

LITURGICAL RENEWAL IN TWO ELEVENTH-CENTURY ROYAL SPANISH PRAYERBOOKS

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In recent decades, transformations in medieval Christian liturgical practices have been explored for what they can tell scholars about cultural change.¹ Shifts in ritual can indicate changing values and beliefs as well as mark the power of external influences. One relatively momentous shift in liturgical practice was the decision of Alfonso VI, king of Castilla-León at Burgos in 1076, after years of pressure from Pope Gregory VII, to begin the transition from the use of the Old Spanish liturgy (also called the Mozarabic, Visigothic, or Hispanic rite) within his domain in favor of the Roman liturgy used in the rest of Latin Christendom.² This innovation is viewed as but one manifestation of a much broader “Europeanization” of medieval Spain that took place in the eleventh century, a movement that began in other Iberian Christian kingdoms, but reached its culmination in the reign of Alfonso VI, with his French brides, Cluniac monks, and receptivity to papal influence.³

Spain was seen traditionally as the submissive partner in this moment of cultural and political exchange, passively accepting Roman liturgy,

¹ For example: Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, 2006); *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Balzer (Oxford, 2000); Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1994); Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150* (Cambridge, 1993); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991); Frederick Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1990).

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² Following the date and the account of the transition given in Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988), 100–101.

³ E.g., Patrick Henriot, “Un bouleversement culturel: Rôle et sens de la présence cléricale française dans la péninsule ibérique,” *Revue d’histoire de l’église de France* 90 (2004): 65–80; Joseph O’Callaghan, “The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile,” in *Santiago, St.-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York, 1985), 101–20; Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1949).

Romanesque art, Carolingian script, French monasticism, knights, and townsmen, and the political influence that went with them whole cloth without modifications or adaptations to fit them to the local situation.⁴ Concentrating on the liturgical evidence for this transformation nuances this view, however, uncovering evidence for creative adaptation on the part of those exposed to the new rituals from the north. Roger Reynolds's examination of the ordination ritual in the peninsula revealed a high degree of creative adaptation of Roman and Catalan forms well before the Council of Burgos, and this hybrid Roman-Catalan rite can be found in Castilian pontifical manuscripts dated long after the transformation to the Roman ritual is supposed to have been complete.⁵

Two royal prayerbooks that contain unmistakable traces of processes of adoption and adaptation bear further witness that the prehistory of the adoption of the Roman rite in Castilla-León saw an openness to Roman forms and an adaptation of them within an Old Spanish liturgical context. Both books were created at the impetus of Queen Sancha of León (d. 1067), one for her husband Fernando I of Castilla (1037–65), and the other for her own use.⁶ Fernando's prayerbook has received copious and frequent attention, including a complete transcription of its contents, due to the art-

⁴ This older view, especially influential in art-historical circles, is exemplified by Bernard Bevan's statement that after the fall of the caliphate of Córdoba, "Castile . . . became both intellectually and artistically a province of France" (*History of Spanish Architecture* [New York, 1936], 49). Even Henriët's recent, thoughtful "Un bouleversement culturel" (73–79) describes the impact of France on Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the imposition of one cultural system on another without modification, although he does recognize the agency of the Iberian kings in inviting French clergy into the peninsula.

⁵ Roger E. Reynolds, "The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, Hybrid," in *Santiago*, ed. Reilly, 131–55. Cf. the endurance of elements of the Old Spanish marriage liturgy after the advent of the Roman liturgy in the peninsula, explored in detail by Brian F. Bethune, "The Text of the Christian Rite of Marriage in Medieval Spain" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1987), Proquest Dissertations & Theses Database, <http://www.proquest.com.proxy.uchicago.edu> (publication number AAT NL56909), e.g., pp. 1–2, 13–14. Traces of this liturgy can still be found in the Filipino church to this day: Roger E. Reynolds, "Sacraments, Liturgy, and 'Institutions,'" in *Pensiero e sperimentazioni istituzionali nella "Societas Christiana" (1046–1250)*, *Atti della sedicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 26–31 agosto 2004*, ed. G. Andenna (Milan, 2007), 154–55 and n. 52.

⁶ My discussion of Santiago de Compostela BU MS 609 (Res. 1) is based on examination of a microfilm of the manuscript and on the transcription of the text found in *Libro de horas de Fernando I de León*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and Serafín Moralejo Álvarez (Galicia, 1995). Observations on Salamanca BU MS 2668 are based on my study of the manuscript *in situ*. Marius Férotin ("Deux manuscrits wisigothiques de la bibliothèque de Fernando Ier, roi de Castille et de Léon," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 62 [1901]: 374–87) briefly discusses both manuscripts and provides a partial transcription of some of their contents.

historical interest of its decoration, while Sancha's little-decorated prayerbook has been largely ignored. Where the manuscripts have been studied for their liturgical textual contents, especially the text of the nocturnal office which they share, scholars have been interested in the manuscripts as a window onto the Visigothic origins of the Old Spanish liturgy.⁷ This quest for origins fails to explain the genesis of these two prayerbooks with their very particular contents and does not answer what use the royal couple would have for the diverse texts they contain.

The two books are unquestionably Old Spanish at their heart, but also reflect strong Romano-Frankish and, in the case of Sancha's book, Cluniac influences added after her death by her daughter. Fernando's prayerbook, now in the library of the University of Santiago de Compostela (BU MS 609 [Res. 1]), contains an original core built around the psalter and the canticles that dates to 1055, and which was expanded with additional prayers and other texts shortly thereafter. Sancha's book, now in the collection of the University of Salamanca (BU MS 2668), dates from 1059 and comprises mainly the canticles, but also contains an addendum reflective of Cluniac spirituality that was added by Urraca Fernández, their daughter, during the period when Alfonso VI was inviting Cluniac influence into the peninsula.

Influence from beyond the Pyrenees affected both the structure and content of these two manuscripts. Normally in the Old Spanish liturgy, the psalter and canticles appear either alone or with each other in manuscripts, without other texts, but Fernando and Sancha's manuscripts both add a litany, the Old Spanish nocturnal office, the Athanasian Creed, and penitential prayers, as well as individual texts and prayers not found in the other.⁸ This additional content converts these manuscripts into a genre unprecedented in Spain but common during this period in the rest of Europe: liturgical manuscripts that combine texts used for public liturgical performance with prayers associated with private devotional practices.⁹

⁷ Jordi Pinell, "El oficio hispano-visigótico," *Hispania sacra* 10 (1957): 385–427 and idem, "Las horas vigiliares del oficio monacal hispanico," in *Liturgica*, Scripta et Documenta 17 (Montserrat, 1966), 3:197–340. The latter article includes an edition of the nocturnal office that uses the two manuscripts under discussion here.

⁸ Walter Muir Whitehill, "A Catalogue of Mozarabic Liturgical Manuscripts Containing the Psalter and the Liber Canticorum," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1934): 94–122. The only other manuscript that adds content to the psalter is El Escorial MS a.III.5, which includes two prayers confected from verses of the first and second thirds of the psalter, respectively. I discuss this manuscript and these prayers further, below.

⁹ Susan Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 896–901, with a review of the literature on *libelli precum* on 897–98.

In terms of content, as we shall see in detail, many of the additional texts themselves come from outside the Iberian peninsula.

A study of these two codices reveals that the adoption of new liturgical forms reflects neither simply a quest for closer conformity to the Roman rite nor just a taste for novelty. The manuscripts bear witness to the different ways the monarchy of Castilla-León accommodated and invited new religious influences, an accommodation that challenges older stereotypes of passive reception. Furthermore, when we consider why Sancha had these two manuscripts produced, why she chose their contents, and how they were used by the royal couple and by their daughter who inherited Sancha's prayerbook, we see the pivotal role that royal women played in the renewal and reform of religious practice.¹⁰ The two manuscripts reflect a preoccupation with penitence coming from the women of the royal family and a concerted effort to find effective and meaningful intercessory practices, as well as an effort to draw on the strongest and most fruitful currents in liturgical reform from beyond the Pyrenees. These manuscripts indicate not only an openness to innovation but also a struggle for ways to tap into and make use of a divine source of power through adopting new forms and making adaptations to their liturgical practice in order to practice more effective penance and intercession.

While the two manuscripts share content, they differ considerably in form. The manuscript produced for Fernando is in every way a deluxe manuscript, with its elegant calligraphy and lavish, full-page illustrations and decorated initial letters. It is a relatively large manuscript (31 x 20 cm),¹¹ while Sancha's is smaller (21 x 14 cm),¹² thus the variation between the two is the difference between a manuscript that can be easily held in one hand and one that requires either two hands or a lectern for support. The script of Sancha's manuscript is careful and attractive, and its roughly fourteen or so lines per page make it easy to read. At the same time, however, the manuscript has been minimally illustrated and only the initial letters receive any kind of ornamental treatment. These differences in format and execution may reflect a distinction between a manuscript that was as much for show as for use, that is to say Fernando's copy, and one intended for use alone by Sancha.

¹⁰ For a different approach to this question, see Rose Walker, "Sancha, Urraca, and Elvira: The Virtues and Vices of Spanish Royal Women 'Dedicated to God,'" *Reading Medieval Studies* 24 (1998): 113–38.

¹¹ *The Art of Medieval Spain*, ed. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1993), 290.

¹² Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, *Los manuscritos pretridentinos hispanos de ciencias sagradas en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1971), 473.

THE *LIBRO DE HORAS* OF FERNANDO I

King Fernando's manuscript has attracted much attention because of its deluxe format, but even if it were not so lavish, its historical significance merits attention. As we shall see, it adapts liturgical influences and private devotional prayer practices from beyond the Pyrenees without transforming the character of the Spanish liturgy, by taking elements like the calendar, the litany, and Carolingian prescriptions for private devotional prayer, placing them with the Old Spanish Psalter and Canticles, and altering them for use in Castilla-León.¹³ This effort at adaptation and combination reveals something of the process of cultural shifts in eleventh-century Castilla-León. The full contents of the manuscript are as follows:

Santiago de Compostela BU MS. 609 (Res.1)

Contents	Folios
<i>Section 1</i>	
Alpha	1r
Calendar	1v–4r
Letter of Florus of Lyons, “Dauid citharista”	4v
Letter from Jerome to Paula and Eustochium, “Psalterium Rome dudum”	4v
Alcuin, “De psalorum usu”	5r–5v
Decorated acrostic naming Fernando and Sancha	6r
Donor portrait of Fernando and Sancha	6v
<i>Section 2</i>	
Psalter	7r–134v
Canticles	135r–196r
Athanasian Creed	196r–197v
Confessional prayer attr. to Augustine, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus rex regum”	197v–198v
Litany	198v–199v
Prayer, “Per horum omnium sanctorum martirum”	199v–199 bis v
Three psalmic prayers	199 bis v–204r
Penitential prayer, “Oratio ad deum deprecandum”	204r–206r

¹³ My discussion of the contents and construction of this manuscript is indebted to Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, “El códice de Compostela: Tradición y modernidad,” in *Libro de horas*, ed. idem and Álvarez, 9–51. I reproduce his findings here in some detail, because this volume is not widely available. My foliation follows his reconstruction of the manuscript. See also idem, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa* (León, 1983), 279–92.

“Chronicon”	207v
Colophon dating section to 1055	208v
<i>Section 3</i>	
Nocturnal office	209r–224v

As is evident from the above table, the manuscript is made up of three separate sections. The second section forms the core of the manuscript and is the part dated by the colophon on fol. 208v to 1055.¹⁴ Sections 1 and 3 were likely produced close in date to 1055, and no later than 1065, the year of Fernando’s death.¹⁵ The second section begins with a psalter in the Old Spanish version that was used in Iberia prior to the introduction of the Roman rite.¹⁶ Though it is found in a manuscript clearly intended for liturgical use, the psalter in this manuscript lacks the antiphons and prayers we would expect from a liturgical Old Spanish psalter, though it retains the traditional text of the *Vetus Latina*. It does bear one trace (fol. 100v) of the traditional division of the Old Spanish psalter into five books.¹⁷ The psalms are followed by 106 biblical canticles. Both Old Spanish and Roman psalters frequently follow the psalter with canticles taken from biblical texts, but the number of canticles in this manuscript is unusually high.¹⁸ This section concludes with four brief canticles that the manuscript calls “Cantici Romensis,” Roman canticles.

The canticles are followed by the so-called Athanasian Creed under the rubric “Oratio de sancta trinitate.” This creed commonly follows the canticles in psalters of the Romano-Frankish tradition, but is not a feature of Old Spanish psalters.¹⁹ It is followed by a confessional prayer attributed

¹⁴ It consists of quires II through XXVII of a total of 29, and it was copied by a single scribe named Pedro.

¹⁵ Díaz y Díaz, “El códice,” 30–31.

¹⁶ The Old Spanish psalter was based on the *Vetus Latina Hispana* and was used in the Old Spanish liturgy. See, for an example, J. P. Gibson, *The Mozarabic Psalter*, Henry Bradshaw Society 30 (London, 1905).

¹⁷ Díaz y Díaz, “El códice,” 36–37.

¹⁸ As Díaz y Díaz (*ibid.*, 38) notes, Cardinal Lorenzana’s *Breviarium gothicum* (PL 86:845A–886D) included only seventy-seven canticles. The beginning of the first canticle in our manuscript is missing due to the excision of a folio before the manuscript was foliated.

¹⁹ Some of the earliest references to the creed are from Spain, including Reccared’s confession of faith at the Third Council of Toledo and the first canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo. It appears first in liturgical use, however, as part of the psalter in the late eighth century in Frankish Europe: J. N. D. Kelly, *The Athanasian Creed* (London, 1964), 38–43; Victor Leroquais, “Introduction,” in *idem, Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols. (Mâcon, 1940–41) 1:lv. The creed seems to

to Saint Augustine whose text is based on the psalms. In this prayer, the penitential supplicant confesses himself a sinner before God and asks for the intercession of all the saints, angels, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, as well as all of the orders of the Church's clergy.

This prayer is followed by a long litany of the saints. A distinctive feature of Fernando's litany is its abundant number of saints venerated in Spain, when compared with Carolingian litanies.²⁰ Most of the most important figures in the Spanish sanctoral cycle are represented in this modification of a Romano-Frankish litany to serve Iberian needs. Another striking feature is the high number of female saints, which caused Manuel Díaz y Díaz to suppose that its source was an Iberian female religious community.²¹

The litany is followed by a penitential prayer, "Per horum omnium sanctorum," which is not otherwise found in manuscripts of the Old Spanish liturgy. It is, however, also found in the Carolingian *Officia per ferias*, where it likewise follows a litany of the saints.²² The *Officia per ferias* created a structure of daily prayer centered around the psalms for the purpose of private, lay devotion. Composed in the first half of the ninth century in circles loyal to the example of Alcuin,²³ it is prefaced in some of the manuscripts where it appears by a letter in which Alcuin proposes at Charlemagne's request a devotional scheme on the model of King David's seven-times-daily prayer. This scheme emphasizes a series of psalms to be said when rising from bed.²⁴

be first found in psalters with strong royal connections, as with the two manuscripts under discussion here: Celia Chazelle, "Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter," *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1056.

²⁰ Including Saints Tirsus, Torquatus, Vincentius and Laetus, Ildefonsus, Victorianus, and Leocadia, who are absent from the Carolingian tradition according to the tables in Astrid Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, MGH Hilfsmittel 24 (Hanover, 2007), 440–536.

²¹ Díaz y Díaz, "El código," 43–44.

²² *Officia per ferias*, PL 101:596C–597B.

²³ A. Wilmart, "Le Manuel de prières de s. Jean Gualbert," *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936): 262–65.

²⁴ "Beatus igitur Daud," PL 101:509A–510A. "Cum enim de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est: dic primum: 'Domine Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, in nomine tuo levabo manus meas, Deus in adiutorium meum,' tribus vicibus cum psalmo: 'Verba mea,' usque: 'Mane adstabo tibi.' Deinde, 'Pater noster,' et preces: 'Dignare, Domine, die isto: perfice gressus meos: Benedictus Dominus die cotidie: dirigere et sanctificare digneris: Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos.' Et surgens incipiat versum: 'Domine, labia mea aperies.' Ipso expleto cum gloria incipiat psalmum: 'Domine, quid multiplicati sunt.' Deinde sequitur: 'Miserere mei Deus.' Deinde: 'Venite, exultemus Domino.' Deinde psalmos quantos volueris" (Alcuinus, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 4 [Berlin, 1885], Epist. 304, 462–63). See Jonathan Black, "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks:

The next three prayers belong to an Iberian tradition that takes Casiodorus's division of the Psalter into three groups of fifty psalms and then uses individual verses from each third of the Psalter to weave together different prayers of supplication.²⁵ This group is followed by another long prayer under the rubric "Ordo ad deprehendum deum," widely known in the Iberian peninsula, again confessing sin and asking for mercy, anonymous here but sometimes falsely attributed to Gregory the Great.²⁶

In its original form, this long second section of the manuscript closed with the colophon in verse on fol. 208v that dates the manuscript to 1055, names the scribe and illustrator, and indicates that it was Queen Sancha who brought the manuscript into being: "Queen Sancha, as was her wish, made me what I am in the era one thousand and ninety, and three more. Petrus was my scribe, but Fructuosus was my illustrator."²⁷ The verse emphasizes Sancha's role in bringing the manuscript into being and in determining its contents. The colophon is written in gold on a purple background, the colors used for Roman and Byzantine imperial manuscripts, later adopted by Carolingian and Ottonian emperors. Their use here reinforces Fernando's own imperial pretensions.

The first and third sections of the manuscript were attached to this original core. Opening the first section is a full page miniature depicting the alpha and omega, a conventional feature of early deluxe Spanish manuscripts, followed by a full sanctoral calendar. None of the other early Hispanic calendars is found with a psalter,²⁸ however most psalters from the other side of the Pyrenees did precede the psalter with a calendar.²⁹ At the same time, this calendar reflects the focus on Spanish saints that was evident in the litany. This combination suggests a melding of Old Spanish content with Roman-Frankish form.

Alcuin's *Confessio peccatorum pura* and the Seven Penitential Psalms," *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (2003): 4 and n. 10.

²⁵ Díaz y Díaz, "El códice," 44. These particular three prayers are in PL 40:1135–38 under uncertain authorship, some editions attributing them to Augustine, composed for his mother, and one manuscript attributing them to a Pope John at Vienne (apud Viennas). For a parallel example of an early eleventh-century psalter in Visigothic script that contains prayers like those in Fernando's manuscript, cf. El Escorial MS a.III.5, fols. 135v–138v. The third prayer and the end of the second have been lost from this manuscript (Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos* [n. 13 above], 304).

²⁶ "Domine exaudi orationem meam quia iam cognosco. . . . Te deprecor et supplico ut exaudias deprecationem mean qui uiuis et regnas in secula seculorum amen" (Díaz y Díaz, "El códice," 45).

²⁷ "Sancia ceu uoluit / quod sum regina peregit / era millena nouies / dena quoque terna. / Petrus erat scriptor / Fructosus denique pictor."

²⁸ José Vives and Ángel Fábrega, "Calendarios hispanicos anteriores as siglo xiii," *Hispania sacra* 2 (1949): 341–48.

²⁹ Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits*, 1:lxiii.

Following the calendar is a poem written by Florus of Lyons praising David as king and author of the psalms.³⁰ The original poem was dedicated to an Abbot Leidrad, but in this manuscript the rubric directs it instead to an “Abbot Isidore,” a name more familiar to an Iberian audience than Leidrad. On the same folio is a letter from Jerome to Paula and Eustochium on the use of the psalms, frequently transmitted as a preface to the Psalter in the rest of Europe but not used in Spain.³¹ Its conclusion has been truncated by the loss of a folio, as has the opening of the next piece, which is a short treatise on the use of the psalms for different purposes of private devotion, “De psalmodum usu” (fol. 5r–v) written by Alcuin.³² The *Vita Alcuini*, written before 829, says that Alcuin taught Charlemagne which psalms to use for different needs and occasions, which indicates that this piece may have been composed for the emperor’s use.³³

In Alcuin’s original version, psalms can be offered for any of eight different purposes (for example, in penance, for giving thanks, for times when one is troubled by enemies, for praising God, etc.), and Alcuin suggests a half dozen or so psalms suitable for each purpose. Although Alcuin’s original does not privilege any one psalm intention over the others, penance is by far the dominant motive for the use of the psalms in the version found in the Compostela manuscript. Fernando’s text lists a full fifty psalms that can be used to express penitential intent. This long list is followed by seventeen further reasons for saying psalms, each of which is provided with only a few choices of appropriate psalms. Most of these reasons are connected to overcoming threats from enemies, and so this becomes a secondary theme of Fernando’s guide for the use of the psalms.

³⁰ “Eldrado abbati Florus supplex,” ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae latini aevi carolini 2 (Berlin, 1883), 549–50.

³¹ “Praefatio Hieronymi in librum psalmodum,” PL 29:117B–121A. Cf. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, vol. 1, *Initia Biblica, Apocrypha, Prologi* (Madrid, 1950), no. 430.

³² Edited in Jonathan Black, “Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmodum usu*,” *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 1–60, edition 45–60. Black (42) notes its appearance in the Compostela manuscript but was unaware of how much of Alcuin’s treatise was actually in the manuscript. He believes (52) it began with “Si vis orare” but it actually begins much earlier with the phrase “Et profetiae adhuc spiritus per laudem (48: ut profetiae ad hunc spiritus laudem)” and would most likely be complete if the missing folio were present.

³³ “Docuit etiam eum per omne vitae suae tempus, quos psalmos poenitentiae cum letania et orationibus precibusque, quos ad orationem specialem faciendam, quos in laude Dei, quos quoque pro quacumque tribulatione, quemque etiam, ut se in divinis exerceret laudibus, decantaret” (*Vita Alcuini* 15, ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 15.1 [Hanover, 1887], 193). Black, “Alcuin and the Preface,” 5–6.

An unusual acrostic consisting of a cross enclosed in a diamond names the book as belonging to both Fernando and Sancha (fol. 6r). On its verso is the famous dedication portrait in which the scribe, Petrus, stands between Fernando and Sancha, offering the book to the former and looking back over his shoulder at his patron, Sancha. Fernando wears a crown and Sancha is veiled. John Williams has observed that this pictorial representation of the ownership of this manuscript is unprecedented in the Iberian peninsula at this time, though it has eleventh-century Ottonian parallels. For Williams, the presence of this iconographic theme, combined with the plasticity and rationality of the rendering of the drapery worn by the figures, heralds the domination of the Romanesque in Spain, a domination that left little room for the persistence of indigenous influences.³⁴ What I see here, however, is not an abrupt rejection of the old in favor of the new but rather a new look created through well-established indigenous pictorial conventions. A Romanesque aesthetic, represented by the innovative composition and drapery that reveals the human form beneath, is created not according to Ottonian models that build mass through modeling of color, often with white highlighting, but rather according to traditional Mozarabic artistic techniques in which blocks of color convey the contours of the human form, with texture and dimension suggested by an overlay of lines. In its union of old and new pictorial conventions, this illustration suggests the way the rest of the book assimilates new texts used north of the Pyrenees to the ancient Spanish tradition. Queen Sancha's role in promoting this new Romanesque aesthetic is striking, but not unique. Janice Mann's recent study of the emergence of Romanesque architecture in Spain highlights the crucial role of royal and noble women in patronizing this new style across the northern peninsula.³⁵

The third and final section of the manuscript contains the text of the nocturnal office, the series of prayers and psalms prescribed for the monastic night liturgy in the Old Spanish rite (fols. 209r–224r). It is physically

³⁴ In *Art of Medieval Spain* (n. 11 above), 290–91. In the same volume, Otto Werkmeister writes (131), “Unlike their counterparts in Germany, England, and France, eleventh- and twelfth-century book painters in Spain did not draw on their early medieval tradition to any significant degree to create a new style that would have absorbed the Mozarabic heritage into the international Romanesque. There was no Spanish equivalent of the book-painting workshops at the abbeys of Trier and Echternach, Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Arras, and Winchester and Canterbury. Only at Santo Domingo de Silos did the painter Petrus recast the Mozarabic style into Romanesque regularity, most likely to express an allegiance to customs about to be discarded.” Earlier, Manuel Gómez Moreno (*El arte románico español* [Madrid, 1934], 16) also emphasized the foreignness of this image, citing Byzantine and Carolingian models and parallels with Winchester and Cluny.

³⁵ Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and Its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain* (Toronto, 2009), chap. 3.

independent from the rest of the manuscript, consisting of its two last quires, XXVIII and XXIX. Each section of the manuscript had a different scribe, and Díaz y Díaz suggests that perhaps the only reason for a new scribe in the third section was to find someone who could handle the musical notation that is found with the office.³⁶ Like the other prayers and texts added to the original core of psalms and canticles, this office has a strongly penitential flavor, which I will discuss more in the context of describing the office as it appears in Sancha's manuscript.

In addition to the emphasis on private devotional prayer, which reinforces the strongly penitential character of the manuscript, one final addition to the original core of the manuscript that I have yet to discuss suggests Sancha's motives for keeping Fernando's mind on penance. Following the litany and its penitential prayer but preceding the colophon and the nocturnal office, a single folio (fol. 207r) was inserted into the manuscript. A brief "chronicle" is written on this folio in gold script against an imperial purple background, comprising a list of the death dates of the rulers of León: Veremudo II and his wife Elvira, Alfonso V and his wife Elvira, Veremudo III "strong fighter in war," and the date of the consequent coronation of Fernando I as king in León.³⁷ The inclusion of the names and death dates of the queens along with the kings marks a prominent role for the king's spouse.

This text hints at good reasons for Fernando to be penitent. Sancha was married off to Fernando of Castilla in 1032 in an attempt to bring peace to Castilla and León. But her brother, Veremudo III of León, was killed by Fernando at the battle of Tamarón in 1037.³⁸ This "chronicle" reminded Fernando of how much he owed to whom, and why, and served as a permanent memorial of the dead rulers of León, rulers who needed the intercessory prayer of their descendants, as well as a record of the dates of the anniversaries of their deaths.³⁹ All those named in its list were buried in what would become the monastery of San Isidoro de León, where the bodies of Sancha and Fernando would one day rest, and where they would receive prayers both from the religious of the community and from Urraca

³⁶ Díaz y Díaz, "El códice," 26–27.

³⁷ On the addition of this folio, see *ibid.*, 20.

³⁸ Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León en el siglo XI: estudio del reinado de Fernando I* (Madrid, 1999), 109–14.

³⁹ In a recent discussion about the role of the "chronicle" in the *Libro de horas*, Francisco Prado-Vilar comes to a different conclusion about its role than the one I have reached here. Instead of seeing the chronicle as a goad to memory and a reminder of the need for penance, Prado-Vilar argues that it was intended to inscribe and absorb Fernando into the lineage of León ("*Lacrimae rerum*: San Isidoro de León y la memoria del padre," *Goya* 329 [2009]: 204–5).

and Elvira Fernández, Sancha and Fernando's daughters.⁴⁰ The closest analogues to this lavish folio are the Carolingian and Ottonian *libri memoriales* that preserve a record of the royal dead for memory and prayer.⁴¹

The creation of the manuscript in 1055 suggests a second reason for penance and an additional concern for success in battle, the twin themes of the section on the devotional use of the psalms. In 1054, Fernando had killed his own brother, García Sanchez III of Navarra, at the battle of Atapuerca.⁴² By 1055 he was probably anticipating his campaign against the Muslims at Badajoz. It was an opportune moment to ask for forgiveness for those sins a king must commit and divine aid for the wars he must fight.

Fernando's book is both a personal, penitential prayerbook and a royal, even imperial, codex. While the format and decorative qualities of his manuscript suggest a display copy,⁴³ its contents indicate that Sancha expected him to use the manuscript himself. We know that Fernando is reported to have recited one of its canticles, number 73, in the church of San Isidoro de León as part of a ritual of penance and divestment of worldly office days before his death.⁴⁴ At the same time, the manuscript supported his imperial aims. Fernando claimed for himself the title of emperor as a consequence of his seizure of the Leonese throne.⁴⁵ The purple background used for the chronicle page is also found on the Alpha/Omega page that begins the volume, the illuminated "Beatus vir" that opens the psalms, and the colophon page. The manuscript also makes use of gold for its illustrations. Moreover, as we have seen, there was a deliberate choice to include texts associated with Charlemagne, further reinforcing the royal and imperial focus of the compilation.

⁴⁰ The epitaphs on their tombs, now mostly destroyed, are recorded in Biblioteca del Palacio Real MS II/727.

⁴¹ E.g., the *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont: Eva-Maria Butz, "Adel und liturgische Memoria am Ende des karolingischen Frankenreichs," in *Adlige — Stifter — Mönche*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa, Studien zur Germania Sacra 30 (Göttingen, 2007), 15–29; N. Huyghebaert, *Les documents nécrologiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 4 (Turnhout, 1972), 13–16.

⁴² Sánchez Candeira, *Fernando I*, 142. On Fernando's mood after this second royal homicide, see Hilda Grassotti, "La iglesia y el estado en León y Castilla de Tamarón a Zamora," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 61–62 (1977): 140–41.

⁴³ Díaz y Díaz, "El códice," 50.

⁴⁴ According to a report in the *Historia silense*, ed. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano Gonzalez Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1959), 208. See Charles J. Bishko, "The Liturgical Context of Fernando I's Last Days According to the So-Called 'Historia Silense,'" *Hispania Sacra* 17–18 (1964–65): 50.

⁴⁵ Sánchez Candeira, *Fernando I*, 120.

QUEEN SANCHA'S PRAYERBOOK

Only four years later, in 1059, Sancha commissioned a prayerbook for herself:

Salamanca BU MS 2668

Contents	Folios
<i>Section 1</i>	
Canticles	1v–141v
Nocturnal Office	141v–151v, 160r–175v, 152r–159r
Colophon dating section to 1059	159v
<i>Section 2 (see appendix)</i>	
Athanasian Creed	176r–179r
Confessional prayer, “Confitebor domino deo”	179r–180r
<i>Section 3 (see appendix)</i>	
Litany	180v–184v
Prayers and collects	184v–187v

Its simple format, showing less concern for the markers of status and royalty, privileges usability over display. The large initial D on fol. 2r is made up of yellow interlace infilled with blue, purple, and green. “SANCIA REGINA” is written in blue on a green background of the upward stroke of the D, but the color choice makes the words indistinct. The first section forms the bulk of the volume, twenty-two quires.⁴⁶ An incipit in large, red

⁴⁶ The manuscript is made up of twenty-four quires. The first twenty-three quires have eight folios each, though the first quire has lost its first folio. The final quire is four folios. Catchwords connect the first sixteen quires, but they have been trimmed from the remainder of the manuscript. The quires became disordered before the manuscript was foliated, and the correct order of the manuscript is: quires I–XIII (fol. 1r–103v); XVII (fols. 128r–135v); XIV–XVI (fols. 104r–127v); XVIII–XIX (fols. 136r–151v); XXI–XXII (fols. 160r–175r); XX (fols. 152r–159r); XXIII–XXIV (fols. 176r–187r). The final two quires use parchment of a different quality both than each other and than the rest of the manuscript. In quire XXIII, the hair side of the parchment is strikingly visible, while the parchment of quire XXIV is thinner than the rest. Quire XXIII was added to contain the Athanasian Creed and Sancha’s confession, while quire XXIV contains what part of Urraca’s addendum could not be copied in the preceding quire; more on both of these issues below. The manuscript bears traces of three different attempts at foliation:

Visigothic capitals dates this section to 1059 (fol. 1v), and the same date is given at the end of this section together with the scribe's name, Christopher (fol. 159v).⁴⁷ The canticles occupy the bulk of this section, while its final quire and a half is taken up with the nocturnal office. There is no psalter in this manuscript.

Sancha's manuscript contains 108 canticles, two more than Fernando's. The two extras are both labeled 86; the first (fols. 134r–137v, 104r) is the text of Job 3:3–26, while the second (fols. 104r–105r) begins "Elemosina iusti" and is also attributed to Job, but cannot be found in that book. The way the canticles are numbered in Sancha's manuscript indicates that it was intended to be used with Fernando's. The canticles match the numbering and order of those in Fernando's manuscript until canticle 42, which is curiously followed by canticles that are numbered 49, 53, 47, 47bis, 48, 50, 43–46, 51, 52, 54–62, 53 [*sic*], and 64, and then so on in order.⁴⁸ It is evident that the canticles were arranged in both manuscripts in the order of their use during the liturgical year because several canticles explicitly note the season of their use.⁴⁹ Sancha's manuscript no doubt reordered the canticles so they would better fit the order of their liturgical use. This is supported by the fact that the second of her canticles numbered as 53, the last canticle before they return to their usual order with the next canticle in the manuscript, number 64, bears a rubric, "Incipiunt cantici de quotidiano" (fol. 82r), missing from Fernando's manuscript. What is striking however is that, although the canticles were reordered, the scribe attempted, not completely successfully, to keep the numbering used in Fernando's manuscript. This must be because the two manuscripts were to have been used together: Sancha's manuscript provided the preferred order, but the old numbers enabled it to be cross-referenced easily with Fernando's manu-

a modern foliation in Arabic numerals from 1 to 187, to which I will refer throughout; a late medieval foliation in Roman numerals from fols. 2–31; and another late medieval Roman foliation visible on occasional folios throughout the manuscript. On fols. 4, 5, and 12, all three systems are present. Díaz y Díaz's description of the manuscript (*Codices visigóticos* [n. 13 above], 349–50) contains some errors. There are no missing gatherings between fols. 103 and 104; the discontinuity of sense is explained by the misordering of the gatherings, and the two folios in the final gathering are in the correct order, not inverted as he suggests.

⁴⁷ "In xviiº kalendas iunias. Era TLx^lviiº. Christoforus indignus scripsit mementote" — "On May 16, 1059, unworthy Christopher wrote [this]. Remember."

⁴⁸ The actual canticles correspond to those numbered 50, 54, 47, 48, 51, 43–46, 52, 53, 55–63, and 64 in Fernando's manuscript.

⁴⁹ Díaz y Díaz, "El códice," 38. "Incipiunt cantici de quadragesime," Salamanca BU 2668, fol. 29v; cf. *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez (n. 6 above), 148 (fol. 148r). "Incipiunt cantici de resurrectione domini," Salamanca BU MS 2668 fol. 50r; cf. *Libro de horas*, 153 (fol. 158r).

script. If I am correct, this is another indication that Fernando's manuscript was intended for use as well as display.

Both manuscripts contain the nocturnal office of the Old Spanish rite.⁵⁰ The office begins in mid-quire, so we can suppose it was an integral part of Sancha's original manuscript. It is tempting to speculate that 1059, when Sancha's manuscript was copied, was also the date when the nocturnal office was added to Fernando's manuscript. The nocturnal office comprises three components in both of these manuscripts: "ordo ad medium noctis," "ordo ad nocturnos," and "ordo post nocturnos," which ends at cockcrow — "ad gallicantum," in Sancha's manuscript.⁵¹ The nocturnal office was not a traditional part of the Old Spanish cathedral office, which was centered instead around the offices of Vespers and Matins. Rather, it was a pivotal part of the monastic office, which makes it a curious choice for this lay, royal pair.⁵² So why include the nocturnal office in either of these manuscripts? What interest could this liturgy have for this royal couple?

During the reign of Fernando and Sancha and under their aegis, two church councils encouraged reform of the church and proper observance of the Old Spanish liturgy: the Council of Coyanza in 1055 and the Council of Compostela in 1056, both close to the time these two manuscripts were created.⁵³ Like the liturgical manuscripts we have been discussing, the two councils sought to renew the Old Spanish liturgy while adapting to influences from beyond the Pyrenees, including the early stirrings of the Gregorian reform. The Council of Compostela describes also a "monasticization" of the cathedral liturgy by adding the "ad medium noctis" and the "ad

⁵⁰ Edited based on these two manuscripts and others in Pinell, "Las horas vigiliares" (n. 7 above), 271–340.

⁵¹ A fourth component, "ordo peculiaris vigiliae," is not given a distinctive rubric in either of these manuscripts. This part of the nocturnal office was celebrated only on very long summer nights (Pinell, "Las horas vigiliares," 209, 218).

⁵² Pinell, "El oficio hispano-visigótico" (n. 7 above), 400.

⁵³ Alfonso García Gallo, "El concilio de Coyanza," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 20 (1950): 275–633; Gonzalo Martínez Díez, "El concilio compostelano del reinado de Fernando I," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 1 (1964): 121–38; idem, "La tradición manuscrita del fuero de León y del concilio de Coyanza," in idem, *El reino de León en la alta edad media*, 11 vols. (León, 1992) 2:115–83. The interpretation of these two councils is challenging because the *acta* of both are found in two distinct recensions, and the noted forger and interpolator Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo had his hand in one version of each. I follow Peter Linehan (*History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* [Oxford, 1993], 184–88) and Grassotti ("La iglesia y el estado en León y Castilla" [n. 42 above], 119–20, 123) in agreeing that, despite the ecclesiastical nature and concerns of these councils, they were most definitely carried out under royal aegis, and I add the observation that Sancha receives equal prominence with her husband at Coyanza: "Hoc decretum factum fuit in concilio domni Fredenando regis et sue coniugis regine domne Sancie in urbe Coganca" (Martínez Díez, "Tradición manuscrita," 177).

nocturnos,” as well as the monastic hours of prime, terce, sext, and “ad completa,” to the duties of the cathedral clergy.⁵⁴ We could say that royal religious practice was similarly “monasticized” by the addition of these components of the nocturnal office to their ritual life.

Compared to other surviving manuscripts that contain the nocturnal office, Fernando and Sancha’s codices represent older traditions of the office and were possibly copied from an eighth- or ninth-century witness to this rite.⁵⁵ Moreover, while these codices represent a very full tradition of the different responsories used in this office, they omit the concluding prayers found in other versions.⁵⁶ This fact suggests the texts were prepared not for a celebrant but for those who, like the king and queen, might want to follow along with the service and join in with the responses. Unlike some of the other Old Spanish offices, the nocturnal office retains a fairly simple and consistent structure from day to day, showing some variation on different days of the week, but very little adaptation to different festal liturgical seasons, and none at all to saints’ days. This relative simplicity would be easier to follow for the king and queen, neither of them liturgical professionals, than a rite that more fully accommodated the temporal and sanctoral cycle.

But the main reason for the inclusion of this office must be its intensely penitential character. We have already seen how the elements added to the original core of psalms and canticles in Fernando’s manuscript gave it a strongly penitential focus. That theme is taken up in the nocturnal office, whose basic message is one of penance, expressed both through its simple requirement to leave one’s bed in the dark and cold of the night to pray and through many of its texts. For example, the “miserationes” call five times for God to have mercy and then quote Lam. 2:19: “Rise and give praise in the night and at the beginning of the vigils pour forth your heart like water in the sight of the Lord. Raise your hands to God for the remedy of your sins.”⁵⁷ Canticles 21, 22, and 24, all confessions of sin and penance, follow this reading.⁵⁸ Expanding this theme and emphasizing

⁵⁴ From the seventh century, monks in Spain had been required to observe the two major cathedral offices of vespers and matins, but they followed their own lesser hours, not those of the cathedral (Pinell, “Las horas vigiliares,” 198, 224–31).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 203–5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 263–64.

⁵⁷ *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez, 184 (fol. 210r); Salamanca BU MS 2668, fol. 145r.

⁵⁸ *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez, 184–85 (fols. 210v–212r); Salamanca BU MS 2668, fols. 145r–149v. I am supplying the canticle numbers based on the numbering system in the canticle section of the manuscript. The canticles are written out in full in the office and are unnumbered. Cant. 21 is Neh. 1:5–11; cant. 22 is Pr. of Man. 1:7–15; cant. 24 is Ecclus. 36:1–19.

the importance of rising at night to confess sin and ask for mercy are the “clamores”:

In the middle of the night I rose to confess to you on the judgments of your justice. The bonds of sins are wound around me, O Lord, and I have not forgotten your law. I prayed to your countenance from the bottom of my heart, “Have mercy on me God.” I shouted to you, “O Lord,” I said, “You are my hope, my portion in the land of the living. You who know the hidden deeds of everyone, cleanse me from my sin. Give me time that I might repent. I have sinned. Have mercy on me, God.”⁵⁹

The text continues in this vein, emphasizing that the middle of the night is the right time for penance.

The second section of the manuscript occupies its final two quires, XXIII and XXIV, the first of eight folios, and the last of only four. It is, in effect, a *libellus precum*, a collection of prayers and texts meant for the devotional use of an individual, and I have transcribed it in the appendix that follows. Brief though this section is, it is the work of not just one but three different scribes. The first scribe copied only the Athanasian Creed.⁶⁰ This same creed follows directly after the canticles in Fernando’s manuscript. Following the creed in Sancha’s manuscript, a second scribe copied, beginning in the middle of the folio, a personal confession of sin written in the voice of Queen Sancha, which continues the penitential theme of the nocturnal office:

I confess to God, Holy Mary, and St. Michael the archangel, and all the angels and archangels, and to St. Peter the apostle and all the apostles and all the saints and to you, father, all my sins, whatever I have sinned, I, miserable and sinful Sancha through my pride: sin in thought, in speech, in pleasure, in pollution, in fornication, in consanguinity, in homicide, in perjury, in laughter, in appearance, in deed, in consent, and in all things with evil action; I seek indulgence for my sin.⁶¹

The prayer seeks intercession and forgiveness, and it mirrors the confession of sin under the rubric, “*oratio sancti Augustini*,” that followed the Athanasian creed in Fernando’s manuscript.⁶² Fructuosus of Braga (d. ca.

⁵⁹ “*Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi super iudicia iusticie tue. Funes peccatorum circumplexe sunt me domine et legem tuam non sum oblitus. Deprecatus sum faciem tuam de toto corde meo miserere mei deus. Clamaui ad te domine; dixi, ‘Spes mea es; portio mea in terra uiuentium. Qui cognoscis omnium occulta, a peccato meo munda me. Tempus michi concede ut repeniteam. Me peccauit. Miserere mei deus’*” (*Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez, 187 [fols. 215r–215v]; Salamanca BU MS 2668, fols. 163v–164r).

⁶⁰ Salamanca BU MS 2668, fols. 176r–179r.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 179r–180r. The full text of the confession can be found in the appendix.

⁶² *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez, 176–77 (fols. 197v–198v).

665) stipulated a confession like this one before compline, and the practice spread through Benedictine monasteries in the late eighth century. Likewise, the Athanasian creed itself may have had a Spanish origin, although its liturgical use had spread throughout Europe by the eighth century.⁶³ Sancha's confession is followed in the manuscript by a response from the priest asking God to forgive her sins.

Marius Férotin urged us not to take literally the queen's description of her own sinfulness in this confession.⁶⁴ I suggest the opposite. I believe that Sancha's consciousness of her own and Fernando's sinfulness was strong, genuine, and frightening and motivated her sponsorship of both of these manuscripts. I have already suggested how Fernando's manuscript preserves reminders of his sinful acts, and Sancha's confession may reflect her own biography too. With respect to the charge of homicide, since she shared in the spoils won by Fernando after he killed both of their brothers, the blame attached to her as well. There is, moreover, an oblique suggestion in the early twelfth-century *Historia silense* that she urged Fernando to kill his own brother to avenge her own brother's death at his hands.⁶⁵ On the charge of consanguinity, she and Fernando shared the same great-grandfather, García Fernández, count of Castilla, within three degrees of kinship. We know Sancha and Fernando were aware of and concerned with the problem of consanguinity because the manuscript they commissioned in 1047 of Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* unusually includes a table of affinities and tree of consanguinity indicating family relationship to the sixth degree.⁶⁶

Finally, on the charges of fornication and pollution, I would like to argue that prior to her marriage to Fernando, Sancha may have been consecrated to religious life, and therefore may have seen her union with Fernando as politically essential but spiritually suspect. The Leonese royal house did not deploy its daughters in dynastic marriages, preferring to accrue spiritual benefits through their prayers and by enriching them with monastic

⁶³ J. B. L. Tolhurst, *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, 6 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 69–71, 76, 78, 80 (London, 1932–42) 6:47, 50.

⁶⁴ Férotin, "Deux manuscrits" (n. 6 above), 383.

⁶⁵ The passage reads: "Qui nimirum milites ex cognatione vel familia Veremudi regis plerumque existentes, ubi voluntatem domini sui fratrem suum avidam vivum capiendi, potius quam extinctum, animadverterunt, ut credo ex instinctu Sancie regine, communem sibi sanguinem vindicare singulariter anhelabant" (*Historia silense*, ed. de Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla [n. 44 above], 187).

⁶⁶ Madrid BN Vitr. 14-2, fols. 264v–265r. This material is included in this manuscript and in the Silos and Morgan Beatuses (John Williams, *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript* [New York, 1991], 210–11).

houses.⁶⁷ Sancha's aunts and her own daughters lived their lives as consecrated virgins, and it seems likely that only the political vulnerability of her brother Veremudo III led Sancha herself to the path of marriage. Some evidence for my suggestion that she was earlier consecrated to religious life may be found in her especially close connection to the monastery of San Juan Bautista and San Pelayo in León. In a document of 1063 in which Fernando and Sancha endow this double community with a raft of privileges and gifts, including the body of its new patron, Saint Isidore, Sancha describes a special relationship existing between herself and this house, a relationship her daughters would continue. The text shifts from the plural royal we to the first person singular and reads, "Although I may be the *domina* of this monastery, nevertheless among the sisters and the clerics I am as if one of you."⁶⁸ If she had been consecrated virgin before married queen, her case would set an Iberian precedent for Ramiro II of Aragon (1134–57), who was brought out of his monastery on his brother's death to claim the throne, marry, and sire a child, before returning to the cloister in 1137.⁶⁹ In any case, as for all medieval figures who shared the hazardous duties of rulership, Queen Sancha had genuine reasons to be aware of her own sinfulness in a range of areas.

Because of the personalized confession naming Sancha, we can date the addition of the confession and the creed to the codex to between 1059 and her death on November 27, 1067.⁷⁰ The remainder of the codex, copied as an addendum by the third and final scribe of the manuscript, requires a different date. This hand is very different from any other found in this manuscript. It is not the careful, clear Visigothic bookhand found in the other manuscripts commissioned by Sancha and Fernando.⁷¹ Rather, it is a much more casual, heavily ligatured Visigothic script, still however emi-

⁶⁷ Patrick Henriët, "Deo votas: L' *Infantado* et la fonction des infantes dans la Castille et le León des Xe–XIIe siècles," in *Au cloître et dans le monde: Femmes, hommes, et sociétés*, ed. Patrick Henriët and Anne-Marie Legras (Paris, 2000), 190–97.

⁶⁸ "Ego namque Sancia regina quamuis domina sim ipsius monasterii inter sorores tamen et clericis quasi unum ex eis" (Maria Encarnación Martín López, ed., *Documentos de los siglos x–xiii*, Patrimonio Cultural de San Isidoro de León [León, 1995], no. 6).

⁶⁹ Bernard Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain 1031–1157* (Oxford, 1992), 182–87.

⁷⁰ Reilly, *Alfonso VI* (n. 2 above), 21.

⁷¹ In addition to the two discussed in this article, Sancha is responsible for a manuscript of Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (BNM Vitr. 14-2) and a manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologies* (El Escorial &.I.3), both deluxe manuscripts commissioned in 1047. On these two manuscripts, see Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos* (n. 13 above), 328–32, 429–30 (BNM Vitr. 14-2), and 381–83 (El Escorial &.I.3). On the Beatus manuscript, see also John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London, 1994–2003), 3:34–40.

nently legible. Unlike the scripts in the rest of the volume, the ascenders of this hand show distinct finials that suggest both a later date and a degree of influence from the late Carolingian scripts in use north of the Pyrenees. This hand is of great interest because in addition to copying the remainder of the manuscript, it made corrections to Sancha's confession that help us date its work.⁷² Above the word "Sancia" in the confession, this new hand has written "Urracka." This is Urraca Fernández (d. 1101), oldest child of Sancha and Fernando, and thus we can date these emendations and the texts that follow the confession to after Sancha's death in 1067, when her daughter would have inherited the manuscript.⁷³

This hand has also feminized the masculine nouns of the confession; so, where Sancha was content to call herself "peccator," her daughter shifted to "peccatrix."⁷⁴ It has corrected a misplaced nominative to a dative and changed second person plural verbs referring to the priest to whom the confession was made to the less respectful and formal singular, possibly taking the priest down a peg or two. These changes betray both a feminine self-consciousness and a degree of Latin learning. The *Historia silense* reports that Fernando had all his children educated in the liberal arts.⁷⁵ While Urraca may not herself have been the scribe who made the changes, the impetus behind the changes must have been hers.

Urraca's addendum begins with a litany of the saints on the verso of the folio where the confession concludes. Thus, as in Fernando's prayerbook,

⁷² The identification of the corrector's hand with the third hand of this section can be made on the basis of the shade of the ink, the finials on the ascenders of both hands, and the common form of the k and other distinctive letter forms.

⁷³ I will suggest a more precise date below.

⁷⁴ A similar correction from masculine to feminine endings can be found in several prayers of the eleventh-century Aelfwine Prayerbook (London, British Museum, Titus D. xxvi and D. xxvii). The changes date from the twelfth century, and it has been suggested that the manuscript was at that time in the women's community of Nunnaminster in Winchester (Beate Günzel, *Aelfwine's Prayerbook*, Henry Bradshaw Society 108 [London, 1993], 3–4. For the changes to the endings, see *ibid.*, 187, 191).

⁷⁵ "Rex Fernandus filios suos et filias ita censuit instruere, ut primo liberalibus disciplinis, quibus et ipse studium dederat, erudirentur dein, ubi etas patiebatur, more Hispanorum equos cursare, armis et uenationibus filios exercere fecit, sed et filias, ne per otium torperent, ad omnem muliebrem honestatem erudiri iussit" (*Historia silense*, ed. de Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla, 184). The passage was taken from Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*: "Liberos suos ita censuit, ut tam filii quam filiae primo liberalibus studiis quibus et ipse operam dabat, erudirentur. Tum filios cum primum aetas patiebatur, more Francorum equitare armis ac venatibus exerceri fecit, filias vero lanificio adsuescere, colique ac fuso, nec per otium torperent, operam impende, atque ad omnem honestatem erudiri iussit" (ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH Scrip. rerum germ. 25 [Hanover, 1839], 38), suggesting that the memory of Fernando's use of Charlemagne as a model had not yet died at the time the Iberian chronicle was written.

the Athanasian Creed and the confession are followed by a litany. Variations between the litanies in the two books, however, show that the model for the addendum differed from those available to Fernando's scribe. The addendum litany begins with a recitation of the seven penitential psalms (psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) and then the *Kyrie eleison*. Then, although the litany itself includes virtually all the saints named in Fernando's litany, it adds several formulas for the Trinity⁷⁶ and for classes of the holy,⁷⁷ as well as many additional saints, primarily martyrs and confessors common in the Roman sanctoral cycle but also saints from Spain.⁷⁸ The order of the saints in Fernando's litany is preserved in the addendum, with these additions slotted in. The list of saints is followed by a lengthy series of invocations and intercessions that is entirely missing from Fernando's version, including a list of evils the petitioner wishes to be protected from ("ab" sequences), a list of events of Christ's life that will protect the petitioner ("per" sequences), and a list of requests for protection for the church, kings and princes, bishops and abbots, and all the faithful, including the souls of the petitioners and their ancestors ("ut" sequences). The litany concludes with the *Agnus dei* and another *Kyrie eleison*.

In its list of apostles and saints followed by the "ab," "per," and "ut" sequences, it follows the formula of the ninth-century Carolingian litanies, although, among those of that type examined by Astrud Krüger, it is impossible to find an immediate model for Urraca's litany.⁷⁹ Closer parallels to the litany of the Salamanca manuscript may be found in a series of mostly closely contemporary Anglo-Saxon litanies,⁸⁰ as well as in the early twelfth-century monastic ritual of Fleury.⁸¹ Though the saints invoked differ, reflecting different local hagiographical traditions, the lengthy and

⁷⁶ "Pater de celis . . . Fili redemptor mundi . . . Spiritus sanctus . . . Sancta trinitas" (fol. 180v), following the model of the so-called Gallican litanies (Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society 106 [London, 1991], 38).

⁷⁷ E.g., "Omnes sancti angeli et arcangeli . . . Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines" (fol. 180v–181r), "Omnes sancti apostoli et euangeliste . . . Omnes sancti discipuli domini . . . Omnes sancti innocentes" (fol. 181r).

⁷⁸ These are Saints Marinus, Denis, Marcellinus and Peter, George, Quiricus, Genesius, Germanus, Taurinus, Aquilinus, Maurus, Columbanus, Antonius, Macarius, Urbicus, Perpetua, Scholastica, Radegund, Consortia, and Daria. Saints Facundus and Primitivus, Claudius, Lupercus and Victoricus, and Florentia are additions to the litany from the Spanish sanctoral tradition and will be discussed further, below.

⁷⁹ Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften* (n. 20 above).

⁸⁰ E.g., Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.23; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391; London, British Library Arundel MS 155; London, British Library Harley MS 863; and Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 150 (edited in Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, respectively at 93–97, 115–19, 148–52, 193–202, and 283–87).

⁸¹ Anselme Davril, *The Monastic Ritual of Fleury*, Henry Bradshaw Society 105 (London, 1990), 14–17, 83–87.

detailed invocations and intercessions are strikingly similar. There are parallels to the format for this litany at Cluny. The litany began as a form of private prayer, and Cluny's early customaries requiring that the office of prime be followed by the seven penitential psalms followed by a litany, as we have in Urraca's addendum, are the first place we see the litany prescribed as part of the daily horarium of a monastic community.⁸²

There are several additions of Iberian saints, not found in Fernando's manuscript, to the litany. Urraca's addendum adds Saints Claudius, Luperus, and Victoricus, all thought to be martyred in León, and Saint Florentia, sister of Leander, for whom he wrote a rule for nuns, and Isidore, newly patron of San Isidoro de León, a community with close connections to Urraca. Some additions reinforce a Cluniac connection. The cult of Florentia is first documented at Cluny in the *Liber tramitis*, a Cluniac customary copied in the mid eleventh century for the abbey of Farfa, and may have been inspired by relics of the saint possessed by Cluny.⁸³ She is paired in Urraca's litany, as well as in the *Liber tramitis* and other Cluniac liturgical texts, with the little-known saint, Consortia.⁸⁴ This legendary figure was said to be the daughter of Eucher, bishop of Lyon, and her headless body was brought to Cluny at an unknown date. Her cult is documented exclusively in Cluniac liturgical manuscripts and in Urraca's addendum.⁸⁵

Saints Facundus and Primitivus, absent from Fernando's litany, though present in the calendar,⁸⁶ were included in Urraca's addendum. These saints were the ancient patrons of the monastery of Sahagún, a community that enjoyed considerable support from Alfonso VI, brother of Urraca Fernández. Alfonso appointed a monk from Cluny, Robert, as Sahagún's abbot before 1080, around the time he married Abbot Hugh of Cluny's niece, Constance. On June 27, 1077, Pope Gregory VII asked Abbot Hugh to recall Robert to Cluny as a way of keeping pressure on Alfonso VI to effect the full replacement of the Old Spanish liturgy with the Roman that he had promised four years earlier, and he was replaced by another Cluniac, Bernard of Sédillac, who became archbishop of Toledo after its reconquest from the Muslims in 1085.⁸⁷ Alfonso VI was later buried at Sahagún.⁸⁸ Sahagún

⁸² Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey* (n. 63 above), 6:70.

⁸³ On the *Liber tramitis*, see Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity* (n. 1 above), chap. 3.

⁸⁴ *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, ed. Petrus Dinter, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 10 (Siegburg, 1980), nos. 81–82 (p. 123).

⁸⁵ On the cults of Florentia and Consortia at Cluny, see Catherine Bonnin-Magne, "Le sanctoral clunisien (Xe–XVe siècles)" (PhD diss., Université Paris 1, 2005), 186–88. Cf. Bernard of Cluny, "Ordo cluniacensis," in *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. Marquard Herrgott (Paris, 1726), 1.41, p. 232.

⁸⁶ *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez (n. 6 above), 75 (fol. 4r).

⁸⁷ Reilly, *Alfonso VI* (n. 2 above), 106–11.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 363.

conformed its liturgy and uses to those of Cluny, and an otherwise entirely Cluniac late twelfth-century lectionary from Sahagún shows great attention to the feasts of Saints Facundus and Primitivus, providing us with another example of how new liturgical forms were adapted to local conditions.⁸⁹

CLUNY, ROYAL WOMEN, AND PRAYER

This evidence of Cluniac influence in Urraca's addendum to her mother's book is striking. Although credit for forging the connection between Cluny and Castilla-León is usually given to Fernando I, who is traditionally said to have offered Cluny a year's grant of 1000 gold pieces to pay for vestments, a grant which his son, Alfonso VI, eventually doubled,⁹⁰ it is worth noting that there is not a shred of evidence connecting Fernando to Cluny that dates to his lifetime.⁹¹ Whether the story of Fernando's and Sancha's donations to Cluny are fact, or a fiction that emerges during Alfonso VI's reign,⁹² it remains that there is no sign of any other kind that Fernando

⁸⁹ Henriet, "Un bouleversement culturel" (n. 3 above), 75; idem, "Sanctoral clunisien et sanctoral hispanique au XII^e siècle, ou de l'ignorance réciproque au syncrétisme: À propos d'un lectionnaire de l'office originaire de Sahagún (fin XII^e siècle)," in *Scribere sanctorum gesta: Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, ed. Étienne Renard, Michel Trigalet, Xavier Hermand, and Paul Bertrand, *Hagiologia — Études sur la Sainteté en Occident 3* (Turnhout, 2005), 243, 255–56; Carlos M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España: Los prioratos de la provincia y sus redes sociales* (León, 2008), 73. For Cluniac liturgical influence elsewhere in the peninsula, see Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Cluny at Fynystere: One Use, Three Fragments," in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. Terence Bailey and László Dobszay (Ottawa, 2007), 133–47.

⁹⁰ Charles J. Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London, 1980), 1–136; idem, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of Leon," *Studia monastica 3* (1961): 53–76.

⁹¹ See the recent exhaustive study by Reglero de la Fuente (*Cluny en España*), which finds nothing before 1073. Bishko argues that the "Ego Frater Galindus clunia[ac]ensis," [sic] who signs a donation made to the monastery San Isidoro de Dueñas, confirmed by Fernando and said to be done under the order of Fernando and Sancha (Sánchez Candeira, *Fernando I* [n. 38 above], no. 50, pp. 282–83), was a senior Cluniac monk entrusted with some special mission (Bishko, "Fernando I and Cluny," 24). But remove Bishko's emendation of "cluniaensis" to "clunia[ac]ensis" and it becomes more likely that Galindus was a visitor from San Isidoro de Clunia, a monastic house identified by Bishko himself and connected to the house at Dueñas with the same saintly patron (Bishko, "The Abbey of Dueñas and the Cult of San Isidore of Chios in the County of Castile," in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel*, 10 vols. [Silos, 1977] 2:354–56).

⁹² We first hear of largesse coming from Fernando himself in a document of Alfonso's dated July 10, 1077 (Andrés Gamba, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería, curia e imperio*, 2 vols. [Léon, 1997], no. 46, 2:119–21). Alfonso promises to double the "censum" that his father

was interested in Cluny and its practices during his reign. As is clear from this study, though he and Sancha were open to influences and ideas of religious reform from the north, none of these can be considered Cluniac.

Their lack of interest in Cluny contrasts strongly with Alfonso VI's own extensive support of Cluny, both in terms of money and gifts, and also in his interest in Cluniac monastic customs and desire to have Cluniac personnel reform his monasteries and rule his bishoprics. Early in his reign, Alfonso began a series of donations for intercessory purposes supported by his two sisters, Urraca Fernández, patron of the addendum to her mother's manuscript, and Elvira Fernández. His two sisters were important bulwarks for his reign, although Urraca was more prominent, as the eldest child in the family and his main supporter against his brother Sancho II, whose murder in 1072 allowed Alfonso to return from exile in Toledo and rule the combined kingdom of Castilla-León.⁹³ The first donation was the outright gift of the monastery of San Isidoro de Dueñas on December 29, 1073.⁹⁴ The date of this grant, on the anniversary of Fernando's death, makes clear its memorial and intercessory intentions. Three years later, on February 7, 1076, Alfonso reissued the same donation, except this time it was confirmed by his sister, Urraca Fernández, and Alfonso's sisters play a role in all subsequent donations to Cluny.⁹⁵ The royal monasteries were not Alfonso's to give because, while Fernando and Sancha had divided up their kingdom between their three sons, they had given all the monasteries they possessed to their daughters, giving them not only crucial ties to the prayer life of the kingdom, but a massive landed base.⁹⁶ More donations

was accustomed to give: "Censum quem pater meus illo sanctissimo loco Cluniacensi solitus erat dare, ego in diebus uite mee, annuente Deo, duplicatum dabo." Only in a document dating from Easter 1090, twenty-five years after Fernando's death, and bearing the hand of Cluniac construction, do we learn that the sum Fernando gave was one thousand gold pieces, and that Alfonso plans to give it annually: "quem censum eodem modo per successores suos prefato loco annuatim reddendum instituit et firmauit" (*ibid.*, no. 110, 2:287–90).

⁹³ Either together or alone, the two appear in seventy-eight of the 134 documents issued by Alfonso VI before Urraca's death in 1101 (Elvira died in 1099) (*ibid.*, 1:487). On the complex politics after the deaths of Fernando in 1065 and Sancha in 1067 that ended in Alfonso's triumph with his sisters at his side, see Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, 58–67, 370.

⁹⁴ Gamba (*Alfonso VI*, no. 18, 2:36–38) gives a date of May 29, 1073, but notes that two versions of it have the December date. Bishko ("Fernando I and Cluny," 18) accepts the December date, as I do, on the basis of the anniversary.

⁹⁵ Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, no. 36, 2:88–89.

⁹⁶ Usually cited in evidence of this division is the twelfth-century *Historia silense* (n.44 above), 204–5, a chronicle that dates to the reign of Alfonso VI's daughter, Queen Urraca. A document of 1071, in which Elvira Fernández, Alfonso's other sister, donates a monastery to the cathedral of Lugo, also testifies to the fact that the two daughters had been given all the monasteries of the kingdom by their father: "Genitor meus, rex

of monasteries to Cluny followed the first: of San Salvador del Palaz del Rey in León in August 1076, described as a joint gift between Alfonso and Urraca;⁹⁷ of Santiago de Astudillo and San Juan de Hérmides de Cerrato, both in 1077;⁹⁸ of Santa María de Najera in 1079;⁹⁹ and of Santa Colomba de Burgos in 1081, the last four all confirmed by Urraca and Elvira.¹⁰⁰

Santa María de Najera and San Salvador del Palaz del Rey are especially interesting because they were both traditionally sites where the royal dead were buried and remembered in intercessory prayer. Cluny was above all known for the power of its prayer for the dead; the strength of the intercessory clout of its liturgy was a large reason for the spread of its influence. Santa Maria was the pantheon of the royal house of Navarre, claimed by Alfonso VI after the murder of its king, Sancho García IV in 1076.¹⁰¹ Granting it to Cluny was one way to ensure that the appropriate prayer life continued, but that it could not become a center of resistance by the defeated dynasty.

Prayer for the royal dead and intercession for the king were the special roles of the royal daughters of León, and San Salvador was the original Leonese pantheon, a monastery and royal cemetery founded adjacent to the palace by Ramiro II (ca. 930–51) for his daughter Elvira.¹⁰² By the eleventh century, the Leonese pantheon shifted from San Salvador to what would become San Isidoro, where Alfonso and Urraca's immediate family were buried and where Urraca maintained an important presence throughout her life, including involvement in the rebuilding of this important site.¹⁰³ When Urraca and Elvira allowed their brother to give up these monasteries to Cluny they were in a very real sense outsourcing their traditional intercessory duties to its monks.

The process whereby the duties of intercession and prayer for the dead move from royal daughters to Cluny was described by Patrick Geary for tenth- and eleventh-century France, but he characterizes this movement

domnus Ferdinandus per scripturam concessit mihi Geloira et ad germana mea domina Vrracha predictum monasterium sancte Eolalie de Fingon cum cunctos monasterios regni sui per omnes provincias et regiones" (AHN MS 1043B, fol. 69r).

⁹⁷ Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, no. 39, 2:94–95.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 43, 2:115–16 and no. 45, 2:119–21.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 65, 2:161–65.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 71, 2:181–83.

¹⁰¹ Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, 87–90.

¹⁰² Lucy K. Pick, "Dominissima, prudentissima: Elvira, First Queen-Regent of León," in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe*, ed. Thomas E. Burman, Mark D. Meyerson, and Leah Shopkow (Toronto, 2002), 42–43.

¹⁰³ Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propoganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden, 2006), chap. 3.

as resulting in a net loss of power for the royal women.¹⁰⁴ The careers of Urraca and Elvira Fernández, their niece, Urraca, who became first queen in her own right of Castilla-León, and her daughter Sancha Raimúndez show this not to have been the case in Spain.¹⁰⁵ And indeed, as we can see from Urraca's addendum to Sancha's manuscript, the presence of Cluniac prayer in the peninsula did not supplant Urraca's practice of prayer, but rather informed and influenced it.

Can we date Urraca Fernández's addendum more precisely than the period between her mother's death in 1067 and her own in 1101? As we saw above, Alfonso VI's first gift to Cluny came in 1073, and it was renewed in February 1076, this time with Urraca's confirmation. Another gift from Urraca and Alfonso VI to Cluny came in August 1076. The transition from the Old Spanish to the Roman liturgy was announced by Alfonso VI in May or June of 1076, and in 1080 we have testimony that suggests Gregory VII found the pace of reform too slow, and blamed Robert of Cluny for being too accommodating to the Mozarabic rite. From 1080, Alfonso VI's commitment to the Roman rite seems to be complete, and the transition unstoppable.¹⁰⁶ I am inclined to place the addendum no earlier than 1073 and more likely between 1076 and 1080, in the period after Urraca begins to show an interest in Cluny, but before the commitment to the Roman liturgy was fully established, because the addendum shows Cluniac but not especially Roman influences and was attached to a book that was explicitly Old Spanish in its collection of canticles and office. If the Roman liturgy were already fully established, it seems likely that Urraca would have attached her addendum to a Roman liturgical manuscript. Indeed we may see the hand of Robert of Cluny himself in this addendum, and this manuscript may represent the exact kind of liturgical compromise between the Roman and Old Spanish rites that caused Gregory VII to demand his removal.

We are now in a good position to appreciate the Cluniac influences in the addendum and Urraca's motives for including them. Cluny established that the seven penitential psalms followed by the litany, as they appear in the addendum, were to be said after the office of prime, which took place at dawn.¹⁰⁷ These were followed, as they are in our manuscript (see the appendix), by a series of collects and capitella consisting of psalm verses, ending with the capitular office, during which, at Cluny, the names of the dead were read on their anniversaries. Ulrich of Zell, whose *Consue-*

¹⁰⁴ Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (Princeton, 1994), 68–70.

¹⁰⁵ Henriët, "Deo votas" (n. 67above), 193–200.

¹⁰⁶ Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, 108–12.

¹⁰⁷ Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey* (n. 63above), 670.

tudines describe practice at Cluny in the 1060s,¹⁰⁸ outlines the post-prime liturgy: “After prime, beyond the psalms I have already mentioned, follow the seven penitential psalms. After the litany, which is to be said at this moment, and before the collects which are to follow, four psalms are interposed, that is, psalms 69 [“Deus in adiutorium meum intende”], 120 [“Levavi oculos meos”], 122 [“Ad te levavi oculos”], and, for the faithful departed, 42 [“Iudica me”],” and then mentions the capitular office which follows afterwards.¹⁰⁹ In Urraca’s addendum, these four psalms begin after one insertion not mentioned by the Cluniac, the Carolingian prayer “Per horum omnium sanctorum,” from the *Officia per ferias* found in Fernando’s psalter after his litany.¹¹⁰ This expansion of the office of prime spread to other Benedictine monasteries, including those without ties to Cluny.¹¹¹

Ulrich’s customary lists the collects and verses that follow the litany, and many of these are also listed in Urraca’s addendum: “Memor esto”; “Deus, cui proprium”; “Domine, saluos fac reges”; “Saluos fac seruos et ancillas”; “Pretende, domine”; “Fiat pax in uirtute tua”; “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, miserere famulis et famulabus tuis”; as well as Psalm

¹⁰⁸ Though Ulrich’s text reflects Cluniac customs of the early 1060s, the period of his life when he last spent extended time there, his work was not completed until ca. 1080 (Isabelle Cochelin, “Évolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l’étude de Bernard,” in *From Dead of Night to End of Day*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, *Disciplina monastica* 5 [Turnhout, 2005] 30)

¹⁰⁹ “Post primam, praeter psalmos quorum jam supra memini, sequuntur adhuc etiam septem psalmi poenitentiales. Post letaniam, quae in eodem momento est dicenda, et ante collectas secuturas, psalmi quattuor interseruntur, id est 69 [Deus in adiutorium meum intende], 120 [Levavi oculos meos], 122 [Ad te levavi oculos] et pro fidelibus defunctis, 42 [Judica me]” (Ulrich, *Consuetudines*, PL 149.646D–647A). For the capitular office, cf. Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, 6:50–51.

¹¹⁰ *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvarez (n. 6 above), 179 (fols. 199v–199bis v)

¹¹¹ We find close parallels to the texts of the addendum in other manuscripts containing psalters and canticles, including the aforementioned twelfth-century ritual of Fleury, Orléans Bibliothèque municipale 123 (101) (Davril, *Ritual of Fleury* [n. 81 above], 83–90); a thirteenth-century manuscript from Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Oxford Bodleian, MS Rawlinson lit. 8 (Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, 3: Fo. G. 66–68); and another manuscript from Winchester, of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson lit. G. 10 (John Wickham, *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 12, [London, 1897] 3: cols. 1303–11). Several more psalter-canticle manuscripts that include these texts were owned by royal women: the Psalter of Ingeborg, Queen of France (d. 1236) (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château MS 9 [1695], fols. 188r–193r) and the Psalter of Blanche of Castille, Queen of France (d. 1252) (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 1186 [329 A.T.L.], fols. 186r–190r). It is striking that a search through V. Leroquais’s *Les Psautiers manuscrits* (n. 19 above) turned up this collection of texts in psalters belonging to royal women but nowhere else.

129, “De profundis clamaui.”¹¹² According to Ulrich, two collects in particular — “Deus, cui proprium” and “Pretende, domine” — were said especially for the intention of the deceased faithful, which fits with what we can surmise about the intercessory and memorial interests of Urraca as *domina* with her sister over the royal cemetery, monastery, and palace of San Isidoro de León.¹¹³ Bernard of Cluny, who wrote his own Cluniac *Consuetudines* around 1085 to amplify and correct Ulrich’s version, states that at each hour of the daily office benefactors of Cluny, among whom Alfonso and Urraca can be counted, were remembered by the responsory “Deus, in adiutorium meum” and the collect “Pretende, domine.”¹¹⁴ Moreover, one of the collects in Urraca’s addendum, “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui facis mirabilia,” was said at Cluny for the intention of the rulers of Spain (“pro regibus Hispaniarum”), that is to say, Fernando and Sancha.¹¹⁵ The selection of these particular Cluniac liturgical extracts was not random; the whole complex of psalms, prayers, and litany emphasizes penitential and intercessory functions that she was expected to fulfill, and makes specific reference to the connection between Cluny and the royal house of Castilla-León.

How might Sancha, a laywoman and a queen, and Urraca, at most a consecrated virgin, but not an abbess or nun, have used this manuscript? We saw with Fernando’s manuscript how Alcuin’s instructions to Charlemagne provided the Spanish king with a model for using his psalter. What kinds of models of royal prayer were available to Sancha, whose nocturnal office envisions penitential prayer in the middle of the night, and Urraca, who expands it to dawn with the office of prime? Royal women of this period have received a great deal of study in recent years,¹¹⁶ but relatively

¹¹² Ulrich, *Consuetudines*, PL 149:648D–649A, 650B–C. Cf. Bernard, “Ordo cluniacensis” (n. 85 above), 1.41, p. 232, which contains many parallels.

¹¹³ Ulrich, *Consuetudines*, PL 149:650D.

¹¹⁴ Bernard, “Ordo cluniacensis,” 1.26, p. 200; discussed in Bishko, “Liturgical Context” (n. 44 above), 56. For the date of Bernard’s text, see Cochelin, “Évolution des coutumiers,” 29.

¹¹⁵ Bernard, “Ordo cluniacensis,” 1.41, p. 232. Based on a misreading of the Latin, Bishko (“Liturgical Context,” 57) incorrectly states that the collect said for the Spanish sovereigns was “A domo tue, quesumus, domine.”

¹¹⁶ The bibliography is enormous, but studies that examine royal and other powerful women in early medieval Iberia include: Carlos Baliñas Pérez, “*Domina*: condición femenina e poder público na Galicia altomedieval (séculos VIII a XI),” *Grial* 26 (1988): 8–11; Abilio Barbero de Aguilera, “Pervivencias matrilineales en la Europa medieval: el ejemplo del norte de España,” in *La condición de la mujer en la Edad media*, ed. Yves-René Fonquerne and Alonso Esteban (Madrid, 1986), 215–22; José María Canal Sánchez-Pagín, “Jimena Muñoz, amiga de Alfonso VI,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 21 (1991): 11–40; Roger Collins, “Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth-Century León and Navarre,” in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John C. Parsons (New York, 1993), 79–92; Theresa

little attention has been paid to their prayer and religious life, even though acts like founding monasteries and possessing ecclesiastical land has been viewed as an important part of their role.¹¹⁷

Patrick Henriët suggests that we use hagiographical narratives to understand how the texts of prayers we find in our liturgical books and *libelli precum* became the act of prayer.¹¹⁸ Royal women had an ancient hagiographical precedent for performing penance at night. Venantius Fortunatus, describing the life of the sixth-century Merovingian queen Radegund, tells how she left the bed of King Clothar I in the middle of each night to pray in private, prostrated on a hair shirt.¹¹⁹ Her piety balanced his sinfulness. Radegund was included in the litany of Urraca's addendum, though she was not named in Fernando's litany, and is remembered neither in his calendar nor in any of the other extant early Iberian calendars.¹²⁰

Though we may think of Radegund as more nun than queen, in the Middle Ages she was deemed a suitable model for her successor queens. Several centuries later, in a life partly modeled on that of Radegund, the Ottonian queen Matilda (d. 968) is described participating in a nightly liturgy:

Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot, 2005); M. Rubén García Álvarez, "El diploma de restauración de la sede de Túy por la infanta Urraca," *Cuadernos de estudios Gallegos* 17 (1962): 275–92; Marina González Miranda, "La condesa doña Sancha y el monasterio de Santa Cruz de la Seros," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragon* 4 (Zaragoza, 1956): 185–202; Henriët, "Deo volas" (n. 67 above), 189–201; Patricia Humphrey, "Ermessenda of Barcelona: The Status of her Authority," in *Queens, Regents, and Potentates*, ed. Theresa M. Vann (Cambridge, 1993), 15–35; Donald J. Kagay, "Countess Almodis of Barcelona: 'Illustrious and Distinguished Queen' or 'Woman of Sad, Unbridled Lewdness,'" in *Queens, Regents, and Potentates*, 37–47; Pick, "Elvira, First Queen-Regent of León" (n. 102 above), 38–69; eadem, "Gender in the Early Spanish Chronicles: John of Biclár to Pelayo of Oviedo," *La corónica* 32.3 (2004): 227–48; Cristina Segura Graiño, "Participación de las mujeres en el poder político," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 25 (1995): 449–61.

¹¹⁷ E.g., Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith* (Oxford, 1997), 135–41.

¹¹⁸ Patrick Henriët, *La parole et la prière au Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 14 (Brussels, 2000), 20.

¹¹⁹ "Item nocturno tempore, cum reclinaret cum principe, rogans se pro humana necessitate consurgere, levans egressa cubiculo, tam diu ante secretum orationi incumbibat iactato cilicio, ut solo calens spiritu iaceret gelu penetrata, tota carne praemortua: non curans corporis tormenta mens intenta paradiso, leve reputans quod ferret, tantum ne Christo vilesceret. Inde regressa cubiculum, vix tepeferi poterat vel foco vel lectulo. De qua regi dicebatur habere se potius iugalem monacham quam reginam. Unde et ipse inritatus pro bonis erat asperrimus, sed illa pro parte leniens, pro parte tolerabat modeste rixas inlatas a coniuge" (Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita sanctae Radegundis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH Auct. Ant. 4.2 [Berlin, 1885], 40).

¹²⁰ Salamanca BU MS 2668, fol. 183v. Her feast day was August 13th, and it is missing from the amalgamated calendar in Vives and Fábrega, "Calendarios hispanicos" (n. 28 above), 151.

During the night, she would find some way to leave the king's side and sneak off to the church, for she loved prayer more than her husband's bed. Who would believe how she poured herself out in prayer while her husband was away, or how she would cling to Christ's feet as if he was there with her, from the cock's first crow until dawn's first light on the morrow?¹²¹

Mathilda's prayer begins when Sancha's ends, at cockcrow, and continues until dawn. In both these cases, Rade Gund and Mathilda, like Sancha, take the initiative to perform nightly prayer. Sancha's exceptional contribution seems to have been to encourage her husband to join her.

Urraca's choice of a liturgy that extends the office of prime also has hagiographic precedent. We saw that for Fernando and Sancha, as was true for Rade Gund, the time for royal penance was in the middle of the night, ending at cockcrow. Prime is a dawn office, and we recall the letter discussed above that Alcuin directed to Charlemagne, in which he prescribed a series of psalms and prayers to be said at waking. Urraca's addendum adopts the northern tradition in which royal prayer is not over at dawn, but extends after waking. An interesting precedent appears in a letter from an unnamed religious advisor to an unnamed queen in a now-destroyed eleventh-century legal manuscript.¹²² He tells the queen:

It is first necessary that daily you should commend yourself to the mercy of God through confession and prayer, and after having completed the nocturnal office, which according to your plan it is fitting for you to complete every night, in the morning when you rise before you occupy yourself with other cares, you should make the confession which Alcuin of blessed memory wrote <for Charlemagne> privately, following his example and, if it is possible, before an altar and in the presence of God and the angels. And afterwards sing the seven penitential psalms intently and devotedly along with the litany and its collects (capitula) and prayers to the Lord.¹²³

¹²¹ "The 'Older Life' of Queen Mathilda," trans. Sean Gilsdorf, in *Queenship and Sanctity* (Washington, DC, 2004), 3, p. 76; "Vita Matildis antiquior," in *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. Bernd Schütte, MGH Scrip. rerum germ. 66 (Hanover, 1944), 11.

¹²² The manuscript was a copy of the Hibernensis collection of canon law, Chartres MS 124, destroyed in the Second World War. André Wilmart, the editor of its letter, believed it to be an exchange between Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, and the Empress Judith because another exemplar of this collection was copied in the ninth century at Marmoutiers (André Wilmart, "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine* 34 [1922]: 239).

¹²³ "Quapropter primo necesse est ut cotidie uos dei misericordiae confitendo et orando commendetis, et post peractum nocturnale officium quod secundum propositum uestrum omni nocte uos agere conuenit, mane cum surrexeritis, antequam aliis curis animum occupetis, confessionem quam beatae memoriae Alcuinus <domno Carolo> dedit, in exemplo illius sectere et, si esse potest, coram altari et coram deo et angelis eius faciatis.

With some amplification and reordering, this basic structure — nocturnal office, penitential psalms, litany, collects — is that outlined in the last part of Sancha's prayerbook and Urraca's addendum.

One final example involves a Cluniac connection. Odilo, abbot of Cluny (d. 1048), wrote a life of Adelaide (d. 999), Ottonian empress and matriarch. While the life emphasizes her charitable donations, especially to Cluny, and her monastic foundations, it also stresses her own participation in personal prayer. On her deathbed, after receiving communion and extreme unction, she asks those attending her, both clergy and laity, to recite the penitential psalms and the litany of the saints, and she joins in, "psalming with those singing the psalms, and praying with those praying."¹²⁴ These Ottonian models are especially relevant, given the religious and cultural connections between the empire and the Spanish kingdom.¹²⁵ Sancha and then Urraca are thus joined to a broader current of royal female prayer, a current whose Cluniac strain is adopted by Urraca.

I have stressed the penitential and intercessory character of these two manuscripts and Sancha's instrumental role in confecting them, as well as Urraca's contribution in expanding Sancha's manuscript. The role of royal women in supporting and fostering these shifts in liturgical practice is remarkable. My investigation of these codices also sheds further light on liturgical developments in Spain in the second half of the eleventh century. These manuscripts remain loyal to the indigenous models, while also absorbing elements of the Roman tradition that would come to replace the Old Spanish liturgy before the end of the century. The Old Spanish liturgy was in no way enfeebled or in retreat when the Roman was imposed on it. Even when Urraca copies a Cluniac litany into the end of the manuscript,

Et postea septem paenitentiae psalmos intente et deuote cum letania et suis capitulis atque orationibus domino decantetis" (Wilmart, "Lettres," 241).

¹²⁴ "Dixit senioribus qui astabant, et clero, ut psalmos penitentiales cantarent et nomina sanctorum ecclesiastico more recitarent. Quo facto cum psallentibus psallebat, cum orantes orabat" (*Epitaphium domine Adelheide*, ed. H. Paulhart, in *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 20/2 [Graz-Cologne, 1962], 43–44), cited in Henriet, *La parole et la prière*, 326.

¹²⁵ On the influence of Ottonian art on gifts given by Fernando and Sancha to San Isidoro de León see John Williams, "Cluny and Spain," *Gesta* 27 (1988): 97–98. The sardonyx chalice donated by Urraca Fernández to the same community also shows signs of Germanic influence (*Art of Medieval Spain* [n. 11 above], 254–55). The best known religious connection between the two courts is the figure of Saint Pelayo, patron from the 960s of the royal monastery that became known as San Isidoro, and inspiration for a poem by Hrosvit of the royal Ottonian women's community of Gandersheim (Manuel Díaz y Díaz, "La pasión de s. Pelayo y su difusión," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 [1969]: 109–11; *Pelaqius*, ed. Walter Bershin, in *Hrosvit: Opera Omnia* [Munich/Lepzig, 2001]).

she keeps the familiar Iberian saints. The Cluniac connection of Urraca's addendum highlights the very glaringly non-Cluniac nature of the rest of this corpus.

We tend to think of cultural change as embodying a shift in categories — influence is either French or Spanish; a liturgy is either Roman, or Old Spanish, or Cluniac. The lesson of these two codices is that our medieval actors were much more flexible than we might have expected, and were well able to elaborate a liturgical practice that best served their interests by drawing from multiple sources. Indeed, it is not even fully accurate to speak, as we do, of the eventual complete substitution of the Roman liturgy for the Old Spanish rite, and Sancha's prayerbook provides us with an example of this also. Marginal notations in a thirteenth-century hand in the section on the nocturnal office discuss the performance of that office.¹²⁶ This suggests that this Spanish office continued to remain of vivid interest to its monastic audience over a century after it was supposedly moribund. This final lesson drawn from Sancha's manuscript reminds us once again that, while processes of cultural change may, depending on circumstances, be rapid or slow, it is dangerous to assume that the culture that is taking on the new forms is either passive or weak. These two manuscripts not only describe liturgical practice, they offer us a window onto just such a moment of cultural change and disclose the agency of those in the middle of it.

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¹²⁶ A notation in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand on Salamanca BU MS 2668, fol. 1r indicates that the manuscript came into the possession of the monastery of Santa Maria de Aniago, a community founded by Queen Urraca, Sancha's granddaughter and Urraca Fernández's niece. It is not certain that they possessed the manuscript by the thirteenth century and thus would be responsible for the marginal notations. Araceli Rico de la Fuente, *Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Aniago* (Valladolid, 2007), 21.

APPENDIX. FINAL TWO GATHERINGS OF SALAMANCA BU MS 2668,
QUEEN SANCHÁ'S PRAYERBOOK

Editorial procedures: I have kept the spelling preserved in the manuscript. *V* was changed to *U* and *u* was kept as *u*. Majuscule script is printed as capitals, minuscule as lower case letters. Initials of proper names and words that begin a sentence are printed as capitals. Punctuation has been modernized. Correction of scribal errors and words and letters inserted by later scribes are noted in the apparatus, except the feminine endings, grammatical changes, and addition of "Urracka" to Sancha's confession, which are placed as alternatives in the main text.

1. fols. 176r–179r. Athanasian Creed

"Quiquumque uult saluus^a esse ante omnia . . . saluus esse non poterit"

2. fols. 179r–180r. Confession

CONFESSIO

Confitebor [domino]Deo, Sanctę^b Marię,^c et Sancto Micaheli archangelo, et homnibus angelis et archangelis, et Sancto Petro, apostolo, et homnibus apostolis et homnibus sanctis, et tibi, pater, omnia peccata mea quecumque peccaui, ego misera et peccatore/trix Sancia/Urracka per superuia mea: culpa in cogitatione, in loquutione, in delectatione, in pollutione, in fornicatione, in consanguinitate, in omicidiis, in periuriis, in risu, in uisu, in facto, in consensu, et in omnia opere malo, et in omnibus uitiis malis; mea culpa ueniam peto. Precor uos/te, pater, ut intercedatis/as pro me, misera et peccatore/trice ad dominum Deum nostrum.

RESPONDIT SACERDOS

Misertus et propitius sit tibi omnipotens et misericors dominus. (fol. 180r) Dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua preterita, presentia atque futura. Liueret te ab homni opere malo. Conseruet et confirmet te in omni opere bono, et perducat te dominus noster Iesus Christus piissimus pater ad uitam eternam. Remissionem et indulgentiam peccatorum tuorum tribuat tibi omnipotens et misericors dominus qui uibit et regnat in secula seculorum, adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini qui fecit celum et terram.

^a saluus] *corr. ex salbus.*

^b sanctę] *corr. ex sca sca.*

^c marię] *corr. ex maria.*

3. fols. 180v–187v. Litany with verses and collects

HEC EST LETANIA ID EST ROGATIONES

Domine ne in ira tua¹

Beati quorum remisit²

Domine ne in ira tua³

Miserere mei Deus secundum⁴

Domine exaudi orationem⁵

De profundis⁶

Domine exaudi orationem auribus⁷

Kiri eleison. Christe eleison. Christe audi nos.

Pater de celis, Deus miserere nobis.

Fili redemptor mundi, Deus miserere nobis.

Spiritus sanctus, miserere nobis. Sancta trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

Sancta Dei genetrix, ora pro nobis.

Sancta uirgo uirginum, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Migahel, ora pro nobis. Sancte Gabriel, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Rafael, ora pro nobis. Omnes sancti angeli et arcangeli, orate pro nobis.

(fol. 181r) Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines, orate pro nobis.

Sancte Iohannes, ora pro nobis. S^d

Omnes sancti patriarche et prophete, orate pro nobis.

Sancte Petri, ora pro nobis. Sancte Paule, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Andrea, ora pro nobis. Sancte Iohannes, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Iacobe, ora pro nobis. Sancte Filippe, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Bartolome, ora pro nobis. Sancte Mathe, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Toma, ora pro nobis. Sancte Iacobe, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Symon, ora pro nobis. Sancte Tatheę, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Mathia, ora pro nobis. Sancte Barnaba, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Luca, ora pro nobis. Sancte Marce, ora pro nobis.

Omnes sancti apostoli et euangeliste, orate pro nobis.

Omnes sancti discipuli domini, orate pro nobis.

Omnes sancti innocentes, orate pro nobis.

Sancte Stefane, ora pro nobis. Sancte Clemens, ora pro nobis.

(fol. 181v) Sancte Alexander, ora pro nobis. Sancte Marcelle, ora pro nobis.

Sancte Iuliani cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.

^d What follows this S has been expunged, probably a second “Sancte Iohannis.”

¹ Ps. 6. This and the six that follow make up the seven penitential psalms.

² Ps. 31.

³ PsH. 37.

⁴ Ps. 50.

⁵ Ps. 101.

⁶ Ps. 129.

⁷ Ps. 142.

Sancte Marine, ora pro nobis. Sancte Laurenti, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Vincenti, ora pro nobis. Sancte Maurici cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancti Dionisi cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Sauastiani cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Marcellini et Petri, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Fructuosi cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Babile cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis. Sancte Tyrsi, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Pantelemon cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancti Emeteri et Celedoni, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Georgii, ora pro nobis. Sancte Torquati cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Quirici, ora pro nobis. Sancte Adriani cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Christofori cum sociis tuis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Cucufas, ora pro nobis. Sancte Felicis, ora pro nobis.
 (fol. 182r) Sancte Iusti et Pastoris, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Genesi, ora pro nobis. Sancte Cipriani, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Fausti, Ianuari, et Martialis, orate pro nobis.
 Sancti Cosme et Damiani, orate pro nobis.
 Sancti Seruandi et Germani, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Aciscli, ora pro nobis. Sancte Romani, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Fagundi et Primitiui, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte <S>aturnini, ora pro nobis. Sancte Claudii, Luperci, et Victorici, orate pro nobis.
 Omnes sancti martires, orate pro nobis.
 Sancte Silvester, ora pro nobis. Sancte Ilari, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Martini, ora pro nobis. Sancte Germani, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Martialis, ora pro nobis. Sancte Gregorii, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Taurini, ora pro nobis. Sancte Aquilini, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Ambrosi, ora pro nobis. Sancte Iheronimi, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Agustini, ora pro nobis. Sancte Benedicti, ora pro nobis.
 (fol. 182v) Sancte Maure, ora pro nobis. Sancte Columbane, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Emiliani, ora pro nobis. Sancte Prudenti, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Isidori, ora pro nobis. Sancte Ildefonsi, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Victoriani, ora pro nobis. Sancte Pelagii, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Antoni, ora pro nobis. Sancte Magari, ora pro nobis.
 Sancte Urbici, ora pro nobis.
 Omnes sancte confessores, orate pro nobis.
 Sancta Felicitas, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Perpetua, ora pro nobis. Sancta Agate, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Dorote, ora pro nobis. Sancta Agnes, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Cecilia, ora pro nobis. Sancta Lucia, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Scolastica, ora pro nobis. Sancta Radegundis, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Florentia, ora pro nobis. Sancta Consortia, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Daria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Eolalia, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Teodosie, ora pro nobis. Sancta Natalie, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Iuliana, ora pro nobis. Sancta Lucidie, ora pro nobis.
 (fol. 183r) Sancte Iuste et Rufine, orate pro nobis. Sancta Marina, ora pro nobis.

Sancta Eufimie, ora pro nobis. Sancte Nunnilo et Alodio, orate pro nobis.
 Sancta Leocadie, ora pro nobis. Sancte Eolalia, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Eugenia, ora pro nobis. Sancta Columbe, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Basilissa, ora pro nobis. Sancta Christina, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Elodia, ora pro nobis. Sancta Engratia, ora pro nobis.
 Omnes sancte uirgines, orate pro nobis.
 Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis. Propitius esto parce nobis, domine.
 Ab insidiis diaboli, libera nos, domine.
 A damnatione perpetua, libera nos, domine.
 Ab iminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis, libera nos, domine.
 Ab infestationibus demonum, libera nos, domine.
 Ab spiritu fornicationis, libera nos, domine.
 Ab omni inmunditia mentis et corporis, libera nos, domine.
 Ab ira et odio et omni mala uoluptate, libera nos, domine.
 (fol. 183v) Ab inmundis cogitationibus, libera nos, domine.
 A cecitate cordis, libera nos, domine.
 A fulgura et tempestate, libera nos, domine.
 Per misterium sancte incarnationis tue, libera nos, domine.
 Per sanctam natiuitatem tuam, libera nos, domine.
 Per passionem et crucem tuam, libera nos, domine.
 Per gloriosam resurrectionem tuam, libera nos, domine.
 Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam, libera nos, domine.
 Per gratiam sancti spiritus paracliti, libera nos, domine.
 In ora mortis succurre nobis, domine.
 In diem iudicii, libera nos, domine.
 Peccatores, te rogamus audi nos.
 Ut pacem nobis dones, te rogamus.
 Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos custodiat, te rogamus.
 (fol. 184r) Ut ecclesiam tuam regere et defensare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut domum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in sancta religione conserbare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et ueram concordiam atque uictoriam donare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis comissas in sancta religione conserbare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto seruitio conserbare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut cunctum populum christianum precioso sanguine tuo redemptum conserbare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut omnes benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribuas, te rogamus.
 (fol. 184v) Ut animas nostras et parentum nostrorum ab eterna damnatione eripias, te rogamus.
 Ut fructos terre dare et conserbare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut obsequium seruitutis nostre rationabile facias, te rogamus.
 Ut mentes nostras ad celestia desideria erigas, te rogamus.
 Ut miseras pauperum et captiuorum intuere et releuare digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut regularibus disciplinis nos instruere digneris, te rogamus.
 Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam dones, te rogamus.
 Ut nos exaudire digneris, te rogamus.

Filii dei, te rogamus.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccatum mundi, parce nobis, domine.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccatum mundi, miserere nobis.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos.

Christe, audi nos. Kiri eleison. Christe eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.

Et ueniat super nos misericordia tua domine. Salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum.⁸

Domine, saluos fac reges. Et exaudi nos in die qua.^{9 e}

(fol. 185r) Saluos fac seruos tuos, et ancillas tuas. Deus meus sperantes in te.¹⁰

Oremus pro fidelibus defunctis.

Requiem eternam donet eis, dominus, et lux perpetua luceat.¹¹

Domine, exaudi orationem nostram et clamor noster ad te perueniat.¹²

ITEM ORATIO.

Per horum omnium sanctorum, martyrum, et confessorum et beatarum uirginum merita, et orationes et passiones et suffragia, trinitas clementissima exaudi me, libera me, defende me, protege me, adiuba me, conserba me, inlustra me. Da michi, domine, cor contritum et purum qui te uideat et cogitet et credat, et pedes castos qui preceptis tuis obedienter ministrent et manus continentis sine ira et uanitate ad te eleuatas que utilitate proximorum et misericordiam laborent. Largire domine christe lauia discreta qui te benedicant et magnificent et predicent et cum timore et tremore et exultatione te semper (fol. 185v) adorent, et aures intentas que nomen tuum et uerba tua audiant, et oculos humiles qui te uideant, sensum qui te sentiat, intellectum qui te intellegat, et animum qui te semper cogitet et diligat. Et non ueniat mihi pes superuie, et manus peccatorum non mobeant me. Non euertet me gastrimargia et non inquinet me fornicatio; non gubernet me uanagloria, non deducat me filargiria, non euacuat me accidia, non humiliet me cenodoxia, et non destruat me superbia, sed largire mihi clemens trinitas abstinentiam, castitatem, uoluntariam paupertatem, mansuetudinem, largitatem, pietatem et quietem, misericordiam, lenitatem, indulgentiam, humilitatem, benignitatem, ilaritatem, (fol. 186r) patientiam, concordiam, pacem, et karitatem. Miserere mihi, domine, miserere mihi de pre*teritis ueniam de presentibus emendationem, et de futuris largire custodiam. Amen.¹³

^e Et exaudi nos in die qua] *ms.* Ut e \bar{x} nos in \bar{q} .

⁸ Et ueniat–eloquium tuum] Ps. 118:41.

⁹ Domine–qua] cf. Ps. 19:10.

¹⁰ Saluos–te] cf. Ps. 85:2.

¹¹ Requiem–luceat] cf. 5 Esdras 34–35.

¹² Domine–perueniat] cf. Ps. 101:2; cf. *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvaroez (n. 6 in text), 181 (fol. 202v).

¹³ Per horum–Amen] cf. *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvaroez, 179 (fols. 199r, 199bis r, 199bis v).

Deus in adiutorium.¹⁴
 Ad deum quum tribularer.¹⁵
 Leuau i oculos.¹⁶
 Ad te leuavi oculos.¹⁷
 Nisi quod dominus.¹⁸
 De profundis.¹⁹
 Iudica me, deus, et discerne.²⁰
 Veniat super nos. <S>alutare tuum.²¹
 Esto nobis, domine. A facie inimici.²²
 Memor esto congregationis. Quam possedis.²³
 Domine, saluos fac. Et exaudi nos.²⁴
 Saluos fac seruos. Deus meus sperantem.²⁵
 Fiat pax in. Et^f habundancia.²⁶
 Oremus pro fidelibus defunctis.
 Requiem eternam donet.²⁷
 Domine, exaudi orationem et clamor noster.²⁸

ORATIO

Deus cui proprium . . . miseratio tue pietatis absoluat.²⁹ Amen.

ORATIO

Omnipotens sempiternę deus qui facis mirabilia . . . (fol. 186v) . . . rorem tue benedictionis infunde.³⁰ Amen.

^f et] *ms.* ut.

¹⁴ Ps. 69.

¹⁵ Ps. 119.

¹⁶ Ps. 120.

¹⁷ Ps. 122.

¹⁸ Ps. 123.

¹⁹ Ps. 129.

²⁰ Ps. 42.

²¹ Veniat–tuum] cf. Ps. 118:41.

²² Esto–inimici] cf. Ps. 60:4.

²³ Memor–possedis] cf. Ps. 73:2.

²⁴ Domine–nos] cf. Ps. 19:10.

²⁵ Saluos–sperantem] cf. Ps. 85:2.

²⁶ Fiat–habundancia] cf. Ps. 121:7.

²⁷ Requiem–donet] cf. 5 Esdras 34.

²⁸ Domine–noster] cf. Ps. 101:2; cf. *Libro de horas*, ed. Díaz y Díaz and Álvaroez (n. 6 in text), 181 (fol. 202v).

²⁹ Deus–absoluat] *Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J.-M. Clément, and B. Coppieters ‘T Walant, CCL, 160, 160A–M (Turnhout, 1992–) [=CO], no. 1143. Here and below I have not transcribed in full prayers that can be found in the CO.

³⁰ Omnipotens–infunde] CO no. 3938C.

ORATIO

Pretende, domine, misericordiam tuam . . . que digna postulant adsequantur.³¹ Amen.

ORATIO

Omnipotens sempiternus deus, miserere famulis tuis et dirige eos . . . et tota uirtute perficiant.³² Amen.

Deus a quo sancta desideria . . . sint tua protectione tranquilla.³³ Amen.

A domo tua quesumus domine spiritale nequitiæ reppellantur et aheriarum discedat (fol. 187r) malignitas tempestatum.³⁴ Amen.

Famulum tuum quesumus domine tua semper . . . a malibus omnibus sit securus.³⁵ Amen.

Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, domine, nobis clementer ostende ut simul nos a peccatis exuas et a penis quas pro his meremur eripias.³⁶ Amen.

Respice domine super me famulum tuum tui sancti nominis inuocatione gaudente. Dona mihi, domine, medicinam celestem, tutela mentis infunde, et de omnibus infirmitatis me liberare digneris.³⁷

Deus ueniam largitor et humane salutis auctor . . . consortium peruenire concedas.³⁸ Amen.

Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis . . . (fol. 187v) . . . quiete perfrui sempiterna.³⁹ Per.

Domne iube benedicere.

Inluminatorem gentium dominus inluminet corda et corpora nostra.

Domine miserere nostri te.⁴⁰

Tu autem domine.⁴¹

³¹ Pretende–adsequantur] cf. CO no. 4587A.

³² Omnipotens–perficiant] CO no. 3859.

³³ Deus–tranquilla] CO no. 1088A.

³⁴ A domo tua–tempestatum] CO no. 5A.

³⁵ Famulum–securis] CO no. 2663.

³⁶ Ineffabilem–eripias] CO no. 3129.

³⁷ Respice–digneris] cf. *Breviarium gothicum*, PL 86:210A.

³⁸ Deus–concedas] CO no. 2205.

³⁹ Deus–sempiterna] CO no. 1600.

⁴⁰ Is. 33:2.

⁴¹ Ps. 40:11.

4. fol. 187v. Capitular Office⁴²

Preciosa. Mors sanctorum eius.⁴³

Sancta Maria cum omnibus sanctis intercedat pro nobis ad dominum ut mereamur adiubari ab eo qui uiuit et regnat.⁴⁴

Deus in adiutorium^{45 g}

Gloria. Deus in. Domine lauia.⁴⁶ Domine labia.⁴⁷ Gloria. Domine labia.⁴⁸

Pone domine. Ostium.⁴⁹

Loquere domine.^{50 h}

Et meditabor.⁵¹

Et ne auferas.⁵²

Et custodiam.⁵³

Kiri Eleison.

Pater noster.

Respice in serbos.⁵⁴

Sit splendor.⁵⁵

Dirigere et sanctificare dignare domine sancte pater eterne omnipotens odie corda et corpora in lege tua et operibus manuum tuarum te auxiliante semper.⁵⁶

^g deus in adiutorium] *ms.* deus in adiutorium \bar{s} in ad.

^h loquere domine] *ms.* loquere domine test.

⁴² Cf. Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey* (n. 63 in text), 6:51–55.

⁴³ Preciosa–eius] Ps. 115:6.

⁴⁴ Sancta–regnat] cf. Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, 6:52.

⁴⁵ Ps. 69.

⁴⁶ Ps. 50:17.

⁴⁷ Ps. 50:17.

⁴⁸ Ps. 50:17.

⁴⁹ Pone–ostium] cf. Ps. 140:3.

⁵⁰ 1 Reg. 3:9.

⁵¹ Ps. 118:47 or 117.

⁵² Ps. 118:43.

⁵³ Ps. 118:35.

⁵⁴ Ps. 89:16.

⁵⁵ Ps. 90:17.

⁵⁶ Dirigere–semper] cf. Tolhurst, *Breviary of Hyde Abbey* (n. 63 in text), 6:53.