador de Leyre

Figure 59. Panteon de los Nobles, XIth century, San Juan de la Peña

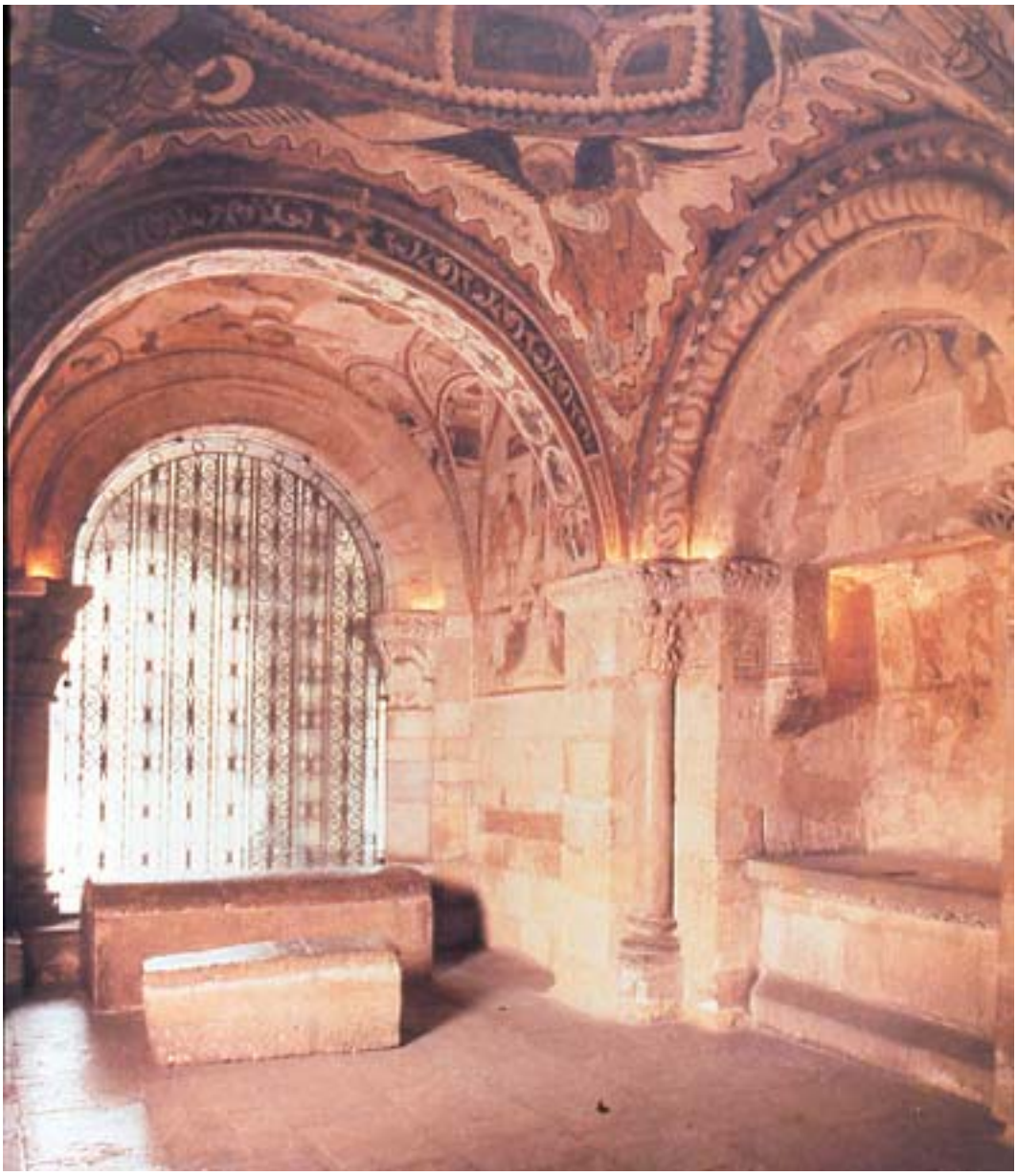


Figure 60. Panteon de los Reyes, early XIIth century, San Isidoro de León

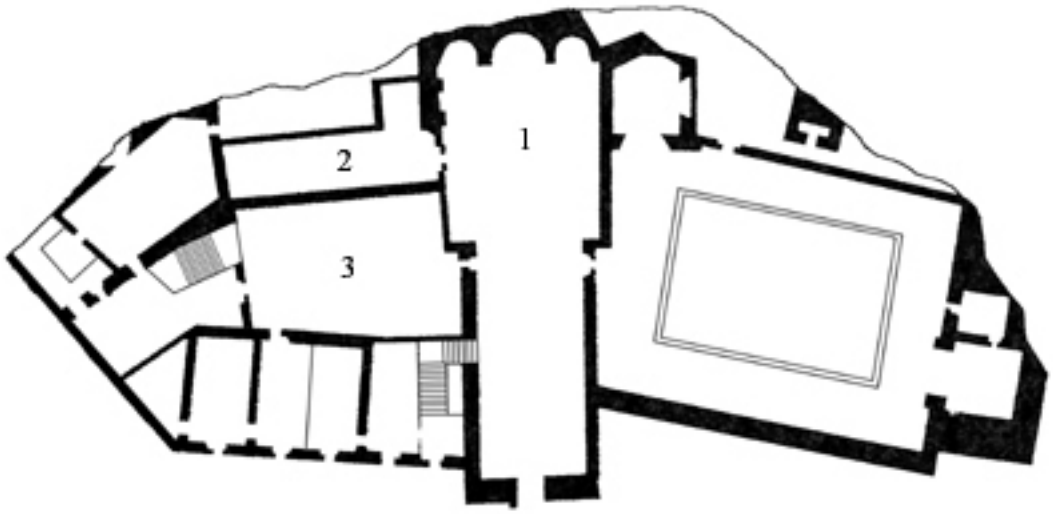
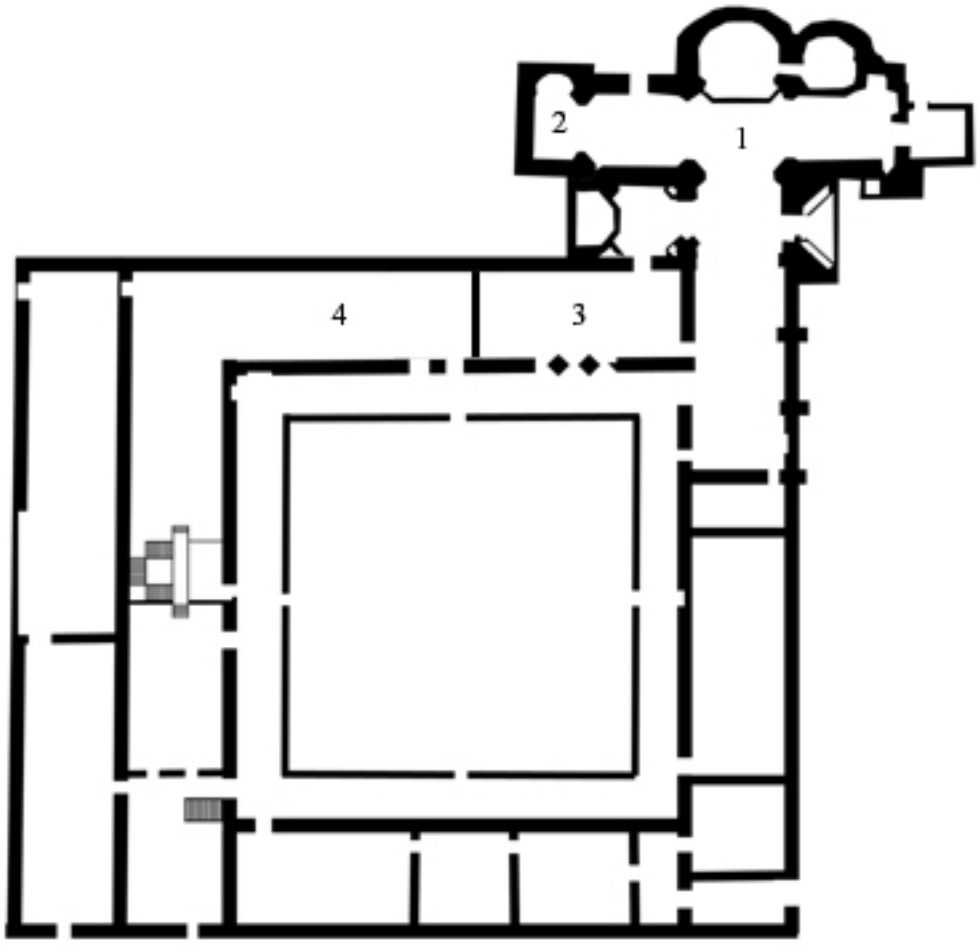


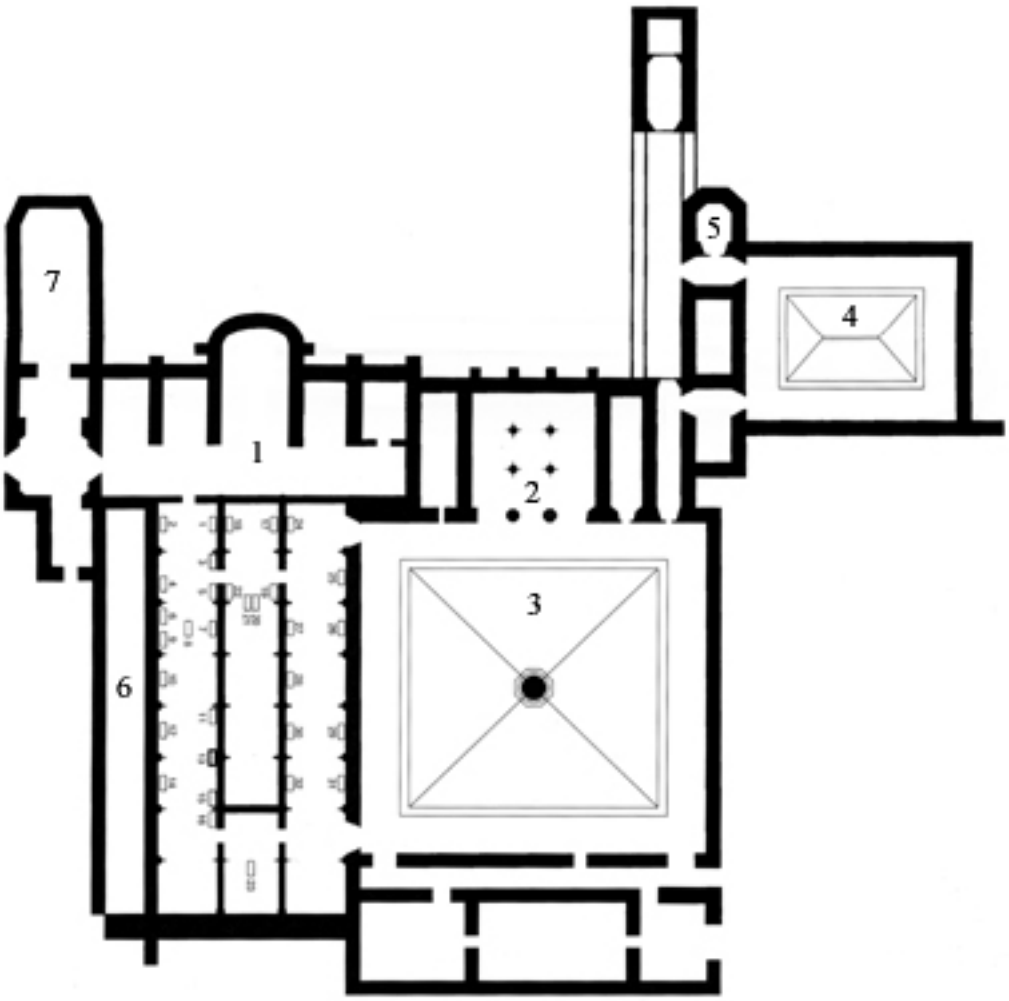
Figure 61. Groundplan, San Juan de la Peña (Drawing: Reuben Smith after Buesa Conde, *Monasterio de San Juan de la Peña*)



1 Church
2 Royal Pantheon
3 Chapterhouse
4 Dormitories
5 Burial of the Caballeros de Muret

Figure 62. Groundplan, Sigena (Drawing: Reuben Smith after Palacios Sánchez, *El real monasterio de Sijena: Introducción a la historia del monasterio*)

Figure 63. Royal Tombs in Nave, early XIIth century, Sigena



1 Church
2 Chapterhouse
3 Cloister of San Fernando
4 Las Claustrillas
5 La Asuncion
6 Portico of de los Caballeros
7 San Juan Bautista Chapel

Figure 64. Groundplan, Las Huelgas (Drawing: Reuben Smith after de la Cruz, *El Monasterio De Santa María La Real De Las Huelgas De Burgos*)

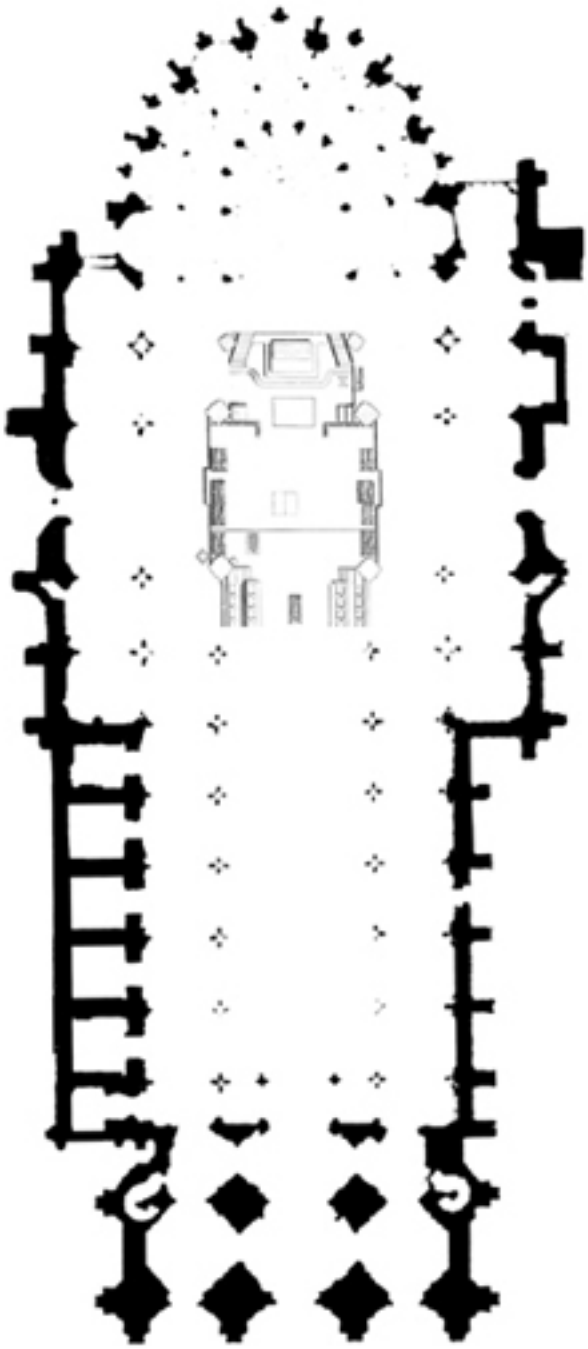


Figure 65. Crossing diagram, Abbey Church, Saint Denis (Drawing: Reuben Smith after Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis")

Figure 66. Sarcophagus of Blanca of Navarra (d. 1153), Santa María la Real, Najera

Figure 67. Sarcophagus of Countess Sancha, c. 1097, Cathedral, Jaca (Photograph: del Arco)

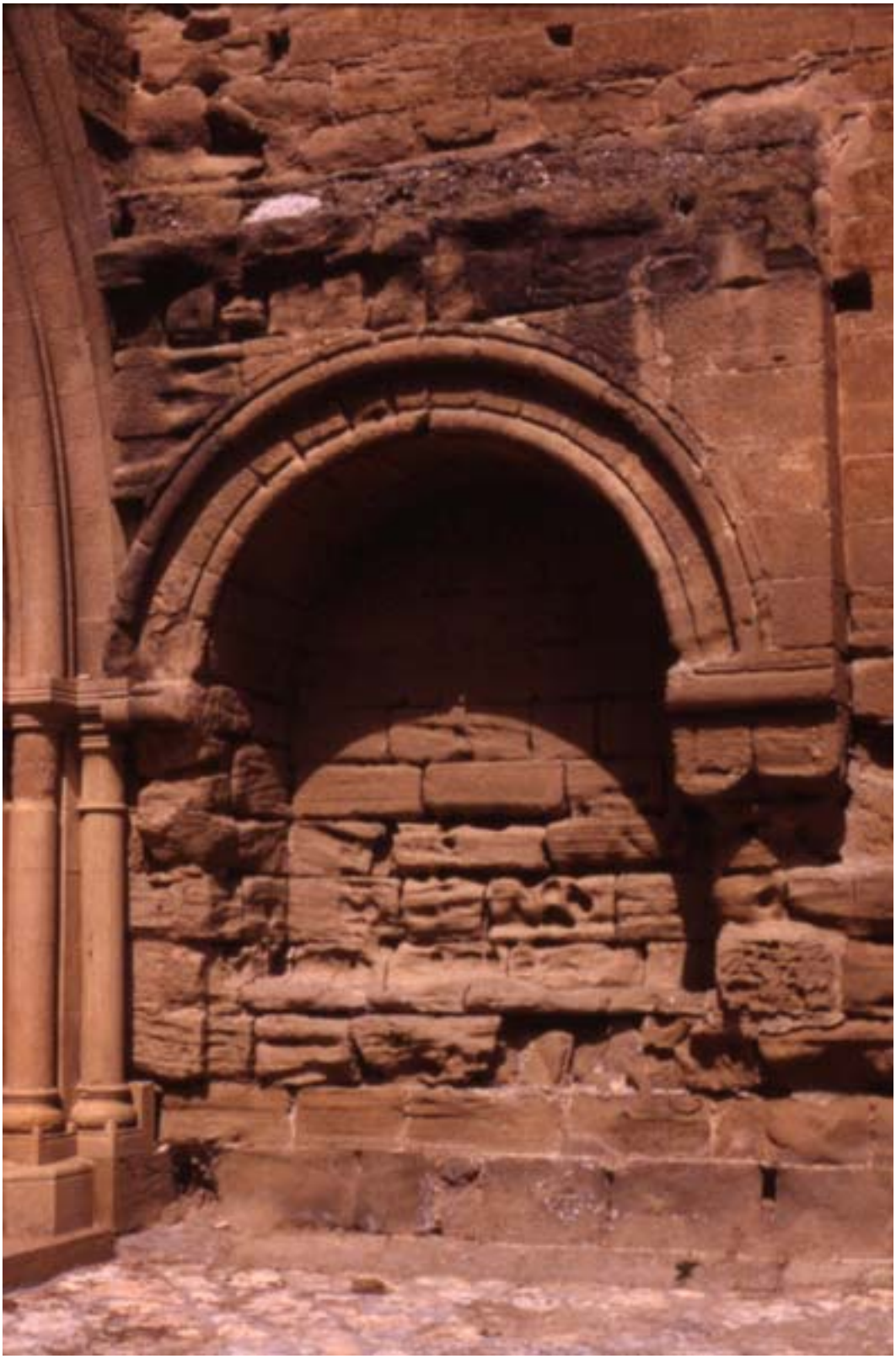


Figure 68. Sarcophagus Niche of the Caballeros de Muret, early XIIIth century, Sigena

Figure 69. Sarcophagus of an Infanta, 1194, Las Huelgas

Figure 70. Sarcophagi of Alfonso VIII and Leonor, first half XIIth century, Las Huelgas

Figure 71. Sarcophagi of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II, end XIIth century, Abbey Church, Fontevrault

APPENDIX A: GENEALOGICAL CHARTS

ASTURIAS AND LEÓN

Pelayo, r. 718-737
1st king of Asturias
m. Candiosa

Favila, r. 737-739
m. Frolaya

Ermesinda
m. Alfonso I of Cantabria, r. 739-757

Fruela I, el Cruel
r. 757-768
builds Oviedo
m. Munia, Vasca

Alfonso II, el Casto
r. 783/792-842
transfers court to Oviedo
bet. Berta of Franca

Vimarano

Adosinda
m. Silo, r.774-783
(elected)
San Juan de Pravia

Hermenegildo

Mauregato
r. 783-789
(by mistress)
m. Creusa

Pedro
Duke of Cantabria

Alfonso I, el Catolico
m. Ermesinda

Fruela

Aurelio
r.768-774
m. Ozenda Nunilona

Bermudo I, el diacono
r. 789-791, retires

Ramiro I *Oviedo*
r. Galica 830, r. León. 842-850
m. Paterna (1)
m. 842 Urraca, Castilla

Garcia
Cristina
Thisiena

Ordoño I *Oviedo* (1)
r. 850-866
m. Nunia

Garcia

Rodrigo

Aldona

Alfonso III, el Grande *Sn Salvador Valdedios*
r. 866-910
m. Jimena of Navarra (assists son's rebellion)

Leodegundia
m. García Iñiquez de Navarra

Bermudo
Nuño
Odoario
Fruela

Alfonso III, cont.

Garcia I
r. Leon 910-914
transfers court to Leon
m. Nuña Fernandez (Castilla)

Ordoño II
r. Galicia 914-924
Leon
m. 892 Elvira (Torres) (1)
m. 922 Aragónta (Galicia), rep. 923
m. 923 Sancha Sanchez (Navarra)

Fruela II
r. Asturias 924-25 *Leon*
m. 911? Nunilo Jimena (dtr. Toda)
m. Urraca (dtr. Muhammad ben Lope)

Aznar (mistress)

Gonzalo
Ramiro

Alfonso IV, el monje (1)
r. 925-931, abd. at Jimena's death
m. Jimena de Navarra

Ordoño IV, el malo
r. 959-960
m. Urraca (Castilla)

Ramiro II (1)
r. 931-950
San Salvador de Palaz de Rey
m. Adosinda Gutierrez, Galicia (1)
m. Urraca Teresa Sanchez (2)

Sancho
Garcia
Jimena
Ora (Aurea)

Ordoño III (1)
r. 950-955
Sn Salvador Palaz
m. 953 Urraca, rep
(dtr. Fernan Gzlz)
Elvira Pelaez, ct. Pelayo, mistress (1)

Bermudo II (1)
r. 982-999
m. Velasquita - rep. (1)
m. 990? Elvira (2)

Sancho I, el gordo (2)
r. 955-57; 960-67
Sn Salvador Palaz
m. Teresa Ansurez

Ramiro III
r. 967-984
m. Urraca Sanchez
m. Teresa Diaz

Urraca
Ermesinda

Elvira Ramirez (2)
regent
abbess *Sn Salvador Palaz de Rey*

Teresa (2)
m. Garcia Sanchez I

Velasquita (2)

Bermudo II, cont.

Cristina (1)	Alfonso V, el Noble (2) r. 999-1027 *Panteon de los Reyes* m. Elvira Melanda (1) m. 1024 Urraca de Navarra	Teresa (2) betrothed to Almanzor enters monastery	Sancha (2)

Bermudo III (1) r. 1027-37 m. 1028 Ximena/Urraca de Castilla	Sancha (1) bet. Garcia Sanchez m. 1032 Fernando I de Navarra *Panteon de los Reyes*	Jimena (1?) m. Diego, conde Asturias Jimena Diaz m. Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, el Cid

CASTILLA (AND LEÓN)

Gonzalo Fernandez
r. 899-919

Nuño Fernandez
r. 919-923

Fernán González, r. 931-970
Colegiata de Covarubias, Burgos
m. Sancha Sanches (Navarra, widow Ordoño II)

Nuña
m. Garcia I Leon

Garcia Fernandez
r. 970-995, *Cardeña*
m. Abba/Sancha de Ribagorda

Urraca
m. Ordoño III Leon
m. Ordoño IV Leon
m. Sancho Garces II of Navarra

Sancho Garcia
r. 995-1017
m. Urraca

Elvira
m. Bermudo II

Urraca
infantado

Sancha
m. (1016) Berenguer
Ramon I of Barcelona

Garcia Sanchez
r. 1017-28 Ôña
betrothed to Sancha of Leon

Elvira/Munia
m. Sancho Garcia III
of Navarre

Urraca/Ximena
m. (1028) Bermudo III Leon

Garcia Sanchez III
r. Navarra: 1035-54 *Leyre*
m. Estefania (1038)
of Barcelona

Fernando I
r. Castilla: 1035-63
Panteon de los Reyes
m. (1032) Sancha of Leon
Panteon de los Reyes

Gonzalo
r. Ribagorda and
Sobrado: 1035-37

Ramiro I
r. Aragón: 1035-63
San Juan de la Peña
m. (1036) Gisberga
[see Aragón]

Urraca
(Zamora) monja
Panteon de los Reyes

Sancho II
r. Castilla: 1065-72
Cat. Pamplona

Elvira
(Toro)

Alfonso VI *Sahagun?*
r. Leon: 1065-1109
r. Castilla 1072
r. Galicia 1073

Garcia
r. Galicia: 1065-71, d. 73

Alfonso VI, cont.
m. 1064 Ines of Aquitane (d. 1078)
Ximena Muñoz, mistress (1)
m. 1080 Constance of Burgundy (d. 1093) (2)
m. 1093 Bertha of Burgundy, d. 1100
Zaida of Seville (dtr. Abbat Mutamid) (3)
m. Isabel (4)
Isabel de Este

Teresa (1)
m. Henry of Burgundy
[see Portugal]

Elvira (1)
m. Ramon ct. Toulouse

Urraca (rules) (2)
Panteon de los Reyes
m. Raymond of Burgundy (1)

m. Alfonso I of Aragón and Navarra, el Batallador
annulled - consanguinuity [see Aragón]
Pedro González de Lara (2)

Sancho Alfonsez (3) d. 1108
Sancha (4)

Elvira (4)

Alfonso VII (1)
r. 1126-57, *Toledo*
m. 1128 Berenguela of Barcelona (1)
m. Rica of Poland (2)
mistress (3)

Sancha (d. 1159?) (1)
infantado

Fernando(?) (2)

Sancho III (1)
r. Castilla 1157-58
Toledo?
m. Blanca of Navarra

Alfonso VIII

Constanza (1)
m. 1152 Louis VII
of France

Sancha (1)
m. Sancho el
Sabio-Navarra

Fernando II (1)
r. Leon 1157-88
Santiago
m. Teresa Fernandes (rep)
m. Urraca of Poland? Teresa de Lara
m. Urraca Lopez de Haro (*Vilena)*

Alfonso IX

Sancha (2)
m. Alfonso II
Aragón

Urraca (3)
m. Garcia Ramirez
of Navarra

also: Garcia (1)
Alonso (1)
Fernando (2)

Alfonso VIII, cont.
r. Castilla 1158-1214
m. Leonor of England
Las Huelgas

Alfonso IX, cont.
r. Leon 1188-1230
Santiago?
m. Teresa of Portugal
m. Berenguela of Castilla

Berenguela
m. 1197 Alfonso IX
de Leon
[bet. Conrad of Germany]

Urraca
m. 1201 Alfonso II
of Portugal

Blanca
m. 1200 Louis VIII
of France

Eleanor
m. 1221 Jaime I
of Aragón

Enrique I
r. 1214-1217
Las Huelgas

Leonor

Fernando III
r. Castilla 1217-52
r. Leon 1230-52
Catedral de Sevilla

Constanza
Las Huelgas
La Santa

Berenguela
m. Juan of Brienne
king of Jerusalem

PORTUGAL

Teresa de Castilla
r. 1109-39, *Braga*
m. Henry of Burgundy
(count of Portugal and Coimbra, given by Alfonso VI)

Alfonso Henriques
first king of Portugal 1139-85

Sancho I, r. 1185-1211
m. Dulce (nieta directa de Ramon Berenguer IV
de Barcelona y Petronila de Avila)

Alfonso II, r. 1211-23
m. Urraca de Castilla

Teresa (bienaventurada, 1715)
m. Alfonso IX de Castilla

Sancho II, r. 1223-48

Alfonso III, r. 1248-79
m. Beatriz de Castilla, *Alcobaça*
(natural daughter of Alfonso X)

PAMPLONA, NAVARRA, AND ARAGÓN

Iñigo Arista, r. 810-852, *Leyre*
(Song of Roland...)

García Iñiguez, r. 852-870, *Leyre*
m. Leodegundia, dtr. Ordoño I

Assona
m. Musá ibn Musá
ben Fortún

Nunila
m. García el malo
Aragón

Fortún Garcés, el monje
r. 870-905, *Leyre*
(prisoner in Cordoba for 20yrs)

García Jiménez (regent for Fortun Garces)
m. Iñiga Rebelle, Sanguesa (1)
m. Dadildis, str. Raimundo I Pallars (2)

Sancho Garces I, r. 905-925, *Leyre* (2)
m. Urraca Galindez, dtr, Galindo Aznarez Aragón
m. Toda (Asnarez) niece Aznar Sanchez de Larraun (1)
mistress (2) (from mistress has Lupa m. Dato II, ct Bigorra)
beginning of Navarra

Jimeno Garcia, r. 925-33 (2)

Jimena (2)
m. Alfonso III, Asturias

Iñigo (1)
Sancha (1)

Garcia Sanchez I, r.925-970, *Leyre*
m. Teresa (of Leon?)
m. Andregoto Galindez (of Aragón) (2)
dtr. Galindo Aznarez

Sancha Sanchez
m. Ordoño II
m. Fernan Gonzalez

Urraca
m. Ramiro II

Jimena (Onneca)
m. Alfonso IV

Velasquita
m. Nuño Vela
ct. of Álava

Lupa (2)
m. Dato II
ct. Bigorra

Sancho Garces II, r. 970-994 (2)
San Salvador de Oña
(inherits Aragón through his mother)
m. Urraca, dtr. Fernan Gzlz (Castilla)

Garcia Sanchez II, el temblón
r. 994-1000, *Leyre*

Ramiro

Gonzalo

Abda
m. Almanzor

Garcia Sanchez II, cont.
m. Ximena Fernandez (Asturias)
regent with Urraca

Abda, cont.
Abd al-Rahman Sanchuelo

Sancho Garces III, el Mayor
r. 1000-35, *Leyre*
m. Elvira (Mayor/Munia) de Castilla (1)
Sancha de Aibar - mistress (2)

Urraca
m. Alfonso V de Leon

Garcia Sanchez III (1)
r. Navarra, 1035-54
Najera
m. Estefania de Couserans-Foix

Fernando I, el Grande (1)
r. Castilla 1035-63
m. 1032 Sancha de Leon
[see Castilla]

Gonzalo (1)
Ribagorda and
Sobarbe 1035-37

Ramiro I (2)
r. Aragón 1035-63
San Juan de la Peña
m. 1036 Ermesinda Gisberga
m. Ines

Sancho Garces IV
r. 1054-76
m. Plascencia

- Fernando
- Ramon
- Ermesinda
- Jimena
- Mayor

RamiroSanchez
infante
m. Cristina, dtr. Cid

Sancho Ramirez V
r. Aragón 1063-94
r. Navarra from 1076
San Juan de la Peña
m. Felicia de Roucy

Garcia Ramirez IV, el restaurador
r. 1134-50
m. Margarita de Perche
m. 1144 Urraca (hija nat. Alfonso VII)
Sta Maria de Sandoval -cis

Pedro I
r.1094-1104 (A&N)
San Juan Peña
m. Ines of Aquitane
m. María, dtr. Cid

Pedro Perez

Alfonso I, el Batallador
r.1104-34 (A&N)
Montearagón
m. Urraca of Castilla

Ramiro II, el Monje
r.1134-37 (A)
San Pedro el Viejo
m. Agnes of Poitou

Petronila
[see Aragón]

Garcia Ramirez IV, cont.

Sancho VI (1)
el Sabio, r. 1150-94
m. Sancha, dtr. Alfonso VII

Blanca (1)
m. Sancho III (Castilla)
of Castilla

Sancha (2)
m. Gaston, viscount Bearnne
m. Don Pedro Molina

Sancho VII
el Fuerte, r.1195-1234
m. Clemencia de Alemania
m. Constancia de Tolosa

Blanca
m. Thibaud IV
count of Champagne

Theobald I
troubador king, r. 1234-53
count of Champagne and Brie

Berenguela
Abadia Espan en Lenans- found.
m. 1191 Richard Lionheart

Fernando
Ramiro
Constanza

ARAGÓN

Ramiro I
r. 1035-63, *San Juan Peña*
m. 1036 Gisberga
m. Ines

Sancho Ramirez I/V of Navarre r. Aragón 1063-94 r. Navarra from 1076 *San Juan de la Peña* m. Felicia de Roucy	Garcia	Teresa	Sancha *Santa Cruz de la Serós* m. Ermengol III of Urgel

Pedro I r. 1094-1104 (Aragón-Navarra) *San Juan Peña* m. Ines of Aquitane m. Maria (Cid dtr)	Alfonso I, el Batallador r. 1104-34 (Aragón-Navarra) *MontAragón* m. Urraca of Castilla	Ramiro II, el Monje 1134-37 (Aragón) *San Pedro el Viejo* m. Ines of Poiters

Petronila (inherits kingdom)
m. 1150 Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona
1131, rules Aragón 1137-62
Petronila abdicates to son in 1163

Alfonso II, el casto r. 1162-96, *Poblet* m. Sancha of Castilla *Sta Maria la Real de Sigena*	Pedro Cerdanya Count of Provence	Sancho 1181-85	Dulce m. Sancho I of Portugal	(mistress) Ramon Berenguer 1168-81, abad de Montearagón Bishop Lérida & Tarazona

Alfonso II, cont.

Pedro II, el catolico	Alfonso	Fernando	Constanza	Leonor	Dulce
r. 1196-1213, *Sigena*	count of Provence	monk Poblet	m. Aimerich of Hungary	m. Ramon VI	*Sigena*
m. 1204 Marie of Montpellier		Abt MonteAragón	m. Frederick II, Sicily	count of Tolosa	
[dtr Eudoxia of Byzantium]	Maria de Molina				
St. Peter Apostle - Rome	m. Sancho VI of Castilla			also: Sancha (?), m. Ramon VII,	
Tolosa					

Pedro II, cont.

Sancha

James I, el conquistador
r. 1213-76, *Poblet*
m. 1221 Leonor of Castilla, rep. 1229 (son Alfonso dies young)
m. 1235 Violante of Hungary (dtr. Andrew II and Violante of Constantinople)

BARCELONA

Wilfredo I, el velloso, r.874-897
878 cty of Barcelona established under Louis II
m. Winidilda - Carolinian princess

Wilfredo II (Borrel I)
r. 897-911
m. Garsinda

Miró
Cerdanya

Sunifredo
Urgell

Sunyer (911-947)
m. Riquilda, cts

Rodolfo
bishop
abdicates, monk

Emón - monja
Cixilona - monja
Ermisenda
Richildis

Riquilda
m. Odón, ct. Narbona

Borrel II , r. 947-992
(governs with brother until Miró's death 966)
m. Ledgarda, dtr. ct Auvernia (1)
m. Aymerudis

Miró

Ramón Borell I , r.992-1017 (1)
m. Ermesinda de Couserans y Carcassone, regent
accompanied RB in battle

Ermengol (1)
ct. Urgell

Berenguer Ramon I, el curvo
r. 1017-1035, agreement with Emesinda 1024
m. Sancha (dtr. Sancho Garces-Castilla) (1)
m. Guisla de Ampurias (2)

Ramon Berenguer I, el Viejo (1)
ct. Barcelona, Gerona, 1035-1076
m. Ines (1) (Beziers)
m. 1050 Blanca (rep)
m. 1053 Almodis (2) (Marche)
murdered 1071 by stepson

Sancho (1)
monk San Ponce Tomeras

Guillermo (2)

Bernardo (2)

Ramon Berenguer I, cont.

- Pedro Ramón (1)
  murdered stepmother
  Pope sends to Holy Land
  - Ramon Berenguer III
    r. 1096-1131 el grande
    m. 1098 María Rodriguez, dtr. Cid
    m. 1106 Almodis
    m. Dulce of Provence, bring territories
    - daughter (1)
      m. 1107 Bernardo
      of Besalú
    - Ramon Berenguer IV (2)
      r. 1131-1162
      m. 1150 Petronila of Aragón
      betrothed 1137
      [see Aragón]
    - Berenguer Ramon (2)
      inherits Provence
    - Berenguela (2)
      m. Alfonso VII
      of Leon-Castilla
    - Jimena (2)
      m. Roger
      ct. Foix
      - Mahalta (2)
      - Almodia (2)
- Ramon Berenguer II (2)
  r. 1076-1082 el pelirojo
  m. Mahalta de Pulla y Calabria
- Berenguer Ramon (2)
  r. 1076-1096 el fratricida
  renounces against accusations of RB III
  sent to Holy Land
- Ines (2)
- Sancha (2)

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