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The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa: The Culture and Practice of Crusading in Medieval Iberia

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Miguel Dolan Gomez entitled "The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa: The Culture and Practice of Crusading in Medieval Iberia." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.

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**The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa:
The Culture and Practice of Crusading in Medieval
Iberia**

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Miguel Dolan Gomez
August 2011

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the phenomenon of crusading in the Iberian Peninsula through the lens of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). This battle was both a major Christian victory over the Almohad Empire of Morocco and its Andalusian allies, and the most successful crusade of the papacy of Innocent III. As such, it serves as an ideal case study for the practice and culture of crusading in the early thirteenth century.

The examination of the battle helps to expand our understanding of crusading in a number of ways. First, by examining the institutional aspects of the battle, against the backdrop of the career of Innocent III, it becomes clear that Las Navas was the first crusade in which all of the aspects of papal crusade policy were successfully brought together and implemented. The victory gave the Pope both the confidence and capital to officially institutionalize the crusade shortly thereafter in 1215. Secondly, a close study of the participants reveals that, despite the development of official crusade practices, there were many disparate views on what exactly it meant to go on crusade. The Iberian Christians differed greatly from many of the international crusaders both in their cultural attitudes and their expectations of the campaign. For the French participants, the campaign was part of a well-established crusading tradition, passed down from their ancestors. For the Spanish, the crusade was a new concept, just beginning to take hold and influence their approach to the regular warfare with their Muslim neighbors. However, the victory of Las Navas helped to solidify and expand the acceptance of crusade ideology in the minds of the Iberian Christians in the ensuing years.

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CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

Near the northern gate through the walls of the city of Toledo stands a very small but quite remarkable church. The church of *Santa Cruz* was originally the *Bad-al-Mardum* mosque, one of the few structures surviving today from the era when the city was the center of northern Al-Andalus. Medieval legend suggests that the mosque was originally a Christian church, appropriated by the Muslims after their conquest of the city in the eighth century. The true identity of the church was revealed during the triumphant Christian entry into the city in 1085, when the hero El Cid's horse was said to have caused a commotion leading to the discovery of a crucifix illuminated by a miraculous lamp from the Visigothic period enclosed in one of the walls.¹ This story is of course a legend (El Cid was not present when Alfonso VI occupied Toledo), though recent excavations on the site have revealed the existence of an older structure that included an apse beneath the mosque, and which seems to be contemporaneous with nearby Roman ruins. The story stuck, and so the church is known as *Cristo de la Luz* as well.

The building was erected as a mosque in the year 1000 but was later converted into a church in the 1180s, when it was gifted to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.² At some point thereafter, a new apse was added to the existing structure,

¹ Sisto Ramon Parro, *Toledo En La Mano*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Toledo: Imprenta y Libreria de Severiano Lopez Fando, 1857), 322.

² In 1183, described as "unam casam que dicitur Sancta Cruce" was gifted to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem by a Dominicus Petri, with the understanding that they would transform it into a proper church. In 1186 the possession of the mosque, now known as the "ecclesia Sanctae Crucis", by the Hospitallers was confirmed by the Archbishop of Toledo at the insistence of King Alfonso VIII, under the condition that the new church not infringe on the rights and incomes of the city's parishes, suggesting that it was to be used strictly by the knights of the Order. The charters of 1183 and 1186 are published, along with a succinct analysis, by Susana Calvo Capilla, "La Mezquita De Bab Al-Mardum Y El Proceso De Consagración De Pequeñas Mezquitas En Toledo, (S.Xi-Xiii)," *Al-Qantara* no. 20 (1999).

which stylistically appears to be part of the boom in church construction of the so-called *mudéjar* architectural style, much of which dates to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.³ The interior of this new construction was decorated with Romanesque murals and inscriptions of a triumphal tone: a very large Jesus *Pantokrator* image, and some carefully chosen biblical inscriptions: the opening line of Psalm 148, “Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis” and Matthew 25:34, “Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, you blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” The final inscription, found on the outer arch of the apse and written in Arabic, seems to repeat “prosperity and good fortune”, a blessing on the builders.⁴

These images and inscriptions project a powerful message of Christian triumph and victory, which mesh well with the nature of the building and with the period of its

³ The physical evidence strongly suggests a date of around 1220 for the creation of the murals. They were executed by the same artists who painted the church of San Román, which was consecrated in the year 1221 by Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo (see below for the discussion of this church). For the dating of *mudéjar* church construction to the early thirteenth century, see David Raizman, “The Church of Santa Cruz And the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo,” *Gesta*, 38 (1999): 141. For the conception of the term *mudéjar* and its application to architecture, see José Amador de los Ríos, *El Estilo Mudéjar En Arquitectura* (Paris 1965).. I generally tend to favor the view that the *mudéjar* style, especially in the thirteenth century, is best seen as a local modification of Romanesque architecture. See David Simon, “Late Romanesque Art in Spain”, in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 204. The blending of (Christian) Romanesque and (Muslim) *mudéjar* as part of a living local architectural tradition is well discussed by both Raizman and also Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy : Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 121-22. It should be noted that Calvo Capilla (see note 2) argues that the construction took place between 1183 and 1186, based on her reading of the charter of the Archbishop Gonzalo’s charter as a consecration of the new church. Regardless of the date of the construction, the murals must be from around 1220.

⁴ Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy : Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*, 160-61.. This inscription, *al iqbāl, al yumn* seems to be a rather regular feature of Toledan architecture, as it appears in the church of San Román as well (discussed below). For an alternative translation, see Raizman, “The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo”, 130, who identifies the inscription as *surah* 2:255 of the *Qur’an*. The inscription seems to be almost certainly the simpler blessing rather than the Quranic verse, but this sort of Arabic calligraphy is notoriously difficult to decipher.

renovation and decoration.⁵ The chapel belonged to the Hospitallers, one of the most important military orders founded in the wake of the First Crusade in the twelfth century.⁶ The Hospitallers, along with the Templars, had been active in the Iberian Peninsula since the 1130s, rapidly gaining properties through pious donations and grants, and becoming involved in both the internal politics of the Christian kingdoms, as well as the military conflicts with Al-Andalus. The murals of *Santa Cruz* were created a few short years after one of the most significant of these military episodes, the major Christian victory won at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, on July 16, 1212.⁷ This campaign, which was planned and executed as a crusade, naturally included the knights of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John. The triumphant nature of the imagery, along with the date of the murals, makes the contemporary analogy almost insistent. The Christian ascendancy, won in battle at Las Navas de Tolosa, was memorialized shortly thereafter in the murals of this Hospitaller church.

The actual battle itself was quite dramatic, the apocalyptic imagery of its commemoration aside. Large field battles were relatively rare, even in a “society organized for war” like thirteenth century Iberia.⁸ The campaign was intended as a

⁵ See the more extensive discussion of these elements in chapter 2 of this study.

⁶ There are many of general histories of the Order of Saint John, for example Helen J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2001).

⁷ The best studies of the battle are Martín Alvira Cabrer, "Guerra e Ideología En La España Medieval: Cultura Y Actitudes Históricas Ante El Giro De Principios Del Siglo Xiii." (Universidad Complutense, 2000); Francisco García Fitz, *Las Navas De Tolosa* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 2005).

⁸ The term comes from Elena Lourie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," *Past and Present* 35, no. 1 (1966). It was also used by James F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War : The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). On the relative rarity of field battles, see Georges Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

defensive action against an anticipated Almohad offensive. When the combined armies of the Kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, and Aragón, along with a few French allies, awoke shortly after midnight on July 16, 1212, in their camp on the southern slopes of the Sierra Morena, they knew the final act of the campaign was imminent. Nearby, across broken and difficult terrain, lay the vast army of the King of Morocco and master of al-Andalus, the Caliph al-Nasir. All the previous day the Muslim army had waited, deployed for battle, but the Christian kings had held back, preferring to plan their strategy, observe the enemy lines, and rest their troops. Their army was exhausted after a difficult crossing of the mountains on high, narrow paths, which offered little in the way of shelter or water. They had been on the road since June 20, during which time they had engaged in a number of sieges and skirmishes at various castles and outposts throughout La Mancha, in the so-called “Campo de Calatrava”. Though their campaign had so far been successful, they had faced the desertion of the rather large French contingent a few days earlier. But that Monday morning, the Christian forces prepared to face their Moroccan and Andalusian adversaries. The soldiers made confessions, celebrated the Mass and armed themselves for the fight. The army formed into ranks: the center and reserves under the command of Alfonso of Castile, the left under Sancho of Navarre, and the right under Pedro of Aragon. Diego Lopez de Haro, lord of Vizcaya, who had been Alfonso’s standard-bearer (*alferez*) seventeen years before at the disastrous Castilian defeat at Alarcos by the hand of al-Nasir’s father, al-Mansur (the conqueror), led the vanguard. The friars of the orders of Calatrava and Santiago, the Templars and the Hospitallers, as

well as various Spanish bishops, the urban militias from the Castilian frontier-towns, volunteers from the kingdoms of Portugal and León, and the remaining French crusaders, about one hundred and thirty in number, all took their places in the battle line. King Alfonso, with the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, positioned himself with the reserve forces. Under the standards of the Spanish kings, and a banner adorned with images of the Virgin Mary, the Christian army advanced to meet their Muslim foes.

The ensuing action, fought on that hot Monday in July of 1212, proved to be pivotal moment of the centuries-long Christian-Muslim conflict on the Iberian Peninsula. Though the tide of battle swung back and forth for some time, by nightfall the exhausted Christian knights returned triumphantly to their camp after chasing the routed Almohad army for miles. Al-Nasir fled quickly to Morocco, never to return to Spain. The balance of power in the Iberian Peninsula had shifted permanently into the hands of the Christian kingdoms.

But the campaign and battle of 1212 were more than just fascinating military episodes and more than just the highlight of the long history of Christian-Muslim conflict, the much celebrated and debated *Reconquista* of the Spanish Middle Ages.⁹ The

⁹ It is worth noting that without clarity of meaning, the use of the terms 'Spain' and 'reconquest' (or *Reconquista*) risks the recapitulation of a series of national myths which view the Christian victory over the Muslims as a single, continuous and religiously motivated program to erase an illegitimate conquest of a unified, eternal, Christian Spanish nation. While this scenario is certainly the stuff of fantasy, it was none the less expressed by some Medieval Iberian Christians, who, from the ninth century, occasionally identified themselves with the Visigothic kingdom conquered by the Muslims in the eighth century, and asserted their own brand of irredentism based on this past. It therefore seems legitimate to refer to the Reconquest as such, when discussing it as an idea that had some currency among contemporaries (for example, in the Treaty of Tudela, between Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso II of Aragon, 1178). For articulations of this perspective see Derek Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978); Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Julio Valdeón Barúque, *La Reconquista : El Concepto De España : Unidad Y Diversidad*

campaign was planned and organized as a major international crusade. The influence of the ideas and institutions of the crusades upon the political, military, religious, and social history of the Iberian Peninsula during this period was profound. Broadly, it is the goal of this work to explore these issues in the context of the events surrounding the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

The military and territorial struggles between the Christian north of Spain and the Islamic south were associated with the crusades to the Holy Land from the beginning of the First Crusade.¹⁰ By the time of the Second Crusade (1147-1149), the papacy came to view combat against Islam in Spain as part of a larger struggle between the Christendom and the Islamic World.¹¹ International participation in Spanish military campaigns, which began as early as the mid-eleventh century, grew with the extension of crusading privileges and rewards to the Iberian Peninsula. Yet in the twelfth century, crusading remained firmly focused on the Holy Land.¹² Popular enthusiasm for, and conceptions of the crusades were thoroughly shaped by the triumphant capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and

(Pozuelo de Alarcón: Espasa, 2006). For a succinct look at the mythology of the *Reconquista*, see R. A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain C. 1050-1150," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 37(1987); J. N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (1985). The use of the designation Spain here is strictly geographical, referring to the former Roman province of Hispania (the entire Iberian Peninsula), and used simply to avoid repetitious use of the awkward term Iberia and its derivatives.

¹⁰ Pope Urban II, from the beginning, tried to deflect the efforts of Iberian Christians who showed enthusiasm for the crusade towards their own local frontiers. This would prove to be a recurring issue for the papacy, which will be discussed at length in chapters three and five of this dissertation. See also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 6-8. For a more recent general discussion, see William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, 1095-1187* (Rochester: Boydell, 2008).

¹¹ On the concept of Christendom, and the papal conception thereof, see Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). See especially chapters 1 and 2.

¹² Purkis notes that early attempts to associate combat against Muslims in Iberia with the crusades to the Holy Land emphasized the possibility of an *iter Hispaniae*, a route to Jerusalem through Spain and across Africa. Moreover, he notes that northern warriors who fought in Spain during the Second Crusade did not consider their vows fulfilled, but continued on to the East. Purkis, 135.

the defensive needs of the Latin East.¹³ Moreover, the responses of Spanish Christians to the ideas of the crusade were not uniform or constant. The social landscape remained as much characterized by peaceful *convivencia* as it did by holy war.¹⁴ There is perhaps no better an example of this apparent paradox in the divergent currents of the culture than the aforementioned mosque-turned-crusader-chapel of *Santa Cruz*, with its striking blend of Islamic décor and Christian art. That this church was owned by the Knights Hospitaller, who sponsored the murals, alerts the observer that crusade and *convivencia* were hardly mutually exclusive poles of the cultural world of thirteenth century Spain.

Nonetheless, the campaign which culminated in Las Navas de Tolosa represented a significant maturation of crusading in Spain. It was billed as a crusade by Innocent III, who more than any other Pope oversaw the transformation of the multifarious activities associated with crusading into an institutionalized program of the Medieval Church. The recruitment, financing, and diplomatic preparation for the campaign all followed practices which were becoming regular features of the crusades. These efforts yielded a large collection of international crusaders and an unprecedented level of cooperation

¹³ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a Short History*, chapter 5.

¹⁴ Américo Castro, *España En Su Historia; Cristianos, Moros Y Judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948), 200-09. In general, the idea of *convivencia* is only slightly less fraught than that of *reconquista*. The complex cultural landscape of Medieval Iberia has often been interpreted (inaccurately) as a paradise of modern religious tolerance. The concept has been explored quite successfully, as in the above-mentioned *The Arts of Intimacy* (note 3), or Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle : Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester; New York: Manchester university press, 1995). At the other end of the spectrum, see David Levering Lewis, *God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570-1215* (New York: Norton, 2008). The reality, of course, was very complex, and is probably best described by David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Also see Mark Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).. During the period in question, the multi-cultural, multi-confessional world is perhaps best illustrated in the social make-up of the city of Toledo, the “*urbs regia*” of Castile. See Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Jews and Muslims of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

among the Christian rulers of the Peninsula. The campaign enjoyed impressive organization and material support, and was militarily successful.

Yet even in this moment of unity, in this campaign which was clearly imagined and organized as a crusade by the papacy and other ecclesiastical figures, the key questions of motivation and intention become very apparent. The abundant collection of narrative sources relating the events of 1212 make it clear that participants were responding to a number of different inspirations and had differing expectations. These divergences are most striking when one compares the actions of the international crusaders to those of the Spanish participants. The greatly differing expectations which these groups exhibited led to disagreement and dissention among the Christian forces. The northern crusaders found themselves in a very different cultural world when they arrived in the city of Toledo, and the divergent opinions on issues such as the proper treatment of non-Christians, the legitimacy of Islamic culture, and the realities of the frontier were constant sources of disagreement throughout the campaign. These differences were made even more explicit in the historical memory of the battle, where thirteenth century historians to the north and south of the Pyrenees expressed competing visions of the meaning and significance of Las Navas.

Despite the lack of consensus on what it meant to go on crusade, the planners and participants in the campaign, at least most of them, clearly saw it as a crusade. In fact, Las Navas de Tolosa was the only successful crusade of the papacy of Innocent III. Though this greatest of crusading popes launched at least four major crusades, only the

Spanish campaign of the year 1212 unfolded as planned.¹⁵ While Las Navas de Tolosa has been long celebrated as a great victory of the Spanish Reconquest, its significance as a crusade is overshadowed by more famous events of the era, such as the Fourth Crusade or the Albigensian Crusade. Yet Las Navas is at least as important as these more celebrated campaigns to understanding the phenomenon of the crusade at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

This project then will examine the campaign and battle of Las Navas de Tolosa as a crusade, from two different angles. First, by examining the planning and logistics of the campaign, as well as its significance to the papacy of Innocent III, this study will demonstrate that Las Navas was at the center of this key period during which the crusades were formed into an official set of practices and a regular institution of the Church. In other words, this campaign, typically described by crusade historians as “peripheral” to the more studied, numbered crusades directed toward the Middle East, is actually pivotal to the history of the crusades as a definitive feature of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Second, by examining the participants in as much detail as possible, this study will illustrate the ways in which the crusaders understood and experienced the campaign. Specifically, we will look at the ways in which the participants understood their own actions in relation to other campaigns which historians have traditionally

¹⁵ The major crusades launched by Innocent III were the Fourth Crusade (1199-1204), the so-called Albigensian Crusade (1209-1220), and the Fifth Crusade (1213-1221), though he died prior to the beginning of that campaign. For more detail, see chapter three of this dissertation.

¹⁶ The clearest statement of the “periphery” attitude in crusades-studies comes from Thomas Madden’s *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, who explicitly states that “the reconquista remains on the periphery of crusade studies”, and then goes on to duly ignore Spain. Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), xii. This position was also made clear in the title of the conference “Crusading at the Periphery of Europe: *Crusades* in the Iberian Peninsula and the Baltic Region”, held at Aalborg University in 2007.

viewed as major crusades, and how their expectations, intentions and experiences were shaped by their understanding of the larger crusading movement.

As a study of crusading activity in Medieval Spain, this project sits on the border of two large historiographical traditions. Unfortunately, ideological assumptions and methodological limitations have resulted in relatively little fruitful cross-pollination between those who study the crusades in this period and those who study the kingdoms of Spain. Historians of the crusades have tended to look on the campaigns in Spain as peripheral to those campaigns aimed at the Holy Land, and as a result ignore the Peninsula's contributions to the development of the institutions and activities associated with crusading. Historians of Medieval Spain have been slow to recognize the influence of crusade ideology, theology, and institutions, tending instead to emphasize the native *Reconquista*.

From the perspective of those historians whose work is focused on Spain, these limitations are easy enough to explain. Since the Middle Ages, the historiography of the Peninsula has been dominated by the national myth of the *Reconquista*, often to the exclusion of all else. The crux of the debate is not whether this reconquest actually occurred, but as Linehan neatly described it, whether it is appropriate to talk about the reconquest, but as Linehan neatly described it, whether it is appropriate to talk about the reconquest or 'Reconquest'.¹⁷ The question is debated because for many years historians of Spain, especially those native to the Peninsula, portrayed the Reconquest as a sort of monolithic narrative of the entire Middle Ages. The difficulty posed by the Reconquest to the modern historian stems from the fact that the actual events of the Spanish Middle

¹⁷ Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), xi.

Ages became thoroughly mythologized within Spain. The development of this mythic account was almost unavoidable. The Reconquest ended in 1492, during the reign of the “Catholic Monarchs” Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castilla. By the fifteenth century the Christian-Muslim conflict had been associated with strong religious, Catholic rhetoric for two centuries or more. During the sixteenth century, Spain’s Golden Century, the ideas of crusading, the spread of the Catholic Faith and the continuation of the Reconquest in the form of abortive expeditions against Muslim North Africa or the protracted conflict with the Turks helped to further enshrine the conflicts of the past. The development of nationalism and national myths in early-modern Spain was therefore intrinsically tied to images of the Reconquest. This tradition was carried on into the nineteenth century, when the Reconquest was viewed as a great source of national pride and an affirmation of Spain’s close ties to the Catholic Church. The origins of the idea of Reconquest were lost under the weight of centuries of religious fervor, which ascribed a primarily religious motivation to the struggle from the battle of Covadonga in the early eighth century to the conquest of Granada 1492. In a nation of such strong orthodoxy historians were understandably slow to challenge the accuracy of this myth.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Spanish historians stoutly defended the idealized story of the Reconquest, which had become a sort of national hagiography. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo’s *Historia de los Heterodoxes Españoles*, published in 1882, was a strong defense of the traditional Spanish interpretation of the Middle Ages, which was then being challenged by historians such as the Dutch Arabic

scholar Reinhardt Dozy.¹⁸ The foremost Spanish historian of the period and a staunch defender of the orthodox view of Spanish history, the appropriately named Menendez Pelayo referred to Spain as “the evangelizer of half the globe, the hammer of heretics, the sword of the Pope. This is our greatness and glory: we have no other.” The central theme of the Reconquest was the Roman Catholic faith, “which during seven centuries of struggle, drove the reconquest of the fatherland.”¹⁹ His work was continued and eclipsed by that of his student, the great Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Menéndez Pidal replaced his teacher as the foremost historian of medieval Spain in the first half of the twentieth century. Despite his incredible breadth of learning, he clung to the traditional model, asserting that “the pure unfettered religious spirit which had been preserved in the north gave impetus and national aims to the Reconquest”.²⁰ His stature and longevity helped to assure that his interpretation of the Reconquest remained influential throughout the twentieth century.

These defenses of the Reconquest myth coincided closely with the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the subsequent fascist regime of Francisco Franco. In the fashion of 1930s fascist regimes across Europe, Franco’s government was eager to use history to justify its political positions, and to drape itself in dramatic images of the past. The traditional portrayal of the Muslim-Christian conflict fit the bill nicely. The state sponsorship of this view of the Reconquest ensured its survival well into the twentieth century. In this historiographical atmosphere, the crusading character of the *Reconquista*

¹⁸ Menendez y Pelayo, Marcelino, *Historia de los Heterodoxes Españoles* (Madrid: Editorial Catolica, 1882). The debate is summarized by R. A. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (New York: Knopf 1990), 203..

¹⁹ As quoted in *ibid.*, 203.

²⁰ Menendez-Pidal, *Los Españoles en la Historia* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1960), 81.

was taken for granted by generations of Spanish historians, who defined the entire medieval period as a continuous episode of holy war. In this way, crusade ideology in Spain was subsumed to the grand narrative of the Christian Reconquest and imbued with an intense national character and zeal, contributing to the notion of Spanish exceptionalism. The adoption of the language and ideas of crusading by nationalist political movements further sullied the subject in academic circles.²¹

Yet despite this unfortunate baggage, the impact of the crusades on the Iberian Peninsula has received some attention from its historians. More than fifty years ago, José Goñi Gaztambide thoroughly examined the record of papal crusading bulls directed toward Spain.²² This important work set the tone for the interpretation of crusading activity in Spain for a new generation of scholars. Beyond carefully cataloging the documentary evidence of the papacy's promotion of the crusade in Spain, *La Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada en España* forced Spanish historians to acknowledge the stream of ideological influence back and forth across the Pyrenees. Moreover, Gaztambide laid out a simple definition for crusade, calling it “*una guerra santa indulgenciada*”, anticipating the pluralist crusade historians.²³

Despite the significance of Gaztambide's work, tradition is often difficult to challenge. The study of the crusades in Spain has been far more popular among foreign scholars than among native historians of Spain, who have persisted in an “a very

²¹ Francisco Franco famously referred to the nationalist/fascist fight during the Spanish Civil War as “*Nuestra Cruzada*”, and his soldiers as “*cruzados*”.

²² José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia De La Bula De La Cruzada En España* (Vitoria: Editorial del Seminario, 1958). Also of note, from the same generation, is Benito Ruano, “España y las Cruzadas”, *Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval* (1951-1952), 92-120.

²³ Gaztambide, 46.

isolationist or exceptional vision of the Spanish case.”²⁴ What work has been done has often tended to focus heavily on the institutional development of the military orders, both Spanish and international.²⁵

Among hispanists who do acknowledge the topic, there is hardly an agreement as to the nature of crusade activity in the Iberian Peninsula. Some historians have directly engaged the influence of crusade ideas in Spain, such as Joseph O’Callaghan and William Purkis.²⁶ Other prominent historians have been described as “the secular school”, who emphasize dynastic ambition, territorial gain, and profit as the primary motivations for warfare.²⁷ This debate is hardly limited to Anglophone historians; among native Spanish scholars, there is a constant tension between those who privilege the religious influence of the crusades, and those who tend to emphasize the secular causes driving conflict between Christians and Muslims.²⁸ This conflict, it seems to me, has less to do with

²⁴ José Manuel Rodríguez García, "Historiografía De Las Cruzadas," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* Serie III, no. 13 (2000). His comments are quite accurate. As recently as 2006, as well-published a historian as Julio Valdeón Baroque, published a history of the *Reconquista* which barely mentions the influence of the crusades: Valdeón Baroque, *La Reconquista : El Concepto De España : Unidad Y Diversidad*.

²⁵ For example, Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, *Papado, Cruzadas Y Órdenes Militares, Siglos Xi-Xiii* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995).; Ma Bonet Donato, *La Orden Del Hospital En La Corona De Aragón : Poder Y Gobierno En La Castellania De Amposta (Ss. Xii-Xv)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994).; Pedro Guerrero Ventas, *El Gran Priorato De Castilla Y Leon De La Orden De San Juan De Jerusalem En El Campo De La Mancha* (Toledo: Diputación provincial, 1969).

²⁶ O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, 1095-1187*. See also Robert Ignatius Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia; Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). Charles Julian Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975).

²⁷ This debate is described by James Broadman in his review of Joseph O’Callaghan’s *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* in *The Catholic Historical Review* 89, 1 (2003), 753-754. He lists the above mentioned Derek Lomax and James F. Powers, as well as Bernard Reilly and Thomas Bisson as the major exponents of the “secular school”, to which must be added Richard Fletcher.

²⁸ The “secular school” in Spain includes historians such as M.A. Ladero Quesada, *Las Cruzadas* (Bilbao, 1972) or J.L. Martín, *Las Cruzadas* (Madrid: *Cuadernos de Historia* 140, 1985). Most of them seem to take their lead from Carl Erdmann, “Der Kreuzzugsgegeclanke in Portugal”, *Historisches Zeitschrift* 141 (1930), 23-53, in which he argues that prior to the mid-eleventh century, and the influence of Cluny, there was no religious motivation driving the Reconquest. Opposing the “secular school” are, of course, Goñi

major differences of opinion, and more to do with a lack of focus and clarity. Those “secular school” historians whose focus is on secular politics and institutions have tended to argue that their opponents overly privilege ecclesiastical sources, and thus present an incomplete picture. They are correct, to a degree, in that among those who emphasize the crusading character the Christian-Muslim conflicts of this period, the tendency has been to simply label any military activity in Spain which caught the attention of the Pope as a crusade, with relatively few questions asked as to what such papal interest actually meant in practice. Answering these questions, as this project proposes to do in part, cuts across this debate, by focusing on the ways in which the participants themselves experienced crusading. Such an examination makes it clear that the sorts of motivations cited by the “secularists” in no way excluded the adoption of crusade ideology as well.

The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa itself has also attracted some recent scholarly interest. Though studied by military historians and those interested in the *Reconquista* for many years, it has only been in the last few years that thorough academic studies of the battle have appeared. Francisco Garcia-Fitz and Martin Alvira-Cabrera have both published recent studies of the campaign and battle.²⁹ Garcia-Fitz focused on the material context of the battle, studying the men and material mobilized by both the

Gaztambide and Benito Ruano (see above, note 24). Ruano was responsible for starting a new historiographical tangent, which posits that the crusades actually are an outgrowth of the Reconquest. This view has various adherents, most recently Paul Chevedden, “The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades”, *Der Islam* 83 (2006), 90-136; also Theresa Vann, “Reconquest and the Origin of the Crusades”, in *The Crusades: Other Experiences, Alternative Perspectives*, ed. Khalil Semaan (Binghamton: Global Academic Publishers, 2003). They tend to focus on the Barbastro campaign of 1063 as a “proto-crusade”, and posit the Spanish conflicts as the source of inspiration to the papacy for the First Crusade in 1095. While it is clear that the Spanish frontier was influential in the development of a papal vision of crusade, giving it the place of primacy, to the point of down-playing the significance of the First Crusade, as does Chevedden, ignores everything that was revolutionary about crusading.

²⁹ See note 7 above.

Christians and the Muslims. Alvira-Cabrer examined the ideological context of the battles of Las Navas and Muret (1213), in the light of Georges Duby's study of the battle of Bouvines and the meaning and significance of decisive battles in the medieval mind.³⁰ While both historians briefly address the crusading aspects of and influences on the campaign of 1212, their ultimate focus is on the battle of Las Navas itself and not the ideology of crusading. Consequently, my dissertation will serve as an important compliment to the examination and description of the battle itself, while also addressing the issues of the motivation of crusade participants, and the reception of crusade ideology among the Spanish Christians.

This project's other leg stands in the very active field of modern crusades studies. Crusade studies have been something of a pendulum in the hands of historians, whose interpretations have ranged from revulsion to celebration. Steven Runciman managed to encapsulate this range perfectly when he wrote:

The historian as he gazes back across the centuries at their gallant story must find his admiration overcast by sorrow at the witness that it bears to the limitations of human nature. There was so much courage and so little honor, so much devotion and so little understanding. High ideals were besmirched by cruelty and greed, enterprise and endurance by blind and narrow self-righteousness.³¹

Of course, celebratory accounts and laments about the "irrational" Middle Ages can be easily dismissed, and are by most crusade historians. The field has instead struggled to define and explain the phenomenon, with mixed results. Much ink has been spilled, in the recent past, over the definition of a crusade (or the Crusades), the rub of the argument

³⁰ Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines*.

³¹ Steven Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), vol. 3, 480.

being between the “traditionalists”, who insisted that only crusades aimed to the Holy Land were “genuine”, and the “pluralists”, who sensibly embraced a broader definition which was far more reflective of Medieval reality that not all crusading led to Jerusalem (directly at least).³² This project essentially grows out of the “pluralist” position.

Leading the “pluralist” charge are Jonathan Riley-Smith, and his students, who have, in addition to taking a broad approach in the definition of the crusades, have worked to define crusading as a rational extension of contemporary modes of piety among the European aristocracy.³³ Such studies provide an important corrective to the easy, perhaps prevalent tendency to simply regard the crusades as an irrational and unfortunate episode.³⁴ This approach is, of course, not without its critics. Some historians have suggested that the impulse to rationalize the crusades may have gone too far. They point out that the crusades were marked by at least as much irrational behavior as rational, and that for many contemporaries, they fit into an eschatological framework which was downright apocalyptic.³⁵

The emphasis on the religious motivation behind crusading, a hallmark of the Riley-Smith approach, and really most modern crusade studies, means that other

³² This debate is well summarized in a number of places, especially Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Malden, Ma: Blackwell, 2006), 2-4; Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 2-23; Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 17-25.

³³ The principle studies here are Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

³⁴ This problem is addressed nicely by James Powell, “Crusading 1099-1999”, in *The Crusades, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Mediterranean* (Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), 1-13.

³⁵ This interpretation was dominant in the past, and lay at the center of much of the condemnation of the crusades in earlier historiography. Recent historians to emphasize this approach include Jean Flori, *Pierre L'ermite Et La Première Croisade* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Jay Rubenstein, “Cannibals and Crusaders”, *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Fall 2008), 525-552; Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

motivations are ignored. Many of the alternate explanations for crusading, such as land hunger of disenfranchised heirs, nascent colonial instincts in European culture, and the simple quest for loot, have been at very least complicated, if not outright dismissed by the careful attention given to the piety and faith of crusaders.³⁶ However, crusading was, at a basic social level, an apotheosis of the expansionistic ethos of the warrior aristocracy.³⁷ The genius of the medieval church was its ability to channel that militaristic energy of the elite into its own projects. The exclusive study of modes of piety risks losing sight of the instincts which lay at the root of the society which produced the crusades. On a theoretical, theological level, the crusade might fulfill an apocalyptic vision, or be cast as an act of Christian love or charity, but the act of crusading was also always, functionally, an act of war.

The impulse to define crusading in a uniform, rational manner is problematic on another level as well. As some scholars have pointed out, there was very little that was standardized or uniform about the crusades, at least prior to the papacy of Innocent III.³⁸ The definitions suggested by Riley-Smith and others tend to privilege the vision of the crusade developed by the papacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.³⁹ This excludes aspects of crusading which lay outside the Church's control, like the aforementioned apocalyptic tendencies. Moreover, the impulse to create a structural narrative for

³⁶ For examples of the "colonial" explanation, see Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonization in the Middle Ages* (New York: Praeger, 1972); Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

³⁷ This idea is suggested, though perhaps not fully articulated, in Bartlett.

³⁸ This is best addressed by Tyerman, *Inventing the Crusades*.

³⁹ Riley-Smith's most succinct definition reads "a crusade was an expedition authorized by the pope, the leading participants of which took vows and consequently enjoyed the privilege of protection at home and the Indulgence, which, when the campaign was not destined for the East, was expressly equated with that granted to crusaders to the Holy Land." Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (Lanham: Rowman-Littlefield, 1978), 15.

crusading, which can apply to all the various incarnations of the phenomenon which the “pluralist” school embraces, tends to smooth-over local differences in the quest to demonstrate the utility of a common definition of crusade. Crusading on the “periphery” then becomes a minor episode in the greater crusade discourse. The work of the “pluralist” crusade historians tends to de-contextualize the Spanish experiences in an effort to illuminate the larger institutional aspects of the crusade phenomenon. The actions of those peripheral crusaders and, more importantly, the ways in which they understood what they were doing, tend to get overshadowed. But any modern discourse or definition of crusading is only as useful as its ability to help us understand the activity of the medieval people we set out to study. To understand such events, especially religiously motivated violence it is best to focus on local and regional contexts. It was through actions and their interpretations that the crusades gained any real meaning. To quote Nirenberg, “discourse and agency gain meaning only in relation to each other.”⁴⁰

Thankfully, the study of the intentions, motivations, and interpretations of the crusades by contemporaries offers a way to contextualize the broader definitions of crusading, and has become a central branch in recent crusade studies.⁴¹ Understanding why medieval people willingly engaged in this enterprise, which appears so peculiar today, is vital to any thorough explanation of this period. This is best achieved by a studying the crusades in their specific, local contexts, and by examining the actions and

⁴⁰ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 6.

⁴¹ This issue was raised by Norman Housley in chapter 4 of his *Contesting the Crusades*, 75-99. He then attempted to meet the historiographical void he identified in his *Fighting for the Cross* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Christopher Tyerman also emphasized this approach when he suggested that rather than dwelling on the the “traditionalist” versus “pluralist” polemic, scholarly focus should be placed on the motivations and attitudes of the society that generated the crusades. *Contesting the Crusades*, 6.

words of the actual participants. In part, that is what this study attempts to do. The abundant pool of source-materials surrounding the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa creates a perfect opportunity to explore this issue within a manageable chronological and geographic context. Moreover, the nature of this campaign allows for a comparative examination of the way in which the impetus and interpretation of the crusading movement was expressed in different parts of medieval Europe.

In addition to the examination of the experiences and actions of the participants in the campaign and battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, this study will also work to contextualize the campaign within the institutional organization of the crusades in the early years of the thirteenth century in order to demonstrate the centrality of Las Navas to the development of an “official” set of crusading practices. This era, and the papacy of Innocent III, has been identified by many scholars as a pivotal moment in the history of the crusade, during which it emerged as a coherent institution.⁴² The campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa was pivotal to this process. All the elements of the institutional structures which Innocent promoted were present, from preaching and taxation to diplomacy and papal protection of crusaders. It was the success of the campaign which allowed him to legislate these elements of the crusade at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁴³

⁴² See, for example Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 35-49. The role of Innocent III in the consolidation of crusade institutions will be discussed at length in chapter 3.

⁴³ Norman Housley, in *Contesting the Crusades*, noted “Substantial advances in crusade theology, in the preaching and financing of crusades, and the consideration of crusading in canon law, were generally initiated in the context of the Holy Land; but they were applied piecemeal, or, after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, systematically, to Spanish crusading”, 104. His main point is completely correct, but his chronology of events is reversed.

In studying both the actions and words of specific crusaders alongside the wider institutional development of the crusades, this project will demonstrate how actual people and events helped shape the larger structures which molded thirteenth century society. The campaign of Las Navas was billed as a crusade by the Pope, and therefore enjoyed great international support and participation. In addition to a wide range of Spanish Christians, many French, Provençal, and even Germanic crusaders joined in the campaign. By examining the various ways in which different people from different regions responded to and understood their role within penitential holy war, this project will both expand our understanding of this central ideology of the Middle Ages, and illuminate the ways in which the Spanish “periphery” interacted with the mainstream of European society.

On a broader scale, this project will enhance our knowledge and understanding of the mechanics of religious violence. Because of the coupling of religion and violence, the crusades often strike the modern observer as particularly abhorrent and barbaric. Yet medieval people were not simply zealots or unthinking devotees, subject to any and all whims of religious passion. Like all people, their motivations and attitudes were shaped by their cultural and material conditions. In order to understand their actions, especially dramatic moments of violence and warfare, it is necessary to reconstruct the political and social contexts of which such episodes are a part.⁴⁴ By highlighting the cultural processes surrounding the act of crusading in the thirteenth century, my project will

⁴⁴ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*.

highlight the ways in which religious violence is conceived, produced, and given meaning by participants and observers.⁴⁵

The first chapter (chapter two) of this project in effect sets the stage for the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa by examining contemporary manifestations of crusade ideology in Christian Spain which did not directly relate to the campaign itself. This chapter focuses on church art and architecture in particular, and the many ways that this material evidence reflects the penetration of the symbols and ideas of crusading in the spiritual life of the Peninsula. The examination reveals both the great significance of crusade-related motifs, such as the Holy Sepulcher, in religious art and architecture, and also the incongruity of finding these symbols alongside the rich artistic heritage which Spanish Christians inherited from Iberia's Islamic culture. The coexistence of these two competing cultural currents shows clearly that conflict and acculturation, far from being exclusive, may be mutually reinforcing.

The chapter three focuses on the practical implementation of the ideology of crusade, particularly as it was imagined and ordered by Pope Innocent III. The coalescence and implementation of the wide variety of actions and institutions which had been developing around crusading over the course of the previous century demonstrate the centrality of the Las Navas campaign to the emergence of the crusade as a coherent program controlled by the papacy. Preaching, recruitment, taxation, papal protection and diplomacy were all implemented in the planning stages of this campaign, giving it all of the features which historians have come to regard as integral to a crusade. Using papal

⁴⁵ Paul R. Brass, *Forms of Collective Violence* (New Delhi: Three Essays Collective, 2006).

and royal letters, and contemporary and historical accounts of the campaign, this chapter will examine each of these aspects of the campaign, placing them within the context of the development of the institutional crusade.

Chapter four examines the experience of the foreign, primarily French, crusaders who participated in the campaign. Their experience was quite different from that of the Spanish crusaders, as were their expectations. In this chapter, those expectations, and the reaction of the *ultramontanos* to the disappointment of those expectations, are contextualized. The highly idealized mode of crusading which the French participants inherited, both from their own familial legacy, and from their cultural surrounding, clashed extensively with the realities of the Christian-Muslim frontier they found in Castile.

Chapter five looks at the experience of the native Spanish crusaders. While the practical details of the campaign, from the Spanish perspective, have been thoroughly treated by Alvia Cabrer and Garcia Fitz, I examine the reception of crusade ideology using the diplomatic evidence, especially a series of wills created by knights departing for the campaign. I examine the ways in which these participants understood their roles as crusaders, and what they expected from the campaign. The language and ideas invoked are contextualized both in the ideology of crusading and the norms of religious practice and expressions of the thirteenth century aristocracy. This evidence clearly demonstrates that Spanish crusaders were responding to the ideology of crusading, though they did not fully accept into the ecclesiastical equation of the conflicts in Spain and the crusades to the Holy Land.

The epilogue briefly looks at the ways in which the victory was celebrated, both within Christian Spain and beyond in the rest of Europe. The memorialization of the battle varied considerably, as did its meaning as a crusade. To most clerical authorities, Innocent III foremost among them, it was a great moment in the larger eschatological struggle between Christendom and its enemies. For the Spanish, it was a signal moment of national unity and success, which helped to cement the idea of crusade as a uniquely, or at least primarily native project. The differing reactions help to further illuminate what the crusade, as an institution and ideology, was and was not at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER TWO-- CRUSADE AND CHURCH ART IN THE ERA OF LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA

All crusading activity in Iberia took place against the backdrop of the religious plurality of the Iberian Peninsula. While few parts of European society approached real homogeneity, the large minorities of Jewish and Muslim people living in the Christian kingdoms of Spain, along with the sizeable populations of Mozarabs, created a complex cultural atmosphere. Predictably, this cultural landscape complicated the interpretation and implementation of crusade ideology during the campaign which culminated in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. In many instances, the various participants were not at all in agreement over what exactly it was they were supposed to be doing, with sometimes dramatic results. The French crusaders began to arrive in Toledo very early in the spring of 1212, starting on Quinquagesima Sunday (50 days before Easter).¹ Sometime thereafter, in all likelihood around Good Friday, some of the foreign soldiers took it upon themselves to attack the Jewish population of the city.² The (Christian) urban militia had to turn-out to restore order, and the situation was apparently rectified quickly, but one suspects that there must have been lingering hard feelings. Clearly the expectations and intentions of the French crusaders were at odds with those of their Spanish hosts.

Yet it must be remembered that the Spanish Christians also considered themselves crusaders, and were responding to the same crusading practices and traditions as their

¹ *Annales Toledanos I* (henceforth AT), in *España Sagrada*, 39 volumes, vol. 23, ed. Enrique Florez. (Madrid, 1754-1918), 395.

² Attacks, symbolic or real, against the Jewish populations were a regular occurrence on Good Friday. David Nirenberg discusses this phenomenon at length, suggesting that typically such violence was ritual in nature, and little actual harm was done; see *Communities of Violence*, 200-230. In this case, the attacks apparently led to many deaths. One is reminded, of course, of the Rhineland massacres which preceded the First Crusade; see Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

northern neighbors. This chapter will examine the intersection between crusade and religious pluralism in the realm of church art. We will examine a number of instances in which crusade themes and ideology appear in the decorative and architectural schemes of various late-twelfth and early thirteenth century churches, with special focus on the Romanesque wall murals in two Toledan churches, San Román and Santa Cruz. These murals, created in the years immediately after Las Navas, use apocalyptic imagery to depict themes of Christian triumph, reflective of the battle and the impetus to express the religious message perceived in the victory over the Almohads. However, these expressions of triumph were created within the local *mudéjar* style, and thus include far more Islamic elements than might be expected in crusader art. By examining this apparent paradox between an apocalyptic portrayal of military conflict with Islam and the enthusiastic adoption of elements of Islamic culture, a clearer picture of how Spanish Christians understood crusading within their own cultural context emerges. Local cultural diffusion and daily coexistence shaped, and limited the shape of holy war in the Iberian Peninsula.

The appearance of crusade ideology in various artistic expressions during the twelfth and thirteenth century has been studied in a variety of contexts. Much of this corpus focuses either explicitly on architecture in the Holy Land, with few surveys focusing on crusader art in Europe.³ The best studies on crusade-oriented art tend to be

³ Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art* (Burlington: Humphries, 2008) or *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); *A History of the Crusades IV: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H.W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977). The latter is an excellent example of the preoccupation with architecture in such surveys. Bianca Kühnel, in her *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1994), attempts to take a broader approach by including monumental and minor arts from the Latin East and Europe. Colin Morris also provides a useful

examinations of specific buildings or artistic programs.⁴ Most of the artwork associated with the crusades takes its place beside the larger corpus of Medieval Christian pictorial art, which, in the words of Gregory the Great, was “used in churches so that those who are ignorant of letters may at least read by seeing on the walls what they cannot read in books”.⁵ Though it seems clear that most church art, including the examples considered here, were meant for far more than communication to the illiterate masses, the power of imagery as a reinforcement of the Christian message was unmistakable.⁶ Crusading themes received a wide spectrum of treatments in church art, from the highly allegorical use of the Book of Daniel in the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (Rome) to the unabashedly direct mosaic of Franks assaulting Constantinople in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista (Ravenna).⁷

Crusader Art in Spain

Church art in the Iberian Peninsula also included crusade-inspired themes. It is, of course, difficult to tell whether artistic programs that reflect conflicts with the forces of

survey in his “Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, 1095-1250”, in *The Crusades and their Sources, Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by John France and William G. Zang (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate, 1998), 195-216.

⁴ Linda Seidel, “Images of the Crusade in Western Art: Models and Metaphors”, in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. Goss and C.V. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, 1986), 377-91; Nurith Kenaan-Kedar and Benjamin Z. Kedar, “The Significance of a Twelfth Century Sculptural Group: *Le Retour de Croisé*”, in *Dei gesta per Francos: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 29-44; Stefanie Dathe, “Die Kirche La Vera Cruz in Segovia. Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des romanischen Zentralbaus”, *Mitteilungen der Carl Justi* (1993), 91-121.

⁵ L.G. Duggan, “Was Art Really ‘the Book of the Illiterate’?”, *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227.

⁶ Duggan actually goes on to insist that pictures alone cannot be “read” by the illiterate, and that as a means of communication, they require clarification in the form of words, written or spoken.

⁷ Anne Derbes, in her “Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin”, *The Art Bulletin* 77 (Sept. 1995), 460-478, suggests that the images of drawn from Daniel are specifically meant to invoke notions of idol worship and the idea of the “abomination of desolation”, a metaphorical reference to Muslim occupation of the Holy Land. The Ravenna mosaic of French knights assaulting unarmed Greek priests under the label “Constantinopolim” needs no metaphorical explanation.

Islam were inspired by the crusades to the Holy Land or by the local conflicts within Spain, but by the mid-twelfth century, such distinctions may have been unimportant. As early as 1096, Urban II was discouraging Catalan participation in the First Crusade, suggesting that their efforts were best applied locally.⁸ We know that by 1123, the First Lateran Council explicitly associated the campaigns in Spain with those directed toward the Holy Land.⁹ Northern European crusaders traveling to the Holy Land for the Second Crusade assisted in the conquest of Lisbon and Almería in 1147 and 1148.¹⁰ Whether the Spanish participants in these campaigns considered themselves crusaders is not entirely certain, but by the early thirteenth century some Spanish Christians were explicitly referring to their campaigns with the term “crozada.”¹¹

The appearance of crusade-related themes in Spanish religious art during the second half of the twelfth and into the thirteenth century is none the less uneven. Although it was in this era that Saint James became explicitly associated with war against

⁸ For a discussion of the importation of crusading ideology in the twelfth century, see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, 1095-1187*. Purkis quotes the letter on 123-124.

⁹ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé (Leipzig, 1851), #5119. See José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* (Vitoria: Editorial Seminario, 1958), 76-77; O’Callaghan in his *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 38.

¹⁰ For the siege of Lisbon, see Charles Wendell David, *The Conquest of Lisbon: De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); for Almería see Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Alfonso VII, 1126-1157* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); see also the *Chronicon Aldefonsi Imperatoris* in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990).

¹¹ The reference comes from a land transaction by the Order of the Hospital of Saint John in the city of Pamplona, dated “era MCCL (AD 1212) mense Octobris in anno quo Rex Sancius (Sancho VII of Navarra) fuit super Sarracenos cum illa crozada.”, AHN, sección Ordenes Militares, car 875, #41. As to whether or not the Iberian Christians considered themselves crusaders, there is some debate. Some historians, such as Joseph O’Callaghan in his *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* and José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* have emphasized the influence of crusading themes in the Peninsula. Others, such as Bernard F. Reilly (see above) or Derek Lomax, in his *The Reconquest of Spain*, have suggested rather less of an impact of crusading themes from beyond Spain. The debate is succinctly summarized in James W. Brodman’s review of O’Callaghan in the *Catholic Historical Review* 89 (Oct. 2003), 753-754.

Islam, as exhibited by the creation of the Order of Santiago in 1170, almost all of the extant depictions of “Santiago Matamoros” date to the fourteenth century or later.¹² The only nearly contemporary militaristic image of Santiago is found in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela itself. This relief carving, which likely dates to the mid-thirteenth century depicts a mounted Saint James with a drawn sword, surrounded by praying admirers, rather than the down-trodden Muslim soldiers common in later versions.¹³

Other examples of art which seems to incorporate an ambiguous crusade-inspired element include the numerous depictions of knights, often in combat, in the Romanesque churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴ Most of these depictions show mounted knights combating other warriors or monstrous beasts. Several interpretations have been applied to these sculptures. In a thorough survey of such images, Margarita Ruiz Maldonado suggested that, at the most basic level, these carved combatants are meant as an allegorical representation of the struggle of good versus evil, pride versus humility, and Christianity versus paganism. She found the inspiration for some of this art in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, which itself is connected with several other examples

¹² For the Order of Santiago, see Derek Lomax, *La Orden de Santiago* (Madrid: CSIC, 1965); Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea, *Los monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos: las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2008). For discussion of Santiago Matamoros, see Richard Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), particularly 293-300.

¹³ See, for example, the sculptural depictions of Santiago Matamoros in the cathedrals of Ávila, Burgos, and Toledo. All date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

¹⁴ Catalogued and examined by Margarita Ruiz Maldonado, *El Caballero en la Escultura Romanica de Castilla y León* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1986). See also R. Crozet, *Le thème du Cavalier Victorieux dans l'art roman de France et d'Espagne* (Paris, 1971).

of crusade-inspired art.¹⁵ In some cases, the knights and their opponents are differentiated by the use of round versus kite (or Norman) shields, and Maldonado suggests that these images depict Christians in combat with Muslims. It seems, however, that this distinction is ambiguous at best and that perhaps the use of a certain shield was not definitive ethnic or confessional marker. Other historians have suggested (unconvincingly) that the scenes of combat between knights and mythological creatures are a direct representation of the struggle with Islam, not merely allegories of good and evil.¹⁶

Beyond these common and ambiguous carvings, images of warriors also appear in some Romanesque paintings. The apse of the church of San Justo in Segovia is decorated with a massive Romanesque mural which dates to the late twelfth century.¹⁷ In addition to a large image of Christ Pantokrator, the mural contains several vivid scenes from the Bible. The most interesting feature, for our present purposes, is the depiction of two armed and armored knights painted in a high niche of the apse on the right side (from the viewer's perspective) of Christ. In other Romanesque churches, for example San Román in Toledo, these apses are decorated with angels. In San Justo, however, this elevated spot is dedicated to images of warriors, strongly suggesting a theme of sacralized, even

¹⁵ See Morris, "Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, 1095-1250", 201 and Kühnel, 92.

¹⁶ Inés Monteiro Arias, "Encenas en la Lucha Contra el Islam en la Iconografía Romanica: El Centauro Arquero. Su Estudio a Través de los Cantares de Gesta", *Codex Aquilarensis* 22 (2006), 148-171. See also Claudio Lange, "La Clave Anti-Islámica- Ideas Sobre Marginación Icónica y Semántica", in *Relegados al margen: marginalidad y espacios marginales en la cultura medieval* (CSIC: Madrid, 2009), 115-127. Dr. Lange goes further in his internet gallery, where he suggests that nearly every example of unusual risqué or ribald (pornographic, in his words) image in Romanesque church art is a jab at Islam: Claudio Lange, "Islam in Kathedralen", <http://viadrina.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~lange/claudio/romanik.html>.

¹⁷ The most recent study of these murals is Matilde Azcárate Luxán, *Las pinturas murales de las iglesias de San Justo y San Clemente de Segovia* (Segovia: Caja Segovia, 2002).

penitential warfare. While the images are not explicitly related to any specific campaign or event, the portrayal nonetheless speaks to the acceptance of crusade ideology.

Other examples of crusade-inspired art (or in this case architecture) in Spain are rather more specific in their inspiration and meaning. Several round churches were constructed in the northern regions of the Peninsula in the later twelfth and early thirteenth century by the military orders under apparent inspiration from the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.¹⁸ All four of these churches, essentially Romanesque in their architecture, have a round or polygonal design.¹⁹ The church of Vera Cruz in Segovia includes a two-story, twelve-sided chapel at its center, complete with a stone bench, meant to imitate the edicule and stone-slab of Christ's tomb.²⁰ At least two of these churches, Torres del Río in Navarre and Vera Cruz in Segovia, were built by the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher in the late twelfth and very early thirteenth century.²¹ Another Navarrese church, Santa Maria de Eunate, is very similar in design to the others, but is without clear documentary evidence related to its foundation. As a result, it is still the

¹⁸ Heribert Sutter, *Form und Ikonologie spanischer Zentralbauten : Torres del Rio, Segovia, Eunate* (Weimar: VDG, 1997); Dathe (see note 4); Santos San Cristóbal Sebastián, *Iglesia de La Vera Cruz de la Orden de Malta de Segovia* (Segovia: Mondoñedo, 2005); Javier Martínez de Aguirre and Leopoldo Gil Cornet, *Torres del Río: Iglesia del Santo Sepulcro* (Pamplona: Colección Panorama, 2004; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 234.

¹⁹ It has been noted that churches inspired by the Holy Sepulcher typically are either eight or twelve sided polygons, and relate to the twelve columns or eight piers which support the Dome of the Anastasis in the exemplar. Either pattern can serve as an allegorical reference to Jerusalem. See Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 8.

²⁰ The two sided chapel may also (or alternately) represent the chapel of Calvary, positioned above the tomb of Adam, as in the original church in Jerusalem. See Sutter, 96-97.

²¹ Both appear in multiple property lists of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher by 1215, see Aguirre and Cornet, 30. The dedicatory stone in Segovia dates the church to the year 1208, though it is worth noting that a property list of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher from 1128 notes that they owned "in episcopate Secoviano, ecclesiam Sancti Sepulcri", document # 6 in *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris: L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1984), 42. Of course churches were often rebuilt, and the dedicatory stone securely dates the current church in Segovia to 1208.

subject of a legendary Templar foundation, as were the churches in Segovia and Torres del Río prior to more recent investigations that demonstrated their true provenance. A fourth round church, the Convento de Cristo in Tomar, Portugal, is indeed a Templar foundation, which dates to 1160.²² Together, these churches offer powerful evidence of a strong fascination with the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Colin Morris has convincingly argued that fascination with the Holy Land, and especially the Holy Sepulcher, was a strong influence on the formation of crusade ideology. Not only did it loom large in the minds of those original crusaders who captured Jerusalem in 1099, it also remained an object of inspiration and awe to western Christians throughout the twelfth century.²³ These four Spanish churches, which are but a few of the dozens of similar churches built throughout Europe during this period, demonstrate a strong fascination with the Jerusalem and, by extension, crusading. This was certainly true of the crusaders taking part in the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa, as evidenced by the will of Arinaldo de Alascun.²⁴ Arranging for the disposal of his property in the event of his death on the eve of battle, this Aragonese knight requested that, as a condition of a grant to the Order of the Hospital, that the brothers should convey his arms and his horse to the Holy Land after his death. Even while they were on crusade in Spain, the image of Jerusalem still held a place of supreme importance in the mind of Spanish Christians.

That Spanish Christians were expressing their reactions to the ideas and inspirations of the crusades in much the same way as the rest of Europe is clear in the

²² Paulo Pereira, *The Convent of Christ, Tomar* (London: Scala, 2009).

²³ Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West*, 219-253.

²⁴ AHN, sección Ordenes Militares, Hospital de San Juan, carpeta 584, #83.

case of the round churches. But, as we have seen, not all artistic expressions of crusade-themes were so direct. As mentioned above, scenes drawn from the Bible could be used as allegorical treatments of issues associated with crusading. The decorative schemes of the two churches at the center of this chapter are of this variety, with Biblically-inspired and metaphorical expressions of crusade-related events and ideas. The Scriptural images and text of these artistic programs, and the newly constructed buildings themselves, reflect the triumphant mood of the Toledan church in the years immediately after the victory of Las Navas.

In the early years of the thirteenth century, the city of Toledo experienced a considerable improvement in its fortunes after the military and economic instability of the twelfth century. From its capture by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085, the ancient Visigothic capital, and the valley of the Tajo River, served as the effective southern frontier of the kingdom, and the scene of much of the military struggle between the Christians and their Muslim neighbors to the south. As late as 1197, the armies of the Almohad caliph had besieged the city and ravaged its hinterlands.²⁵ In the summer 1211, with the collapse of the defensive positions of the Knights of Calatrava in the southern Meseta, Toledo was once again on the military frontier between Castile and Al-Andalus. In the following year, however, the combined armies of the Christian kingdoms of northern Iberia decisively defeated the Almohads at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. In

²⁵ *AT II*, 393. *Chronica Latina regnum Castellae* (henceforth *CL*), ed. Luis Charlo Brea, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 73 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1997), ch. 14-15.

the aftermath of this victory, the Castilian frontier was pushed more than one hundred miles south to the Sierra Morena.

One of the principle figures in the organization and execution of the victory which so enhanced the security of Toledo was its new archbishop, Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada. Rodrigo had been elected to his see in 1208, and in the course of his forty year career he was one of the chief promoters of crusading activity in Castile. He also became one the Toledo's greatest boosters. To Rodrigo, his city was the *urbs regia*, the once and future capital of a united Spain, and the primatial see of the entire Peninsula.²⁶ Under his leadership, the city experienced a significant rebuilding program, including the commencement of construction on the kingdom's first cathedral built in the French Gothic style in 1225.²⁷

But the new Gothic cathedral was but one of a number of Toledan churches built or renovated in the years following the victory of Las Navas. Many parish churches of the so-called *mudéjar* architectural style also date to the same period.²⁸ Two of these churches, San Román and Santa Cruz, are of particular interest due to the survival of extensive Romanesque murals and inscriptions from the early thirteenth century. These artistic programs, a confusing combination of biblical verses and apocalyptic imagery,

²⁶ Rodrigo Ximénez De Rada, *De Rebus Hispaniae sive Historia Gothica* (henceforth *DRH*), in *Roderici Ximenii de Rada opera omnia, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 72, edited by Juan Fernandez Valverde (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), book VIII, ch. 1, 259; See also Pick, 69.

²⁷ *DRH*, book IX, ch. 13, 294. See also Elie Lambert, *El arte gótico en España en los siglos XII y XIII* (Madrid: Ediciones Catédra, 1977).

²⁸ For the dating of *mudéjar* church construction to the early thirteenth century, see David Raizman, "The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo", 141. For the conception of the term *mudéjar* and its application to architecture, see chapter 1, note 3.

reveal a coherent message of Christian triumph when viewed within their proper historical context.

San Román

The church of San Román was consecrated by the Archbishop Rodrigo in the year 1221.²⁹ There are records of an earlier parish church of the same name, which may have been a mosque in the more distant past, but the existing structure is securely dated to the early thirteenth century.³⁰ The church is built on a typical basilica plan with a central nave and two aisles, divided by horseshoe arches supported on marble columns.³¹ The eastern end of the church is dominated by a sixteenth century plateresque altar. Fortunately for the medievalist, this is the only major renovation to the thirteenth century church.³²

The main attraction of San Román is its impressive collection of Romanesque murals, which date to the 1221 reconstruction.³³ Though much of it is deteriorated, this ambitious artistic program once must have covered nearly every inch of wall space.³⁴

The upper portions of the central nave are decorated with patterned Islamic motifs,

²⁹ *AT II*, 406. Ramon Parro, 231. Ramon Parro says that there was also a dedicatory stone above the entrance to the church confirming the dedication by Rodrigo on the 20th of June, 1221.

³⁰ Ramon Parro, 228-9; J. Camón Aznar, "La Iglesia de San Roman de Toledo", *Al-Andalus* 6 (1941), 451.

³¹ It is very difficult to tell which San Román the church is dedicated to. One saint by this name was apparently a companion of Saint Lawrence, who also has a church in Toledo. Other San Románs appear to have been early French or Italian monks, but none of them have any obvious connection with this church.

³² Camón Aznar, "La Iglesia de San Roman de Toledo", 455.

³³ Raizman, "The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo", 134; B. Pavón Maldonado, *Arte Toledano* (Madrid, 1973), 62. Camón Aznar, "Pinturas murales de San Román de Toledo", *Archivo Español de Arte* 49 (1942), 51.

³⁴ Otto Demus noted that typically Romanesque artists tended to decorate the entirety of basilica churches, from the apse to the western wall, as well as the aisles themselves. Symmetry was important, and the architectural features of the building were typically used to frame individual narrative scenes. The churches under consideration here essentially adhere to this model. Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (New York: Abrams Publishers, 1970), 22.

including repetitious Arabic inscriptions in a highly-stylized calligraphic script.³⁵ The arches of the nave are decorated with images of important saints and prophets, among them Saints Benedict and Bernard and the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel. Surrounding these images on each arch are extensive Latin inscriptions, which include fragments of five Marian hymns and the Song of Songs.³⁶

The murals decorating the south aisle are among the best preserved. The eastern wall of the aisle is topped with large images of the Four Evangelists as tetramorphs, seated at lecterns writing.³⁷ Beneath them stand more saints and confessors, among them Isidore of Seville. On the southern wall there is a huge mural depicting the resurrection of the dead, a scene from the Book of Revelation.³⁸ Beside it stands a very faded mural in which only a robed figure holding a palm branch is visible, possibly a scene from the seventh chapter of the Book of Revelation.³⁹ The end of the south nave holds an image of Eve being directed to avoid the tree of knowledge in Eden. The south aisle arches preserve much larger portions of their inscriptions as well. Each arch is decorated with the opening of the stanzas of, from east to west, Psalm 142, Psalm 6, and Psalm 129.

³⁵ It has been plausibly suggested by Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale that the Arabic inscriptions are the generic and repetitive blessing “prosperity and good fortune”, though they are very difficult to read. Antonio Fernández-Puertas offers a general discussion of Arabic calligraphy during the Almohad period; “Calligraphy in Al-Andalus” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 658-663.

³⁶ The hymns are “Speciosa Facta Est”, “Alma Mater Redemptoris”, “Ave Maris Stella”, “Ave Virgo Sanctissima”, and “Santa Maria Virgo Piissima”. The excerpts from the Song of Songs are from 2:11 and 4:10.

³⁷ The tetramorphs, the “four living creatures” of the Apocalypse and Ezekiel, were very common in Romanesque murals, though usually surrounding Christ in the apse of churches. *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting*, eds. Thomas Dale and John Mitchell, (London: Pindar Press, 2004), 4.

³⁸ Rev. 11:15-18. Demus, 16, notes that Revelations was one of the most prevalent subjects of Romanesque artists.

³⁹ Rev. 7:9, which describes a multitude of people standing before the throne of God wearing white robes and holding palms.

There were extensive inscriptions on the outer south wall, beneath the Resurrection of the Dead mural, but only isolated words survive today.

The murals of the northern aisle are largely deteriorated. Above the only door to the church there is a circular image of Christ in majesty, flanked by the tetramorph symbols of the Evangelists. There is also a partial image of a building or city, which resembles the cityscapes found in a contemporary illustrated manuscript of Beatus of Liebana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.⁴⁰ It has been plausibly suggested by several scholars that the same school of artists created both the murals of San Román and the miniatures of this Beatus manuscript (Morgan M. 429), which is dated to 1220.⁴¹ These images are depictions of the seven churches of Asia, enumerated in the beginning of the Book of Revelations, but are also, on an allegorical level, images of the celestial Jerusalem.⁴² The domed-building superficially resembles the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, though given its regional, contemporary popularity, the resemblance is worth noting. The western end of the aisle is decorated with an image of a large dragon battling two angels, yet another scene from the Apocalypse.⁴³ The inscriptions that must have decorated the north wall arches are lost.

The western wall of the central nave is decorated with a floor to ceiling depiction of heaven as described by John in the Book of Revelation. The twenty four elders sit beneath trees, while above more angels sound trumpets. The center of the wall is

⁴⁰ John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, volume 5.

⁴¹ Cámon, *Pinturas*, 52; Raizman, "The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo", 135.

⁴² See Kendall, 14, for the notion that the rounded arches of Romanesque architecture were a typological reference to the Heavenly Jerusalem.

⁴³ Rev. 12:7.

dominated by three windows, circled by more repetitive Arabic calligraphy. High on the western wall, amongst several other undecipherable textual fragments, is an isolated line from Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews.

To a thirteenth century observer this extensive and varied blending of image and text could convey a variety of meanings. The murals and inscriptions of Romanesque decoration were designed to work together as a cohesive system. These churches were allegorical expressions of the Christian message, which could operate on a number of different levels.⁴⁴ The message expressed in the art and architecture of these buildings was simultaneously literal, typological, and tropological. Individual elements might literally correspond to certain parts of scripture, or offer basic didactic lessons, but the whole also functioned to convey a coherent moral message. In the case of San Román all of these themes coalesce into a message of imminent Christian triumph, which can be associated with the military successes of the city and kingdom.⁴⁵

The lyrics of a series of Marian hymns which decorate the arches of the central nave celebrate the Virgin for her own virtues and as an intercessor between humans and God. These Marian themes are a recurring subject in the career of the artists responsible for the church murals. As noted above, the same artist or artists possibly worked on the illustrations of a Beatus manuscript, Morgan M.429. In the colophon of this manuscript,

⁴⁴ See Kendall, 1-18, for a detailed description of the allegorical function of the Romanesque church. Thomas, in his introduction to *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting*, further notes the allegorical meaning of Romanesque art, 7-16. He quotes Sicard of Cremona, who explained that "Images in churches represent things of the past, such as histories and visions; things of the present, such as virtues and vices; things of the future, such as penalties and rewards". Sicard wrote these words in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, and was essentially a contemporary of the artworks considered here.

⁴⁵ See the discussion of San Román in Jerrilynn Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 181-183. These authors too explicitly relate the apocalyptic imagery with the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa.

the scribe asks “all readers, who in this volume read, that you extend thanks to the lady who gave a generous hand to the blessed Virgin and the blessed John the Evangelist and to the other saints who are pictured in this book”.⁴⁶ More significantly, the same school of artists may also be the illustrators of a contemporary copy of *De Virginitate Beatae Mariae*, which chronicles the miraculous relations between the Virgin and the author, Saint Ildefonsus, a seventh century Archbishop of Toledo.⁴⁷ This devotional focus on Mary in the church of San Román is not surprising, as by the early thirteenth century Toledo was becoming the center of Marian devotion in Castile.⁴⁸ At the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the Archbishop Rodrigo fought under a banner bearing Mary’s image.⁴⁹ In fact, it has been shown that Mary, as a defender of Christian faith, was frequently invoked as a patroness of the *Reconquista*.⁵⁰ It is this contemporary facet of Marian devotion that connects most closely with the other elements of the church’s decoration.

When one turns to the southern nave of the church, the message of the inscriptions gains greater depth. Here, the arches are inscribed with the opening lines of three of the so-called Penitential Psalms, 6, 129, and 142.⁵¹ In each case the opening verse of the Psalm is found on the walls. Each Psalm opens with a penitential prayer, for example “Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation nor chastise me in thy wrath”, from

⁴⁶ John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus* (London, 2003), 38.

⁴⁷ Raizman, “A Rediscovered Illuminated Manuscript of St. Ildefonsus's *De Virginitate Beatae Mariae* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid”, *Gesta* 26 (1987), 37-46.

⁴⁸ O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 191.

⁴⁹ *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 10, 273.

⁵⁰ See Kathleen Anne Stewart, “*Domina Misericordiae*: Miracle Narratives and the Virgin Mary, 1130-1230” (PhD diss., University of California at Berkley, 2006), particularly 155-202.

⁵¹ The special recognition of six of the Psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) as fitting for penitential prayer dates to the sixth century, from Cassiodorus’s *Commentary on the Psalms*. See Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 13.

Psalm 6.⁵² A similar sentiment of supplication starts Psalm 129, “Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O, Lord; Lord hear my voice.”⁵³ The final Psalm, 142, begins simply “Hear, O Lord, my prayer.”⁵⁴

On the surface, the inclusion of these penitential prayers serves a useful didactic purpose. Including these specific lines of text in a church seems to be a straightforward encouragement for introspective prayer for God’s forgiveness on the part of the audience. Whether these lines were read by an educated reader, deciphered for an illiterate audience, or used as a guide and reinforcement of a spoken sermon, these opening lines were meant as an invocation of the entire psalm. Reading (or hearing read) the opening lines would encourage the reader to recall the entire psalm, and it is when we turn to the rest of the text that the deeper layer of meaning becomes clear.⁵⁵

Each Psalm ends with a triumphant and militant theme: “In your mercy, you will destroy my enemies”; “He shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities”; “Let all my

⁵² The inscription originally included the lines “Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripas me. miserere mei Domine quoniam infirmus sum sana me Domine quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea”, though many words and individual letters are now faded.

⁵³ On this arch, nearly the entire inscription is intact, and reads “De profundis clamavi ad te Domine. Domine exaudi vocem meam fiant aures tuae intendentes ad vocem deprecationis meae. si iniquitates observabis Domine Domine quis sustinebit”.

⁵⁴ This inscription is also nearly complete, and includes the lines “Exaudi orationem meam ausculta deprecationem meam in veritate tua exaudi me in iustitia tua et non venias ad iudicandum cum servo tuo quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnes vivens”.

⁵⁵ Duggan, as noted above (note 6), suggests that images and decoration were meant to invoke what one already knew, or to be used in conjunction with verbal instruction, such as a sermon. Similarly, Thomas Dale notes that “mural painting continued to be perceived in the terms of Gregory the Great’s *dictum* as a pictorial reminder and reinforcement of scriptural narratives recited orally in church”, in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting*, 8. See also Vincent Debais, *Messages de pierre: La lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). Debais notes that “The importance of introducing an inscribed object is not only valuable in terms of a limited group of readers, but must instead be measured across the extended context of reception”, 390. He notes that the significance of the inscribed word in reinforcing order and memory was not lost on the illiterate, who understood the function of words and their symbolic importance, even if they could not read the language. Moreover, viewing inscriptions affects the way in which the audience (again literate or otherwise) perceived physical space, and in this way worked with the murals to capture and focus the attention of church-goers on the messages of the whole program.

enemies be confounded and be very much troubled; Let them be turned back and ashamed very speedily.”⁵⁶ The invocation of the militant aspects of the Psalms was common place in the thirteenth century. Two of the ecclesiastical historians of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa tell us that Psalms were sung on the battlefield in celebration of the victory. According to the *Chronica Latina*, “The Christians could sing with the psalmist: Lord, lord who trains my hands for battle and my fingers for war; my mercy and my refuge, my defender and my deliverer, et cetera.”⁵⁷ The Archbishop Rodrigo similarly led the clerics present in a singing of *Te Deum Laudamus* hymn, which is largely composed of lines drawn from the Psalms.⁵⁸ Moreover, Psalm 142 was a common component in late twelfth and early thirteenth century rites for pilgrims and crusaders elsewhere in Europe.⁵⁹ To a biblically literate audience, the opening lines of the psalms were meant to invoke the entire text, and with it the clear message which each conveys: a penitent David received God’s aid against his enemies. A penitent Christian kingdom receives divine help in its military endeavors. In the Toledo of the early thirteenth century, those enemies would be understood to be the Almohandes and their Andalusian allies.

This triumphant theme is carried further in the apocalyptic imagery which decorates the church. As noted above, the large mural of the awakening of the dead with

⁵⁶ These three Psalms, 6, 129, and 142 also formed a part of the daily liturgy at Cluny. Barbara Rosenwein discussed the militancy of the themes, and described the entire liturgy as an eschatological combat, good against evil, the monks against the devil. Barbara Rosenwein, “Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression”, *Viator* 2 (1971): 127-157.

⁵⁷ *CL*, ch. 25, 62. “Cantare potuerunt Christiani cum psalmista: Dominus, Dominus Deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad bellum et digitos meos ad prelium; misericordia mea et refugium meum, susceptor meus et liberator meus et cetera.”

⁵⁸ *DRH*, 274.

⁵⁹ See James Brundage, “Cruce Signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England”, *Traditio* 22 (1962), 289-310.

angels blowing trumpets overhead, seems to depict the opening of the Seventh Seal in the Book of Revelations.⁶⁰ This action, signaling an end to the tribulations of the Apocalypse and the ushering in of God's kingdom, provides a vivid and powerful image of the triumphant end-times, which works nicely in conjunction with the Psalms written on the arches of the same aisle. After reading David's self-confident assurances of God's aid against one's enemies, the observer can then contemplate the literal rewards for the faithful, including the resurrection of the dead. On a higher level of allegory, the image invokes a simple message of the triumph of Christendom, a historical inevitability according to the Bible. Such a view certainly had currency in 1220s Toledo.

The other scenes from Revelation reinforce this theme. The *Pantokrator* above the door, and the twenty-four elders in heaven depicted on the western wall all invoke images of the coming celestial kingdom. Perhaps most powerfully, the depiction of Revelation chapter 12, verse 7, in which two angels battle Satan as a dragon, depicts the triumph of the Church with starkly violent imagery. One of the angels, the Archangel Michael, thrusts his spear into the mouth of the dragon, which has its head thrown back in agony. Good wins, evil loses, in patently military terms.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Archbishop Rodrigo himself makes references to this episode of the Apocalypse in his polemical work, *Dialogus libri vite*, specifically in Book 5, chapter 19, and again in book 8, chapter 3. Roderici Ximenii de Rada, *Dialogus Libri Vite*, eds. Juan Fernández Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola, *CCCM LXXII* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

⁶¹ Sicard of Cremona specifically addressed the meaning of this image, noting that the tropological meaning is "the confirmation of good and the ruin of the wicked, and also then, in the present Church as the persecution of the faithful." Quoted by Thomas, in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting*, 13.

Santa Cruz

A short distance to the north along Toledo's winding streets sits an architecturally very different but artistically closely related church. The church of Santa Cruz was originally the Bad-al-Mardum mosque, one of the few structures surviving from the era when the city was the center of northern Al-Andalus. Medieval legend suggests that the mosque was originally a Christian church, appropriated by the Muslims after their conquest of the city in the eighth century. The true identity of the church was revealed to the conquering Christian forces in 1085, when the hero El Cid's horse was said to have caused a commotion leading to the discovery of a crucifix illuminated by a miraculous Visigothic lamp enclosed in one of the walls.⁶² Mythology aside, recent excavations on the site have revealed the existence of an older structure that included an apse beneath the mosque, and which seems to be contemporaneous with nearby Roman ruins.

Regardless of this, the mosque which exists today was built in the year 1000 according to the unusual Arabic inscription written in brick on the building's façade. It appears to have been in private hands until the 1180s, when it was gifted to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. In 1186, the possession of the mosque, then called the "*ecclesia Sanctae Crucis*" was confirmed by King Alfonso VIII and the Archbishop of Toledo to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John.⁶³ At some point

⁶² Ramon Paro, 228

⁶³ In 1183, described as "*unam casam que dicitur Sancta Cruce*" was gifted to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem by a Dominicus Petri, with the understanding that they would transform it into a proper church. In 1186 the possession of the mosque, now known as the "*ecclesia Sanctae Crucis*", by the Hospitallers was confirmed by the Archbishop of Toledo at the insistence of King Alfonso VIII, under the condition that the new church not infringe on the rights and incomes of the city's parishes, suggesting that it was to be used strictly by the knights of the Order. The charters of 1183 and 1186 are published, along with a succinct analysis, by Susana Calvo Capilla, "La Mezquita de Bab Al-Mardum y el Proceso de

thereafter, a new apse was added to the existing structure, which stylistically appears to be part of the boom in church construction of the so-called *mudéjar* architectural style, much of which dates to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁶⁴

The interior of this new construction was decorated with Romanesque murals, almost certainly by the same team of artists who worked on San Román.⁶⁵ The apse itself is decorated by a very large Jesus *Pantokrator* image against a blue sky, surrounded by at two of the tetramorphs (the other two were almost certainly present on the now damaged left side of the mural).⁶⁶ The arch of the apse contains the images of two saints, depicted in the identical fashion to the saints in the arches of San Román. Outside the apse, on the new eastern wall, a series of niches are also decorated with the images of saints.

Architectural schematics created by the Ministerio de Fomento as part of their “Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España” series in the late nineteenth century show two of these niche portraits with labels identifying their subjects as Saint Eulalia and Saint Martha, two early Spanish martyrs.⁶⁷

The apse also contains a number of inscriptions, both Latin and Arabic. A lion-like figure representing the Evangelist Mark holds a banner identifying him as one of the

Consagración de Pequeñas Mezquitas en Toledo (s.XI-XIII), *Al-Qantara* 20 (1999), 299-330. The charter of 1186 is preserved in a Toledan cartulary, AHN Cod. 987B. It was also published in González, *El Reino de Castilla en la Epoca de Alfonso VIII*, volume 2, document 455.

⁶⁴ See chapter 1, note 3 for the dating of the church and murals.

⁶⁵ Raizman, “The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo”, 140.

⁶⁶ The apse painting is very similar to folio 2 of the Las Huelgas Beatus manuscript. Demus noted that the apse painting was among the most formal elements of Romanesque style, with the *Pantokrator* or Christ-in-Majesty image, usually drawn from the Apocalypse, as the most common theme. The choice of blue for the background is also very common. Demus, 14-20.

⁶⁷ R. Malagón, M. Sáinz, C. Delgado, T. Pérez, and M. Franco Mata, *Arquitecturas de Toledo* (Toledo, 1991), 328. These labels are not clearly visible today, though given that the two images in question are high up on the wall in a poorly lit part of the church, they may still exist. Saint Eulalia, martyred in the early fourth century, was made famous by her inclusion in the *Peristephanon* by Prudentius (Cambridge, 1953), 143-157. Saint Marta was a third century martyr from the city of Astorga.

“quattuor animalia” of the Book of Revelation. The eagle-headed Saint John holds a banner with the opening words of his gospel, “In principio erat verbum.” Around the bottom of the apse are the remnants of two deteriorated Latin inscriptions. The left inscription is the opening line of Psalm 148, “Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis”. The right hand inscription is from Matthew 25:34. The final inscription, found on the outer arch of the apse and written in Arabic, appears to read “prosperity” and “good fortune”.⁶⁸

The message of Christian victory and triumph is relatively simpler in the smaller, less complex decorations of Santa Cruz, than in the larger San Román. The focus of the church is on the imposing image of Christ in Majesty which fills the apse. The image, of course, comes from the Book of Revelations, and while it was a common motif in Romanesque painting, the power and the message of the image was not necessarily lost in the repetition.⁶⁹ For the Medieval audience, this last book of the Bible was a “revelation of the beginning of the eternal kingdom of God, and as such allows glimpses of the gloriously triumphant church.”⁷⁰ The larger than life image of Christ, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists conveyed a strong message of authority and confidence, and the awesome power of the Christianity and the Church. On the eastern wall outside the apse, the saints, including local Spanish figures Eulalia of Merida and Marta of Astorga

⁶⁸ Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, 159.

⁶⁹ The *majestas* or *pantokrator* image of Christ was a common decorative motif drawn from the Apocalypse, starting as far back as the sixth century. In the Latin West, the *majestas* image was almost always associated with the tetramorphs, unlike the Byzantine *pantokrator*. See Peter Klein, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art”, in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 161; Demus, 14; Yves Christe, “The Apocalypse in Monumental Art”, also in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 251-255. Christe sees the “*majestas domini*” to be an image of a present and actualized Christ in all his divinity, not an image of the Second Coming.” This interpretation fits well with a message of present triumphalism.

⁷⁰ John Williams, *A Spanish Apocalypse* (New York, 1991), 11.

look on, encouraging the viewer to see the vitality and strength of the image of Christ at work in their immediate surroundings, not only in the distant story of the Apocalypse.

The Latin inscriptions in Santa Cruz reinforce this message of power and add a triumphant element. The left hand inscription, Psalm 148, conveys the most straightforward message, with its repetitive encouragement to praise the lord throughout creation. The second inscription conveys a somewhat richer message. The text is Matthew chapter 25, verse 34, “Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, you blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” This part of the Book of Matthew, often called the “Mini-Apocalypse”, discusses the reward of the faithful upon the return of Christ. Despite the tribulations associated with the end times, the “wars and rumors of war” which Jesus discusses in Gospels, this was the ultimate, glorious moment in Christian eschatology. The message is clear when the surrounding passages from the gospel are included: God will separate the faithful sheep from the iniquitous goats. The Christians will inherit God’s kingdom. The contemporary analogy is almost insistent. The message of triumph conveyed by the artists who decorated this small chapel for the Order of the Hospital, whose knights had just recently participated in a great crusading victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, would be clear to any observer with a knowledge of Christian scripture.

Alongside this deployment of apocalyptic text and imagery, one finds the most striking features of the artistic program of Santa Cruz, the elaborate Arabic inscription which decorates the outer arch of the apse. The generic blessing, “*al-yumn, al-iqbal*”, essentially prosperity and good luck, is a testimony to the strong Arabic cultural influence still very much alive in early thirteenth century Toledo. The intentional use of such

Islamic motifs in what can best be described as a crusader church is certainly, on the surface at least, paradoxical. The use of these images of eschatological Christian victory in the context of the political and military developments of the thirteenth century necessarily places Islam in a negative role within the larger political and religious narrative. We are therefore left to try to answer a question posed by the other major element in the decorative programs in our churches: why those tasked with decorating these buildings decided to include extensive Islamic decorative themes and Arabic inscriptions?

The usual explanation for the inclusion of Arabic inscriptions within a Christian context in the art and architecture of the Middle Ages is to label such writing as “pseudo-Kufic”. This explanation builds on the fact that the world of Islam was rightly perceived by contemporaries as a culture marked by a high degree of sophistication, education, and prosperity. Christian rulers governing formerly Muslim territory, whether in Spain, Sicily, or Palestine, wished to control and possess this culture, not destroy it.⁷¹ Often, the result was the incorporation of seemingly random Islamic decorative motifs, especially inscriptions, into Christian art. Whether or not these inscriptions actually meant anything was of secondary importance, and it is often assumed that the Christian artists were ignorantly imitating Arabic writing.⁷² The decorative use of Arabic calligraphy was itself

⁷¹ Jerrilynn Dodds notes that “for many northern Christians, the sumptuous quality of the material culture of Al-Andalus supersedes any undermining political or religious associations with Islam.” “Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art”, in *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200*, 32.

⁷² A classic example is the dinar-like coin struck by the Saxon King Offa in the eighth century. The Arabic text on the coins is largely illegible, presumably because the minter simply wanted to maintain the appearance of a valuable Islamic coin, but was ignorant of the actual text. See Philip Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 330. More generally, see R.

enough to lend the patina of power and prosperity, whether or not it meant anything.⁷³

While it is certainly true that the Spanish Christian rulers did intend to take possession of the sophisticated cultural world of Al-Andalus, it is clear that they typically did not do so as ignorant imitators, but as conscious conquerors.⁷⁴ Nowhere was this more obvious than in Toledo.

There is relatively little mystery involving the continuity of the brick architectural style of Toledo from the Islamic to the Christian periods. Artisans, techniques, materials, and the traditions of the city did not automatically transform into something all together new with the peaceful transfer of ownership in 1085. *Mudéjar* architecture represents a relatively seamless continuation of the “local, living urban architecture”, in the words of David Raizman.⁷⁵ Beyond the realm of church décor, the persistence of Islamic cultural aesthetics can be clearly seen in the high fashion of the day. The Castilian royal family all wore clothes of Muslim make and design, complete with Arabic, even Quranic text.⁷⁶ The crown-prince of Castile, Fernando, who by all accounts was the most eager advocate of crusade against the Almohads, was buried in a coif decorated with Arabic text which

Ettinghausen, “Muslim Decorative Arts and Painting—Their Nature and Impact on the Medieval West”, in *Islam and the Medieval West*, ed. Stanley Ferber (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1975), 14.

⁷³ Debais discussed the decorative value of inscriptions at length, and how it could convey messages beyond the actual written words: “The aesthetic dimension of the inscription text is given a key to know the rules of perception and understanding of the inscription. The ornament of characters or support made it a sculptural object, often endowed with aesthetic qualities facilitating the identification of the inscription in space: it draws the eye of the viewer in order to take note of the message contained in the text. Meanwhile, the inscription, by its ornamental value, participates in the beautification of its context.”, 161.

⁷⁴ A prime example of the gold *morabetino* coins minted by Castile in order to pay for the campaign. The coins were inscribed in Arabic, like the Arab *dinars* after which they were designed. But the inscriptions were careful expressions of power: the obverse reads “The Imam of the Christian Church is the Pope”. The reverse side reads “The Emir of the Catholics, Alfonso ibn Sancho, whom God helps and protects.” See Juan Zozaya, *Alarcos, el fiel de la balanza* (Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1995), 319.

⁷⁵ Raizman, “The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginnings of *Mudéjar* Architecture in Toledo”, 133.

⁷⁶ Concha Herrero Carretero, *Museo de Telas Medievales : monasterio de Santa Maria la Real de Huelgas* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1988).

reads “The Lord is the Renewer of solace.”⁷⁷ Archbishop Rodrigo himself was buried in a bishop’s chasuble decorated with Arabic calligraphy repeating the word “prosperity”.⁷⁸ Clearly what is good for the churchman is good for the church. In the early thirteenth century, Toledo was culturally still very much an Islamic city. One is reminded of Thomas Glick’s characterization of early Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula, where he remarked that the Arabs and Berbers were living in something of a “garrison state”, as conquerors immersed in the cultural world of the conquered.⁷⁹

In the church of Santa Cruz, the intended audience was more than likely Mozarabic Christians, for whom Arabic was still their first language. The Mozarabic community of Toledo was vital, even growing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, as Arabicized Christians emigrated from Al-Andalus to escape the harsh governance of the Almohads.⁸⁰ Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the church of Santa Cruz may have served such new arrivals; when the Archbishop Gonzalo granted the church to the Hospitallers in 1186, he did so with the strict conditions that the Order and the church were in no way to minister to the parishioners of the established city churches.⁸¹ This restriction was certainly a defense against the encroachment into the Archbishop’s authority and income within the city. By that time, the native Mozarabic

⁷⁷ For Fernando’s crusading zeal, see *CL*, ch. 18, 53 and *DRH*, book VII, ch. 36, 257. For the coif, see *Museo de Telas*, 61. Other scholars have noted the Arabic *haute couture* without trying to explain the phenomenon, noting only that the use of Islamic motifs and inscriptions did not really imply “islamisation.”; Fernández-Puertas, 662.

⁷⁸ Jerrilyn Dodds, *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 331.

⁷⁹ Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 29.

⁸⁰ Julio González gives a very thorough account of the vast numbers of Mozarabic immigrants arriving in Toledo during the second half of the twelfth century in his *Repoblacion de Castilla la Nueva* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1975), volume 2, 70-73.

⁸¹ AHN Cod. 987B. Published in González, *El Reino de Castilla en la Epoca de Alfonso VIII*, volume 2, document 455.

community had largely been integrated into the ecclesiastical structure of the city.⁸² This essentially limited the church to serving visitors, new arrivals, or, of course, the members of the Order itself.

Apocalypse and *Convivencia*

Of course, as with all church decoration, the ostensible goal was the glorification of God. Even in this context, the blend of Christian and Islamic styles makes sense. Lucy Pick has suggested that the Archbishop Rodrigo was at the center of a Toledan intellectual school which promoted, among other things, what she calls a “theology of unity”.⁸³ In this scheme, Muslims and Islam were a fractious, entropic force, but nonetheless part of God’s creation. Even they could occasionally express an element of truth which could be rightly appropriated into a Christian understanding of the world.

The theology of unity seems to leave rather little room for holy war. But the message contained in some of the apocalyptic analogy depicted in these churches is fairly direct: the dragon from the wall of San Román is meant to represent the Almohad enemy with whom the Christian Castilians were contending for control of the Peninsula. This deployment of apocalyptic language and imagery was hardly new, as the struggle between Christianity and Islam created, back in the ninth century, some of the first associations between Muhammad and the Antichrist in the works of Eulogius of Toledo

⁸² Ramón González, "The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after A.D. 1080," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 177.

⁸³ Pick, 71-126.

and Paul Alvarus.⁸⁴ Moreover, the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, created in the eighth century by Beatus of Liebana, and copied over and over again over the course of the Middle Ages, has been labeled by John Williams as the “Book of the Reconquest”⁸⁵. As mentioned above, at least some of the artists who created the murals of Santa Cruz and San Román also worked on the illuminations of a contemporary Beatus manuscript.

But given the adoption and use of Arabic styles, and even Islamic scripture, we must further examine the ways in which the apocalyptic narrative is deployed. It is very easy to imagine, as some historians have done, that the events of 711 and the protracted military confrontation with Islam “created in Spain an eschatological environment in which the end was perceived to be near.”⁸⁶ However, it was the Archbishop Rodrigo who, even when indulging in his most liberal discussion of the end of the world, concludes that “nobody knows that date except the Son, and those to whom He wishes to reveal it.”⁸⁷ And despite the many contemporary (twelfth and thirteenth century) copies of illustrated Beatus manuscripts, it is difficult to see many of the images as depicting a consistent association with Islam.⁸⁸ Sometimes the architectural elements of these

⁸⁴ Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 22. For the lives and works of Eulogius and Paul Alvarus, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁸⁵ Williams, *A Spanish Apocalypse*, 12.

⁸⁶ Kevin R. Poole, “Beatus of Liébana: Medieval Spain and the Othering of Islam”, in *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. Carolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2009), 61.

⁸⁷ “Set quia ut ueritas protestastur de die illa nemo scit nisi filius et cui uoluit filius reuelare”, *Dialogus Libri Vite*, 387. Pick, 163. It is worth noting that Beatus himself came to the same conclusion. After stating that the sixth age ought to end in the year 800, he notes “Residuum saeculi tempus humanae investigationis incertum est.” *Beati in Apocalipsin*, ed. Henry A. Sanders (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1930), 368.

⁸⁸ John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus* (London, 2003). Williams examines and documents the illustrated manuscripts of Beatus of Liebana’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. The fifth volume of the set deals with eight copies dating to the later twelfth and early thirteenth century, all of which appear to be Iberian creations. None of the illustrations appear to consistently depict figures meant to appear as Muslims. In

illustrations appear to be inspired by Islamic architecture, though it is difficult to apply a polemic meaning to this.⁸⁹ Occasionally soldiers appear in Muslim garb, or armed with Muslim weapons, but they just as frequently appear as more typically European. Sometimes the Antichrist is portrayed in ambiguously Muslim garb, but so are other friendly characters.⁹⁰

It is worth noting that the most influential apocalyptic thinker of the period, Joachim of Fiore, believed that the Antichrist would appear within the Church, and be elected Pope.⁹¹ Moreover, the apocalyptic imagery found on the walls of the churches considered here tend to depict the positive, triumphant aspects of the Book of Revelation, not the tribulations and actions of the Antichrist. In fact, the “primarily timeless and triumphant character of these (apocalyptic) motifs” as allegories seems to have been the norm in the period in question, rather than a literal expectation of impending end-times.⁹²

some copies, a few members of the “army of horsemen” from Revelations 9:16 are depicted with turbans, but this is the extent of any deliberate use of Muslim characters as models.

⁸⁹ This difficulty has not stopped people from trying to do so. See especially Poole (note 65). Others, such as D.F. Ruggles, “Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain”, in *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1997), 76-106, are more cautious. Still, it is commonplace to interpret Beatus as a “narrative about an external enemy’s palpable threat”, as does Linda Seidel, “Apocalypse and Apocalypticism in Western Medieval Art”, in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* Volume 2, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York: Continuum, 1999), 470.

⁹⁰ Rosemary Muir Wright, *Art and the Antichrist in Medieval Europe* (Machester, 1995), 54.

⁹¹ Bernard McGinn, “Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist”, *Church History* 47 (1978), 159.

⁹² Peter K. Klein, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art”, in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. Richard Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 161. See also Christe, note 61. McGinn, however, cautions that this “ecclesiological” interpretation of the Apocalypse “never completely overcame the sense that the book also contained a message about the coming end of time”. Bernard McGinn, “Symbols of the Apocalypse in medieval culture”, *Michigan Quarterly Review* 22 (1983), 270. In the same essay, he notes that the symbolic use of the Apocalypse “is deliberately polyvalent insofar as it attempts to manifest diverse aspects of a reality that by definition cannot be grasped by the human intellect.”, 266. This works well with Kendall’s description of the allegory of the Romanesque church (see note 41). The best recent discussion of Christian apocalypticism as a historical vision, not necessarily tied to an imminent millennial vision, is Brett Whalen, *The Dominion of God*.

But if, in practice, the polemical or propagandistic use of apocalyptic images and texts does not in practice require a certainty about the impending end of the world, surely it requires a certainty about who the enemy is. After all, the church triumphant must prevail over an external enemy, and in the years immediately following the victory at Las Navas, that enemy was Islam. However, this apocalyptic explication of the conflict between Christendom and Islam, which was a common interpretation of crusading activity, was clearly not the only possible reaction to the Andalusian culture which still predominated in Toledo. If Iberian Islam could play the metaphorical role of Anti-Christ in an eschatological vision of current events, clearly it could also represent an admired, emulated culture.

The fact that a crusade could be waged against the Almohads and memorialized with apocalyptic images by the same society which enjoyed Muslim-made luxuries, and integrated Islamic decor into Christian churches immediately alerts us to the fact that an easy dichotomy between intolerance and tolerance, of religious violence and *convivencia* cannot provide an adequate picture of the people and events discussed here. Holy war was but one possible reaction to the Islamic culture which surrounded, inspired, and threatened the Christians of Spain. The deployment of various interpretations was a process subject to political, military, and economic forces and events.⁹³ Extraordinary events, such as the military conflict which preceded the momentous victory in 1212, might lend themselves to dramatic and exuberant visions of the confrontation between

⁹³ Here I generally am following Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, and his insistence that the interaction between different religious communities in the Middle Ages was governed by the negotiation of competing claims in their local and temporal context and not the monolithic influence of a persecuting discourse.

good and evil. But these excited outbursts were in competition with the more prosaic process of daily coexistence. The enemy was a Muslim, to be sure, but so were the neighbors. In the early thirteenth century, Islamic culture still predominated in the Iberian Peninsula. Spanish Christians lived in this culture, and with Muslims, Mozarabs, and Arabicized Jewish communities. It is not surprising, therefore, that their reaction to a crusading tradition, which necessarily imagined a black and white relationship with the Muslim world, was ambivalent and often contingent upon local concerns.

Here again it is worth remembering another observation made by Professor Glick, who pointed out that too often Spanish historiography assumes that “ethnic conflict and cultural diffusion are mutually exclusive phenomena”.⁹⁴ Conflict between religiously coterminous societies does not necessarily interrupt the natural cultural processes which happen when two groups occupy the same geographic space. This interesting observation helps remind us of the complexity of Spanish and Medieval culture. It is both singularly fascinating and intellectually challenging to think of these processes taking place within the walls of a church constructed by a crusading military order in the triumphant aftermath of a major crusade.

⁹⁴ Glick, 184. For a similar sentiment, see Ruggles, 92 or Dodds, “Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art”, 30.

CHAPTER THREE-- LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA AND THE CHURCH: THE INSTITUTIONAL CRUSADE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The campaign which culminated in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa was, from the perspective of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church, and especially the papacy, a vital part of the fight to defend Christendom. It took place during the papacy of Innocent III (1198-1216) which has been recognized by historians as a watershed moment in the history of the crusade. It was at this period, at the turn of the thirteenth century when the multifaceted phenomenon of crusading began to take on a semblance of organization, and to coalesce into an institution of the Medieval Church. The various practices, rituals, and exigencies which had developed over the previous century were organized by the end of Pope Innocent's life into something of an official model for the crusade.

Innocent had many opportunities to fine-tune his model, for he was, of course, the most active of papal crusaders. He launched two major *passagium* campaigns designed to recover Jerusalem, which had been lost to Saladin in 1187, conventionally referred to as the Fourth (1199-1204) and the Fifth (1213-1221) Crusades.¹ In addition to these major campaigns, Innocent also launched the crusade against heresy in Languedoc, known as the Albigensian Crusade.² He expanded the scope of papal privileges and

¹ For the Fourth Crusade, see Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), also Donald Queller and Thomas Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: the conquest of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); for the Fifth Crusade, see James Powell, *The Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

² The historiography of the Albigensian crusade is scattered and uneven, primarily because the events can be studied from a variety of angles: the phenomenon of heresy, the papal politics, the military events themselves, etc. Mark Pegg, *A Most Holy War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) offers a recent, revisionist take on events. See also Martín Alvira Cabrer, *Muret 1213: La Batalla decisiva de la Cruzada contra los Cátaros* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2008); Michel Roquebert, *L'Épopée Cathare*, 5 vols. (Paris: Perrin,

involvement in the German conquests along the eastern shores of the Baltic, and he was, of course, deeply involved in the wars against the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula.³

Additionally, he attempted unsuccessfully, to launch at least two more crusades: the first in 1199 against Markward of Anweiler, the Hohenstaufen agent in the Kingdom of Sicily, and the second a projected Italian crusade to the Holy Land in 1208.⁴

Innocent considered the Christian-Muslim conflict in the Iberian Peninsula to be a central part of the crusade, and a pivotal frontline in the defense and expansion of Christendom. In this he was following long-established papal policy. The association of Iberia with the eastern crusades began as early as 1096, when Urban II discouraged Catalan participation in the First Crusade, suggesting that their efforts were best applied locally.⁵ In 1123, the First Lateran Council explicitly associated the campaigns in Spain with those directed toward the Holy Land.⁶ And while it may have been a happy accident that northern European crusaders traveling to the Holy Land for the Second Crusade assisted in the conquest of Lisbon and Almería in 1147 and 1148, it is clear that Pope Eugenius saw the simultaneous campaigns in the Holy Land, the Baltic, and Spain as different theaters in one great crusading effort.⁷ Similarly, Clement III expanded the

2006-2007); Michael Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997); Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, crusade, and inquisition in southern France, 1100-1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

³ On the Baltic Crusades, see Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (New York: Penguin, 1997).

⁴ For the conflict with Markward of Anweiler, see John Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and to Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 66-68. Innocent described his projected crusade of 1208 in at least two letters, the second of which approaches the scope of a real crusade bull. See *PL* 215: 1427-1428 and 1500-1503.

⁵ On crusading ideology in twelfth century Iberia, see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, 1095-1187*. Purkis quotes the letter on 123-124.

⁶ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé (Leipzig, 1851), #5119. See José Goñi Gaztambide, 76-77; O'Callaghan in his *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 38.

scope of the Third Crusade to include Spain in 1188, and northern European fleets bound for the Holy Land again helped out in Portugal.⁸ Innocent's immediate predecessor, who as both Cardinal Hyacinth and Pope Celestine III, had been deeply involved with Spanish affairs, particularly the military struggle between the Christian kingdoms and the Muslim Almohad Empire to their south.⁹ To be sure, the Iberian crusade never competed with nor eclipsed the centrality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as the primary focus of crusading. It was, in the minds of the Popes, "parallel to the crusade in the Holy Land."¹⁰

Innocent was committed, from the beginning of his papacy, to organizing and promoting the continued Christian conquest of Al-Andalus, or at very least to ensuring that the southwestern frontier of Christendom was not lost or eroded. Following directly in the footsteps of Celestine III, Innocent's attention to these affairs in Spain helped to bring about the campaign which led to the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, and was directly responsible for much of its crusade characteristics. In fact, Las Navas de Tolosa was the only crusade of the papacy of Innocent III which resulted in an unambiguous victory. There was no search for meaning after the army attacked the wrong target, as with the case of the Fourth Crusade. There was no smoldering conflict which slipped beyond Rome's control, as was happening in the Midi. In 1212, the Pope's efforts helped to organize an effort which was widely celebrated as a successful defense of Christendom. In an era when crusading, despite great effort and enthusiasm, produced few positive results, Las Navas de Tolosa was a genuine victory. Yet outside of Spain,

⁸ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 57-58.

⁹ Damian Smith, "The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone", in *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, eds. John Doran and Damian Smith (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 81-111.

¹⁰ Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. Und di Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969), 185.

the victory was quickly forgotten. Its significance as Innocent III's most successful crusade has been largely ignored.¹¹ The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa was at the center of this key period during which the crusades were formed into an official set of practices and a regular institution of the Church. This campaign incorporated all of the elements central to Innocent's conception of crusading, and the military victory was, in his own words, the "sign (from God) that good is to come and the end of the beast (referring to Islamic power) is approaching".¹² This success gave him the confidence and the clout to aggressively implement his full vision of the institutionalized crusade in the planning for the Fifth Crusade and the legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council.

Innocent's Vision of the Crusade

Innocent regarded crusading as one of the defining missions of his papacy. In his encyclical announcing the Fourth Lateran Council, he forthrightly laid out his essential goals, saying "of all the desires of our heart we long chiefly for two in this life, namely, that we may work successfully to recover the Holy Land and to reform the Universal Church".¹³ For all intents and purposes, these were not two separate goals to Innocent,

¹¹ Older studies of Innocent III which focus explicitly on his crusading agenda, mostly or entirely ignore Spain and the events of 1212. Recent examples are also not hard to find, for example Janes Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe 1198-1216* (New York: Longman, 1994), gives slightly over half a page to the Las Navas campaign, and does not at all contextualize it in Innocent's crusading plans or theology. Notable exceptions are John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and to Plant* (see note 4 above) and, of course, Damian Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

¹² "confidimus tamen in Domino, qui jam fecit nobiscum signum in bonum, quod finis hujus bestiae appropinquat". The quote comes from the April 1213 bull authorizing the Fifth Crusade, *Quia Maior*, PL 216, 817.

¹³ *Vineam Domini*, in *Selected Letters of Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216)*, eds. and trans. C.R. Cheney and W.H. Semple (New York: T. Nelson, 1953), 144-145.

but two aspects of his vision for ecclesiastical leadership of Christendom.¹⁴ Following in the footsteps of many prominent theologians since at least the time of Saint Bernard, the Pope believed that the success or failure of major undertakings, such as the capture and defense of the Holy Land, was dependent on the spiritual well-being of the Christian people.¹⁵ If, through their virtue and piety, they merited God's favor, then miraculous success would follow, as had happened in 1099, with the success of the First Crusade. But staying in such divine graces required great effort. Human nature, in Innocent's view, was not well suited for it. In his tract *De Miseria Conditionis Humane*, written shortly before he became pope, Innocent said of man

He does depraved things by which he offends God, offends his neighbors, offends himself. He does vain and shameful things by which he pollutes his fame, pollutes his person, pollutes his conscience. He does vain things by which he neglects serious things, neglects profitable things, neglects necessary things. He will become fuel for the inextinguishable fire that always burns and flames; food for the immortal worm that always eats and consumes; a mass of horrible putridness that always stinks and is filthy.¹⁶

Predictably, these stinky filthy people usually do not merit God's favor and thus "that which are delights to men who sin are instruments to God who punishes."¹⁷ In the context of crusading, God had punished the sin of Christendom by allowing the Second

¹⁴ In this, Innocent showed the effects of his training in Paris, where influential theologians such as Peter the Chanter were promoting a vision of crusade as part of the new emphasis on pastoral reform. See Jessalynn Bird, "Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath", in *Innocenzo III, Urbs et Orbis* (Rome: 2003), 503-524, particularly 504-508; Tyerman, 63.

¹⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux most clearly expressed this in the opening of book two of his tract *De Consideratione*, a weird combination Old Testament exegesis and cognitive dissonance: Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Vol. III, eds. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H.M. Rochais (Rome: Ediciones Cisterciensis, 1963), 410-414. Pope Gregory VIII expressed a similar sentiment in his bull *Audita Tremendi*, in which he notes that "Nos autem credere non debemus quod ex iniustitia Judicis ferientis, sed ex iniquitate potius populi delinquentis". *PL* 202, 1539-1542.

¹⁶ Lotario Dei Conti Segni, *De Miseria Conditionis Humane*, ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 94-95.

¹⁷ *De Miseria*, 123.

Crusade to fall apart. This trend continued throughout the latter half of the twelfth century, culminating in the disastrous defeat at Hattin, and the loss of Jerusalem itself.

Innocent was quite clear on the theological implications behind all of this:

Almighty God was entirely able, if he has wished, to defend that land from being handed over into hostile hands. And if he wishes he can easily free it from the hands of the enemy, since nothing can resist his will. But since iniquity had already grown abundant, and love had grown cold in the hearts of many, so that he might stir his faithful from the sleep of death to zeal for life, he set up this struggle in which he might test their faith like gold in a furnace.¹⁸

As the shepherd of Christendom, it was Innocent's task to prepare his flock for this divine test, hence his stated commitment to reform. Seated firmly within the emerging emphasis on pastoral care and reform, correcting moral failings, specifically those which directly impeded the crusade, was his primary mission as pontiff. Moreover, the crusade itself could be a powerful pastoral tool, enabling the individual Christian to take an active role in his own salvation.¹⁹ In this way the crusade, as a vocation, could tap into the powerful lay fascination with the ideals of monastic life, the *vita apostolica* and *imitatio Christi*.²⁰ Innocent was quite explicit about this in a letter of advice to Duke Leopold VI of Austria, who himself traveled to Spain in order to take part in the Las Navas campaign. Writing to the Duke in 1208, when he apparently first expressed interest in becoming a crusader,

¹⁸ "Poterat enim omnipotens Deus terram illam, si vellet, omnino defendere, ne in manus traderetur hostiles. Posset et illam, si vellet, de manibus hostium facile liberare, cum nihil possit ejus resistere voluntati. Sed cum jam superabundasset iniquitas, refrigerescente charitate multorum, ut fideles suos a somno mortis ad vitae studium excitaret, agonem illis proposuit in quo fidem eorum velut aurum in fornace probaret". The line comes from the opening of *Quia Maior*, PL 216, 817.

¹⁹ Tyerman, 63-64.

²⁰ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 8.

Innocent praised Leopold because “you prepare humbly to imitate... Christ”.²¹ In the opening lines of the bull *Quia Maior*, Innocent makes the association between crusade and the apostolic life explicit by directly quoting Christ, from Matthew 16:24: “If anyone will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.” Putting the scripture in context, Innocent explained its meaning: “If anyone wishes to follow me to the crown, let him also follow me to battle, which is now proposed as a test for all.”²² As James Powell put it, “the theology of the crusade was founded on the belief that the crusade was a fitting instrument for the moral transformation of the individual Christian and of Christian society as a whole.”²³ Thus reform and crusade were inextricably linked, two parts of a whole.

Despite this eschatological vision of Christendom, Innocent was less a creative theologian and much more an energetic and creative administrator.²⁴ He was interested not just in the papacy’s spiritual leadership of the crusade, but in the practical and

²¹ “Experimento didicimus quod verborum non fueris obliviosus auditor quae volentibus ire post Dominum in Evangelio proponuntur, cum religiosa mente recogitans quid retribuas Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit ipse tibi, **Christum**, qui est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, obediens pro te factus, **humiliter imitari disponis**, et pro ejus amore charam conjugem, dulcem prolem, delectabilem patriam, amabilem parentelam, divitias copiosas, ac mundanos relicturus honores, ut demum te ipsum cum carnalibus desideriis abnegando, liberius sequaris eundem, desideras, ut acceperimus, tollere crucem tuam, et illuc ubi tua salus in cruce pependit ardenti succingeris desiderio festinare, ut in crucis victoriosae vexillo te contra perfidorum conatus opponas, qui de crucis haereditate in parte jam expulsi videntur et in toto nituntur expellere crucifixum.” *PL* 215, 1339

²² “Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me; ac si diceret manifestius: Qui vult me subsequi ad coronam, me quoque subsequatur ad pugnam, quae nunc ad probationem proponitur universis.” *Quia Maior*, *PL* 216, 817.

²³ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 63.

²⁴ It must be noted that we have relatively few details about Innocent’s educational background. Between the mid 1170s and mid 1180s Innocent was educated at both Paris, where he presumably studied theology, and Bologna, where traditionally he is thought to have studied Roman Law. For his university days, see John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III: To Root Up and to Plant*, 6-12. Some scholars have convincingly cast doubt on the idea that Innocent was trained as a lawyer, especially K. Pennington, “The Legal Education of Pope Innocent III”, *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 4 (1974), 70-77. On the other hand, Johannis de Deo, a Portuguese chronicler and canonist writing sometime during the life of Gregory IX (1227-1241), asserted that Innocent was indeed a “*iuris professor*”. *Johannis de Deo Cronica*, MGH SS 31, 324.

pragmatic as well. From the beginning of his reign, Innocent began developing the practices which would become the backbone of his official model of crusading. He was interested in the logistical and juridical aspects of crusading, and worked to streamline all of them. He attempted to exercise papal control over preaching and recruitment. He was innovative, at least by the standards of the time, in the definition and application of the spiritual benefits of the crusade, the indulgence. He was equally innovative in defining the legal status, protections, and obligations of those receiving these benefits. He was perhaps most creative in trying to solve the most basic logistical concern of crusading, money. Innocent expanded the fund-raising opportunities for the crusade, and codified the nascent idea of clerical income taxation in support of crusaders.

By the end of his pontificate, all of these features of Innocent's crusade program were fully articulated. In his bulls launching the Fifth Crusade, *Quia Maior* of April 1213 and the very similar *Ad Liberandum* issued at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the entire model was assembled.²⁵ Reform in the name of removing obstacles to the crusade was the first diplomatic business the Pope would attend to. Centralized preaching missions controlled from Rome were implemented. The crusade vow and the indulgence were spelled out in their most expansive forms. Papal protection for, and the obligations of the *crucesignari*, a term which Innocent's curia made the standard Latin word for crusader, were clearly established.²⁶ Rituals and prayers to insure spiritual support for the crusaders were prescribed. Perhaps most practically, fund-raising and

²⁵ *Quia Maior*, PL 216, 817-822; For *Ad Liberandum*, N. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 267-271.

²⁶ Michael Markowski, "Crucesignatus: its origins and early usage", *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 157-165.

taxation regimens were planned and implemented. This definition of crusading would endure as the institutional model for the rest of the thirteenth century and beyond.²⁷

Very little of this program was actually new in 1213. Most of these practices had developed gradually over the previous decades. Moreover, most of them had been employed, with various degrees of success, by Innocent himself over his long crusading career. Most significantly for our purposes, the entire program was present in the crusade leading to the victory of Las Navas in 1212, in this instance, and for the first time, with full success. By examining each of these aspects of the Innocentian crusade as they were articulated in that campaign, against the backdrop of their development during his pontificate, the centrality of Las Navas to this creation of the fully-developed institution becomes clear.

Peace, Diplomacy and Reform

From the beginning of his pontificate, Innocent's primary goal in the Iberian Peninsula was the removal of obstacles to further action against the Almohads. Internal Christian peace had always been an explicit goal of the papacy and a desirable condition for the organization of any crusade.²⁸ In this case, Innocent was closely following the policies pursued by his predecessor, Celestine III, who as cardinal-legate and pope had

²⁷ Tyerman, 37.

²⁸ The Peace and Truce of God movements were central parts of the eleventh century reform movement, and helped to shape the papacy's vision of crusade. The *de facto* corollary of insisting on peace between Christians was the Church's ability to redirect martial energies into the crusades. See H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century", *Past & Present* 46 (Feb. 1970), 42-67; John Gilchrist, "The Papacy and the War Against the 'Saracens', 795-1216", *The International History Review* 10 (May 1988), 174-197, especially note 69; Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935), especially chapter 2; Harmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1964).

been deeply involved in Peninsular politics for nearly fifty years.²⁹ Celestine had confronted the divisive politics of the Christian kingdoms from the time of his first legation to Spain in 1154-55. The political atmosphere was particularly poisonous during his pontificate (1191-1198), and Celestine had tried to intervene with a heavy hand. He insisted on peace and cooperation, and did not shy from using the most powerful of ecclesiastical censures to punish Christian rulers who allied with the Almohads. Unfortunately, Celestine did not live to see the results of his efforts. When Innocent came in to office, the disastrous Christian defeat of Alarcos (1195) was still fresh. The defeat led to bitter recriminations and hurt feelings, particularly between the humiliated Alfonso VIII of Castile and his cousin, Alfonso IX of León. Discord and civil war ruled the day, as they had since the division of the central kingdom of the Peninsula into two realms upon the death of Alfonso VII in 1157.³⁰ Similarly, Castile was frequently at war with Navarra, sometimes with the help of the Crown of Aragon.³¹ War amongst the Christian kingdoms not only precluded crusading activity, but both Alfonso IX and Sancho VII of Navarra spent time allied with the Almohads against their Castilian enemies. The conflict between Castile and León was patched up with the marriage of Alfonso IX of León to Alfonso VIII of Castile's daughter. While a royal wedding was a perfectly normal way to seal a truce, both kings were the grandsons of Alfonso VII, and

²⁹ Smith, "The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone", 81-111.

³⁰ For a recent discussion of the fractious relations among the Christian kingdoms of Spain in the early thirteenth century, see Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), particularly chapters one and two.

³¹ In May of 1198, Pedro II of Aragón and Alfonso VIII of Castile signed an extensive pact of alliance (conventionally called the Treaty of Calatayud), in which they decided, among other things, "quod regnum Navarre sic dividatur inter nos". González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, 181. See also *DRH*, Book VII, chs. 30-32, 252-254.

thus the newly-weds were second-cousins. The consanguineous marriage, despite its utility, was just the sort of “putridness” that Innocent reviled.³² From his ascension to the papal see on, he worked assiduously to bring about peace and unity of action amongst the Spanish Christian, but not at the expense of turning a blind eye to incest.³³ Such sinfulness was a problem on multiple levels: not only did it damn the kissing-cousins themselves, it also contributed to the general moral failing of society, thus banishing God’s favor and making temporal, military achievements against the enemies of Christendom impossible. In 1198 Innocent sent his confessor, Rainier of Ponza, to Spain to dissolve the marriage of Alfonso and his cousin Berenguela, to bring about a peaceful alliance among the Christian kingdoms, and to unite them for action against the Muslims to their south.³⁴ This would remain the backbone of Innocent’s diplomatic efforts in Spain. It was by no means immediately successful. Alfonso and Berenguela managed to ignore the Pope, despite interdicts and excommunications, until 1204, after four children had been born to the couple.³⁵ Castile and Navarra remained bitter enemies. Nevertheless, reform and peace, with the express aim of subsequent crusading, was Innocent’s policy. While his insistence on reform seemed on occasion at odds with his

³² The *Chronica Latina* describes the union as a marriage “de facto quia de iure non poterat cum ipsi reges attinerent sibi in secundo gradu consanguinitatis.” *CL*, ch. 15, 50.

³³ While Innocent was steadfastly opposed to the consanguineous marriage, Celestine III may have been somewhat more pragmatic. Roger of Hoveden reports in his *Chronica* that the wedding took place with “permissione domine papae Coelestini, pro bono pacis.” *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, vol. 3, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Longman, 1870), 90. Smith, “The Iberian Legations of Cardinal Hyacinth Bobone”, 102, rightly suggests that Celestine probably did not receive news of the October 1197 wedding before his death in January of 1198.

³⁴ Demetrio Mansilla, *La Documentacion Pontifica hasta Innocencio III* (Rome, 1955), doc. 138, 168-170. Also *PL* 214, 79.

³⁵ *CL*, ch. 17, 52.

main focus, launching crusades, this only further proves the inextricability of the two projects in the Pope's mind.³⁶

The same plan informed his relations with the rest of Europe as well. From 1198 on, Innocent worked tirelessly to bring about peace between the kingdoms of France and England, in the persons of the respective monarchs Philip Augustus, and Richard I (briefly), followed by his brother John.³⁷ Innocent explicitly saw such a settlement as a precondition for a major crusade to the Holy Land. Moreover, his work to settle the succession crisis in Germany after the death of the emperor Henry VI was also couched as a first step toward a renewed effort to reclaim Jerusalem.³⁸ He was, ultimately, not successful in these endeavors, and was never able to secure royal leadership for his eastern crusades, but his schema for successful crusading remained the same.

In Spain, it took many years for Innocent's diplomatic push to bear fruit. The dissolution of the incestuous marriage in 1204 only led to new conflicts between the kings of León and Castile, which were not settled until 1206, under papal pressure.³⁹ In the mean time, Alfonso of Castile and Pedro of Aragón prosecuted their war against Navarra ruthlessly. Between 1199 and 1204, the Castilians were able to capture much of the western portion of the kingdom, and forced Sancho VII to flee to Marrakesh, seeking

³⁶ See Tyerman, 86, where he noted that "if politics are about priorities, the politics of Innocent's crusade were, in places, confused." The fact that Innocent was typically uncompromising on his reform agenda, even when compromise might strengthen the cause of the crusade, seems to indicate his commitment to his holistic vision of Christendom rather than any political confusion.

³⁷ Moore, 56.

³⁸ Ibid, 66.

³⁹ The dissolution of the marriage, achieved by relentless papal action, was the "causa vero discordie inter gloriosum regem Castelle et regem Legionis". *CL*, ch. 17, 52. See Joseph O'Callaghan, "Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon", in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 319-325, for a description of the conflict.

aid from the Almohad caliph.⁴⁰ The Pope was, nonetheless, persistent, trying to bring about peace through the agency of Spanish ecclesiastics.⁴¹ Peace was finally achieved in October of 1207, when a five-year truce was arranged (apparently without direct papal intervention).⁴² A similar five-year treaty was settled between Sancho VII of Navarra and Pedro of Aragón in February of 1208.⁴³

By the time that the Almohad threat precipitated immediate action in 1211, a modicum of unity was possible. The internecine conflicts which had embroiled the Christian kingdoms for years had at least temporarily abated. Alfonso of Castile and Pedro of Aragón, long time allies, committed to fighting together in the autumn of 1211.⁴⁴ Yet the situation remained quite tenuous. The treaty between Castile and Navarra was set to expire in 1212, and the peace between the Alfonso VIII and Alfonso IX was fragile. Innocent's diplomacy bore more direct fruit through his legate to Languedoc, Arnald Amalric, who managed to secure the participation of Sancho VII of Navarra.⁴⁵ Arnald, the recently elected archbishop of Narbonne, was the papal legate in for the Albigensian crusade in Languedoc. His legation extended to the diocese of Pamplona, and on his way to Toledo "we turned aside to visit the King of Navarra, that

⁴⁰ *CL*, ch. 16, 50-51.

⁴¹ In June of 1205, Innocent asked the archbishop of Compostela and the bishop of Tarazona to work on a truce between Castile and Navarra. Mansilla, doc. 315, 347.

⁴² González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, doc. 813, 424-429.

⁴³ Martín Alvira Cabrer, *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196-1213): Documentos, Testimonios, y Memoria Histórica*, 6 vols. (Zaragoza and Toulouse: CSIC and Laboratoire FRA.M.ESPA, 2010), vol. 2, doc. 865, 937-938.

⁴⁴ Alfonso VIII met with "amico suo" Pedro II of Aragón at Cuenca, probably in November 1211. *CL*, ch. 20, 56. The meeting is also mentioned by the Archbishop Rodrigo, *DRH*, Book VIII, ch. 1, 260.

⁴⁵ On the career of Arnald Amalric, see Martín Alvira Cabrer, "El Venerable Arnaldo Amalrico (h. 1196-1225): Idea y Realidad de un Cisterciense Entre Dos Cruzadas", *Hispania Sacra* 48 (1996): 569-591. Also Raymonde Foreville, *Le Pape Innocent III et La France* (Stuttgart: Hiersmann, 1992), especially 230-248.

we might induce him into coming in aid of the Christian people.”⁴⁶ This was more than a simple invitation; Sancho VII had a long history of alliances with the Almohad caliphs. He may have been married to the Caliph al-Nāsir’s sister and was, according to Arabic sources, allied with him as recently as June, 1211.⁴⁷ Given the papacy’s stern disapproval of such alliances, Arnald may have used the threat of ecclesiastical censure to convince Sancho to join the crusade. The Moroccan chronicler Ibn ‘Idhārī certainly believed that it was threats from Rome which convinced him to break his pact with the Almohads.⁴⁸ Whatever the case, the legate was successful, and the participation of the Navarrese king would prove to be pivotal to the success of the campaign.

Innocent also turned his attentions toward the recalcitrant Alfonso IX of León during the preparations for the campaign. Rather than attempting to secure his participation, the Pope was far more concerned to contain his aggression toward his cousin and Castille. In April of 1212 he wrote to the archbishops of Toledo and Compostela, instructing them to work to maintain peace and cooperation among the Christians of Spain, and singling-out Alfonso IX with threats of excommunication and

⁴⁶ “Nos siquidem in ipso nostro itinero diverteramus ad ipsum regem navarrae, ut induceremus ipsum ad veniendum in subsidium populi christiani.”; Letter of Arnald Amalric to the Cistercian General Chapter, *RHGF* XIX, 250-255.

⁴⁷ The story of the alliance, at very least the subject of poetic embellishment, if not an outright fiction, is related in Ibn Abī Zar, *al-Anīs al-Mutrib bi-Rawd al-Qirtās fī aḥbār al-Maghrib wa tārīḥ madīnat Fās*, ed. and trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Estudio Sobre la Campaña de Las Navas de Tolosa* (Valencia, 1916), 125-126. Sancho had certainly spent time in Morocco from 1199-1202, when his possible marriage to the Almohad princess may have taken place. The story is related by the English Chronicler Roger of Hovenden, 89-90. For a lengthy discussion in support of the Moroccan marriage of the King of Navarra, see Luis del Campo Jesus, *Sancho el Fuerte de Navarra* (Pamplona: Patronato Biblioteca Olave, 1960), 146-161.

⁴⁸ Ibn ‘Idhārī Al-Marrākuṣī, *Al-Bayān Al-Mugrib Fī Ijtīṣār Ajbār Muluk Al-Andalus Wa Al-Magrib*, trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Colección de Crónicas Árabes de la Reconquista* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1953), vol. 2, 271.

interdict, should he choose to ally with the Muslims.⁴⁹ Alfonso VIII of Castile sent envoys to León, to secure his cousin's assistance and though he remained aloof, he released his vassals to join to crusade.⁵⁰ Many did so, along with volunteers from Portugal. The crusade army of 1212 represented the papacy's goal of united action by the Spanish Christians to a greater degree than seemed possible during most of Innocent's pontificate.

The victory which this diplomatic push enabled gave the papacy a new confidence in its mission. Innocent had been pushing the kings and princes of Europe to settle their affairs in order to promote the crusade since 1198, but he did so with more force and vigor after Las Navas. Peace within Christendom was a necessary part of a successful military effort against external enemies, and by the time of the Fourth Lateran Council in November of 1215, he was in a position to be insistent:

“Since, moreover, in order to carry on this matter it is most necessary that the princes and the People of Christ should mutually observe peace, the holy universal synod us: we do establish that, at least for four years, throughout the whole Christian world, a general peace shall be observed; so that, through the prelates of the churches, the contending parties may be brought back to inviolably observe a full peace or a firm truce.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ Mansilla, doc. 471, 501-502.

⁵⁰ Alfonso IX wanted to condition his participation on the return of a series of castles which had been part of the Princess Berenguela's dowry 15 years before. Alfonso VIII apparently had no time for such discussions. Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi* (henceforth *CM*), edited by Emma Falque, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 74 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 328.

⁵¹ *Ad Liberandum*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 271. It should be noted that in 1215, for the first time in his pontificate, Innocent was in a good position to make such a demand, as the long-standing conflict between England, France, and the Empire had essentially been resolved in July 1214 with Philip's victory at Bouvines. On the effectiveness of Innocent's peace program to the Fifth Crusade, see Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 68-69.

Recruitment and Preaching

This aspect of the crusade had long been at least nominally the purview of the papacy. The model for crusade preaching went back to Urban II himself, who delivered one of the most famous unrecorded sermons in history at Clermont in 1095, launching the First Crusade. Of course it was not only popes and their deputies who could exhort the laity to take up arms for God. Almost immediately, free-range preachers like Peter the Hermit took up the cause. As the twelfth century went on, crusade preaching continued to revolve around figures specifically authorized by Rome to preach the cross. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, at the request of Pope Eugenius, was the voice of the Second Crusade in the 1140s, but again not without the unauthorized contributions of a Cistercian monk named Ralph.⁵² Similarly, Henry of Albano and Baldwin of Canterbury, with the assistance of Gerald of Wales, were the primary papal agents for the preaching of the Third Crusade.⁵³

Innocent's plans for his first major expedition, which would become the Fourth Crusade, revolved around preaching through duly authorized channels as well, but with important changes. With his keen eye toward administration and planning, Innocent delegated the preaching mission for his crusade to the ecclesiastical authorities of each

⁵² The preaching for the Second Crusade is described by Penny J. Cole. *Preaching the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 41-49.

⁵³ Ibid, 65-79. Baldwin's preaching tour through Wales is terrifically narrated by his companion, Gerald of Wales, *The itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A.D. MCLXXXVIII*, ed. and trans. Richard Hoare (London, 1806).

diocese.⁵⁴ *Post Miserabile*, the bull announcing the crusade in 1198, specifically deputizes the bishops and archbishops to whom it was addressed as preachers and recruiters.⁵⁵ In a move that anticipated the emerging importance of the new mendicant orders, Innocent also managed to fuse the institutionalization of preaching with the participation of popular preachers.⁵⁶ Fulk of Neuilly, probably the most popular preacher in France at the end of the twelfth century, who was officially recruited in 1198 to shore up a lagging propaganda effort, is the clearest example of this.⁵⁷ However, unlike Peter the Hermit or Bernard, Fulk was one voice among many and part of a systematic preaching program.⁵⁸ Similarly during the Albigensian Crusade, preaching usually fell to the papal legates, Milo and Arnald Amalric, as well as the ecclesiastical structure of the Kingdom of France.⁵⁹

The details of the preaching and recruitment for the Las Navas campaign are somewhat murky. Papal letters indicate that the preaching effort was delegated through ecclesiastical channels. Innocent wrote to the Archbishop of Sens, and other French ecclesiastical authorities, in January of 1212, instructing him and his suffragans to preach

⁵⁴ Cole, 97, noted that this was one of Innocent's most enduring contributions to crusade policy.

⁵⁵ *Post Miserabile*, PL 214, 308-312.

⁵⁶ Tyerman, 63. Of course both Francis and Dominic were very active preachers at the time, and contributed toward the new emphasis on pastoral reform through popular preaching.

⁵⁷ Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Margaret Shaw, in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York: Penguin, 1963), 29; Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 19-21. For a (slightly over-wrought) description of Fulk's career as a preacher, see Milton R. Gutsch, "A Twelfth Century Preacher- Fulk of Neuilly", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. Louis Paetow (New York, 1928), 183-206.

⁵⁸ For the preaching of the Fourth Crusade, see Cole, 85-97; Philips, *The Fourth Crusade*, 26-38.

⁵⁹ Moore, 176-178; Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W.A. and M.D. Sibly (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 41-42. Delegation to the bishops is illustrated by Innocent's letter to the archbishop of Lyon, PL 215, 1359.

the crusade.⁶⁰ Innocent confirmed to Alfonso VIII that he had sent letters to the “archbishops and bishops located throughout the kingdom of France and Provence”.⁶¹ The involvement of other French bishops, namely Guillaume of Bordeaux and Geoffrey of Nantes, in the campaign, would seem to confirm that the letters indeed reached other parts of the kingdom.⁶² Folquet de Marseille, bishop of Toulouse, was also involved in the preaching effort.⁶³ Archbishop Arnald Amalric of Narbonne, papal legate for the Albigensian Crusade, was certainly involved in the recruitment effort. In January of 1212 Innocent wrote to Arnald, ordering him to establish truces in Provence and to cease offering the crusade indulgence in order to recruit people to the fight against the heretics, so that Christian efforts could be concentrated against the Almohad threat.⁶⁴ Arnald heeded this mandate, and joined the Spanish campaign with a large contingent of southern Provençal crusaders.⁶⁵

Arnald was also, until his election to the archbishopric of Narbonne in early 1212, Abbot of Cîteaux and head of that Order. The Cistercians were directly concerned with the military situation in Spain because the Knights of Calatrava, a Cistercian affiliate, bore the brunt of the Almohad attack in 1211. The loss of Salvatierra, their castle on the

⁶⁰ Mansilla, doc. 468, 497-498. The archbishop of Sens was Peter de Corbeil, one of Innocent’s former theology professors in Paris. Peter’s suffragan dioceses included Chartres, Nevers, Troyes, Orléans, Meaux, Auxerre, and Paris, which encompass most of the north-central Kingdom of France.

⁶¹ “archepiscopis et episcopis per regnum Francie ac Provinciam constitutis nostris damus litteris in mandatis”. Innocent wrote this letter to Alfonso of Castile on 4 February, 1212. Mansilla, doc. 470, 500-501.

⁶² Roscher, 186, pointed out that, given the interdict then leveled against the Kingdom of England, and the ongoing succession conflict in the Empire (including Italy), France was the only realistic option for recruitment outside of Spain.

⁶³ Jean Boutiere and A.H. Schutz, eds. *Biographies des Troubadours: Textes Provençaux des XIII et XIV Siècles* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1964), 482-484.

⁶⁴ *PL* 216, 744-745.

⁶⁵ *DRH*, Book VIII, ch. 1; Arnald, 251.

southern edge of La Mancha, in September of that year was the focal point of the crisis and call for action.⁶⁶ Arnald's report of the battle was the source for Cistercian chroniclers all over Europe.⁶⁷ Given that the campaign captured so much of the Cistercian Order's attention in 1212, to say nothing of their frequent involvement in crusading, it seems entirely likely that the white monks helped to disseminate the call for volunteers to fight in Spain.

However, the principle Iberian sources for the preparations for the Las Navas campaign describe a preaching and recruitment campaign which does not appear to fit Innocent's model. The main narrative sources which describe the preparations for the campaign, Archbishop Rodrigo's *De Rebus Hispanie* and the *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae* suggest that the bulk of the recruitment was done at the initiative of Alfonso VIII of Castile.⁶⁸ Archbishop Rodrigo made what must have been a very speedy trip north of the Pyrenees between October 1211 and April 1212, seeking help for the coming campaign.⁶⁹ While he gives no details of the journey in his own account, the *Chronica Latina* indicates that he visited Philip Augustus and "tota Francia". The *Annales Toledanos* suggest that Rodrigo was sent to Rome, Germany, and France, though this

⁶⁶ *DRH*, Book VII, ch. 35; *CL*, ch. 19; *CM*, 327.

⁶⁷ Alvira, "Guerra e ideología", 117; See the concluding chapter of this work.

⁶⁸ Some historians assert this too, for example Gaztambide: "La iniciativa de la cruzada partió del rey de Castilla... El papa se limitó a secundar el proyecto y tal vez no con todo el ardor que deseaba Alfonso VIII." Gaztambide, 113-114; similarly Roscher, 185.

⁶⁹ It is difficult to date Rodrigo's journey with any certainty. He was certainly in Castile through October to attend to the burial of the *infante* Fernando, and he was back in Toledo by the beginning of May. His signature appears on all royal diplomas through 22 January, 1212, and then again from April 17, 1212, but, as titular chancellor of the realm, his seal was automatically included on any significant court charter, whether he was actually present or not.

itinerary seems excessively optimistic.⁷⁰ Both the *Chronica Latina* and the Archbishop's *De Rebus Hispanie* suggest that he went at the king's behest, "promising many things on the part of the King of Castile."⁷¹ A similar diplomatic mission was apparently carried out by the king's physician, Master Arnald, in the regions of Poitou and Gascony.⁷² Neither document mentions the Pope's role in the planning stages of the campaign, which is perhaps not surprising. Both histories make it their explicit business to glorify the name and deeds of Alfonso VIII, the "glorious king", the "noble Alfonso" at length, and not the Pope.⁷³ The Archbishop Rodrigo, in the years after the campaign, found himself at odds with Innocent, and even more so with his successor Honorius III, and so by the time he got around to writing his history in the 1240s, he was not disposed to sing the praises of the papacy.⁷⁴ Both sources leave the reader with the sense that Innocent had essentially nothing to do with the planning and execution of the crusade.

Innocent's role was, however, much greater than allowed in these sources. The Pope had already made an effort to delegate preparation and recruitment to the bishops of Spain in early 1210, in support of a projected crusade planned by Fernando, the crown-Prince of Castile, in anticipation of the expiration of the kingdom's truce with the Almohads.⁷⁵ With regard to the Las Navas campaign itself, the third great narrative history of the period, the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas of Tuy offers something of a

⁷⁰ *ATI*, 396. It should be noted that Geraldo of Segovia served as the king's messenger to Rome in late 1211, and it seems unnecessary for a second Castilian prelate to have made the journey twice within a few short weeks.

⁷¹ "Circuivit totam Franciam supplicans magnatibus et multa pollicens eis ex parte regis Castelle", *CL* ch. 21, 57.

⁷² *DRH* book VIII, ch. 1, 259; *CL*, ch. 21, 57.

⁷³ *CL*, ch.18, for an example of "gloriosus rex"; *DRH*, book VIII, ch.1 for an example of "Alfonsus nobilis".

⁷⁴ Linehan, *History and the Historians*; Smith, "Soli Hispani", 488-490.

⁷⁵ Mansilla, doc. 442, 427-473.

corrective to those above-mentioned works which omit Innocent all together. Lucas reports on Rodrigo's preaching tour in France as well: "Indeed, he visited the French, with the authority of the lord Pope Innocent, to assiduously preach the word of God and to persuade the people that they should take action for the defense of the faith".⁷⁶ Moreover, the *Chronicon Mundi* specifies that he preached the crusade, offering "remissione omnium peccatorum", that is the crusade indulgence, which was of course authorized by Rome.⁷⁷ Interestingly, any reference to the indulgence, that key piece of recruitment for any crusade, is omitted entirely from the *Chronica Latina* and Rodrigo's history of the campaign. Additional sources, however, confirm the Pope's role in the recruitment, and lay bare the attempt on the part of Archbishop Rodrigo and Juan of Osma (author of the *Chronica Latina*) to minimize Innocent's part in the game. The cannons of the cathedral of Toledo, recording events, presumably contemporaneously, in the *Annales Toledanos* explicitly state that the international contingent of crusaders arrived in Toledo, where the army assembled, very much motivated by the Pope's grant of the indulgence.⁷⁸ Similarly, the Archbishop himself, in a crusade encyclical, written sometime during the winter of 1212 and presumably circulated within Castile, also extended the indulgence to anyone participating in the campaign, "ex auctoritate dei omnipotens et domini pape", that is on the authority of Almighty God and the Lord Pope.⁷⁹ Though Rodrigo might have felt like omitting Innocent's role when he wrote his

⁷⁶ "Etenim fultus auctoritate domini Pape Innocencii Gallias adiit, verbum Dei assidue proponendo et suadendo populis, ut ad defensionem fidei convenirent". *CM*, 328.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 328.

⁷⁸ *ATI*, 396.

⁷⁹ ACT I.6.G.I.13. Published in Lucy Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence : Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 209-210.

history in the 1240s, in 1212 he was operating as his agent, on his authority, as a crusade preacher. It is clear that, as in each of the other crusades initiated by Innocent III, the preaching and recruitment for the Las Navas campaign, both abroad in France and Languedoc, as well as in Spain, was conducted with papal authorization by papal agents.

None of this is to say that much of the initiative and planning of the campaign did not in fact lie with Alfonso VIII and the Kingdom of Castile. It was indeed Alfonso who, following the aforementioned loss of Salvatierra in September 1211, sent missives throughout his kingdom announcing his plans to fight the Almohads the following spring, and ordering all “milites et pedites” to begin making preparations.⁸⁰ The feudal duties implied in this mandate were doubtlessly the central mechanism for recruitment within Castile.⁸¹ Around that same time, he sent the bishop-elect of Segovia, Geraldo, to Rome, to inform Innocent III of his plans and to ask for assistance.⁸² He met with Pedro in November, and sent messengers to his cousin Alfonso IX of León.⁸³ At some point during the preparations he sent a doleful personal appeal to Philip Augustus, asking directly for military aid, probably delivered by Archbishop Rodrigo during his delegation to France.⁸⁴ Alfonso’s physician, Master Arnald may have been the most successful recruiting agent at work during the campaign. A native Gascon, what success he may have had probably grew from his own connections with that region’s nobility, as it seems

⁸⁰ *DRH*, Book VII, ch. 36, 257-258; *CL*, ch. 19, 55.

⁸¹ This idea will be explored in greater depth in chapter 5.

⁸² Geraldo was present at the King’s court, witnessing documents as late as September 14, but then absent until November 26, 1211. González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. III, documents 882-885, 540-551. Innocent mentions that Geraldo served as Alfonso’s messenger in his letter to the king dated February 4, 1212. Mansilla, document 470, 500-501.

⁸³ See note 44 above.

⁸⁴ González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, document 890, 557-558.

unlikely that he was an authorized crusade preacher.⁸⁵ Many things happened without direct input from Rome. In this, the campaign was not at all unlike Innocent's other crusades. Such a major undertaking could not be entirely initiated from Rome. However, there is no question that Innocent made every effort to organize the preaching and recruitment in 1211-1212 through delegated channels

Innocent may have been able to choose (most of) his preachers, but to what degree could he control what they preached? Preaching was clearly a part of the crusade movement from Clermont, yet the texts of relatively few sermons from the twelfth century survive.⁸⁶ The exact contents of the sermons rarely made it into the chronicles and histories of the day. This changed with the renewed emphasis on preaching generated by the pastoral reform movement, and the organization of crusade recruitment as part of the institutional crusade by Innocent III. This led to an explosion of textual materials, such as theological *florilegia*, compendiums of stories (*exempla*) for preaches, and collections of model sermons.⁸⁷ The campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa took place right at the beginning of this process, when Innocent's plans for crusade preaching were already taking shape, but before sermon collections and manuscripts became plentiful. Consequently, we do not have the text, or even second hand reports, of the content of sermons preached in support of the campaign during the winter of 1211-1212, and we must rely on other sources to reconstruct their substance. One approach is to study the

⁸⁵ See note 61. Both the *CL*, ch. 21, 57, and Arnald, 251, state that many of the *ultramontanos* came from Gascony and Poitou, the regions visited by Master Amalric the physician.

⁸⁶ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 51.

⁸⁷ On this see Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), particularly 3-31; Cole, 81-97; Tyerman, 66-67.

documents we do have which discuss preaching. The contents or basic outlines of proposed preaching programs survive in the form of epistolary sermons, letters meant to instruct preachers or to be read aloud as part of an actual sermon.⁸⁸ Innocent's crusading bulls, particularly *Quia Maior* (1213) belong to this genre, given the explicit plans laid out in them.⁸⁹ By referring to the papal correspondence surrounding the campaign of 1212, one gets a sense of what Innocent imagined his agents should be preaching.

Innocent's letter to the Archbishop of Sens (and to all the other bishops of France and Provence) is, in effect, the crusade bull for the Las Navas campaign.⁹⁰ The letter has the basic shape of sermon, beginning with a *narratio* of the situation, and then switching to an *excitatoria*, calling for action.⁹¹ Innocent informs his episcopal audience of the "letters full of sadness and not free of fear" which he had received from Alfonso of Castile, relating the fall of Salvatierra. Given the danger of the situation, he notes that Alfonso is planning to fight the invasion in the following spring, "choosing to die rather than to see the ruin of the Christian people."⁹² Having provided his preachers with some of the back-story, Innocent moves on to outline the aim of the project. He orders "that you preach (*moneatis*) to your subjects with attentive exhortations, enjoining to all truly penitent people, in remission of all sins by God and us, that, at the prescribed time, aiding him (Alfonso VIII) in this moment of need, they devote themselves to this essential aid in

⁸⁸ Cole, 49.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 104.

⁹⁰ See note 60.

⁹¹ See Tyerman, 63, on these basic elements of a crusade sermon.

⁹² "eligens mori potius quam christiane gentis mala videre.", Mansilla, doc. 468, 498.

materials and in person equally”.⁹³ The Pope then goes on to point out that this sort of action will help people achieve *celestis regni gloriam*, and makes it clear that the remission of sins applies to any *peregrino*, from anywhere, who travels to take part in the campaign. There is relatively little theological content in the letter, but Innocent does manage to convey the personal and penitential nature of the crusade. In his reference to repentance as a condition of the indulgence, and in mentioning the heavenly reward earned by such good works, the Pope points out that in his vision of the crusade the ultimate aim was not so much military victory as personal salvation. He closes with specific instructions to his preachers: “Moreover, you should strive to carry out that which we have ordered, in such a way that your solicitude is clear in the performance, and we will strive to commend your devotion deservedly.”⁹⁴ Overall, the document makes it clear that Innocent wanted to provide his preachers with the necessary material for their recruitment mission, and to ensure that they followed his plan for the crusade.

The crusade encyclical written by Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo sometime during the winter of 1211-1212 is also an epistolary sermon.⁹⁵ The document, essentially a crusade bull, follows the same outline as the Pope’s above-mentioned letter. It is rather

⁹³ “...mandamus quatinus subditos vestros sedulis exhortationibus moneatis, in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere penitentibus iniungentes, ut ei prescripto termino in hoc necessitatis articulo succurrentes, necessarium impendant auxilium in rebus parite et personis;”, Ibid, 498.

⁹⁴ “Taliter autem studeatis exsequi quod mandamus ut sollicitudo vestra clareat in effectu, nosque devotionem vestram valeamus merito commendare.”, Mansilla, doc. 468, 498.

⁹⁵ ACT I.6.G.I.13; Pick, 209-210. Pick dates the document “June-October 1211”, though clues within the document suggest that the document was created no earlier than November 1211. The first clue comes from Rodrigo’s reference to “*hac expeditione*”, that is the upcoming campaign, which was first announced by Alfonso in September (see note 80 above); the second indication of a date is the mention of the indulgence, as authorized by Innocent III. Assuming that the authorization for the crusade indulgence was communicated to Castile by the King’s messenger, Geraldo of Segovia (see note 82), then this reference gives us a *terminus post quem* of late November 1211.

laboriously addressed to all Christians, though the document is clearly meant for a Spanish, probably Castilian audience, based on the mention of the bishops of Castile and on the admonishment that no one fit to bear arms is to leave Spain for Jerusalem.⁹⁶ Rodrigo then narrates the danger facing almost all of Spain (*totam penae ispanianm in tantis periculis esse conspicimus*), and insists the danger must be met. He then exhorts his audience to prepare to defend “the church of God against the enemies of the Cross.”⁹⁷ As no sermon would be complete without biblical allusions, Rodrigo invokes Psalm 115 when reassuring his audience that they need not fear the danger of death, since “When death is endured for the defense of the faith, it is made precious in the sight of the Lord.”⁹⁸ The remission of sins, using the same formula found in Innocent’s letter to the French ecclesiastics, is included, but to the remitting authority of “God and the Lord Pope”, Rodrigo adds himself and his suffragan bishops, “namely those of Osma, Calahorra, Palencia, Burgos, Segovia, Ávila, and Siguëenza”.⁹⁹ He closes by making a bold claim, reassuring his audience that the spiritual benefits gained by fighting in Spain are the same, if not greater than those to be won in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰

By addressing this document to all Spanish Christians in general, and by incorporating his fellow bishops as agents of recruitment and dispensers of indulgences, it is clear that Rodrigo intended this document to be read aloud to an audience, or

⁹⁶ The address reads “Rodrigo, dei gratia toletane sedis archiepiscopus et ispaniarum primas dictus, omnibus qui christiana fide consentur illa respuere que huic inimica sunt nomini, et que sunt apta sectari.”
⁹⁷ “*eccelesiam dei contra inimicos crucis*”. See chapter 5 for discussion of the term *inimicos crucis*.

⁹⁸ “*Quando quidem in conspectu domini preciosa mors efficitur, quae pro defensione fidei toleratur.*” The related section of Psalm 155 reads “*preciosa in conspectus Domini mors sanctorum eius*”.

⁹⁹ These seven bishops were the usual suspects in Rodrigo’s retinue, and along with the bishop of Cuenca, constituted what may fairly be described as the Castilian Church.

¹⁰⁰ This is a claim which Rodrigo himself was making, as the well established Roman policy equated the spiritual benefits related to the two crusade theaters. See the section on the remission of sins below.

incorporated into a sermon, by his ecclesiastical subordinates. It is much closer in content to an actual sermon than the related papal correspondence, in that it includes exhortations designed to directly address the concerns of potential crusaders, along with supporting biblical extracts. In so doing, the theological message is quite similar to Innocent's own: dying in defense of the faith is a path to salvation, and thus the crusade achieves the dual goals of defending Christendom and saving souls. It also clearly reflects Innocent's role in directing the preaching and recruitment efforts of the campaign. Aside from the obvious reference to the papal authority backing the crusade indulgence, Rodrigo's very act of deputizing his subordinate bishops for the mission reflects the organizational structure envisioned by Innocent III.

While Rodrigo's encyclical clearly demonstrates the influence of Rome, there are also many elements that point toward the creation of recruitment propaganda from within the Iberian Peninsula as well. The mention of the merits of death in defense of the Christian faith, for example, is a recurring theme in much of the writing coming from the upper levels of Castilian society during the build up to the campaign. Three different sources, Rodrigo's *De Rebus Hispanie*, and the Pope's letter to the bishops of France, and Alfonso VIII's own letter to Philip Augustus of France all dwell upon the idea of martyrdom. Rodrigo reports that when the magnates of the realm met in late September to decide on a course of action, it was decided that "during this crisis it was better to test the will of heaven in battle than to watch the disaster of the country and the saints."¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ "Aldefonsus vero rex nobilis, habito cum archiepiscopo, episcopis, et magnatibus consilio diligenti, ore eius universis aclamatibus est prolutum melius esse in bello voluntatem celi sub discrimine experiri quam videre mala patrie et sanctorum." *DRH*, book VII, ch. 36, 257.

Alfonso expressed a similar sentiment in his letter to the King of France, saying that in the coming conflict “non minus quam mortem expectamus.”¹⁰² This letter was part of the diplomatic effort coming from Alfonso’s court in late 1211, which included messages sent to Rome in the hands of bishop-elect Geraldo of Segovia. It was doubtlessly from these messages that Innocent picked up this martyrdom theme, which he duly repeated in his January 1212 crusade bull directed toward the French.¹⁰³

This fateful theme, clearly a rhetorical flourish designed to convey the crisis atmosphere which surrounded the planning stages of the campaign, was not the only element of propaganda to find its way into the recruitment process. Many sources, most prominently a letter from Innocent III to the archbishops of Spain dated April, 1212, and Arnald Amalric’s letter reporting the victory sent to the Cistercian General Chapter in August, after the battle, repeat a threat purportedly issued prior to the campaign by the Almohad Caliph, Al-Nāsir, to bring war not only to Spain, but to all of Christendom, and to fight against all “who adore the cross”.¹⁰⁴ The details of this threat from the enemy monarch, dubbed the “Miramamolín’s challenge” by Martín Alvira, appear in a vast number of chronicles, annals, and histories from all over Europe reporting on the battle.¹⁰⁵ While Alvira concludes that the “challenge” is essentially a diverse rumor, impossible to pin down in its origin, and which grew over time in the re-telling, Joseph

¹⁰² González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, document 890, 558.

¹⁰³ Mansilla, doc. 468, 497-498; see notes 60 and 90 above.

¹⁰⁴ Innocent to the Archbishops of Toledo and Santiago, 5 April, 1212, Mansilla, doc. 471. 502 ; Arnald, 250.

¹⁰⁵ For a complete list of sources, and a detailed discussion of the issue, see Martín Alvira Cabrer, “El Desafío de Miramamolín”, *al-Qantara XVIII* (1997), 463-490. Miramamolín was a Latin (and Romance) conflation of the Caliph’s title *amīr al muʿminīn*, i.e. commander of the faithful.

O'Callaghan labeled it "a piece of propaganda concocted by the Christians", which "preachers quoted... to stir the faithful to war."¹⁰⁶ O'Callaghan is almost certainly right. The most proximate sources to the campaign of 1212 all indicate that the "challenge" was reported during preparations and recruitment process. The contemporary *Annales Toledanos* report that "the Pope gave such a remission to the entire world that all were freed from their sins; and this pardon (i.e. the crusade indulgence) because the King of Morocco said he would fight with whoever adored the Cross in the whole world".¹⁰⁷ Arnald Amalric, in the beginning of his report on the battle, labeled the enemy "Miramomelinus, King of Morocco, who, as we heard from many times, had declared war on all who adore the Cross".¹⁰⁸ Similarly, while exhorting cooperation among the monarchs of Christian Spain, Innocent noted that the "enemies of the cross" intended to not only destroy the Spanish, but to oppress other Christian lands as well.¹⁰⁹ Innocent could only have heard of this "challenge" from one avenue in the spring of 1212: the request for aid sent to Rome by Alfonso VIII the previous autumn. The repetition of the "challenge" strongly suggests that it was part of a successful propaganda effort designed to provide material for the preachers who would be responsible for the recruitment.

This Castilian propaganda effort demonstrates that, while Innocent III may have been busily imposing his model of crusade organization on the campaign, the practical

¹⁰⁶ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 68.

¹⁰⁷ "dió el Apostoligo à tal solutra por tod el mundo que fuesen todos soltos de sus pecados; è este perdón fue porque el Rey de Marruecos dixo que lidiaria con quantos adoraban Cruz en todo el mundo". *Annales Toledanos I*, 396.

¹⁰⁸ "Miramomelinus Rex Marrochensis, qui, sicut audivimus a plerisque, bellum indixerat omnibus illis qui Crucem adorant". Arnald, 250.

¹⁰⁹ "inimicos crucis". Mansilla, doc. 471. 502.

ability to impose control over such an undertaking from the curia was limited.

Nevertheless, Innocent envisioned a carefully administered preaching and recruitment campaign, delegated from Rome to the various bishops in their dioceses. These agents were to recruit participants for the campaign, and also further the pastoral mission of personal and societal reform, which became inextricably linked with crusading during Innocent's reign.

The bifurcated nature of the recruitment process, both a papal preaching campaign and a full-court diplomatic program from Castile replete with complex propaganda points toward an internal paradox in the crusade movement at the beginning of the thirteenth century: the divergent, even competing goals of preaching versus recruitment.¹¹⁰ This was not necessarily a new phenomenon. Examples can be found from within Innocent's own crusading career. In the accounts of the early stages of the Fourth Crusade, it is relatively apparent that, while preaching campaigns (such as Fulk of Neuilly's) might have been inspiring, the serious work of recruiting the army was negotiated at events such as the tournament of Écry during Advent, 1199.¹¹¹ Similarly, when trying to meet the very practical and immediate threat of Markward of Anweiler, Innocent wrote to the people and bishops of southern Italy, asking for very specific levies of troops, rather than the sort of theological exhortations found in his crusade bulls.¹¹² This sort of confusion of purposes was probably an inevitable outcome of the incorporation of the pastoral

¹¹⁰ The "preaching versus recruitment" idea briefly discussed by Tyerman, 67-68.

¹¹¹ Villehardouin, 30-31. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 67, briefly discusses the difference between deliberate recruitment efforts, aimed at specific persons or groups of the aristocracy, and preaching, with its mass appeal for volunteers.

¹¹² *PL* 214, 512-513.

reforms of the early thirteenth century into the crusade movement. Broadening the crusade as a spiritual exercise designed to appeal to an ever-broader audience was not necessarily conducive to the practical process of recruiting and organizing effective military resources. Preaching might produce a lot of enthusiastic volunteers, but it was unlikely, on its own, to generate the sort of military strength needed for successful campaigning.

During the Las Navas, it is possible to catch some glimpses of this issue. Generally speaking, the recruitment of crusaders outside of Spain was primarily in the hands of crusade preachers, while within Spain, it was primarily in the hands of the monarchs. While Alfonso VIII appears to have made attempts to reach out to leaders like Philip Augustus, who certainly would have been able to muster very effective military resources, he was unsuccessful. Most of the *ultramontanos* appear to have been volunteers from among the lower ranks of the military elite, if not outright common-folk. No important leaders of the French nobility travelled to Spain, and one gets the sense that the international crusaders were not exactly disciplined military professionals.¹¹³ On the other hand, the Spanish forces, be they the magnates and their knightly retinues, or the more humble but no less effective urban militias, were mustered by their kings through the mechanisms of feudal service. Even as Innocent III was successful in shaping the institutions of crusading, some of the paradoxes of that system quickly became apparent.

¹¹³ For a longer discussion of this issue, see chapter 4 of this work.

The Indulgence

The indulgence was the *sine qua non* of crusading. Brundage succinctly asserted that “the granting of this indulgence for any expedition may well be considered to define it as a crusade; expeditions for which it was not given can scarcely be considered crusades at all.”¹¹⁴ It was this pivotal concept, which grew directly out of the pilgrimage tradition, which made the whole idea of penitential, spiritually beneficial warfare possible.¹¹⁵ For all its importance, however, the language and definition of the indulgence were somewhat unclear until the middle of the thirteenth century.¹¹⁶ The wording of the indulgence in papal correspondence may not have been particularly consistent, but it is somewhat apparent that the popular understanding was that the remission of sins could be taken literally, and participation in the crusade led to a clean-slate with regard to sins.¹¹⁷

One certainly gets that impression from many of the sources for the Las Navas campaign. As quoted above, the *Annales Toledanos*, certainly written by a cleric, but in all likelihood not a genuine theologian, mentions that the Pope’s indulgence was very popular because by it “all were released from all of their sins.”¹¹⁸ A similarly broad and sweeping understanding of the indulgence is found in some of the wills drawn up by participants prior to the battle. Bernard de Bellmirall made his will “volens ire contra saracenos in expeditione Yspanie pro remedio anime mee”.¹¹⁹ Similarly Bernard de

¹¹⁴ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 145; Goñi Gaztambide agreed, 46.

¹¹⁵ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 66.

¹¹⁶ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 148-149.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 151. See chapter 3 for further discussion of the popular understanding of the indulgence.

¹¹⁸ See note 107. *ATI*, 396.

¹¹⁹ ADG, Pergamins de la Mitra, cal. 23, #6.

Clarvalls listed his fear of the punishments of hell as one of the reasons for going to war, clearly suggesting that he understood the crusade as a way to alleviate his concerns.¹²⁰ In his post-battle report to the Pope, Alfonso VIII mentions that it was the “*remissione peccatorum*” which Innocent had offered that motivated the French crusaders.¹²¹

Innocent himself was somewhat more specific when mentioning the indulgence. It appears twice in his correspondence concerning the campaign, once in his January 1212 bull directed toward the French bishops, and once in his February 1212 letter advising Alfonso VIII of his plans.¹²² In both cases, he uses the rather general term “remission of all sins”, offered to the “truly penitent people”.¹²³ The remission is offered to those who help in materials or in person equally. At no point does he specifically equate the indulgence with that offered for the Holy Land crusades, but as it has been pointed out, by that time the equivalency was well established.¹²⁴

The language and nature of the indulgence which Innocent offered for the Spanish campaign of 1212 was perfectly usual, and in most ways followed precedence. The vague phrase “*remissionem omnium peccatorum*” dated back to Urban II in 1095, if not before. Similarly the idea of confession and penitence as conditions of the indulgence date to the time of the First Crusade.¹²⁵ In 1199 he offered very similar terms to those who might defend the papacy against Markward of Anweiler, though in that case,

¹²⁰ “Ego Bernardus de Clares Valls timeo penas inferni et cupio esse herere Christi et volo pergere cum aliis Christianis in hostem super Sarracenis”. AHN, Clero, Carpeta 2106, #14, Poblet.

¹²¹ Alfonso VIII’s Letter to Innocent III, González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, document 897, 566.

¹²² Mansilla, doc. 468, 497-498; Mansilla, doc. 470, 500-501.

¹²³ “in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere penitentibus inungentes”.

¹²⁴ Roscher, 186.

¹²⁵ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 147.

because of its unusual nature, he felt the need to specifically equate the indulgence with that which applied to the crusaders defending the Holy Land.¹²⁶ Nearly all of Innocent's correspondence regarding the Albigensian Crusade also followed the same formula.¹²⁷ Innocent employed a much more specific formula in his major crusading bulls. The wording is nearly identical in *Post Miserable* (1198), *Quia Maior* (1213) and *Ad Liberandum* (1215).¹²⁸ In this formula, the Pope "grants forgiveness for all of their sins, for which they will have made oral confessions with a contrite heart, to all those who will have endured this labor in their own person and expense".¹²⁹ In addition to this usual indulgence for the crusader, this formula grants a full indulgence to anyone who pays for another to go in his stead, and a partial indulgence to anyone who contributes materially to the campaign, proportional to their contribution.

This codification of the partial indulgence for cash and material contributions was one of the most significant and controversial aspects of Innocent's institutionalized crusade. The idea of some sort of cash commutation was not new; as far back as the First Crusade, persons who were physically unable to complete their crusade vow could still enjoy their spiritual benefits by sending another in their place.¹³⁰ This practice was expanded during the Third Crusade by Clement III, largely in response to the crisis

¹²⁶ PL 214, 514 and 722.

¹²⁷ See, for example Innocent's 1208 letter to Philip Augustus, PL 215, 1359, "remissionem peccaminum indulgemus", or his letter to the archbishop of Lyon, PL 215, 1358, asking him to preach to his people "in remissionem suorum sibi peccaminum injungentes".

¹²⁸ The curia continued to copy and paste this formulation of the indulgence for the rest of the thirteenth century. See Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 148; Tyerman, 37.

¹²⁹ The quote is from *Quia Maior*, PL 216, 818: "Nos enim (de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi), (ex illa quam nobis Deus, licet indignis, ligandi atque solvendi contulit potestate) omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint et expensis plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus veraciter fuerint corde contriti et ore confessi, veniam indulgemus".

¹³⁰ Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1940), 83.

atmosphere created by Saladin's successes.¹³¹ This expansion of the indulgence proved to be a useful tool, and as such it was employed with increasing frequency. Innocent employed and expanded the practice from the very beginning of his papacy (in *Post Miserable* of 1198). It was, to Innocent, a perfectly useful modification of the idea of crusade. By expanding the number of people who could receive the benefit of the indulgence, two purposes were served: the crusade could become a vehicle of the personal salvation in the lives of many more people while at the same time securing funds to ensure the logistical support of the actual soldiers on campaign.¹³²

This expansion of crusading privileges was in full effect at Las Navas, where Innocent explicitly offered the "remissionem omnium peccatorum" to those who helped "in rebus pariter in personis", that is in materials the same as in person.¹³³ The practical effects of this are of course difficult to gauge, as we have no surviving records of moneys raised by crusade preachers in this fashion. It is clear however that the Castilian crown and church were able to raise a vast sum of gold and supplies in preparation for the battle, and it seems entirely likely that much of this material came from non-combatants eager to share in the indulgence usually granted to crusaders.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Ibid, 83; Lloyd, 17; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 154.

¹³² Tyerman, 67.

¹³³ Mansilla, doc. 468, 498.

¹³⁴ Alfonso VIII's Letter to Innocent III, González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, document 897, 567; *CL* ch. 21, 57; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 1, 259-260.

Papal Protection

The Church protection of crusaders, both in their person and in their dependents and property, was an explicit part of the crusade privileges since at least the First Lateran Council (1123), grew directly out of the Church's traditional protections for pilgrims.¹³⁵ The privilege, rather unspecific at first, grew to include a broad array of protections, including protections from debt-collectors, exemption from some taxes, and special legal status.¹³⁶ Innocent III incorporated these protections into the official crusading formula, and while he may not have shown much innovation or expansion of this aspect of the crusade, he was certainly willing to enforce Church protection with his usual assertiveness.¹³⁷

The Las Navas campaign was no exception. In his April 1212 letter to the archbishops of Toledo and Santiago de Compostela, the Pope authorized the prelates to keep the peace among the Spanish kings by employing the threat of “*censuram ecclesiasticam*” (ecclesiastical censure).¹³⁸ Alfonso IX of León was particularly singled-

¹³⁵ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 160-169.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 170-184.

¹³⁷ The clause on the Church protection of the crusader's “person and goods” appears in each of Innocent's major bulls (*Post Miserabile* (1198), *Quia Maiore* (1213), *Ad Liberandum* (1215)) in nearly identical wording. Bishops are asked to help enforce the protection, and “ecclesiastical censure” is threatened for all who defy the order. Specific reference is made to the issue of debt and interest, with creditors ordered to collect no “usuries” from crusaders. Secular authorities are asked to enforce this prohibition on Jewish creditors, who would presumably be unmoved by ecclesiastical censure.

¹³⁸ Mansilla, doc. 471, 502. It is worth noting that the specific reference to the protection of crusader which appears in the bulls for crusades directed toward the Holy Land (see note **133**) do not appear in the documentation for the Las Navas campaign.

out, primarily because of his reputation for allying with the Almohads against his cousin and the Kingdom of Castile. The archbishops were ordered to use the tools of excommunication and interdict to insure that peace reigned during the campaign, and Innocent even offered to personally see to the resolution of Peninsular disputes as soon as possible. While most of this was a continuation of the diplomatic effort which began long before 1212, it is clear that Innocent wished for all involved to understand that Alfonso VIII and the other crusaders were officially under papal protection, and that he would enforce such protection with his strongest tools.

There is one other instance in which the protected status of crusaders involved in the Las Navas campaign is apparent. In January of 1213, Innocent wrote to the legates in Provence, especially Arnald Amalric, responding to complaints made by Pedro II of Aragon concerning the conduct of Simon de Monfort and the Albigensian crusaders who had attacked the lands of the King's Provençal vassals the previous year.¹³⁹ While the politics of the Albigensian Crusade do not concern us here, what is interesting about this letter is that Innocent specifically chides Arnald Amalric because Simon de Monfort attacked Pedro's vassals while he was doing "battle against the Saracens".¹⁴⁰ Roscher noted that the weight of the argument was that the attack occurred while the King was on crusade.¹⁴¹ To Innocent's certain horror, the implications of Church protection for crusaders had become a bit complex.

¹³⁹ The letter is reproduced by Mansilla, doc. 496, 531-533. For a discussion of this stage of the Albigensian Crusade, see Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, 115-143.

¹⁴⁰ "Adiecit etiam, quod eum de prelio sarracenorum, obtenta victoria, redeuntem comes adiit supradictus".

¹⁴¹ Roscher, 186.

Nevertheless, the campaign of 1212 was a genuine crusade in the eyes of the Pope, and all aspects of the institution were in effect.

Clerical Taxation

Crusade taxation was another critical part of Innocent's crusade platform. Though he did not initiate the idea, he developed it greatly, and incorporated it into the official practices of the crusade. The financing of crusading as a whole had experienced something of a revolution in the late twelfth century. During most of the twelfth century, the crusades were largely financed by the individual participants themselves.¹⁴²

Crusaders met the massive expense of traveling overseas and equipping themselves for war through a variety of strategies, such as mortgaging their property, or procuring loans from families, wealthy overlords, or religious institutions.¹⁴³ When these funds proved insufficient, crusaders had to rely on foraging and plunder to get by.¹⁴⁴

This system of self-financing was usually only effective for small contingents of crusaders, and not suitable for sustaining large-scale campaigns. Kings and important lords had tried to divert usual taxes and feudal dues toward crusading activity with limited success throughout the twelfth century.¹⁴⁵ However, when Jerusalem was taken by Saladin in 1187, new funding strategies quickly appeared. The crisis atmosphere of the Third Crusade led to the introduction of both ecclesiastical and royal taxes designed

¹⁴² Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 110-113; Fred Cazel, "Financing the Crusades", in *A History of the Crusades*, edited by Kenneth Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 117-122.

¹⁴³ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 114.

¹⁴⁴ Cazel, 123.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 123-125.

to support the campaigns to the East. The so-called Saladin tithe, levied by the French and English crowns was perhaps the most significant, but the year 1188 saw the first attempt at Church-wide financing, in the form of a special tithe initiated by Pope Clement III.¹⁴⁶

Under Pope Innocent III, these attempts at papally-controlled financing reached a new level. In preparation for the Fourth Crusade, Innocent introduced a tax on 1/40th of clerical incomes.¹⁴⁷ However, the funds were not employed effectively, a failure which helped lead to the diversion of the crusade by the Venetians, and the attack on Constantinople.¹⁴⁸ Innocent was aware of this failure, but persisted in his attempts to improve crusade financing. In 1208, he implemented a one year, ten-percent tax on clerical incomes to support the opening campaign of the Albigensian Crusade.¹⁴⁹ He later used the occasion of the Fourth Lateran Council to enact a much more formalized clerical taxation policy. After 1214, the Church established a system for collecting 1/20th of clerical incomes in support of the crusade.¹⁵⁰ Innocent's new tax was designed to ensure that the financial disaster which ruined the Fourth Crusade would be avoided for the Fifth.

The Las Navas campaign took place during this period of trial and error with regard to crusade financing and clerical taxation, and there is strong evidence that such

¹⁴⁶ Powell, *The Anatomy of a Crusade*, 91; Cazel, 126; William Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 8.

¹⁴⁷ Cazel, 135.

¹⁴⁸ Queller and Madden, 52-53.

¹⁴⁹ PL 215: 1469-1470; Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, 177. See also Richar Kay, "The Albigensian Twentieth of 1221-3: an early chapter in the history of papal taxation", *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 307-315.

¹⁵⁰ Moore, 210.

tactics were used to fund this campaign as well. The author of the *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* tells us that the Castilian Church granted half of their annual revenue to the effort, at the request of the king.¹⁵¹ Nothing approaching an exact sum is given, but comparisons to later records suggest that such a donation may have been valued at more than 500,000 maravedis, probably equal to the annual total of the Castilian king's revenue.¹⁵² It was certainly a significant amount, and much larger than the other taxes imposed by Innocent III. However, it should be noted that similarly massive levies were made on certain segments of the clergy in England for crusading purposes in the 1240s.¹⁵³

This huge ecclesiastical concession is not directly mentioned in any of the other sources which describe the planning of the campaign. Though this fact certainly casts a shadow of doubt on whether or not this extraordinary levy actually occurred, we need not necessarily be surprised by the silence, nor assume it did not exist. The author of the *Latin Chronicle*, Juan, who in later years served as both bishop of Osma and as chancellor of Castile, was well-positioned in both the Church and royal government, and

¹⁵¹ *CL*, ch. 21, 57.

¹⁵² While exact figures are not given, it is possible to get a sense for the sums under consideration. We have, for example, an accounting for a portion of the papally-imposed tax of 1/20th of ecclesiastical incomes in Castile and Leon for the Fifth Crusade in 1220, which amounted to more than 75,000 *maravedis* (The sums of the 1/20th tax come from a letter from Honorius to his legate Pelagius, detailing the progress of tax-collecting, in *MGH, Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Karl Rodenberg (Berlin, 1883), 88-91.). If the clergy conceded half of their annual income in 1212, the amount may have been ten times higher. In comparison, O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 155, estimated that Fernando III, the grandson of Alfonso VIII, may have had an annual income approaching 1 million *maravedis*. In 1212, Alfonso was operating in a smaller kingdom, pressed by an aggressive enemy, but we may guess that his combined income from usual and extraordinary resources was at least half that of his progeny. For more fiscal details of the Kingdom of Castile during this period, see James Todesca, "What Touches All: Coinage and Monetary Policy in Leon-Castile to 1230." Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1996.

¹⁵³ Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 16.

therefore is a reliable source for this sort of information. Furthermore, the Spanish Church had a well-established history of honoring royal requests—a “subservient” financial relationship according to some historians.¹⁵⁴ During the reign of Fernando III, similar church grants were common.¹⁵⁵ However, the fact that there is no direct mention of this clerical levy in the writings of Archbishop Rodrigo, who must have been primarily responsible for organizing and collecting this contribution, requires further examination.

The Archbishop must have been personally responsible for any diversion of church funds into the war effort. Rodrigo was born in 1170, and it seems likely that his clerical education must have been underway by the inception of the Third Crusade in 1188, which marked the first major levy of clerical revenues for crusaders, the above mentioned Saladin tithe. He was in Paris during the preparations for the Fourth Crusade, when Innocent’s first major attempt at clerical taxation took place. During his education in Paris he may well have learned of the details of this fiscal innovation, and perhaps even the key role played by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, in the arrangement of financing for Richard III’s campaign to the Holy Land.¹⁵⁶

Given his central role in the preparation for the campaign, and his personal interest in the crusade, Rodrigo was in all likelihood willing to contribute serious resources during the crisis atmosphere which was pervasive in 1211-1212. As primate of Spain, at least in title, he was in as good a position as possible to collect the levy. However, Rodrigo’s primacy, and the domain of his archdiocese, was challenged

¹⁵⁴ Teofilo Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 142; Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 5.

¹⁵⁵ Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, 112.

¹⁵⁶ C.R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London: Nelson, 1967), 33.

repeatedly by other Episcopal centers, such as Braga and Pamplona, and not resolved prior to 1212.¹⁵⁷ Due to these jurisdictional concerns, the extent of Rodrigo's influence may have been limited to his own diocese, and those of his immediate suffragans, especially Ávila, Cuenca, Segovia, Osma, Palencia, Calahorra, Sigüenza and Burgos.¹⁵⁸ Yet even if the archbishop could only exercise direct control in these areas, he was already well on his way to building what would become one of the wealthiest dioceses in Western Europe.¹⁵⁹ In short, he was able to command considerable resources despite the primacy dispute.

Willing and able though he may have been, Rodrigo does not directly mention the donation of this great sum by his Church in his history of the campaign. We do get a description of the sorts of aid that the bishops offered to the “negocio fidei”, including material support.¹⁶⁰ Rodrigo did not typically include administrative and financial details in his history, and so it may have simply been a stylistic or thematic choice on the Archbishop's part to omit the details of the clerical levy, while still indicating the contributions took place. More pragmatically, Rodrigo likely viewed the levy of 1212 as an internal administrative decision of his Castilian Church. Though the Archbishop was certainly a supreme administrator, this was not a theme central to his historical writing. The *De Rebus Hispaniae*, was meant to be a record of the Castilian kings, as successors

¹⁵⁷ Mansilla, documents 445 and 455. See also Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, 276.

¹⁵⁸ See note 99. Rodrigo also lists most of them as participants in the campaign, *DRH*, Book VIII, ch. 3, 261.

¹⁵⁹ Pick, 22.

¹⁶⁰ “Fuerunt etiam ibi pontifices qui et se et sua, prout Deus dedit, in sumptibus et laboribus devote pro fidei negocio impenderunt, in sollicitudinibus vigils, in neccessitatibus largi, in exortationibus seduli, in periculis strenui, in laboribus pacientes.” *DRH*, Book VIII, ch. 3, 261.

to the Visigoths. The book focused on the virtues of the Kings of Spain, particularly those of Alfonso VIII, to whose grandson the work was dedicated.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, Rodrigo was also by this point well versed in hoarding resources for his own purposes, and may not have felt it wise to blue-print extravagant ecclesiastical taxes for future kings or popes to copy.¹⁶² In this light, one might describe the mysterious silence as a strictly tactical decision.

Pope Innocent's silence on this matter may be taken as tacit approval. He too was aware of the perceived danger of the coming Almohad attack, and was himself the greatest architect of Church financing for the crusades. However, as Innocent clearly believed that the papacy was the proper arbiter of such taxation, it is reasonable to suppose that he also wanted to avoid establishing a precedent for such lavish royal requisitions of Church wealth. It is certainly likely that if Innocent objected to such an exaction, he would have been quick to express his disapproval in writing, as he rarely shied from asserting his Church's rights strenuously. However, in his letters to Alfonso and the Spanish bishops in the period leading up to the campaign, Innocent was happy to give the king wide latitude and rely on his discretion. In fact, Innocent extended the indulgence not only to those going to fight in Spain, but also to those who offered material support.¹⁶³ Likewise, Alfonso also does not directly mention this ecclesiastical grant in his after-action report to Innocent, though it seems likely that this is what he is

¹⁶¹ *DRH* incipit, 4. See note 67 above

¹⁶² Lineham, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, 8 and 112.

¹⁶³ Mansilla, document 468, 497.

referring to when he explains that, “Though the cost for us and our kingdom was onerous and nearly unsupportable... God provided for us abundantly.”¹⁶⁴

Spiritual Intercession

Innocent introduced one of his most original innovations to the theology and practice of crusading, the *processio generalis*, during the Las Navas campaign as well.¹⁶⁵ In May, on the octave of the Pentecost (May 16, 1212) as the campaign in Spain was getting under way, Innocent held a massive day-long series of processions in the city of Rome. This ceremony was designed to intercede with God “so that he might be favorably inclined toward the Christian people in war, which it is said is about to commence between them and the Saracens in Spain, lest he give over his inheritance in reproach, so that the heathens dominate them.”¹⁶⁶ The processions were to involve the entire population of the city, both clerics and laity of the city, men and women. The people were to proceed from gathering points throughout the city to the Lateran, where a protracted mass and series of intercessionary prayers were conducted, centered on the relic of the True Cross. After the ceremonies, fasting and alms giving were prescribed.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ “licet expense essent (propter sui multitudinem) nobis et regno nostro fere importabiles et onorose... Deus ministravit nobis abunde.” González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, document 897, 566.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, 105-106 labels it the *supplicatio generalis*.

¹⁶⁶ “Quarta feria infra octavus Pentescosten fiat generalis processio virorum ac mulierum pro pace universalis ecclesie ac populi chrisitani, specialiter autem, ut Deus propitius sit illis in bello quod inter ipsos et sarracenos dicitur committendum, ne det hereditatem suam in opprobrium, ut dominantur eis nationes.” Mansilla, doc. 473, 503-504

¹⁶⁷ For a thorough discussion of the event, see Christoph Maier, “Mass, the Eucharist, and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade,” in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 351-360.

According to French chroniclers, at about the same time, “litanies and processions were held in France for the Christians who were about to fight in Spain”.¹⁶⁸

These rituals, designed to maximize the spiritual support for the crusaders, and to plead with God to favor their undertaking, were a perfect expression of Innocent’s vision of the crusade. With regards to purifying Christendom in order to win divine favor for the military goals of the crusade, such ceremonies were the proverbial icing on the cake, a last major effort to merit grace and support. Such activities were also the perfect way to make the crusade as inclusive as possible, and to turn the *negotium crucis* into a tool for individual salvation.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps most importantly, in 1212 at least, these efforts were apparently successful. The success insured that such ceremonies would be included in the official set of crusade practices, first expressed in the bull *Quia Maior* in 1213. In fact, Innocent ordered monthly processions to be held in preparation and support for the Fifth Crusade. The practice was continued by Honorius III and later popes throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁰

Conclusion

In October of 1212, Innocent received letters from Alfonso of Castile, describing in detail the campaign and victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, which had taken place a few weeks before. Overjoyed with the news, and with what he saw as a sure sign of God’s

¹⁶⁸ “Hoc bellum triumphale precessit 13 kalendas iunii dominica die tale signum, luna 15, quod ea die cum fierent letanies et preces in Francia pro christianis, qui pugnaturi ernat in Hispania”, Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, MGH. SS. 23, 894. See Gary Dickson, *The Children’s Crusade* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) for a discussion of these French processions, and their connection to the Children’s Crusade.

¹⁶⁹ Maier, “Mass, the Eucharist, and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade”, 356.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 354.

favor, he again assembled the people of Rome to read out the reports of the victory. All of his efforts to establish a pattern and model for successful crusading had paid off. His careful plans, the result of more than 14 years of work, had succeeded. For such an active and ardent crusader, Las Navas was the first unequivocal success he had achieved in this central focus of his papacy. It was, as his biographer John Moore described, it, the grandest day of his life.¹⁷¹

While the importance of f Las Navas de Tolosa to Innocent's career as a crusading pope has been frequently ignored, it was the fulcrum of his entire mission. All contemporary crusades loomed large at Las Navas: the Fourth Crusade, in that its failure haunted Innocent, yet in its success it contributed to his vision of the universal crusade, unbound from the Holy Land; the Albigensian Crusade, in that it was the backdrop against which French participation unfolded; and the Fifth Crusade, in that Innocent's full vision of the crusade as an institution of the Church was impossible without the crucible of 1212.

¹⁷¹ Moore, 203.

CHAPTER FOUR—THE *ULTRAMONTANOS*

“Charlemagne has devastated Spain, has seized its castles, ravaged its towns; the King now says his campaign is ended, and toward sweet France the Emperor rides out.”¹ So ends the semi-legendary Carolingian expedition to Spain in the *Song of Roland*. This epic, in one form or another, was certainly part of the aristocratic culture of early thirteenth century France, and reflected the long history of French military expeditions in Spain, which were especially frequent from the eleventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth.² Sung by troubadours, or read in monasteries and cathedral schools, the French adventures to the south of the Pyrenees formed, alongside the *chansons* of the crusades, the heroic literature with which the military elite of France were raised. In the *Song of Roland*, the Spain which Charlemagne’s heroes have ravaged is of course a land of pagan-Muslim caricatures, an opportunity for glorious exploits and a ripe field for plunder. No mention is made of the Christian kingdoms of Iberia, just the lands of a treacherous enemy who “serves Mohammed and invokes Apollo.”³

Of course it was primarily through the Christian kingdoms that the *ultramontanos* (a catch-all for outsiders in the Iberian Peninsula, most frequently applied to the people of

¹ Robert Harrison, trans. *The Song of Roland* (New York: Signet, 1970), verse 55, 73.

² For a discussion on the enigmatic nature of this poem, see Andrew Taylor, “Was There a Song of Roland?”, *Speculum* 76 (2001), 28-65.

³ Harrison, *The Song of Roland*, verse 1, 51. The image of Spain as entirely (or primarily) a Muslim country may not have been uncommon in twelfth century France. Raymond d’Aguilers used the term “*Hispaniam*” to refer to the Muslim-controlled countryside around Antioch in his chronicle of the First Crusade. See Raymond d’Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem* in *RHC Occ.*, vol. 3, 243-244. Derek Lomax, examining this and other similar instances in twelfth century crusade chronicles concluded that it was probably customary for Provençal crusader to refer to Muslim territory as “Spain” on account of the long tradition of campaigning in the Iberian Peninsula. See Derek Lomax, “Un Nuevo significado del topónimo *España*”, *Revista de Facultad de Geografía e Historia* 4 (1989), 309-315. Similarly, Maravall demonstrated that the term “Spain” was used both to refer to the entire Iberian Peninsula, as we as Al-Andalus (i.e. Muslim Spain) specifically. See José Antonio Maravall, *El Concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1964).

France and Provence⁴) had any contact with Spain. The long history of French and Provençal pilgrimage and settlement along the *Camino de Santiago*, the royal aristocratic marriages, the Castilian patronage of Cluny, the constant stream of northern (mostly French) clerics into Spanish monasteries and cathedrals, and the enduring cultural and political connections between Gascony and the Navarra or Cataluña and Provence, were all centuries old by the early 1200s, and need not be discussed here at length.⁵ The Gallic military adventures in Spain, frequent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, also typically unfolded as missions of assistance to the campaigns of the Christian monarchs of the Peninsula. The Norman Roger de Tosny campaigned in Cataluña at the request of the Countess of Barcelona around 1020.⁶ Robert Crispin (another Norman) and various other French soldiers aided in the siege of Barbastro in Aragón in 1064.⁷ In 1113, several French veterans of the First Crusade helped the Count of Barcelona seize the Balearic

⁴ The terms “France” and “Provence” can be tricky when trying to discuss the Middle Ages. Most of the thirteenth century sources use *Francia* to refer to the Kingdom of France, or perhaps all of northern Gaul. *Provincia* (which I am translating as Provence) refers to the whole south of France, from Gascony to Provence proper (on the east bank of the Rhône). More modern terms, like *Languedoc*, *le Midi*, and Occitania were not in use during our period. In general, I try to use the term France to refer to northern France, which was culturally and politically distinct from Provence, which I use to refer to southern France. I try to be more specific when I refer to the Capetian kingdom specifically, or to the county of Provence itself. Likewise, I try to distinguish between French people and Provençal people, though the perhaps vague term “French” creeps in, referring collectively to all people from modern France.

⁵ As Marcelin Defourneaux described it, “From the Basque country to Roussillon, the Pyrenees formed not so much a barrier as a zone of permanent contacts.” Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), 127.

⁶ Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris, 1897), 177-179.

⁷ The Barbastro campaign is the subject of the much debated “crusade before the crusades”, in which Pope Alexander II granted a remission of sins to someone (Italians?) heading to Spain for some purpose, at a date that may or may not correspond to the Barbastro campaign. The very ambiguous nature of this papal reference has led to much debate. Exponents for the “Barbastro was a crusade” side of the debate include José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, 49-52; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 24-27, and Paul Chevedden, “The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades”, *Der Islam* 83 (2006), 90-136. The clearest counter-argument comes from Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 73-78.

Islands.⁸ Similarly, Gaston IV of Béarn and several other veteran crusaders assisted in the siege of Zaragoza in 1118 and other campaigns of Alfonso I of Aragón.⁹ Northern European crusaders (though not primarily French) assisted in the conquest of Muslim territory in Spain during the Second and Third Crusades as well.¹⁰

Not all French expeditions were coordinated with the Christian kingdoms. In 1068, Count Ebles de Roucy was encouraged to carve out a territory for himself in Spain by Pope Gregory VII.¹¹ In 1086, Eudes of Burgundy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles (soon to be a leader of the First Crusade) attacked Tudela, theoretically in support of Alfonso VI of León, but without any apparent coordination.¹² A Norman adventurer nearly succeeded in creating an independent principality based in Tarragona in the 1130s, before being brought under the control of the Crown of Aragón.¹³ As late as 1154, King Louis VII of France was apparently considering an uninvited expedition to Spain, but was discouraged by the Pope.¹⁴ At least in the first half of the twelfth century, it was still possible for French adventurers to look on the Iberian Peninsula as an undifferentiated field of conquest rather than as neighboring Christian kingdoms.

By the era of Las Navas de Tolosa, this tradition of crusading in Spain insured that a large number of French and Northern European soldiers would answer the call to

⁸ Defourneaux, 155-156.

⁹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 37. Defourneaux, 157-161.

¹⁰ These campaigns were the siege of Lisbon (1147), the siege of Almería (1148), the siege of Tortosa (1148), and the siege of Silves (1189).

¹¹ Defourneaux, 138; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 27-28.

¹² Defourneaux, 143-144; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 30.

¹³ Lawrence J. McCrank, "Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest: Robert Burdet and the principality of Tarragona, 1129-1155", *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 67-82.

¹⁴ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 50.

arms and travel to Toledo in the spring of 1212.¹⁵ This chapter examines the experience of these foreign crusaders who participated in the campaign. As will be seen, their experience was quite different from that of the Spanish crusaders, as were their expectations. The *ultramontanos* arrived in Spain with a very distinct set of expectations for the campaign, which differed considerably from those of their Iberian fellow crusaders. The highly idealized mode of crusading which the French participants inherited, both from their own familial legacy, and from their cultural surroundings, clashed extensively with the realities of the Christian-Muslim frontier they found in Castile.

The effects and the disappointment of these expectations led to a number of disagreements and clashes, and ultimately the withdrawal of most of the French contingent from the campaign. Despite this, it was the Northern European participants in the campaign of 1212 who most closely fit the model of a crusader at the beginning of the thirteenth century. On account of the journey they made to join their Spanish counterparts in Toledo, they could accurately be called pilgrims, and were called so by Innocent III in his recruitment efforts.¹⁶ They were all volunteers, responding to the appeal for aid and to the associated spiritual benefits. They were recruited through the

¹⁵ The numbers listed in the contemporary sources all over very inflated figures which range from 40,000 to more than 100,000 foreign crusaders. García Fitz, 259, estimated the size of the Christian forces at the battle to be about 12,000. Rosado and Payer, *La Batalla de Las Navas de Tolosa* (Jaen: Caja Rural Jaen, 2001), 115, also mention a study which estimated that there is only space enough for 12,000 men on the *Mesa del Rey*, the sight of the Christian camp prior to the battle. Given that the *ultramontanos* constituted one-third of the army while on the march early in the campaign, it is safe to estimate there numbers at around 6000 total. Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 182-183, discusses similar numbers.

¹⁶ “pari quoque remissione gaudere concedimus peregrinos, qui propria devocione undecumque processerint ad idem opus fideliter exsequendum.” Mansilla, doc. 468 and 470, 497-501. The international crusaders were also called “peregrinis” by Berenguela in her letter to her sister Blanche, González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, doc. 898, 573.

preaching efforts launched by the papacy. It was this international participation that made the Las Navas campaign not simply an episode in a native Iberian reconquest, but a pivotal moment in the history of the crusade. It is their crusade experience which is explored here.

Diffusion and Propaganda: The Troubadours

Despite the literary image of Spain as an undifferentiated domain of Muslim enemies, the cultural contacts which connected the lands to the north and south of the Pyrenees were many in the era of Las Navas. The connections made by royal marriages alone are quite impressive. The most illustrious pairing was Alfonso VIII, married to Eleanor, the sixth child of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Their children were also married ambitiously: Berenguela, their eldest daughter was originally betrothed to Conrad, son of Frederick Barbarossa (though he died before the marriage was consummated). Blanca was married to Louis, the crown-prince of France in 1200 (later giving birth to Saint Louis IX). Castile was hardly the only kingdom to pursue foreign unions. Sancho VII of Navarra was briefly married to Constance, daughter of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. Sancho's sisters were married to Richard I of England and Thibault, count of Champagne. Pedro II of the Crown of Aragón was married to Marie of Montpellier. Pedro's sister Constanza was married to King Imre of Hungary, and later to the Emperor Frederick II. His sister Eleanor was the fifth wife Raymond VI of Toulouse,

and his youngest sister Sancha married Raymond VII of Toulouse (son of Raymond VI and his third wife).¹⁷

It was these connections of kinship which helped to create, if not a common aristocratic culture, a constant web of cultural ties between the Iberian Peninsula and France (and the rest of Europe). These ties meant that communication and movement amongst the nobility were frequent, through the vehicles of official messengers and letters, wandering courtiers and troubadours, and the peripatetic nature of courts and households.

The troubadours who made their livings travelling from court to court, entertaining and singing the praises of their patronage, are a perfect example of these aristocratic bonds during the early thirteenth century. As Alvira points out, as a source they are somewhat unique, in that “Troubadour compositions tend to be very cyclical, almost journalistic, and are very ideological, but are of special interest, in that they provide pictures of people and events of the moment with a wealth of nuances usually unheard of in the chronicles.”¹⁸ In the early years of the thirteenth century they frequently made their way back and forth between Christian Spain and France, often visiting the court of Alfonso VIII, who, along with his Plantagenet Queen Eleanor, was known as a great lover and patron of troubadours.¹⁹ The lyrics of their songs “do not necessarily provide factual information, but offer an expressive insight into the preoccupations of the

¹⁷ The marriage data comes from the excellent prosopographical tables of Charles Cawley’s “Medieval Lands” project at the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy. “Medieval Lands: A prosopography of medieval European noble and royal families,” last modified November 13, 2010. <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/index.htm>.

¹⁸ Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 25.

¹⁹ Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, “Catalan and Occitan troubadours at the Court of Alfonso VIII”, *La corónica* 32 (2004), 101-120. See also Michel Roquebert, *L’Épopée Cathare*, vol. 2 (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1977), 51-54.

knightly class”.²⁰ In the years immediately before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, those expressed preoccupations frequently turned toward the Muslim-Christian conflict in the Iberian Peninsula. Around 1193, the Provençal troubadour Peire Vidal visited the courts of Alfonso II of Aragón (the father of Pedro II), and Alfonso VIII. Commenting on the divisive politics of the era, he sang “I am ashamed of the kings of Spain, because they always want war amongst themselves.”²¹ Around the same time, he composed a longer verse, in which he lamented:

“It is very bad that the four kings of Spain do not want to have peace amongst themselves; despite being very brave, skilled, generous, courtly, and loyal; but they only need to decorate their shields and turn their wars to a new page, against the people who do not believe in our law, until Spain is of one faith.”²²

Vidal’s gentle scolding and moralizing demonstrates that the idea of Christian unity in the name of advancing the crusade, a cornerstone of Church policy as described above in chapter three, also permeated lay aristocratic culture. Other troubadours echoed the same sentiments. The Provençal troubadour (and crusader) Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, writing on the eve of the Fourth Crusade also looked forward to Spanish unity as a precondition to victorious crusading:

“Saint Nicolas of Bari, guide our troop, and the men of Champagne straighten their banner, and cry the Marquis “Monferrat and the lion!” and the Count of the Flemish “Flanders!” to give mighty blows and each to attack fiercely with sword and lance, so that soon we will have killed and routed all of the Turks, and recovered on the (battle) field the True Cross

²⁰ Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, xvi.

²¹ “Dels reis d’Espanha’m tenh a fais, quar tant volon guerra mest lor.” Carlos Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal* (Madrid: Cupsa Editorial, 1977), 89.

²² “Als quatre reis d’Espanh’esta mout mal, quar no volon aver patz entre lor; quar autramen son ilh de gran valor, adreit e franc e cortes e leyal, sol que d’aitan gensesson lur escuelh, que viresson lor guerr’en autre fuelh contra la gen que nostra lei no cre, tro qu’Espanha fos tota d’una fe.” Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos sobre España y Portugal* (Madrid: Cupsa Editorial, 1978), 241.

which we have lost; and that the kings of Spain form a great host to conquer the Moors.”²³

Such a sentiment reflected the legacy of the Second and Third Crusades, during which the Iberian Peninsula had become a second front in the larger military efforts of Christendom; moreover, there was an expectation that the crusades would continue to be fought in Spain as well as in the Holy Land.

Troubadours also played a role in the preparations and recruitment for the campaign during the winter of 1211-1212. Folquet (Fulk) of Marseille, the troubadour turned Cistercian and, (after 1205) bishop of Toulouse, actively preached and recruited for the Las Navas campaign, according to *Biographies des Troubadours*.²⁴ It is perhaps not at all surprising that his career in entertainment made him an ideal preacher. The brief biographical sketch indicates a friendship between Fulk and Alfonso VIII, though there is no evidence that he spent much time in Spain, either as a troubadour or as a cleric.²⁵

Active troubadours were also involved. The Provençal poet Gavaudan (whose name reflects his origin) wrote a crusade song, *Senhor, per los nostres peccatz*, which was almost certainly contemporary with the Las Navas campaign. It seems to have been composed as a recruitment tool for the coming crusade, perhaps one which was

²³ “Nostr’estol guit sains Nicholaus de Bar, e il campanes dreisson lor gonfanon, e il marques crit “Monferrat e il león!” e il coms famencs “Flandres!” als gran colps dar e fieira i qecs d’espaz’e lansa i fraigna, que leu aurem los turcs totz mortz e rotz e cobrarem en camp la vera crotz c’avem perduto; e il valen rei d’Espanna fassant grans ostz sobre ls maurs conquerer”. Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos*, 248.

²⁴ Jean Boutiere and A.H. Schutz, eds. *Biographies des Troubadours: Textes Provençaux des XIII et XIV Siècles* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1964), 482-484.

²⁵ Sánchez Jiménez, 105-106.

augmented after the battle's outcome was known.²⁶ Though the lyric provides no exact date of composition, it strongly reflects the tone of the recruitment program for Las Navas de Tolosa, especially the false "challenge of Miramamolin" concocted as part of the propaganda effort.²⁷ After opening "Lord, by our sins the strength of the Saracens grows: Jerusalem was taken by Saladin and has still not been recovered", Gavaudan continues "because (of our sins) the King of Morocco made known that he will fight against all of the Christian kings, with his perfidious Andalusians and Arabs, armed against all who keep the faith of Christ."²⁸ The language is strongly reminiscent of the "challenge", which was most frequently phrased as a promise "to fight against all who adore the cross." The troubadour continues with the theme a few lines later, singing "Those who have chosen (to fight) have such arrogance that they figure the whole world will submit to them... They boast, among other things, 'Franks, leave us some room! Toulouse and Provence are ours, and everything all the way up to Le Puy!'"²⁹ The song then transitions into something closely akin to a crusade sermon:

"Jesus Christ, who preached so that our end would be good shows us that this is the right course: as with penance, the sin which Adam left us will be forgiven, and He wants give us strength and certainty that, if we believe in

²⁶ The song is undated, and has been a matter of some debate. Carlos Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, 90-91, argued that a date of 1195, on the eve of the battle of Alarcos, was most likely, though his reasoning is shaky at best. Alvira, "Guerra e ideología", 180, note 53, argues for a 1211-1212 dating.

²⁷ See above, chapter 3.

²⁸ "Senhor, per los nostres peccatz creys la forsa dels sarrazis: Jherusalem pres Saladis et encaras non es cobratz; perque manda'l reys Marroc qu'ab totz los reys de crestias se combatara ab sos trefas andolozitz et arabitz contra la fe de Crist garnitz." Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos*, 92.

²⁹ "Tant an d'erguelh selhs qu'a triatz qu'els cujo'l mons lor siáclis; marroquenas, marabetis pauzon a mons, per mieg los pratz. Mest lor gabon: 'Franc, faiz nos loc! Nostr'es Proensa e Tolzas, entro al Puey totz lo mejas!'" Ibid, 92.

Him, he will place us with those in heaven, and he will be our guide
against false and vile felons.”³⁰

These lyrics display a particularly nuanced understanding of the nature of the crusade indulgence which, despite the simplistic (and typical) “*remissio peccatorum*” formula, was technically defined as a remission of penance.³¹ Moreover, the grandiose eschatological claim that the act of crusade will forgive “the sin left by Adam”, that is the original sin, lends the passage an apocalyptic flavor which meshes well with the general crisis atmosphere cultivated by the organizers of the crusade. This is, in short, a dramatic statement of holy war, especially when one considers that it comes from a troubadour’s song.

Given the clear statement of the spiritual benefits of the crusade, and the inclusion of the oft-repeated propaganda, it is fair to wonder what exactly Gavaudan’s role in the recruitment process was. Clearly the troubadours were willing to sing about the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Spain with little or no outside direction. It was, after all, an exciting topic, and a major interest of the French, Provençal, and of course Spanish nobles who patronized the travelling minstrels. *Senhor, per los nostres peccatz* does however have the feel of an evolving work, which was expanded as the campaign developed. The exhortations of the early lines give way to a discussion of expectations. The last lines of the song again refer to the recruitment process, but this time as though most of the work was complete, and crusaders were already beginning to gather:

³⁰ “Jhezus Cristo que’ns a prezicatz per que fos bona nostra fis, nos demostra qu’es dregz camis: qu’ab pendens’er perdonatz lo peccatz que d’Adam se moc, e vol nos far fermes e certas, si l crezem, qu’ab los sobiras nos metra, e sera’ns la guitz sobre’ls fals fellos descauzitz.” Ibid, 93.

³¹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 146.

“When you see the crusader barons, Germans, French, men of Cambrai, English, Bretons, Angevins, men of Béarn, Gascons, Provençals, mixed with us, all in one crowd, you can be sure that, with the Spanish, we will smash the invasion and cut the head and hands off of those killed and defeated. Then all the gold will be divided among us!”³²

The passage promises plunder as part of the incitement to join up, as well as certainty in victory. The mention of the material rewards, which the French participants certainly enjoyed during the campaign, alerts us again to the fact that crusaders were motivated by a variety of motives, not simply the spiritual privileges emphasized by the Church.³³ The song touches on a variety of reasons to participate: the needs of the Spanish, the defense of French territory itself, the spiritual benefits of the crusade, the promise of martial glory, and the potential for lucrative plunder.

The passage also suggests that the troubadour numbered himself among the crusaders. At least one other troubadour, Guilhem de Cabestanay, is mentioned in the sources as a participant in the campaign.³⁴ It is quite plausible that a number of Provençal troubadours attached themselves to the army, likely in the company of nobles who had taken the cross. If Gavaudan was himself an active participant in the crusade, then the semi-official tone which his song conveys might make more sense. He may have been in the retinue of one of the ecclesiastical lords who joined the campaign, or at least been in

³² “Quan veyran los baros crozaz: alamans, frances, cambrezis, engles, bretos et angevis, biarns, gascos, ab nos mesclatz, e’ls provensals, totz en un floc: saber podetz qu’ab los espas romprem la preysse’l cap e’ls mas, tro’ls ajam mortz totz e delitz; pueys er mest ns totz l’aur partiz.” Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos*, 93.

³³ Crusade scholarship has perhaps tended to ignore or minimize this aspect of crusading, especially since Jonathan Riley-Smith pointed out that participation in a crusade was likely to cost more than one could realistically hope to gain through plunder (see, for example, Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 19-21). While this was probably true of campaigns to the Holy Land, the journey to Spain was much shorter, and presumably less expensive, making the potential for monetary gain more realistic. Moreover, though profitable crusading may have been a difficult, even unrealistic goal, the glitter of gold has set more than a few men off on quixotic adventures.

³⁴ For Cabestanay, see Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos*, 108.

contact with clerics involved with the preaching program. His song ends with a further indication of his direct involvement. The last verse ends in what may have been a simple confident boast, but was probably material added after the outcome of the crusade was known, and the victory of Las Navas secured: “Gavaudan will be a prophet of what will happen and what he has said: Death to the dogs! And God will be honored and served where Mohammed was revered.”³⁵

Not all troubadour compositions were quite as martial or strident as *Senhor, per los nostres peccatz*. Guilhem Adémar (also native to the Gavaudan area) penned a song about unrequited courtly love, a much more traditional topic, which also dates to the period of organization and recruitment for the Las Navas campaign. In the preparations for a campaign, Guilhem saw an opportunity:

“If King Alfonso, who the Muslims fear, and the best Count in Christendom raise an army—since they have not yet set out—in the name of God, they would perform a great service against the pagan Saracen traitors, provided that one of them takes with him the lord, her husband, who keeps her shut away.”³⁶

This jocular aside demonstrates some interesting points, despite its character. First, it suggests that there was some expectation in the weeks and months before the crusade that Raymond VI, the Count of Toulouse, might join the crusade. Raymond was a vassal of Pedro II of Aragón, and as such might be expected to join the campaign. Moreover, Raymond was under sentence of excommunication from the Church due to suspicion that

³⁵ “Profeta sera’N Gavaudas, que’l digz er faitz. E mortz als cas! E Dieus er honratz e servitz on Bafometz era grazitz.” Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos*, 93.

³⁶ “Si’l reis N’Amfos, cui dopton li Masmut, E’l mieller coms de la crestiantat mandavon ost, puois be’n son remasut, E nom de Dieu, farion gran bontat, sobre’ls pagans sarrazins traitors, ab que l’us d’els menes ensemas ab se marit seignor qi’nclau e ser’e te;” Kurt Almqvist, *Poésies du Troubadour Guilhem Adémar* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab, 1951), 27.

he was protecting heretics from the Albigensian crusaders then ravaging Provence. Fighting in Spain likely seemed to be an obvious way for him to improve his reputation and standing with the papacy. Unfortunately, the war in southern France intensified during 1211, and by the autumn Simon de Monfort had directed the crusade against Toulouse itself.³⁷ Under such pressure, Count Raymond was unable to become a crusader himself. Nonetheless, the lyric demonstrates that there were widespread expectations of a major expedition to Spain in 1212.

Guilhem Adhemár's song (as well as the rest) also shows that the French and Provençal aristocracy readily accepted the rightness and benefits of the Spanish crusade. Even when celebrating the distinctly non-pious goal of cuckolding a local lord, the troubadour's song embraced the campaign as a great service to God, and a righteous blow against the "pagan Saracen traitors". Similarly in *Senhor, per los nostres peccatz*, the crusade was certainly a heroic, honorable, and pious endeavor, aimed against the "vile felons", "perfidious Anadusians and Arabs", and "dogs". To judge from their entertainment, the aristocracy of France and Provence embraced crusading as their own natural and laudable occupation. The papacy's policy of portraying the crusade as a general defense of Christendom, in Spain as much as in Palestine, was seen as the special mission of the military elite. Several decades earlier, around the time of the Second Crusade, the troubadour Macabru, in his song *vers del lavador*, had harangued the French to accept crusading in Spain as spiritually the equal of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.³⁸

³⁷ For the narrative of this stage of the Albigensian Crusade, see *HA*, 129-171; *Tudela* 38-58.

³⁸ Ruth Harvery, "Macabru and the Spanish *Lavador*", *Forum of Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), 101-122.

At the time, when crusading was yet in its infancy, the idea of crusade in Spain was perhaps not as strong as the lure of Jerusalem. But by 1212, the *ultramontanos* had internalized holy war in the Iberian Peninsula. The lyrics of the troubadours, much like the sermons of bishops and monks, played a pivotal role in popularizing the mission and ideology of crusading.³⁹

Official Recruitment in France and Provence

The fact that the preparation and recruitment for international, primarily French crusaders, to join in the campaign of Las Navas found its way into two surviving troubadour lyrics indicates that the process was a wide-spread, significant project north of the Pyrenees. As discussed in chapter 3, the papacy commissioned the bishops of France as official crusade preachers, as reflected in Innocent's letter to the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans in northern France. Gascon, Provençal, and other Gallic bishops were involved as well: Guillhem of Bordeaux, Geoffrey of Nantes, Arnald Amalric of Narbonne, and Folquet of Toulouse. Added to this were the diplomatic missions initiated by the Castilian court: Archbishop Rodrigo visited the Kingdom of France and perhaps part of Germany, and the King's physician, Arnald, visited Poitou and Gascony. We have no direct accounts of the details of their efforts, or of any recruitment programs or preaching, but the patterns of participation give some indication as to the outcome.

³⁹ Both Brenda Bolton and Colin Morris have discussed the similarity between the work of troubadours and the work of preachers. Bolton also pointed to the trend of troubadours retiring into the Cistercian Order. Brenda Bolton, "Fulk of Toulouse: the escape that failed", in *Studies in Church History* 12 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 83-93; Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 107-120.

The sources closest to the campaign are fairly vague about the identity and the composition of the international elements that turned up in Toledo during the spring of 1212. The *Annales Toledanos* simply mentions “*los dultra puertos*”, mentioning that Archbishop Rodrigo had visited both France and Germany on his recruitment tour.⁴⁰ In his letter to Pope Innocent III after the victory, Alfonso VIII similarly mentioned the great multitude of “*ultramontani*”, though he did identify some of them specifically: the Archbishops of Narbonne (Arnald Amalric, the papal legate), the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Nantes, and Thibaut de Blaison.⁴¹ Arnald Amalric, himself, in his letter to the Cistercian general chapter written immediately after the battle, gives some sense of the geographic origins of the French participants; as the author of the only first-hand report of the battle penned by an *ultramontano*, he was in the best position to do so. Arnald breaks the French participants into two basic groups: a western group headed by Archbishop Guillaume of Bordeaux and a Provençal group, of which he himself was the leader. This geographical grouping reflects the preaching and recruitment efforts made on behalf of the campaign. As was discussed in chapter three, the official recruitment effort promoted by the pope worked through the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and was accompanied by at least two diplomatic missions initiated by Castile: the king’s physician Arnald, visiting Poitou and Gascony, and Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, visiting Philip Augustus and the Kingdom of France. Rodrigo, in his account of the period, suggests that he was one of several messengers dispatched from Castile.⁴²

⁴⁰ *ATI*, 396.

⁴¹ Alfonso VIII’s Letter to Innocent III, González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, document 897, 567.

⁴² *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 1, 259. Three messengers are attested in the sources: In addition to Rodrigo and Master Arnald, the bishop-elect of Segovia was also dispatched to Rome in late 1211.

Something of the effects of these efforts can be discerned from the pattern of the response. The *Chronica Latina* reported Rodrigo's lack of success in France. This is perhaps not surprising; Philip Augustus was fully immersed in his decades-long struggle to assert control over his kingdom, and was wary to commit himself to any undertakings which might detract from his careful strategic maneuvering.⁴³ Moreover, the crusading energies of the north were thoroughly engaged by the ongoing war in the south (the Albigensian Crusade). As recently as the late summer and autumn of 1211, preaching missions had been undertaken by Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, Jaques de Vitry, and William the Archdeacon of Paris.⁴⁴ Many northern prelates responded, and spent the summer of 1212 in the service of Simon de Monfort.⁴⁵ Even Rodrigo's connections to the Paris region, where he had been a student a decade earlier, were not sufficient to generate much support for the Las Navas campaign from northern France.⁴⁶ Though some volunteers from the region may have participated in the campaign, no major contingents did so.

The second Castilian embassy to Gascony and Poitou, by the king's physician Master Arnald, bore more fruit. Arnald was a native of Gascony, and may have come into Castilian service through Queen Eleanor's familial connections with her mother's Duchy of Aquitaine.⁴⁷ Alfonso VIII had pursued her claims in the region after Philip

⁴³ On the strategic position of the French crown in this period, see John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 197-206.

⁴⁴ Peter de les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade* (henceforth *HA*), translated by W.A. and M.D. Sibly (Rochester, 1998), 142-142.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁶ On Rodrigo's education in Paris, see Javier Gorrosterrazu, *Don Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, Gran Estadista, Escritor y Prelado* (Pamplona, 1925), 25-32.

⁴⁷ Alvira, "Guerra e ideología", 180, mentions he was a Gascon.

Augustus began seizing the Plantagenet possessions from John in 1202.⁴⁸ The Castilian king made forays into Gascony in 1205 and 1206, but made little headway.⁴⁹ Despite the lack of success, there were direct ties between the Castilian court and the southern and western regions of France, and so Master Arnald's mission was perhaps less difficult than that of the Archbishop Rodrigo. He evidently met with considerably more success, as the majority of the *ultramontanos* hailed from regions which he visited. Arnald Amalric specifically mentioned contingents of crusaders from Poitou, Anjou, Brittany, Limoges, Périgueux, Saintes, and Bordeaux.⁵⁰ All of these regions had been Plantagenet possessions, and were still not wholly under the control of the King of France in 1212. To the north of the Loire, these lands were largely in Philip's hands, especially Brittany, where the heiress of the ill-fated Duke Arthur was a child being raised in the King's court.⁵¹ To the south of the Loire, the former Plantagenet vassals waited awkwardly for the outcome of the epic struggle, which would be decided two years later at Bouvines. But between 1206 and 1212, the Plantagenet-Capetian conflict remained at a low simmer. Moreover, the people of these regions exhibited great enthusiasm for crusading in those years, as contingents from each of these regions participated in the Albigensian Crusade on multiple occasions.⁵² Not surprisingly, the "*petite féodalité*" of the region were willing and able to take the cross and travel to Spain.⁵³

⁴⁸ Baldwin, 191.

⁴⁹ *CL*, ch. 17.

⁵⁰ Arnald, 251.

⁵¹ Baldwin, 198.

⁵² William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, translated by Janet Shirley (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1996), laisse 13,

17, etc.

⁵³ Defourneaux, 184.

While the diplomatic mission may have been in the hands of Alfonso VIII's physician, it is clear that the local bishops were responsible for raising and leading these contingents. Guillaume Amanieu, archbishop of Bordeaux, and Geoffrey, bishop of Nantes, were the ecclesiastical leaders of the western French crusaders. The "bellicose and energetic" Guillaume was archbishop of Bordeaux from 1207-1227.⁵⁴ He was a Plantagenet supporter, and so not affected by the reluctance of the King of France to join the campaign. More importantly, his domains were not embroiled in the Albigensian Crusade, though he himself had shown some enthusiasm for that cause, participating in 1209 and again in 1210.⁵⁵ He was an ally of Arnald Amalric, and may have followed the Legate's lead in joining the campaign. Similarly, Geoffrey of Nantes (bishop from 1199-1213) was not otherwise occupied by the political turmoil, north or south.⁵⁶ His Breton diocese was nominally within the realm of Philip Augustus, though Geoffrey and other supporters of the deceased Duke Arthur had not committed themselves fully to the new regime.⁵⁷ Geoffrey was described as a born orator, which made him a perfect instrument of for recruitment.⁵⁸

Recruitment was certainly not limited to the bishops. One of the few specific reports concerning crusaders recruited in these regions comes from the Benedictine

⁵⁴ Bernard Guillemaine, *Histoire des diocèses de France, nouvelle série, 2: Diocèse de Bordeaux* (Paris: Ed. Beauchesne, 1974), 21. For a longer biographical sketch of Guillaume Amanieu, see J. Fisquet, *La France Pontificale, métropole de Bordeaux* (Paris, 1864), 139-143.

⁵⁵ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 17 and 56. The Archbishop of Bordeaux would also take part in the Council of Lavaur in January of 1213.

⁵⁶ For a biographical sketch of Bishop Geoffrey, see Barthélemy Hauréau, *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1854), cols. 818-819.

⁵⁷ Baldwin, 198.

⁵⁸ Hauréau, col. 818.

Abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges.⁵⁹ The chronicler Bernard Itier reports on the threat of the Almohad invasion, in terms reflective of the propaganda of the recruitment process.⁶⁰ In response, “more than 400 men of the Castle of Limoges, and four of our monks, went to the Spains against the Saracens” where they “captured Calatrava and Salvaterra and three other (castles)”.⁶¹ Bernard Itier, a monk and monastery librarian, was careful to note that the crusaders came from the “*castro Lemovicensi*”, the fortified part of the city surrounding the Abbey of Saint-Martial, as opposed to the rival ecclesiastical burg.⁶² Whether all the crusaders came from the Abbey’s city and none from the bishop’s burg is impossible to know. Nevertheless, the chronicler felt compelled to claim his city’s contribution to the campaign, and to assert the leadership role of the monks of Saint-Martial. While this is likely an example of using the prestige of the crusade as propaganda in a local rivalry, for our purposes it demonstrates that the recruitment of forces in the Limoges region (and likely elsewhere) extended beyond the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities.

There must also have been some sort of concentrated recruitment in Provence proper. Arnald Amalric reported that he travelled to Toledo “with a company of well armed and adorned knights and infantry from the dioceses of Lyon, Vienne, and

⁵⁹ Bernard Itier, *Chronicon*, RHGF XVIII, 229-230.

⁶⁰ Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 265.

⁶¹ “Plusquam CCCC homines de castro Lemovicensi pergunt ad Hispanias, et quatuor ex monachis nostris, contra Sarracenos, et alii quatuor... Post festum Sancti Martialis pergit exercitus Hispaniae ad obsidionem Sibiliae et ceperunt Calatrava et Salvaterra et tres alias.” Bernard Itier, 230.

⁶² For a general discussion of “*la ville dédoublée de Limoges*”, see Claude Andrault-Schmitt, “Les heures de gloire de l’abbaye médiévale”, in *Saint-Martial de Limoges: Ambition politique et production culturelle (Xe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. Claude Andrault-Schmitt (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2005), 13-22. On Bernard Itier, see *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. Henri Duples-Agier (Paris: 1874), x-xlviii; J.L. Lemaitre, “Le combat pour Dieu et les Croisades dans les notes de Bernard Itier, moine de Saint Martial de Limoges”, in *Militia Christi et Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII: Settimana Internazionale di Studi Medievali* (Milan: Università Catholica del Sacro Cuore, 1992), 729-751.

Valence”, all along the eastern bank of the Rhône.⁶³ These districts were nominally part of the Holy Roman Empire, but in effect were largely independent. The cities were nominally ruled by their bishops, who were frequently at odds with the local nobility. The southern parts of the region were in the orbit of Toulouse and Barcelona. Both Raymond VI of Toulouse, as Marquis of Provence, and Pedro II of Aragon, as protector of his young nephew Ramon Berenguer V (the Count of Provence), were the region’s overlords. In essence, this effectively insulated the region from the larger political struggles surrounding the French and German thrones. The region had been a fertile ground for recruitment in the early stages of the Albigensian Crusade, but had so far avoided the severe disruptions of that conflict.⁶⁴ Recruitment in this region may have been the work of local ecclesiastical authorities, though a visit by one or more of the crusade leaders was certainly possible. While Arnald Amalric’s spring season was largely occupied with his election and confirmation as Archbishop of Narbonne (March 1212), he may have had occasion to promote the Spanish crusade in the Provence region. It is also quite possible that Archbishop Rodrigo (or another of the Spanish emissaries) passed through the region on his way back from northern France, as the Rhône valley was a convenient north-south travel route.⁶⁵ Regional ties to Cataluña also suggest that news of the coming campaign would fall on receptive ears, no matter who was ultimately

⁶³ “Nos quoque cum comitatu militum et peditum satis honesto et bene armato de Lugdunensi et Viennensi et Valentinensi diocesibus tertio die martis post octavum Pentecostes, videlicet nonas junii, Toletum venimus”.

⁶⁴ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 13, 17. After 1212 this region became a theater in the Albigensian Crusade, especially after Adhémar de Poitiers, count of the Valentinois, actively sided with Raymond VI after 1213. See *HA*, 221.

⁶⁵ For contemporary examples of the use of the Rhône valley for north-south travel are frequent in the history of the Albigensian Crusade. The initial campaign of that conflict, in 1209, traveled toward Provence from northern France by this route, as did Louis VIII, in 1215 (then prince) and 1226.

responsible for recruitment. In any event, support from this region was possible because, like many other regions of France, it was at the periphery of the events which kept the magnates of the north (and of the Toulouse region) from participating.

One fact which does emerge from the recruitment within France for the Las Navas campaign is the close connection between the recruitment for the Albigensian Crusade and the Spanish crusade of 1212. Most of the attested French contingents came from regions which also produced many crusaders eager to battle heretics in southern France. Many veterans of the Albigensian conflict participated in the Las Navas campaign. Much of the preaching and recruitment for both conflicts was carried out by the same men, for example Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, Archbishop Guillaume of Bordeaux, and the legate and Archbishop Arnald Amalric. As one would expect, these men used proven techniques and ideas to attract crusaders to go to Spain. For crusade preachers, reflecting papal policy (theology), there was little difference between the two campaigns; the enemies of Christendom had to be confronted by the faithful, the specific details being simple matters of logistics. It is very likely that, in their recruiting efforts, they conflated the struggle against heresy and the confrontation with the Almohads. Contemporary writings are suffused with the notion that the Cathar heretics, their supporters, and the Almohads were in league together, an idea which likely evolved from the propaganda used in recruitment.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ For example, the legates of the Albigensian Crusade accused Raymond of Toulouse, among other things, of inviting the King of Morocco to attack Christendom, *PL* 216, 836-839. The charge is essentially an outgrowth “Miramamolín’s challenge”, the fictitious threatening letter supposedly issued by the Almohad Caliph before the campaign, and used as a tool of propaganda in the recruitment effort. On this, see chapter 3. This charge was repeated by many of the Cistercian historians recording the events; see chapter 6. See also Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 255.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of the connected recruitment process was the extension of the “forty days” term of service, characteristic of the Albigensian Crusade from 1210, to the *ultramontanos* participants in the Las Navas campaign.⁶⁷ This temporal framework was an ad hoc innovation of Albigensian Crusade legates, adopted from the terms of summertime military service typical of most feudal relations. Providentially this timeframe corresponded in length to Christ’s foray in the wilderness, and subsequently, Lent. By tying the crusade indulgence to a specific and easily attainable temporal goal, the legates insured themselves a steady flow of crusaders in this open-ended conflict. Unfortunately it also led to frequent turnover and the inconvenient departure of soldiers, often in the middle of campaigns and sieges.⁶⁸ This phenomenon was repeated during the Las Navas campaign, as will be discussed below. In any case, the expansion of this unique aspect of the Albigensian Crusade to the Spanish crusade clearly illustrates the degree to which the two conflicts were interrelated, at least for the crusaders from France and Provence.

Who Went: The identifiable *ultramontanos*

The number of French and Provençal crusaders who participated in the Las Navas campaign is predictably inflated in most of the contemporary sources. Alfonso VIII reported to the Pope that there were a “great multitude of knights from the transmontane

⁶⁷ On the forty days of service see Laurence W. Marvin, “Thirty-Nine Days and a Wake-Up: The Impact of the Indulgence and Forty Days Service on the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218”, *The Historian* 65 (Fall 2002): 75-94.

⁶⁸ See, for example, the withdrawal of crusaders from the siege of Penne d’Agenais during the summer of 1212, *HA*, 158.

regions”, numbering some 2000 knights, 10,000 mounted servants, and 50,000 footmen.⁶⁹ Archbishop Rodrigo reported 10,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry.⁷⁰ The *Chronica Latina* listed “nearly 1000 noble knights” and 60,000 infantry.⁷¹ Such exaggerated numbers were meant to convey a sense of the magnitude and impressive nature of the numbers involved, not offer a precise count.⁷²

Among this magnitude of foreign crusaders, a few individuals were singled-out and identified specifically. Most of the sources identify the papal legate and Archbishop of Narbonne, Arnald Amalric, as the most important of the *ultramontanos*. Arnald, of course, was not in fact a foreigner, but rather a native of Cataluña.⁷³ Nothing is known of his life before he appears as prior of the Cistercian monastery of Poblet, near Tarragona, in 1192.⁷⁴ He quickly rose through the Cistercian leadership, becoming abbot of Grandselve (near Toulouse) in 1196, and then abbot of Cîteaux itself in 1200. He was one of the first legates charged with confronting the problem of heresy in southern France, and William of Tudela assigned him the principle role in launching the Albigensian Crusade in 1208.⁷⁵ He was, alongside Simon de Monfort, the crusade’s most important leader. His rumored order at the siege of Béziers to “kill all of them, for God will know who are his”, while likely a literary invention, remains one of the most

⁶⁹ Alfonso VIII’s Letter to Innocent III, 567.

⁷⁰ *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 3, 263.

⁷¹ *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

⁷² Garcia Fitz, 220.

⁷³ The *Chronica Latina* identifies him as “archiepiscopo Narbonensi, qui oriundus fuerat de Catalonia.” *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

⁷⁴ Most of this biographic sketch of Arnald Amalric relies on Martín Alvira Cabrer, “El Venerable Arnaldo Amalarico”.

⁷⁵ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 6, 14-15.

enduring images of the war against heresy.⁷⁶ Arnald certainly prospered personally from the campaign: in March 1212 he became Archbishop and Duke of Narbonne, brushing aside (respectively) the accused heretic supporters Berenguer (uncle of King Pedro II) and Raymond VII of Toulouse.⁷⁷ By the time he departed for Toledo in May of 1212, he was certainly one of the most powerful clerics in Christendom, with an impressive crusading track-record. Arnald would survive until 1225, and was probably in his mid to late fifties at time of Las Navas.

Similarly Guillaume Amanieu, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was a veteran cleric, elected to his see in 1207. He survived to 1227, and was probably also in his fifties in 1212. He had been an active participant in the Albigensian Crusades, having been part of a short-lived campaign in the western parts of Toulouse in 1209, as well as the siege of Termes in the fall of 1210.⁷⁸ He, along with the much more anonymous Geoffrey, Bishop of Nantes, was the leader of the crusaders from Gascony and Poitou.

Beyond these ecclesiastical magnates, the bulk of the French crusaders were from the lesser nobility, simple knights, and non-noble pilgrims. Though most are anonymous, handfuls are identified specifically in the sources. Alfonso VIII singles out a single French knight in his report of the battle to Innocent III: Thibaut (Tibaldo) de Blazon. Despite being counted among the *ultramontanos*, Alfonso labels him as “one of our men by birth”.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, he was identified as leading a contingent of knights from Poitou. Similarly Archbishop Rodrigo described him as “of Spanish birth and Castilian

⁷⁶ “Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius.” The quote comes from the Cistercian writer Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 302.

⁷⁷ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, 102.

⁷⁸ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 13, 17; laisse 56, 36.

⁷⁹ “Tibaldo de Blazon, qui naturalis noster erat”. Alfonso VIII’s letter to Pope Innocent III, 568.

descent”, but of Poitou.⁸⁰ The *Chronica Latina* offers more details about Thibaut’s family background, noting that he was the son of the Castilian magnate Pedro Rodríguez de Guzmán.⁸¹ According to the *Cronica de Castilla*, Thibaut was in the Castilian company on the battlefield of Las Navas with two other members of the Guzmán family, Nuño and Guillem Perez, presumably his brothers.⁸² How the son of a Castilian magnate became a Poitevin noble is unclear, though he was indeed Lord of Mirabeau, near Angers.⁸³ The family connections must have been somewhat extensive, since Thibaut is also described as the nephew of Maurice de Blazon, bishop of Poitiers.⁸⁴ He was an enthusiastic crusader: after his participation in the Las Navas campaign, he served in the Albigenian Crusade in 1218, where he took part in the siege of Toulouse.⁸⁵ At Toulouse he served under Amaury of Craon, and appeared with him again in the service of Philip Augustus in 1220.⁸⁶ He was also present at the coronation of Louis IX in 1226.⁸⁷ Thibaut died in 1229, leaving his wife Valentina and his homonymous son Thibaut, who was then serving as the Seneschal of Poitou.⁸⁸ The younger Thibaut de Blazon was also a famous troubadour. Despite his deep connections to Poitou, Thibaut’s conduct at the battle of

⁸⁰ “Remansit etiam de partibus Pictavie Theobaldus de Blazon, homo nobilis et strenuus et natione Hispanus et genere Castellanus.” *DRH*, book VIII, ch. VI, 266.

⁸¹ *CL*, ch. 22, 58. Pedro Rodríguez de Guzmán was killed fighting for Alfonso VIII at the battle of Alarcos in 1195, *CL*, ch.13, 46.

⁸² *Traducccion Gallega de la Cronica General y de la Cronica de Castilla* (henceforth *CC*), edited by Ramon Lorenzo (Orense, 1975), 747.

⁸³ Leopold Delisle, “Chroniques des baillis et les sénéchaux royaux, depuis les origins jusqu’à l’avènement de Philippe de Valois”, *RHGF* XXIV-1, 188; Terence Newcombe, ed. *Les Poésies de Thibaut de Blaison* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1978), 11.

⁸⁴ Denis de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1720), col. 1182.

⁸⁵ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, laisse 200, 160.

⁸⁶ Leopold Delisle, ed. *Catalogue des Actes de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1856), doc. 2017, 521-522.

⁸⁷ Alexandre Teulet, ed. *Layettes de Trésor de Chartes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Henri Plon, 1866), doc. 1827, 102.

⁸⁸ Valentina is named as Thibaut’s widow in a charter of December 1229, *Layettes de Trésor de Chartes*, vol. 2, doc. 2027, 166-167. Thibaut’s son is often confused with his father. On this, see Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 202; Delisle, “Chroniques des baillis et les sénéchaux royaux, depuis les origins jusqu’à l’avènement de Philippe de Valois”, *RHGF* XXIV-1, 188.

Las Navas de Tolosa was noteworthy in the eyes of his contemporaries. Archbishop Rodrigo described him as a noble and powerful man.⁸⁹ Princess Berenguela, in her letter to her sister Blanche (wife of Louis VIII), noted that he “faithfully served our father and fought vigorously in the conflict.”⁹⁰

While Thibaut of Blazon was the only nobleman (aside from the aforementioned bishops) named in the sources closest (in time) to the battle, others appear in some of the recensions of the great historical chronicles prepared at the court of Alfonso X and his successors in the later part of the thirteenth century. While this certainly marks the beginning of a process whereby, in the retelling, the list of participants in the victory would eventually come to include ancestors of every significant family in Spain, some of the individuals mentioned can be identified as likely participants (who have generally been accepted by historians).⁹¹ Both the *Crónica de Castilla* and the so-called *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* list several of the *ultramontanos* by name, though the non-standard orthography of the vernacular makes many of them difficult to identify.⁹² Nonetheless, at least three of the men listed can be identified with enough precision to further examine their lives and careers: Raymond III, viscount of Turenne, Centulle I, count of Astarac, and Sancho III, viscount of La Barthe.

⁸⁹ See note 80.

⁹⁰ “Licet omnes Francigenae reverse fuerint, Theobaldus tamen de Blazon non est reversus, sed fideliter servivit patri nostro et viriliter militavit in conflictu.” Berenguela’s letter to Blanche, 255.

⁹¹ Generally the aforementioned bishops, along with Thibaut de Blazon, Raymond of Turenne, and Centulle d’Astarac are listed as the known French participants. See, for example Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 6 (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1874), 383; X. De Cardillac, “Los frances y los españoles en la batalla de las Navas de Tolosa”, *Nuestro Tiempo XIII* (1913), 38.

⁹² CC, 738-739 and 746-748; *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, edited by Cesar Hernández Alonso et al. (Burgos, 1991), 282 and 284-285. Martín Alvira Cabrer made a valiant effort to identify all of the *ultramontanos* listed in the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* in Martín Alvira Cabrer, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1798.

Raymond of Turenne (~1165~1219)⁹³ was perhaps a prototypical crusader of the early thirteenth century. His family was one of those that “had become predisposed to react positively to an appeal of this sort (i.e. the crusade)”, in the words of Jonathan Riley-Smith.⁹⁴ His great-great grandfather, Boson I, had died while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1091.⁹⁵ His great-grandfather, Raymond I, went on crusade in 1095, in the company of Raymond IV of Toulouse. His father, Raymond II, died during the siege of Acre in 1191. The young Raymond III was with his father on the Third Crusade. The new count found it possible to pursue his family vocation on a number of occasions. His domain, in the Limousine region, placed him firmly in the group of crusaders from western France who, because of their liminal position with regards to the Plantagenet-Capetian contest, were able to remain unencumbered by the dynastic politics of the day. Raymond and his family in fact had a reputation for wise diplomacy so as to remain in the good graces of both sides.⁹⁶

Raymond III certainly exhibited this quality in his own career. In 1209, he joined the opening stages Albigensian Crusade, as part of a short lived expedition in western Toulouse and Gascony.⁹⁷ He was, according to William of Tudela, “very active in raising this force”, which also included the Archbishop of Bordeaux. In 1211, he briefly

⁹³ His birth and death dates are difficult to determine. His father, Raymond II was definitely born in 1143, four months after the death of his own father in battle; see *Chronicon Gaufredi Vosiensis*, RHGF XII, 436. Raymond III was old enough to accompany his father to Jerusalem on the Third Crusade in 1190. His son, Raymond IV was lord of Turenne by 1219.

⁹⁴ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 189.

⁹⁵ The family’s crusade history is recounted by A. Leclerc “Les Limousins Aux Croisades”, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* XLVII (1899), 74-89. See also Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 3-4.

⁹⁶ Maurice Léo d’Armagnac del Cer, comte de Puymège, *La Vicomté de Turenne: Un état indépendant au cœur de l’ancienne France* (Paris: La Vieille France, 1975), 20-21.

⁹⁷ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, 17-18.

submitted to Simon de Monfort, before shifting his allegiance to Pedro II of Aragón.⁹⁸ In December of that year he did homage to Pedro for the lordship of Séverac.⁹⁹ This new relationship almost certainly led to Raymond's presence at Las Navas de Tolosa. We may assume that he was among the French knights who stayed for the entire campaign, as the King of Aragón rewarded his service, granting him lordship over the castle and villages of Pals in February of 1213.¹⁰⁰ After Muret, the strategic situation shifted, and Raymond did as well, paying homage to Simon de Monfort again in June of 1214, this time for the lands of his dispossessed brother-in-law, Bernard de Cazenac.¹⁰¹ Raymond III died sometime shortly thereafter, but passed on his expanded realm, and his family's crusading tradition, to his son Raymond IV, who joined the Fifth Crusade in 1219.¹⁰²

Centulle, count of Astarac, which lies to the south of Turenne in Gascony, had a similar family history. His great-great-grandfather, Sanche d'Astarac, and his great-grandfather, Bernard d'Astarac, were apparently veterans of the First Crusade, based on a donation they made to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Hospital of Jerusalem in the very early twelfth century.¹⁰³ His grandfather, Bohemond, made a donation to the monastery of Berdoues "at the time that I took up the cross for the journey to Jerusalem", in 1175, where apparently he died.¹⁰⁴ Bohemond had only daughters, and Centulle (1190-1243) was the child of Beatrix and Rodrigo Ximenez, who briefly held the title

⁹⁸ Roquebert, 110-111.

⁹⁹ Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1222, 1290-1291.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, docs. 1461 and 1462, 1492-1494.

¹⁰¹ *HA*, 238.

¹⁰² James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 239.

¹⁰³ Joseph Delaville de Roulx, *Trois Chartes du XIIe Siècle Concernant L'Ordre de S. Juan de Jérusalem* (Genoa: Institut Royal des Sourds-Muets, 1881), 5-6.

¹⁰⁴ "tempore illo quo crucem ad pergendum Jerosolimam suscepi". L'Abbe Cazauran, ed. *Cartulaire de Berdoues* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1905), doc. 267, 187-188.

Count of Astarac until his own death in 1191.¹⁰⁵ Centulle was under the tutelage of Bernard IV, count of Comminges and Bigorre until around 1210, when he took up his title.¹⁰⁶ Centulle married Petronilla, the daughter of Bernard IV and Marie de Montpellier, further cementing the relationship.¹⁰⁷

Described as the “chivalric hero of the family of Astarac”, it did not take the young count long to begin seeking adventure.¹⁰⁸ The combination of his Spanish parentage (though his father died when he was an infant), and his family legacy of crusading probably led the young Centulle to volunteer for the campaign of 1212. He was certainly not inclined to support the Albigensian Crusade, as his patron, Bernard IV of Comminges was a staunch ally of Raymond VI of Toulouse and Pedro II of Aragón.¹⁰⁹ At the battle of Las Navas itself he fought in the ranks of the Aragonese forces.¹¹⁰

After Las Navas, Centulle continued his adherence to the Count of Comminges, Raymond VI of Toulouse, and Pedro II of Aragón, fighting with them at the battle of Muret in 1213.¹¹¹ Even after this defeat, he continued to resist the Albigensian Crusade. In 1219, described as “a young and valorous count, skillful and daring” by the continuator of William of Tudela’s *Song of the Cathar Wars*, he defended the castle of Marmande, and narrowly escaped execution when the castle was taken.¹¹² Presumably

¹⁰⁵ Jean de Jaurgain, *La Vasconie*, vol.1 (Pau, 1898), 167-168.

¹⁰⁶ Jaurgain, 169.

¹⁰⁷ *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 30.

¹⁰⁸ J. Cénac-Moncaut, *Les Comtés d’Astarac et de Pardiac* (Nîmes: C. Lacour, 1994), 12

¹⁰⁹ Bernard IV fought against the crusaders at the battle of Castelnaudry in 1211. In 1213, in order to avoid the mounting pressure from Simon de Monfort, he placed himself under the protection of Pedro II. For this treaty, see Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1451, 1486-1487

¹¹⁰ *CVR*, 285; *CC*, 748.

¹¹¹ Alvira, *Muret 1213*, 284.

¹¹² *Song of the Cathar Wars*, 181-189; *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 64-65.

exhausted by the ongoing fiasco of the Albigensian Crusade, he left Gascony in 1220 to join the Fifth Crusade.¹¹³

Centulle was joined at Las Navas by his brother-in-law Sancho III, viscount of La Barthe, whose domain lay to the south of Astarac, along the northern slopes of the Pyrenees. Sancho was also closely attached to the household of Bernard de Comminges, and married his other daughter by Marie de Montpellier, Mathilde.¹¹⁴ The La Barthe family was also engaged with the Crown of Aragón and the Kingdom of Navarra. Sancho himself was a vassal of Pedro of Aragón, who granted him possession of the castle and town of Biesla in October 1211.¹¹⁵ One of Sancho's relatives, Aspáreg, served as bishop of Pamplona (1212-1215) and Archbishop of Tarragona (1215-1231), and was a close advisor to Jaime I of Aragón.¹¹⁶ Sancho appears alongside his relative Centulle in the Spanish chronicles, fighting in the Aragonese ranks.¹¹⁷

A neighbor and relation of Sancho de La Barthe, Arsieu II, lord of Montesquiou, also participated in the campaign. Arsieu's lordship, Montesquiou, was within the territory of the counts of Astarac, and so he was probably Centulle's vassal. He too came from a crusading lineage: his father, Raymond-Aimery II of Montesquiou, alongside his maternal uncle Gerard de La Barthe, archbishop of Auch, followed Richard I to Palestine

¹¹³ *Cartulaire de Berdoues*, doc. 716, 488.

¹¹⁴ *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 30. For a genealogy of the La Barthe family, see Jaurgain, 401-411.

¹¹⁵ Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1201, 1267-1268.

¹¹⁶ Damian Smith suggested that Aspáreg was Sancho's uncle, and that the bishop's relation to Jaime I of Aragón came through Sancho's marriage to his half-sister Mathilde. Damian Smith and Helena Buffery, trans. And eds., *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 26.

¹¹⁷ *CVR*, 285; *CC*, 748.

in 1190.¹¹⁸ In the spring of 1212, Arsieu approached the Cistercian monastery of Berdoues, mortgaging much of his property for 160 *solidi*, at the time when “for the love of God he went to Spain to the fight against the Saracens”.¹¹⁹ Aimery survived the campaign (he died sometime after 1246), but little else is known about his participation. He was likely to have been part of the retinue of Sancho de La Barthe and Centulle d’Astarac.

A knight from the same region, Peyrissas, in the territory of Count Bernard de Comminges, also travelled to Spain to take part in the campaign of 1212. Arnald-Guillaume de Peyrissas, along with his brother Raymond Bernard, made a donation of pasturage to the monastery of Berdoues, sometime in the spring of 1212. At the same time, Arnald-Guillaume settled some outstanding accounts with the monastery “for the love of God and of the Holy Cross, which he had assumed for the journey to the Spains to battle the Saracens for the name of Christ”.¹²⁰ He too was presumably in the retinue of Sancho de la Barca and Centulle d’Astarac.

Our final biographical vignette belongs to an *ultramontano* crusader who cannot properly be considered a participant in the battle of Las Navas. Leopold VI, Duke of Austria. Leopold, like many of the aforementioned participants, was an active warrior with a rich family history of participation in the crusades. His great-great grandmother,

¹¹⁸ For Raymond-Aimery II on crusade, see *Cartulaires du chapitre de l’église métropolitaine Sainte-Marie d’Auch*, vol. 1, doc. CXIII, 128-132. For Gerard de La Barthe, see Jaurgain, 405. For the genealogy of the Montesquiou family, see Beranrd Chérin, *Généalogie de la maison de Montesquiou-Fezensac* (Paris: impr. de Valade, 1784).

¹¹⁹ “Sciendum est quod Arsivus de Montequiu dictus filius Raymundi Aimerici de Montequiu illo tempore quo pro amore Dei ad Ispanias ad expugnandos Sarracenos ivit”. *Cartulaire de Berdoues*, doc. 112, 86-87.

¹²⁰ “Et est sciendum quod predictus Arnaldus Gillelmus ipsa hora in manu fratris Arnaldi Despeiris subprioris amore Dei et Sancte Crucis quam iturus Ispanias ad debellandum pro Xristi nomine Sarracenos assumpserat, absolvit et dedit...” *Cartulaire de Berdoues*, doc. 331, 225-226.

Ida, wife of Margrave Leopold III (died 1095) accompanied a German contingent which tried to travel overland to Palestine in 1101. The army was destroyed by Turks in Asia Minor, and Ida was apparently captured, never to be seen again.¹²¹ His great uncle, Otto, bishop of Freising, participated in the Second Crusade.¹²² His own father, Duke Leopold V, participated in the siege of Acre in 1191, where he began his famous conflict with Richard I, which would lead to the later's imprisonment in Austria.¹²³ His brother and immediate predecessor, Frederick I of Austria, died on the short-lived German crusade of 1197-1198.¹²⁴

Leopold VI did his best to live up to this prodigious crusading legacy. In 1208, he was in correspondence with Innocent III about opportunities for crusading. The Pope wrote to Leopold, praising him for his intentions: "This intention is a very devout one, and a celestial inspiration to you, because in taking the cross you intend to repay in your turn Christ".¹²⁵ The Duke of Austria did his best to live up to this lofty charge. For a few years, Leopold was a crusader without a cause, but the year 1212 saw him make for southern Europe to fulfill his crusade vows.¹²⁶ Unfortunately, he arrived too late for the battle. Archbishop Rodrigo reports that "Compelled by necessity, we returned to

¹²¹ The campaign is recorded in Albert of Aachen, *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, Tome IV (Paris, 1879), book VIII, Cha XXXIV and XXXV, 579-581.

¹²² *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis*, *MGH SS IX*, 610. This attests to Otto of Freising's relations to the house of Austria. His participation in the Second Crusade is narrated in his own historical writings, the *Gesta Frederici Imperatoris* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1965).

¹²³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a Short History*, 118.

¹²⁴ *Continuatio Admontensis* (chronicle of the monastery of Admont), *MGH SS IX*, 588.

¹²⁵ "Vere pium est hoc propositum et tibi coelitus inspiratum. Intendis enim suscipiendo crucem reddere vicem Christo". *PL* 215, 1339. The *Continuatio Lambensis* (chronicle of the monastery of Lambach) records that Leopold took the cross in 1208, *MGH SS IX*, 557; so do the *Annales Gotwecenses*, *MGH SS IX*, 602.

¹²⁶ Each of the following chronicles records Leopold's journey to Spain: *Continuatio Lambensis*, 592; *Annales Gotwecenses*, 602; *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis Secunda* (chronicle of Klousterneuburg Monastery), *MGH SS IX*, 622; *Annales Coloniensis*, *MGH SS XVII*, 826; *Continuatio Admontensis*, 592.

Calatrava, where we came upon the Duke of Austria, from the German lands, who, with a large retinue, had come for the undertaking (the campaign). From there with the King of Aragón, who was his relative by marriage, he returned to Aragón.”¹²⁷ It is not clear how precisely Leopold was informed about the Spanish crusade, though it seems likely that his local monasteries seemed particularly well informed about the events.¹²⁸ It is also likely that it was through ecclesiastical channels that he chose to travel to Spain, though his family connections may have played a role too. In any event, he was clearly not satisfied with his unsuccessful crusade. The *Continuatio Admuntensis* reports that he joined the expedition in Spain “against the heretics”, which suggests that he may have also taken part in the Albigensian Crusade while he was in the region, though his participation is not recorded in any of the sources.¹²⁹ Regardless, he continued his career as a crusader in 1219, when he joined the Fifth Crusade.¹³⁰

All of the *ultramontano* crusaders described above more or less fit the mold of the typical thirteenth century crusader. They came from aristocratic families with a century of crusading traditions, of which they were clearly aware. They were also brimming with enthusiasm for the crusade. It is remarkable that nearly all of these men participated in multiple crusades. Despite the fact that the spiritual benefits from each crusade were essentially the same, it is clear that to those with the means, crusading was not just a

¹²⁷ “Et necessitate compulsi rediimus Calatravam ibique invenimus ducem Austrie de partibus Theutonie, qui satis in magno venerat apparatu. Indeque cum rege Aragonum, cui erat consanguinitate coniunctus, in Aragoniam reversus est.” *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 12, 276. Leopold VI was related to Pedro II through his mother, Ilona of Hungary, whose nephew King Imre of Hungary was married to Pedro’s sister Constanza.

¹²⁸ For example, the chronicle of the monastery of Lambach (*Continuatio Lambacensis*, 592) includes the most complete version of “Miramolin’s Challenge”; see chapter 3 of this work.

¹²⁹ “Et hoc postea quam de expeditione quam in Yspanias contra hereticos moverat, et a Kalatra redierat.” *Continuatio Admuntensis*, 592.

¹³⁰ *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis Secunda*, 622. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 233.

desirable goal, but a vocation. In this, men like Centulle d'Astarac and Leopold of Austria were internalizing Innocent III's transformation of the crusade into a central component of the lay religious experience. Clearly the Church's mission of redirecting the martial energies of the nobility into the service of Christendom was working.

But it is also true that these magnates were not representative of the majority of the French and other non-Iberian crusaders who partook in the campaign of 1212. Many thousands of *ultramontanos* made the journey to Toledo in the spring of that year, and the vast majority of them belonged to social ranks far below those of bishops and counts. Most of them did not have the aristocratic family and cultural ties which swept aside the barrier of the Pyrenees for men like Sancho de La Barthe or Raymond of Turenne. Many of them were perhaps similar in station to the Gascon knight, Arnald-Guillaume de Peyrissas; others were doubtlessly of more modest means. This mass of anonymous crusaders was responding to the preaching and recruitment campaigns which crisscrossed France in the winter of 1211-1212. They were true volunteers, not responding to direct ties of vassalage which spanned the mountains, but to the message of the crusade. Predictably, many of them were non-combatants, or at very least not well-equipped for a campaign of many months in a hot and unfamiliar land. Their experience on crusade was considerably different from that of the elites discussed above. It is to their story which we now turn.

The Ultramontanos in Toledo

Archbishop Rodrigo offers the best narration of the arrival of the *ultramonto* crusaders in Toledo during the spring of 1212:

The royal city began to fill with people, to overflow with supplies, to be marked with weapons, to become diverse with languages, to be marked by varied of cultures, for a variety of people from diverse nations were coming together from nearly all parts of Europe on account of the zeal for battle. Nor was there anyone who could allege a lack of anything, since that city itself provided abundance, and since the generous hand of the noble prince supplied to all all necessities. Some of those coming began to arrive in the month of February, and ever increasing in size, little by little the numbers of the crowd grew massive.¹³¹

The King assigned Rodrigo himself to manage the massive logistical operation of housing and supplying the growing horde of knights, soldiers, servants, and followers.

The Archbishop acknowledged that the chaos caused by such an assembly could lead to problems which “could impede the business of the war”, but he calmly recorded that peace reigned, “through the graces of God” (and his own “industriousness”).¹³²

Rodrigo’s religious subordinates did not experience the peace and calm which Rodrigo described. According to the *Annales Toledanos*, the “*ultra puertos* did a lot of harm in Toledo”.¹³³ Accommodating such a crowd was no easy feat. Rodrigo again described the problem, here verging from a happy gloss into providential and disappointed double-entendres:

¹³¹ “Et cepit urbs regia repleti populis, habundare necessariis, insignari armis, diversificari linguis, variari cultibus, nam zello belli ex omnibus fere Europe partibus ad eam diversarum nationum varietas concurrebat. Nec erat qui posset alicuius rei causari deffectum, cum et ipsa civitas sui habundancia occurreret et prodigia manus nobilis principis omnibus ad omnia neccessaria ministraret. Concursus autem veniencium a mense Febroario particularis incepit, et multiplicationis paulatim incrementa suscipiens per totum vernum tempus et amplius crevit turbarum multitudine copiosa.” *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 1, 259.

Rodrigo’s date of February is confirmed by the *Annales Toledanos*, which report that the crusaders began arriving around Quinquagesima Sunday, which would have fallen in the first week of February in 1212.

¹³² “Et quia diversarum nationum varietas dversitate morum, linguarum, et cultuum discrepabant, de voluntate principis in eadem urbe eiusdem urbis pontifex morabatur, ut dissidencium varietas per eius industriam sedaretur. Et sic factum est per omnipotentis Dei gratiam, qui solo nutu omnia disponebat, ut nulla seditio, nulla perturbatio exorta fuerit, que potuerit belli negocium impedire.” *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 1, 259.

¹³³ *AT I*, 396

And because the number of those who bore the stigmata of the Lord on their bodies grew, day by day, who could assuredly not be packed in the narrow streets of the city, the noble king, wishing to provide suitably for them, placed at their disposal the beautiful tree gardens outside the city around the river Tagus, which had been preserved for rest from the labors of royal majesty, so that under the bower of the trees injuries caused by heat might be avoided; there, having constructed tents out of the fruit-bearing trees, they remained at the royal expense, until the day they left for the war.¹³⁴

Rodrigo is of course talking about the massive *huerta del rey*, the pleasure gardens which lay below the palace of al-Mamun on Toledo's eastern slopes.¹³⁵ The unhappiness of an aristocrat recalling his privileged spaces defiled by the mob is palpable in the Archbishop's description. And perhaps well it should have been, because, according to the more prosaic city annalists, they "cut down all of the *huerta del Rey*".¹³⁶

The inconveniences of an army camping in one's park aside, Rodrigo's opaque comments about "devouring injuries" suggest that there may have been many more problems which he neglected to mention. The *Annales Toledanos* offer some fascinating details into just what sorts of mischief, aside from cutting down fruit trees that the foreign crusaders stirred up. Sometime after their arrival, the *ultra puertos* "killed many of the Jews, and the knights of Toledo armed themselves and defended the Jews."¹³⁷ No further details are given. The Jewish quarter took up a significant part of the southwest side of

¹³⁴ "Et quia die in diem crescebat numerus stigmata Domini in corpora suo portantium, ne intra urbis angustias atrarentur, rex nobilis volens eorum providere, extra urbem circa fluentia Tagi deliciosa viridaria, que ob regie gravitatis recreandam maiestatem coalita fuerant, eis exposuit ut sub umbraculis arborum estus iniurias evitarent; ibique ex fructiferis arboribus constructis tabernaculis usque in diem processus ad bellum in regiis sumptibus permanserunt." *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 1, 259-260. Presumably the trees were cut for firewood, because, as they say about springtime in Castile, *hasta el cuarenta de mayo, no te quites el sayo*.

¹³⁵ For a description of the palace, which was very much still standing in 1212, see *The Arts of Intimacy*, 53-56.

¹³⁶ *AT I*, 396.

¹³⁷ "los dultra puertos... vinieron à Toledo en día Cinquesma, e volvieron todo Toledo, e mataron de los Judios dellos muchos, e armaronse los Caballeros de Toledo, e defendieron à los Judios." *AT I*, 396.

the city, and was not really walled off as similar neighborhoods were in other places. Its narrow streets, mostly situated high above the Tajo, would have made for a chaotic setting for such violence. Though no precise date is given, it seems certain that this must have taken place around Easter.

Holy Week riots against Jewish communities had been commonplace in France and Provence from at least the eleventh century, and were an annual event in parts of Spain in the latter thirteenth century.¹³⁸ The events of 1212 are the only Holy Week riots mentioned in the *Annales Toledanos*.¹³⁹ David Nirenberg, in his study of the phenomenon, concluded that most of these riots involved essentially ritualistic violence. The perpetrators were usually youths and younger members of the clergy, often students, and usually resulted in very little actual damage or injury. Usually the authorities managed to discourage any serious escalations. These actions served to reinforce the relative positions of the Christian majority and the Jewish minority in a multi-confessional environment.¹⁴⁰

However, the events of Easter 1212 seem to have been something beyond the typically mild Holy Week riots. First of all, the chronicle clearly identifies the *ultramontanos* as the party committing the acts of violence. This marks the event as something other than a low intensity annual custom. It is entirely possible that the foreign crusaders were acting on imported customs, brought with them from France or elsewhere. There is little evidence that Holy Week riots were a regular occurrence in

¹³⁸ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 202-203.

¹³⁹ The *Annales* do, however, mention another instance of violence against Jews in the city in the year 1108. *ATI*, 386.

¹⁴⁰ Nirenberg, 200-230.

Toledo at that time. The author of the *Annales* clearly found the event unusual and noteworthy. It may also be that the crusaders were joining or emulating local customs, amplifying them above and beyond the normal levels of violence.¹⁴¹ Customary rioting may have been regular and predictable enough so as not to make it an event worth recording in the minds of the chroniclers, that is, until the unusual conditions of that year ratcheted up the scale of violence. In any case, the rioting was apparently homicidal in nature. Many of the city's Jews were killed, and it was necessary for the urban militia, especially the *caballeros villanos* to turn out and put a stop to the violence.¹⁴² While it was certainly normal for civil authorities to restrain the scope of Holy Week riots, in this particular case the prosaic words of the *Annales* seem to characterize the episode as a moment of unified civic action against unwelcomed visitors.

The entire episode, of course, is eerily reminiscent of the Rhineland massacres which preceded the First Crusade.¹⁴³ Not by chance, Peter the Hermit touched off at least some of these incidents with his crusade recruitment speech delivered on Easter Sunday, 1096, in Cologne.¹⁴⁴ In violently attacking the Jews, the crusaders were of course violating official Church teachings, which held that the Jews were not to be harmed. Following Augustine, most medieval Christian thinkers held that the Jews represented

¹⁴¹ Though there are no records of regular Holy Week riots at the time in Toledo, the possibility that they did in fact exist is distinct.

¹⁴² On the *caballeros villanos*, see Armand Arriaza, "The Castilian Bourgeoisie and the Caballeros Villanos in the Concejo before 1300: A Revisionist View", *The Hispanic American Review* 63 (1983), 517-536; James A. Powers, *A Society Organized For War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

¹⁴³ On these events, see Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*; Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews" *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984), 51-72.

¹⁴⁴ Chazan, 316, note 66.

living artifacts of the Old Law, awaiting conversion at the end of days.¹⁴⁵ Church officials usually made efforts to protect the Jewish population from such excesses. It was the bishops of the Rhineland cities that put forth the greatest effort to protect the Jewish communities in 1096. When preaching for the Second Crusade nearly led to a new round of massacres, Bernard of Clairvaux took steps to curb the violence, citing this very notion.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, though Archbishop Rodrigo evades the unpleasant subject in his account (doubtlessly so as not to sully the memory of his, and his hero-king's, greatest triumph), he clearly elucidates his role in keeping order in Toledo during the preparations for the crusade. Such an event did not take place without his input. However, tolerance and protection was by no means the only possible position for a Christian intellectual to take. Peter the Venerable, writing to Louis VII of France just prior to the Second Crusade asked:

What good is it to pursue and persecute the enemies of the Christian faith in far and distant lands if the Jews, vile blasphemers, and far worse than the Saracens, not far away from us but right in our midst, blaspheme, abuse, and trample on Christ and the Christian sacraments so freely and insolently and with impunity?¹⁴⁷

While Peter restrained himself from any actual calls for violence, it is clear that the atmosphere of holy war led people to ask whether Jews were, like Muslims, legitimate targets. Such leaps were not just the acts of the uneducated and warlike, but real grist for discussion. What is clear though is that an array of possible reactions to the presence of Jewish communities was possible, and that Church policy did not preclude debate on the

¹⁴⁵ On this idea, see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 233-244.

¹⁴⁷ Cohen, 247.

matter. Moreover, the tensions created by the invocation of Holy War against adherents of a different religion outside Christian society created a perfect atmosphere for a dangerous revisiting of the religious minorities within Christian society.¹⁴⁸

The various explanations deployed to explain the massacres of the First Crusade can also help explain what may have happened in 1212. Jonathan Riley-Smith tied the Rhineland massacres to the themes of vengeance which appeared in some of the crusading rhetoric, particularly that used by preachers. Muslim occupation of Jerusalem was cast as an injury to be avenged. When surrounded with the image and symbolism of the cross, so central to the entire crusade, many participants seized upon the common Eastern theme of Jewish guilt for the crucifixion. If vengeance could be sought for one sort of injury (the occupation of the Holy Land), then why not for another (deicide)?¹⁴⁹ A century later, themes of vengeance still pervaded crusade preaching. In his 1208 letter to Philip Augustus, requesting him to support the Albigensian Crusade, Innocent III relied on the same ideas:

Forward therefore soldiers of Christ, forward most Christian prince, let the cries of the holy universal church motivate your most religious heart, let them awaken you with pious zeal toward such an injury against your God, needing to be avenged... Strive to destroy the heretical treachery and its followers in whatever way God reveals to you, with confidence, since they are more evil than Saracens, with a strong hand and an arm stretched out to fight.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 150-151.

¹⁴⁹ Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews", 67-71.

¹⁵⁰ "Eia igitur, miles Christi, eia Christianissime princeps, moveat religiosissimum pectus tuum universalis Ecclesiae sanctae gemitus, succendat te ad tantam Dei tui vindicandam injuriam pius zelus... et quibuscunque modis revelaverit tibi Deus, haereticam tamen studeas perfidiam abolere, sectatores ipsius eo quam Saracenos securius quo peiores sunt illis, in manu forti et extento brachio impugnando." *PL* 215, 1359.

Though the records from the preparation for the Las Navas campaign generally dwell on defense rather than revenge, it is clear that notions of avenging injuries against God were common currency in those years. French crusaders arriving in Spain, familiar with the rhetoric surrounding the Albigensian Crusade, may well have jumped to the same sorts of conclusions that their predecessors in the Rhineland had.

Other possible explanations for the Rhineland massacres also help shed light on the unfortunate events in Toledo. The entire episode has been portrayed as a moment of apocalyptic exuberance, when the millennial tensions which ran through much of medieval life suddenly boiled over into action.¹⁵¹ The combination of certain portentous ideas and events in the preaching and preparation for the First Crusade helped create an atmosphere in which certain people could embrace the immediacy of the end-times, and act upon their understanding of what should happen (in this case the pre-Apocalyptic conversion or slaughter of the Jews).

Apocalypticism surrounding the crusade had, of course, not disappeared in the ensuing century. If anything, eschatological anxiety was perhaps greater in the wake of the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and the inevitable end to the triumphant narrative which the success of the First Crusaders had engendered. The year 1212 was also the year of the so-called Children's Crusade, one of the most apocalyptically-charged episodes of the era. Even the Las Navas campaign, though cast as an essentially defensive action against an immediate threat, was tinged with eschatological feeling. The propagandistic rhetoric

¹⁵¹ Matthew Gabrielle, "Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade," in *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Routledge, 2006), 61-82, makes a compelling case for this interpretation.

of “Miramamolín’s challenge”, with its suggestion that the Almohad army was prepared to overrun not just Spain, but the whole of Christendom, cast the entire campaign as an existential crisis. By thus amplifying the stakes, the entire campaign could be seen as, at best, a pivotal episode in the arc of Christian history, or at worst, the imminent arrival of the end of the world.¹⁵² But, while there are many examples of an allegorical, eschatological interpretation of the battle, there is scant evidence that anyone involved believed that the Apocalypse was upon them.¹⁵³ So if apocalyptic fears (or excitement) helped to motivate the actions of the *ultramontanos*, such feelings were not recorded by the more sober-minded chroniclers of the battle.

If there were in fact two different, perhaps opposed ways to channel the apocalyptic energy surrounding the crusade, then perhaps Robert Chazan’s explanation of the events surrounding the Rhineland massacres is also useful. Chazan suggested that the crusaders who relocated the crusade, at least temporarily, from the Muslims in the east to the Jews in their midst, were in fact asserting power and control over the direction and narrative of the campaign.¹⁵⁴ It seems likely that the crusaders who partook in the massacres were largely those people who took the cross as a result of the work of Peter the Hermit and other itinerant preachers, rather than those who joined the Crusade as part

¹⁵² André Vauchez has noted the difference between allegorical eschatology (of the Church) and immediate Apocalypticism (popular). André Vauchez, “Les Composantes Eschatologiques de l’Idée de Croisade,” in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la Croisade: Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23–25 Juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du conseil régional d’Auvergne* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1997), 233–43.

¹⁵³ See chapter two of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁴ Chazan, 169.

of the official recruitment efforts of the papacy.¹⁵⁵ While it would be inaccurate to portray the perpetrators as poor, rabble, or entirely part of the “Peasant’s Crusade”, as has been done in the past, they were still not members of the baronial armies which Urban and his planners had in mind.¹⁵⁶ At any rate, it seems clear that the crusade quickly grew into a popular movement far beyond the scope of what the Pope originally intended or expected. The crusade struck an apocalyptic chord among the people of northern Europe. To those who embraced this vision, the crusade quickly took on a cosmic importance which was far too great to be contained within the boundaries of the papal mission. The apocalyptic narrative offered a variety of ways for those not necessarily at the center of official events to nonetheless assert their vision and leadership.¹⁵⁷ In fact, the apocalyptic importance of events made it critical that the crusade be directed, or re-directed, along what must have been considered divinely ordained paths, and towards all necessary targets, in this case, the Jews.

This sort of scenario works well to explain the events in Toledo. The crusaders who arrived in Toledo in early spring were not the organized contingents under the leadership of the lay and ecclesiastical lords who arrived in May. In fact, Archbishop Rodrigo’s narrative, tempered by that of the *Annales Toledanos*, suggests that the early

¹⁵⁵ Both Chazan, 55 and Riley-Smith, “The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews”, 55-56 suggest as much.

¹⁵⁶ On the papal recruitment of particular noblemen to organize the army, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 106-109.

¹⁵⁷ Gabrielle pursues this idea further, maintaining that the Count Emicho, the leader of the crusaders responsible for the worst of the actions, was making use of messianic apocalypticism and the “Last Emperor” legend to assert his leadership.

arrivals were poorly equipped and difficult to control.¹⁵⁸ While some of them may have been knights and lesser lords, many were also men of modest means who fought as foot soldiers. Rodrigo also reports that a number of “women, young children, cripples, and others unfit for war” were present.¹⁵⁹ These crusaders, not part of a feudal retinue, were mostly volunteers, probably generated by the preaching campaigns of the previous winter.¹⁶⁰ As such, their zeal for the crusade was probably very high, as were their apocalyptic expectations. Moreover, they came from a cultural environment which was deeply shot through with crusade enthusiasm. Crusading had been the heritage of the French, north and south, for more than a century. It suffused their stories and songs. Their heroes were crusaders, and even their ancient kings, like Charlemagne, were recast in such a light.¹⁶¹ Frequently the exploits of these heroes spent their time laying waste to everything south of the Pyrenees.

When these *ultramontanos* arrived in Toledo, they must have felt that all of the stories were true. Toledo in the early thirteenth century was still culturally an Arabic city. The Mozarabs, who made up the bulk of the population, spoke Arabic as their first language, on the streets, in the markets, in church, on their signs, everywhere.¹⁶² There

¹⁵⁸ The lack of supplies, horses, and even food for the campaign is a recurring theme in both the *CL*, ch. 21, 56-58 and *DRH*, especially book VIII, ch. 4, 262-264.

¹⁵⁹ “mulieres, paruuli, debiles, et ceteri ad bellum inepti”. *DRH* VIII, ch. 4, 263.

¹⁶⁰ This entire issue highlights the important difference between planned recruitment of crusade contingents, and preaching in order to generate volunteers. On the tension between preaching and recruitment, see Christopher Tyerman, *Inventing the Crusades*, 67-69.

¹⁶¹ The best example, of course, is the aforementioned Song of Roland. Similarly, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, produced in Santiago de Compostela in the middle of the twelfth century by a French religious. It includes the *Historia Turpini*, a fictionalized account of Charlemagne’s exploits in Spain, essentially casting him as the Christian savior of an entirely Islamic Iberia, much like the Song of Roland itself. See Purkis, 139-167.

¹⁶² Julio González, *Re poblacion de Castilla la Nueva* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1975), vol. 2, 70-73.

was a sizeable Jewish minority, also culturally very Arabic, not to mention the small but present Muslim population. The city's cathedral was still housed in a former mosque. Islamic décor and architecture predominated. Even their most illustrious Christian hosts wore Muslim garb.¹⁶³ Many of the French crusaders must have been surprised, even shocked at the marvelous and exotic city at which they had arrived, and wondered if they had mistakenly crossed the Christian-Muslim frontier on their journey south. Others must have suspected that the frontier was the mountains, and that, just as in Roland's adventures, all of Spain was a foreign, dangerous land of adventure and war. If on top of this they were also inflamed with a bit of apocalyptic zeal, then it may not be at all surprising that they were inspired to begin their crusading a little early. Moreover, by taking a decisive step, like attacking the city's Jews, the *ultramontanos* were asserting their vision of the campaign, taking the lead in directing the crusade as they believed it should unfold.

Regardless of the precise combination of events which touched off the attack on Toledo's Jews, the entire episode seems to have been resolved quickly. Despite the fact that there must have been some hard feelings when Christian knights restrained the marauding crusaders, the affair did not lead to any widespread defections, departures, or disagreements in the crusading host. Volunteers continued to pour into the city, and Archbishop Rodrigo and King Alfonso continued to exert the utmost efforts to accommodate them. Most of the *ultramontanos*, including the bishops, with a much

¹⁶³ For a lengthier discussion of Toledo in the early thirteenth century, see chapter 2.

better sense of timing, arrived on the octave of the Pentecost, which was the date set by Alfonso VIII for the beginning of the campaign.¹⁶⁴

The *ultramontanos* on campaign

The army tarried in Toledo for several more days, waiting for the arrival of late-comers, and seeing to the massive logistical operation. In particular, the lack of draft animals on the part of the Poitevin crusaders was cited as a problem which delayed the departure.¹⁶⁵ Arnald Amalric captured the impatience of the crusaders: “Since the army had already been encamped in Toledo for more than four weeks and already weary of delay, burned with desire to begin the march against the Saracen peoples”.¹⁶⁶ The army finally decamped, moving in three columns (the Castilians, the Aragonese, and the *ultramontanos*) around the 18th of June.¹⁶⁷

The *ultramontano* force was guided by Diego Lopez de Haro, one of Alfonso VIII’s closest advisors.¹⁶⁸ The army spread out, presumably so as not to over-crowd the roads or over-tax water sources. The *ultramontanos* followed an easterly route that took them to the castle of Malagón, a northern Almohad outpost, on June 24.¹⁶⁹ They besieged

¹⁶⁴ *CL*, ch. 20, 56. Arnald also reports in his letter to the Cistercian General Chapter that the *ultramontanos* arrived “ubi debebant, in octavi die Pentecostes”. He himself arrived in early June (nonas junii). Letter of Arnald Amalric to the Cistercian General Chapter, RHGF XIX, 251.

¹⁶⁵ *CL*, ch. 21, 58.

¹⁶⁶ “Cumque residentiam ultra quatuor hebdomadas fecisset exercitus iam Toleti, et iam fatigatus ex mora desiderio arripiendi iam iter contra Sarracenas nationes aestuaret”. Letter of Arnald Amalric to the Cistercian General Chapter, RHGF XIX, 251.

¹⁶⁷ Arnald dates the departure to the 20th, Rodrigo says “XII kalendas Iulii”, which would be the 19th.

¹⁶⁸ *DRH* bk. VIII, ch. 5, 264.

¹⁶⁹ Letter of Arnald Amalric to the Cistercian General Chapter, RHGF XIX, 251. *DRH* bk. VIII, ch. 5, 264. Alvira mapped the approximate routes of the armies, “Guerra e ideología”, 599

the castle, and in a brief and violent siege, the crusaders took the outer walls and surrounded the keep. The siege continued overnight and at some point the garrison attempted to negotiate surrender. According to Arnald Amalric, the castellan offered to surrender, on the condition that the garrison be taken prisoner, not killed, but “this did not satisfy our men.”¹⁷⁰ Instead, the life of the castellan and his two sons were spared, and “the rest were at the mercy of the crusaders. Therefore all who were found there were killed, except for a very few”.¹⁷¹

Among the contemporary accounts, only Arnald Amalric, who was present, gives a detailed account of the siege of Malagón. Most other sources do not discuss the massacre of the surrendered garrison. Alfonso VIII, in his letter to Innocent III, glosses over the violent episode, saying simply that upon arriving at the castle, the *ultramontanos* “attacking in mass took it, with God’s help”.¹⁷² Later, Archbishop Rodrigo had a chance to reflect on the episode, and took it as a sign of God’s favor for the campaign:

The *ultramontani* established their camp beside *Daralferciam*, and proceeded to besiege the fortress of Malagón, and divine grace having created a good sign, although those who were in the fort sufficiently and bravely defended themselves, the eagerness of the *ultramontani*, which burned strenuously, desiring to die in the name of Christ, reduced the resistance and the fortifications in the name of the Lord, and captured Malagón, all who were within having been killed.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ “Tractatum ergo est de redditione castri ipsius; Mauri siquidem volebant seipsos redder sub conditione tali, ut semper essent captive; sed non placuit istud nostris.” Arnald, 251.

¹⁷¹ “Acceptum est ergo castrum, quod, servata illi vita habebat in custodia sua castrum cum suis duobus filiis, caeteri essent in voluntate peregrinorum. Interfecti sunt ergo omnes qui ibi inventi sunt praeter paucos.” Ibid, 251.

¹⁷² “Venientes ad turrim quamdam, que Malagon nuncupatur, satis munitam, ultramontani antequam nos pervenerunt per unum diem, et illam cum Dei auxilio impugnantes in continenti ceperunt.” Alfonso VIII’s letter to Innocent III, 567-568.

¹⁷³ “ultramontani vero iuxta Daralferciam castra fixerunt, et exinde procedentes obsederunt presidium Malachonis, et signum in bonum divina gracia faciente, licet qui erant in arce satis viriliter se defenderent, instancia tamen ultramontorum, que magna strenuitate fervebat, pro Christi nomine mori desiderans

The *Chronica Latina*, striking a mildly critical note, observed that the French crusaders captured the castle, “cutting down whoever they found there for no purpose.”¹⁷⁴ Even Lucas of Tuy, whose account of the campaign is considerably more abbreviated, takes time to mention that the crusaders captured Malagón, “cutting down all of the people of the town by the sword.”¹⁷⁵

It is clear that the event was deemed noteworthy, perhaps even unfortunate, by the Spanish observers. The slaughter of surrendered prisoners was certainly outside the normal conventions of war. Generally speaking, negotiated surrenders were honored, even in crusade warfare.¹⁷⁶ Such was certainly the case in the Iberian Peninsula, where less than a year before the massacre at Malagón, the Almohads had allowed the Knights of Calatrava to retreat after surrendering the castle of Salvatierra.¹⁷⁷ In fact, such events were exceedingly rare in the history of Christian-Muslim warfare in Spain. In August of 1064, the city of Barbastro surrendered to a Christian army of French, Norman, Italian, and Aragonese troops, on the condition that the inhabitants could leave unmolested. After agreeing to the treaty, the besieging forces massacred the surrendered population.¹⁷⁸ There was some wanton killing in the aftermath of the surrender of Lisbon in 1147, after many of the northern European crusaders objected to the safe-conduct the Portuguese

virtutem resistencium et munitionis presidium in nomine Domini minoravit cepitque Malachonem.” *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 5, 264.

¹⁷⁴ “concidentes in frustra quotquot ibi reperti sunt.” *CL*, ch. 22, 58. The grammatical construction “in frustra” is a little strange, and Joseph O’Callaghan and Georges Cirot, in their editions of the *CL* suggest that it should perhaps be read “concidentes in frusta”, meaning “cut to pieces”.

¹⁷⁵ “cunctis illius opidi gladio trucidantes.” *CM*, 329

¹⁷⁶ For a discussion on crusading and the conventions of war, see John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000-1300* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 226-229; Helen Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare in Europe, 300-1500* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 130.

¹⁷⁷ *CL*, ch. 19, 54.

¹⁷⁸ O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 26.

offered to the surrendering Muslim garrison.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, a fleet of northern crusaders, on their way to Palestine, massacred thousands of Muslims in the Algarve, despite attempts by Sancho I of Portugal to negotiate.¹⁸⁰ Such violence and disregard for the normal standards regarding sieges was clearly not unheard of. After all, the era of the crusades began with the spectacular massacre of the population of Jerusalem in 1099, an event widely seen as remarkable and unusual by contemporaries.¹⁸¹ But just like the events in Jerusalem, the unexpected violence of the siege of Malagón clearly struck the chroniclers of the campaign of 1212 as unusual.

From the perspective of the *ultramontanos*, however, the massacre was a normal, even strategically important part of the campaign. After all, this is how Charlemagne and Roland had conducted themselves in Spain, where Saracens, even those who had been captured, were slaughtered by the thousands.¹⁸² Many of the crusaders in Spain that summer were veterans of the Albigensian Crusade, including their leaders, the Archbishops Arnald Amalric and Guillaume Amenieu. Arnald had been in charge of the crusading host which had destroyed the city of Béziers, along with most of its inhabitants in the summer of 1209. This was, of course, the setting for the famous anecdote reported by Cistercian author Caesarius of Heisterbach, in which, responding to his crusaders' difficulty in discerning between good Christians and bad Christians, Arnald responded

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 44.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 58-59.

¹⁸¹ Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacres of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 15-75.

¹⁸² See, for example, *The Song of Roland*, verse 8, where the French celebrate the destruction of Cordoba, and the conversion or execution of all of the "pagans" within.

“Kill them, the Lord will know which ones are his.”¹⁸³ Though the story is probably far too dramatic to represent the reality of the situation, it nonetheless encapsulates the “homicidal ethic” of the Albigensian Crusade.¹⁸⁴ Dramatic quotes aside, the crusaders in southern France did indeed decide that, as a matter of policy, that resisting garrisons would be slaughtered as a tactic to terrify others into quick surrender.¹⁸⁵ Such violent tactics and atrocities came to characterize the entire Albigensian Crusade.¹⁸⁶ The crusaders, fighting a treacherous enemy (as the heretics were described), “became convinced that “chivalric” standards,” had no place” in a world “divided by religious, cultural and linguistic differences.”¹⁸⁷ In such an atmosphere, the slaughter of the prisoners at Malagón was perhaps no more surprising than the attack on the Jews of Toledo a few weeks before.

Following the action at Malagón, the columns under Alfonso VIII and Pedro II rejoined the *ultramontanos* around the 26th of June. It was apparently at this point that the first murmurs of discontent began to emerge from the French forces. Archbishop Rodrigo reported some minor supply issues, but they were apparently resolved. Nonetheless, Alfonso VIII, in his report of the campaign, identified logistical issues as the primary source of discord:

Though we provided them generously with all necessities, they (the *ultramontanos*), worrying about the hardship of the terrain, which was empty and somewhat hot, taking up the idea of turning back, wished to

¹⁸³ “*Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius.*” Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, (Cologne, Bonn, and Brussels: H. Lempertz et Com, 1851), vol 1., 302.

¹⁸⁴ Pegg, 77.

¹⁸⁵ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, 21.

¹⁸⁶ Malcolm Barber, “The Albigensian Crusades: Wars Like Any Other?”, in *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 45-55.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 54.

return home. Eventually, with great insistence from us and from the King of Aragón, they proceeded as far as Calatrava.¹⁸⁸

The united army besieged Calatrava between the 28th and 30th of June, quickly capturing the sections along the Guadiana.¹⁸⁹ However, noting that the siege could take some time, and that damaging the castle would make it difficult for the Knights of Calatrava (who were without a headquarters since the loss of the castle of Salvatierra the previous September) to occupy and hold it, Christians decided to accept the garrison's wishes to surrender. The entire garrison was allowed to leave, with their personal possessions and horses.¹⁹⁰

There are suggestions that there may have been some disagreement over the terms of surrender. In his letter to the Pope, Alfonso VIII states that he refused the garrison's initial offer to surrender, abandoning all of their equipment. At length, he suggests that he let the King of Aragón and the *ultramontanos* convince him of the utility of a quick end to the siege.¹⁹¹ Arnald Amalric, as discussed above, reports that the garrison left with their possessions and horses.¹⁹² Moreover, Alfonso's letter and the Archbishop's account both insist that the supplies left within the castle were handed over entirely to the Aragonese and *ultramontanos*, with the Castilians retaining nothing for themselves.¹⁹³ One

¹⁸⁸ "Licet autem nos eis in omnibus necessariis largissime provideremus, ipsi tamen attendentes laborem terre, quae deserta erat et aliquantulum calida, voluerunt accepto proposito retroire et ad propria remeare. Tandem, ad magnam instantiam nostrum et regis Aragonum, processerunt usque ad Calatravam". Alfonso VIII's letter to Innocent III, 568.

¹⁸⁹ Details of the siege are noted by Arnald, 251; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 264-265.

¹⁹⁰ Arnald gives the detail of the surrender in his letter.

¹⁹¹ Alfonso VIII's letter to Innocent III, 568.

¹⁹² Arnald, 251.

¹⁹³ Alfonso VIII, 568; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 265.

suspects that this emphasis placed on the Castilian generosity, combined with the unlikely scenario of the French crusaders recommending a peaceful resolution to the siege so soon after their sanguine affair at Malagón, were rhetorical devices deployed to mask some disagreement.

Indeed, it seems, such a disagreement occurred. The chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, writing at his Cistercian monastery in Champagne in the 1230s, reported that the negotiations for the surrender of Calatrava were not as above-board as Alfonso VIII suggested in his report to the Pope. According to Alberic,

With nightfall interrupting the fighting, the chief counselors of the Saracens came to the little king (Alfonso VIII) secretly asking that if he would leave them their lives, they would depart that night in their shirt-sleeves, unknown to the French. And they surrendered the castle to him, with all its furnishings, supplies, weapons, and treasures, which the king had granted them, and he set up his garrison in the castle. When the French learned of this the next day, the Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Bishop of Nantes went home in indignation.¹⁹⁴

Though somewhat removed from the events, this version of the story makes a great deal of sense, and explains the insistence on fairness and generosity made by the Castilians. It is also supported by an anecdote reported by one of the Muslim historians of the campaign, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, who gave voice to the indignant crusaders: “You brought us here solely that we could help you conquer your land, and now you prevent us from plundering and killing the Muslims. Because of this we will not

¹⁹⁴ “Nocte bellum dirimente venerunt primi de consilio Sarracenorum ad regem parvum occulte rogantes, ut vita eis concessa in camisiis ea nocte nescientibus Francis sineret eos abire. Et ipsi tradebant ei castrum cum omni sua suppellectile et victualibus et armis et thesauris, quod rex concessit; et in castro suos collocavit. Hoc cum die sequenti percepissent Franci, archiepiscopus Burdegalensis et episcopus Nannetensis indignati repatriaverunt”. Alberic de Trois-Fontaines consistently uses the nickname “rex parvus” for Alfonso VIII. Alberic explains that the name was given to him when he inherited the throne from his father, Sancho III, at the young age of three. The name apparently stuck with him. Alberic of de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica*, MGH SS 23, 895.

accompany you further.”¹⁹⁵ It is not at all surprising that the Muslim garrison, led by their castellan, Ibn Qâdis, might want to surrender to anyone other than the *ultramontanos*.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, Alfonso VIII had every reason to believe that the French crusaders might object to a negotiated surrender which left the garrison alive. After all, they had shown a distinct predilection for mayhem and slaughter. Furthermore, Alfonso’s stated reason for the negotiated end to the siege was a compelling argument: the Knights of Calatrava might have a hard time holding a fortress with breached walls and ransacked quarters. The castle was, after all, the pivotal defensive position for the entire meseta between Toledo and the Sierra Morena.¹⁹⁷ Arriving at a peaceful settlement was really the only option open to the Castilians.

The French Go Home

Shortly after the surrender of Calatrava, the majority of the *ultramontanos* abandoned the campaign and departed for home. Arnald Amalric estimated that 40,000 men departed, although he and a handful of men from Poitou and Vienne remained.¹⁹⁸ The afore-mentioned issues, from supplies, to the weather, to anger over the events at Calatrava, probably all contributed to their decision to leave. The *Chronica Latina* insisted that it was the summer heat which was the primary issue, though added that there

¹⁹⁵ ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, quoted in Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Estudio Sobre la Campaña de Las Navas de Tolosa* (Valencia, 1916), 122.

¹⁹⁶ The *Chronica Latina* and Rodrigo both give the name of the *alcaide* of Calatrava as Ibn Qâdis (“*Avencalem*” and “*Avenchaliz*” respectively). *CL*, ch. 22, 58; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 265. According to the Muslim historian Abū al-Hassan ‘Alī ibn Abī Zar‘ (*Raws al-qirtās*), al-Nasir had Ibn Qâdis executed immediately as an example to frighten his other Andalusian vassals. See Huici Miranda, 127-128.

¹⁹⁷ Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 203.

¹⁹⁸ Arnald, 251-252.

was some disappointment that, already two-weeks into the campaign, they had yet to encounter the Almohad forces.¹⁹⁹ Lucas of Tuy reports that the French were homesick and, “deciding amongst themselves that no one wanted to remain and no one expected there to be a battle, they returned home.”²⁰⁰ Rodrigo had the most providential explanation:

Because the Enemy of the human race never ceases to begrudge the actions of Christians, he released Satan into the midst of the army, heretofore marked by love, and twisted the hearts of rivals, and whoever had girded themselves for the struggle of faith turned their backs on the good purpose. Nearly all of the *ultramontanos* chose this option in common, so that, having abandoned the sign of the cross, and disregarded the labors of war, they chose to return home.²⁰¹

There can be no doubt that the weather in southern Iberia in July was hot. The terrain was perhaps difficult, but certainly not exceptionally so. The supply situation is difficult to gauge, but given the extreme difficulties of victualing a large force on the move, this may have been a problem.²⁰² It should be noted, however, that the Christian army remained on campaign for several more weeks without ever experiencing acute supply issues. It is clear that the Castilian sources felt it necessary to belabor the point that they were providing all the necessities, and dividing captured supplies generously. Of all the issues given in the proximate sources, the anger over end of the Calatrava siege

¹⁹⁹ *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

²⁰⁰ “Post hec Francorum populus cepit murmurare victus dulcore patrie sue, et statuentes inter se quod nullus remaneret nec futurum expectaret bellum, ad propria reverse sunt.” *CM*, 329.

²⁰¹ “Set quoniam humani generis inimicus non cessat christianis actibus invidere, misit Sathan in exercitum caritatis et corda emulancium conturbavit, et qui ad certamen fidei se accinxerant, retrorsum a bono proposito abierunt. Omnes enim fere ultramontani comuni proposito statuerunt ut relictis crucis signaculis, omissis etiam belli laboribus, ad propria remearent.” *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 265.

²⁰² Garcia Fitz, 241-265, discusses this issue at length.

seems to have been the proverbial last straw. The departure of the *ultramontanos* must have occurred on the 3rd or 4th of July, immediately after the surrender of the castle.

There are, of course, other possible explanations for the retreat of the *ultramontanos*. Garcia Fitz suggested that there were rumors circulating around the army that Alfonso VIII wished to turn the crusade against his cousin and perennial enemy, Alfonso IX of León.²⁰³ Such rumors must have existed, because they were repeated in a letter sent by Blanca, wife of Prince Louis of France (and daughter of Alfonso VIII) to her cousin Blanca, countess of Champagne.²⁰⁴ While this alone does not seem to be a sufficient explanation, it may well have been a contributory factor. Similarly, Damian Smith suggested that there may have been some confusion with regard to the objectives of the campaign. Given the focus on the capture of the castle of Salvatierra, a stronghold of the Knights of Calatrava, in the preaching and propaganda, Smith suggested that the crusaders may have felt their job complete with the capture of Calatrava. Cistercian preaching may have focused on assistance to their affiliated military order, and may have created this confusion.²⁰⁵ There certainly seems to have been some sort of uncertainty about the battle. Both the *Chronica Latina* and Alfonso VIII's letter to the Pope include an insistence that, despite doubts and delays, everyone still expected to meet the Almohads in battle.²⁰⁶ Nonetheless, given the insistent repetition of "Miramomolin's challenge" in the sources, it seems clear that there were great expectations of a clash with

²⁰³ Ibid, 223.

²⁰⁴ Letter of Blanca of Castilla to Blanca of Champagne, *RHGF* XIX, 255-256.

²⁰⁵ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, 111.

²⁰⁶ Alfonso VIII letter to Innocent III, 568; *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

the King of Morocco.²⁰⁷ Moreover, a handful of *ultramontanos* remained, demonstrating that there was some expectation of further action.

However, Smith may have been on to something when he described the French crusaders as “wishing to believe that their duty was more or less done with”.²⁰⁸ It is quite likely that the crusaders did indeed consider their obligations to the crusade discharged, but for temporal, not geographic reasons. As discussed above, the preachers for the Albigensian Crusade had developed a term of service of only forty days in order for volunteers to receive their indulgence. Given the close connections between the Albigensian Crusade and the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa, these terms may have been offered for the campaign in Spain as well. Officially, the campaign was set to begin on the Octave of the Pentecost, which fell on May 20th that year.²⁰⁹ The rumblings about an early departure began right after the siege of Malagón, around the 27th of June, about thirty-eight days after the beginning of the campaign. The *ultramontanos* were convinced to assist in the attack on Calatrava, which fell on July 1st, or the forty-third day of the campaign.²¹⁰ The French turned for home on the 3rd.

Though departure of the French crusaders significantly weakened the Christian army, the Castilian sources nonetheless tried to put a good face on it. There was significant further pleading, on the part of Alfonso VIII and Pedro II, but to no effect.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ See chapter three of this work.

²⁰⁸ Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, 111.

²⁰⁹ For this commencement date, see *CL*, ch. 20, 56; Innocent III also publicized the date in his letter to the ecclesiastical authorities of France, Mansilla, doc. 468, 498. Easter, 1212, fell on March 25th (Julian calendar). The Octave of the Pentecost would be eight weeks later, May 20th.

²¹⁰ For an example of Simon de Monfort beginning crusaders to extend their forty-days, see *HA*, 158.

²¹¹ *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

Lucas of Tuy reported that the kings tried pleading and bribery, to no effect.²¹² The *Chronica Latina* reports that, despite the fact that some of his advisors suggested that he threaten or manipulate the *ultramontanos* into staying, he instead gave the Archbishop of Bordeaux gifts and supplies for his journey home.²¹³ Alfonso VIII related that about 150 *ultramontanos* remained, where as Rodrigo placed the number at 130.²¹⁴ Most of the sources single out Thibaut de Blazon, and suggest he remained with the army because of his Castilian heritage.²¹⁵ Similarly, the *Chronica Latina* mentions Arnald Amalric's Catalan birth as a factor which helped make it easy for him to remain with the army.²¹⁶ Both Archbishop Rodrigo and the *Chronica Latina*, writing with the benefit of hindsight on the successful conclusion of the campaign presented the departure of the French as an opportunity for the Spanish to secure all the coming glory for themselves. Rodrigo, at his most dramatic, wrote: "And so with these people, who abandoned the cross of the Lord when things became difficult, having left, only the Spanish, with a few *ultramontanos* mentioned above, started confidently towards the battle of the Lord."²¹⁷

While some of the French crusaders, such as the Archbishop of Bordeaux and his followers, may have left on equitable terms, certain that their duty to the crusade was complete, others apparently did not. The *Annales Toledanos* reported that some of the *ultramontanos* made their way back to Toledo, and tried to attack the city. The urban militia was, of course, on campaign, and so the city must have looked ripe for plundering.

²¹² *CM*, 329.

²¹³ *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

²¹⁴ Alfonso VIII's letter to Innocent III, 568; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 266.

²¹⁵ For example *CL*, ch. 22, 58; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 266; Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, 894.

²¹⁶ *CL*, ch. 22, 58

²¹⁷ "Recedentibus itaque his qui crucem Domini in angaria atulerunt, soli Hispani cum paucis ultramontanis superius nominatis proficisci ceperunt ad bellum Domini confiderenter." *DRH*, book VIII, ch. vi, 266

It is likely that some of these would-be attackers were the same people who had caused so much trouble in the city before the campaign, and were motivated by revenge. The attack was not pressed however, after the people of the city barred the gates against them, calling them “disloyal, traitors, and apostates.”²¹⁸ Again the cultural clash and the lack of restraint which had been exhibited the previous spring were in full effect. As if drawing inspiration straight from the *chansons de geste*, the French crusaders treated Spain as an undifferentiated field of plunder.

Others of the *ultramontanos* exhibited some doubt as to whether or not they had completely fulfilled their religious duties. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines reports that, after leaving the campaign, some of the French first visited Santiago de Compostela before returning home. Santiago was, of course, one of the great pilgrimage destinations in Europe. The episode also demonstrates the close relationship between crusade and pilgrimage. In doubt about their spiritual position after relinquishing the crusade, the traditional pilgrim’s route made a natural alternative or corrective. After all, the *ultramontanos* were labeled as *peregrinos* in some of the sources.²¹⁹ The line between crusader and pilgrim was still quite blurry.

Conclusions

For the majority of French and Provençal crusaders, the experience of the campaign must have been very disappointing. News of the great victory won at the

²¹⁸ “E en todo esta facenda non se acaron y los omes de Ultrapuertos, que se tornaron de Caltrava, è cuidaron prender à Toledo por trayzon. Mas los omes de Toledo cerraonles las puertas, denostándolos, è clamándolos desleales, è traedores, è descomulgados.” *ATI*, 397.

²¹⁹ For example Berenguela’s letter to Blanche, 255; Innocent III’s letter to Alfonso VIII (Mansilla doc. 488, 520).

culmination of the campaign must have followed them home relatively quickly. One can imagine some embarrassed reactions, quickly met with bombast and excuses. Spain is, after all, unbearably hot in July. And besides, there was never enough food. The Castilians were lousy hosts, and even worse allies. They just invited all of the crusaders down there to recapture land they couldn't even defend properly. By all appearances, they might have been Muslims themselves; they certainly live like them. Their churches are mosques! Even the coins they used were all stamped with Arabic scribble!²²⁰ Those "Christians" would rather fraternize with Jews and pagans than wage a proper holy war.

The campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa marked the last major expedition of French crusaders in the Iberian Peninsula. The early thirteenth century was perhaps the apogee of crusading enthusiasm in northern Europe. The *ultramontanos* brought with them a powerful cultural legacy of crusading. It suffused their songs and stories, and their own family histories. The eschatological vision of the Christendom, popularized by the Church and its preachers offered a compelling outlet through which to partake in this culture, to emulate it, to make it their own. It was almost certainly a surprise to most of the French crusaders that their notions and ideas clashed so badly with the realities of the multi-confessional frontier society which they set out to assist in 1212. But the experiences of the campaign clearly demonstrate that, from the beginning, the *ultramontanos* and their Iberian Christian hosts were not on the same page. Comparing the Spanish circumstances to the Holy Land, Richard Barber noted that "relations between Moor and Christian show respect bred by familiarity which was so often

²²⁰ See the conclusion of this dissertation.

disturbed in Palestine by new recruits from Western Europe, for whom an infidel was beneath contempt.”²²¹ Clearly this sort of disturbance might happen in Iberia as well.

²²¹ Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Cambridge: Boydell Press, 1973), 282.

CHAPTER FIVE—THE IBERIAN EXPERIENCE

The culture and practice of crusading which can be observed among the Iberian Christian participants in the campaign and battle of Las Navas de Tolosa follows a different pattern from that of their *ultramontano* guests. Though over the course of the ensuing centuries, the Spanish would come to see their history as synonymous with the holy war, this was not yet the case in the early thirteenth century. Where as in much of northern Europe, especially the Kingdom of France, taking the cross became something of a vocation (with enthusiastic papal encouragement), crusading activity followed different patterns in the Iberian Peninsula.

This was first and foremost a consequence of political geography. The borders of an expansionistic Christendom were rather close to home for most Spanish Christians. The frontier Islam was a regular feature of life, whether as the setting for military confrontation and expansion, or as the source for lucrative trade (economic and intellectual).¹ This had a dual effect on the development of the ideas and practices surrounding the crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. First, the constant contact with Muslim people, places, and things bred a familiarity which made the process of absolute vilification difficult.² The shared frontier dictated the nature of warfare in ways which did not affect the great expeditions to the east. Secondly, the presence of a potentially hostile border with the Islamic world meant that, from the beginning, the

¹ Angus Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages* (London: MacMillan, 1977), 36-88; James Powers, *A Society Organized for War*; Simon Barton, "Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c.1100-1300", in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence. Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, eds. Collins R, Goodman A. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 23-45.

² See Ron Barkai, *El enemigo en el espejo: Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 2007), 154-165, on the French vs Spanish image of Muslims.

crusade was relocated away from the Holy Land, at least in the minds of the popes and church leaders.³ Neither the enduring emotional appeal of Jerusalem, nor the traditions of pilgrimage could be used directly to animate the Spanish crusades.⁴

The first of these issues, living in close proximity with Muslim people and culture, altered the character of warfare in Spain, and subsequently the nature of crusading. Living with these Muslim subjects, and experiencing their culture could then in turn lead to ambivalence, curiosity, even admiration.⁵ Insisting on the illegitimacy of Muslim political power did not preclude normal day to day interaction, as long as the right people were in the dominant position. *Convivencia* did not, of course, preclude semi-constant warfare between the Christian and Muslim populations. It did, however, mean that consideration was paid to the fact that warfare might lead to conquest, which would in turn lead to Muslim subjects. Whereas participation in a crusade to the Holy Land meant leaving home and fighting in a foreign land, where most Christian combatants had no intention of settling, combat in Spain took place in the Christians' own backyard, so to speak. Today's enemy may be tomorrow's neighbor, captive, or captor.

There were also serious strategic considerations involved. The Spanish Christians did not have the luxury, as some crusaders to the east did, of abandoning their undertakings and retreating across the Mediterranean to the relative safety of home. The

³ See chapter 3 of this work for a discussion of the papal crusading policy in the Iberian Peninsula.

⁴ On the appeal of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as the principle motivating force behind the crusades, see Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the beginning to 1600*.

⁵ Barkai, 226, discussed the possibility of contemporary Christian chroniclers viewing Muslims positively, such as in the *DRH*, *CL*, *CM*.

conflict with Islam was a constant and ongoing affair. It required coordination, planning, and constant defense. The military necessities could not rely on the ephemeral crusade enthusiasm encouraged by the papacy and its preachers. Voluntary service based on religious passions and anxieties could not form the backbone of enduring kingdoms; a lesson learned all too well in the Holy Land. Instead, the conflict with Islam was directed by royal policy.⁶ Armies were raised through the feudal duties of the nobility, and the contractual obligations of the frontier towns. Defense, on the other hand, required a much more steady military commitment. It was provided primarily by the urban militias of the border towns, where economic incentives, rather than appeals to piety, were necessary to ensure military preparedness.⁷ Under these strictures, warfare between Christians and Muslims in the Iberia Peninsula tended to differ very little from warfare amongst the Christians themselves, and in general did not closely resemble the great *passagium* directed toward the east.

Another effect of this very different military situation was that, unlike the Palestinian crusades, campaigns in Spain held out the very practical and real promise of financial gain. The great cost and difficulty of travel to the east meant that the prospects for personal gain were grim. Though many may have been lured with the possibility of

⁶ Powell, "Crusading by Royal Command: Monarchy and Crusade in the Kingdom of Sicily (1187-1230)", in *Potere, societate e popolo tra etat normanna et etat sveva, 1189-1210: atti delle quinte Giornate normanno-sveve: Bari-Conversano 26-28 ottobre 1981* (Bari: Dedalo, 1983), 131-146.

⁷ Powers, *A Society Organized for War*; Lourie, Elena "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain", *Past and Present* 35 (1966): 54-76. The defensive needs of the Christian kingdoms also explain the success of the original military orders (the Temple and Hospital) in Spain, as well as the proliferation of native orders. As in the Holy Land, the military orders were charged with providing a standing army capable of garrisoning frontier castles and maintaining constant watch over the enemy. See Alan Forey, *The Military Orders* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); *Templars in the Corona of Aragon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

winning great riches in the eastern Mediterranean, few realized the goal.⁸ In Spain, however, as in most of Europe, raiding, pillaging, and constant low-intensity warfare was a regular and profitable activity, for both Christians and Muslims.⁹ Moreover, the Christian kingdoms were, through most of the High Middle Ages, expanding southward, sometimes very slowly, but sometimes in great leaps and bounds. As Rodrigo Diaz, Geraldo Simpavor, and Ibn Marrandish demonstrated, a lucky adventurer might actually carve out a kingdom for himself in al-Andalus.¹⁰

The second consequence of the frontier was that fighting for Christendom in Spain did not involve the long pilgrimage to the Holy Land, nor did it have the apocalyptically-charged biblical setting. Crusading in Spain, at least to the Spanish Christians, involved none of the dedication and hardship which leant the act of pilgrimage its roborative quality. One of the pillars of the crusade, which tied it to traditional forms of piety, was simply not operative. As a consequence, crusading lost some of its basic appeal when its destination was essentially one's own backyard. Yet, if pilgrimage was essentially meaningless to Spanish Christians fighting in Spain, it was somewhat more operative for foreign crusaders travelling toward Spain. After all, the shrine at Santiago de Compostela meant that Spain had been one of the great pilgrimage destinations in Europe from at least the tenth century.¹¹ Therefore, this was a much more significant obstacle to crusaders from Spain, rather than to crusaders travelling to Spain.

⁸ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 149.

⁹ Powers, 162-187.

¹⁰ Derek Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* discusses each of figures.

¹¹ See chapter 3. Some of the deserting French crusaders diverted to Santiago, as discussed in chapter 4.

The campaigns directed toward the Holy Land involved a salvific journey to the heart of Christian history, to the center of the known-world.¹² The First Crusade was such a success because it captured the deep and enduring fascination with Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher.¹³ The eschatological promise of fighting for God's own patrimony was one of the great fonts of crusade enthusiasm. It was *imitatio Christi* at its most basic, a chance to walk where He walked.¹⁴ The Spanish Christians, like other western Europeans, were just as interested in the lands of the Bible. But for them, from the beginning, the crusade was redirected toward their own country.¹⁵ While this might make crusading far more practical, even easy, it surely stripped it of its magic and wonder. Clearly the papacy recognized this issue, and by the time of Innocent III, was directly addressing it.¹⁶ Nonetheless, while the papacy might explicitly state that fighting the Muslims in Spain merited the same spiritual benefits as did fighting in the Holy Land, it was certainly a less exciting alternative. The Castilian frontier could never be the Holy Sepulcher.

All of these issues were current and real to the Spanish Christians who took part in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Unlike the preaching missions undertaken in France and Provence, recruitment for the campaign involved the invocation of feudal duties.¹⁷

Most of the Spanish crusaders were part of a royal host. Alfonso VIII of Castile, Pedro II

¹² The common T-O maps of the period, which typically placed Jerusalem at the center of the world, are the clearest expressions of this.

¹³ Morris, *The Holy Sepulchre*; Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*.

¹⁴ See chapter 2; Mark Pegg, *A Most Holy War*, makes extensive use of the phrase "to walk where he walked" to invoke this aspect of crusade ideology.

¹⁵ See chapters 2 and 3 of this work.

¹⁶ See chapter 2 of this work.

¹⁷ September 1211 announcement of the coming campaign, *CL*, ch. 19.

of Aragón, and Sancho VII of Navarra each brought with them a retinue of knights made up of the nobility, great and small, who owed them military service.¹⁸ The backbone of the Christian army was the men of the urban militias of Castile, who were similarly obligated to rise at the royal command.¹⁹ While there were certainly some Iberian volunteers, the Spanish Christian army which gathered at Toledo was far more akin to the forces which accompanied William the Conqueror to England or Philip Augustus to Bouvines than to the pilgrims of the First Crusade.

As a consequence, their experience on crusade was different from that of the *ultramontanos*, and different from the ideal promoted by the papacy. In this chapter, we will look at the ways in which the Spanish Christian crusaders experienced and reacted to the ideology and practices of crusading. The picture which emerges shows that the Spanish Christians were responding to the same ideas as crusaders elsewhere, but often the shape of the response was dictated by local contexts and contingencies.

The Diplomatic Evidence

In one of the most poignant scenes in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, Rodrigo Díaz visits the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, and commends his wife and daughters to the

¹⁸ Garcia Fitz, 165-170.

¹⁹ Powers, 52-55. Alvira, “Guerra e ideología”, 606-608, compiled a list of all attested urban militias present at Las Navas, which included those of Burgos, Carrión, Cuellar, Escalona, Sepúlveda, Talavera, Madrid, Soria, Almansa, Atienza, San Esteban de Gormaz, Berlanga, Ayllón, Medinaceli, Cuenca, Huete, Alarcón, Guadalajara, Maqueda, Toledo, Valladolid, Arévalo, Olmedo, Coca, Palencia, Plasencia, Béjar, Ávila, Medina del Campo, and Segovia.

care of the abbot. The hero takes a moment to talk to the Abbot Sancho and to make financial arrangements for the care of his family. The passage is worth citing in full:

The Cid said, -Thank you, Lord Abbot, I am indebted to you, I will prepare food for myself and for my vassals, but because I am leaving this land, I'm giving you fifty marks. If I live to see the day, they will be doubled for you, I don't want to do to the monastery one cent worth of harm. Here you see, for Doña Jimena I am giving you one hundred marks, for her and her daughters and their ladies, may you serve them this year. I am leaving two young daughters and take them in your arms, them I am entrusting to you, Abbot Don Sancho, for them and for my wife may you give the best care. If this money runs out or if you are in need, provide for them well, I so command you, for every mark you spend, I'll give four to the monastery. - The abbot granted it to him gladly.²⁰

The *Poema*, of course, is *the* heroic epic of the medieval Iberia, composed (or at least written down) in the year 1207, some 120 years after the life, exile, and exploits of the real Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar. The epic was, originally, a composition for oral performance for an audience of the elite, military aristocracy, for whom El Cid was an obvious hero.²¹

Naturally, the *Poema de Mio Cid* reflects the actual cares and concerns of the knights and nobles of Castile and León, the hero's (and the epic's) homeland. In fact a vivid, real-world reflection of the above-quoted scene was recorded at the Monastery of Vega, in the kingdom of León, in the spring of 1212, a mere five years after the creation of the *Poema's* only manuscript. Whether in a case of life imitating art or art imitating life, a noble knight of modest means approached the Monastery to ensure the security of his family, as he had doubts about his own short-term survival.²² Pedro Velasco drew up his arrangement in a charter with the monastery, a legal document establishing certain

²⁰ The passage makes up lines 248-261 of the *Poema de Mio Cid*, ed. Colin Smith (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1990), 145-146. The translation comes from the beautiful *Cantar de Mio Cid* website hosted by the University of Texas, Austin: <http://www.laits.utexas.edu/cid>

²¹ For discussion of the authorship, dating, structure and style of the *Poema*, see Smith, 17-18.

²² Luciano Serrano, *Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega* (Madrid: 1927), 110-11.

property arrangements and conditions. According to the document, Pedro made these arrangements for the good of his soul and those of his parents, and “especially because I, Pedro, wishing to go in the army against the Saracens,” recognized the mortal danger of this proposed adventure.²³ The army to which Pedro was referring was, of course, the crusading force that was to gather in Toledo that May, for the campaign which would culminate in the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa. Under such fateful circumstances, his wife was to be accepted into the monastery. In return, Pedro donated half of his moveable property, which amounted to a considerable collection of horses, cows, sheep and goats. His daughter too was to enter the monastery as a nun. Upon his return from the campaign, he was to make a donation for her upkeep as well, unless, according to the document, “if perhaps he should die there”, in which case the monastery would see to her well-being.²⁴

Pedro Velasco’s donation to the Monastery of Vega is one of a number of wills and similar documents composed by Christian participants in the crusade-campaign and battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. A generation of historians has used these sorts of documents to expand our knowledge of French crusaders; however they have been little used in the study of crusading in Medieval Spain, despite the wealth of information they contain.²⁵ As Giles Constable pointed out some years ago, these sorts of sources (i.e.

²³ Ibid; “Statuimus itaque et dedimus pro animabus nostris et parentum nostrorum necnon et salute propria, et maxime quia ego iam dictus Petrus volebam ire in exercitu contra sarracenos, quatinus, si finerem vitam meam illuc...”

²⁴ *Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega*, 110; “si forte illuc obierit”

²⁵ Historians such as Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, and Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* have made great use of French charters in their studies of the crusades. In Spain, diplomatic evidence has been used in many excellent studies of the nobility, especially looking at property and familial connections: Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth Century León and Castile*

charters) can be particularly valuable in answering certain basic questions: Who were the crusaders? Why did they go? How did they understand their actions and their participation in a crusade?²⁶ The wills, charters, and other diplomatic sources created by the Iberian Christians in association with the campaign make these basic questions accessible, and allow an examination of the diverse ways in which the participants approached and understood the campaign of Las Navas. Using these documents it is possible to study the identity and social standing of the individuals (who they were), the concerns and issues which they addressed in their testaments (what they were doing), the ways in which they conceived of and understood their participation in the campaign, and the ways in which the ideas and institutions associated with crusading influenced them. These sources provide clear details of the personal and local circumstances under which the participants prepared for and embarked upon the campaign. They also demonstrate that, despite the fact that the campaign was pivotal in the Church's expansion and codification of crusading, the combatants themselves did not wholly embrace the practices and ideology of crusading.

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Simon Doubleday, *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth: The Reordering of Castilian Society, 1150-1350*. The wills of Las Navas have not been studied very much at all. Most of them are published, at least partially, in Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*. Damian Smith mentions one or two of the documents (and lists a few more) in his *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 105.

²⁶ Giles Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades", *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 73-89.

The Documents

The wills and related documents examined in this chapter can all be described as charters. In general, the “science” of diplomatics has defined charters as legal or administrative documents, or the written evidence of legally defined actions, usually concerning property exchanges.²⁷ That is certainly the case with these documents, which include eleven actual wills created by participants prior to the battle and a number of related charters. Some of these charters are very similar to the true wills in their tone and composition, and may be described as proto-wills.

The majority of the documents come from the Crown of Aragón (Cataluña and Aragón), with only a few for the kingdoms of Navarra, Castile, and León. This geographical distribution is in part due to the particularly rich collection of surviving diplomas from the monastery of Santa María de Poblet in Cataluña, which alone contains seven of the documents.²⁸ At least three of these documents appear to have been composed at the monastery itself by the same scribe, “Frater Petrus”.²⁹ Similarly, four Aragonese wills are conserved in the cartulary of the Hospitaller castellany of Amposta.³⁰

²⁷ For such a definition, see Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin, 1958), 1. See also Richard Sharpe, “Charters, Deeds, and Diplomatics”, in *Medieval Latin*, eds. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1996), 230-240.

²⁸ These are the wills of Bernard de Clarvalls (AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 14), Bernard de Conesa (AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 16), Bernard de Granyana (AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 5), Ferrarius de Sanaugia (AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 12), Guillem de Puigvert (AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 9) and Bernat Habenas (AAP, Poblet, perg. P41; Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1283). The seventh document is a charter of a land-grant made by Ramon de Cervera at the end of March, 1212 (AHN, códigos, Cartulario *Mulassa* o Becerro de Poblet, Códice 992-B, 99v-100r).

²⁹ The wills of Bernard de Conesa and Ferrarius de Sanaugia, and the proto-will of Guillem de Puigvert.

³⁰ The castle of Amposta was a possession of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in the Crown of Aragón from 1154, and the headquarters of the Order in the Crown of Aragón from the 1170s; see Bisson, 47; also María Bonet Donato, *La Orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), 11. . The wills are those of Arnaldus de Alascuno (AHN, sección ordines militares, Castellania de

Each of these documents describes grants made to that Order or to the Templars, much of whose property devolved to the Hospitallers after their suppression in the early fourteenth century.³¹ Unlike the Poblet collection, these wills were not composed at the same time or in the same place, but must have been collected by the Hospitaller scribes at a later date. As will be discussed below, at least one of these wills was made during the campaign, on the very eve of battle. Two also come from the archives of the diocese of Girona, in the northeast corner of the kingdom, including the will of Jofré, viscount of Rocabertí, a wealthy and powerful Catalan magnate.³² The remaining charters and wills are each isolated examples.

All of these documents survive in collections and cartularies because they established certain property rights. They concern specific property arrangements, usually gifts to monasteries and churches or to family members. Such records were used to legally establish property rights, and document the assembly of institutional holdings or private patrimonies. Monasteries and churches often copied these documents into vast cartularies, to ensure the survival of the recorded property transactions. It is apparent, from the occasional survival of both an original drafts and a cartulary-bound copy, that possession of the actual documents was critical for establishing the legality of these

Amposta, car 584, #83), García Romeo (AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellania de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #33, 33-35), Michael de Luesia (AHN, sección ordines militares, Castellania de Amposta, car 608, #30), and Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez (AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellania de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #34, 35).

³¹ On the suppression of the Templars in the Crown of Aragón, and the ensuing division of their many holdings, see Alan Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragón* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001); Bonet Donato, 64-66.

³² The documents from the Archivo Diocesano de Girona are those of Bernard de Bellmirall (ADG, Pergamins de la Mitra, cal. 23, n.º 6) and Jofré de Rocabertí (ADG, Pergamins de Cadins, n.º 31).

property exchanges. Thus the wills were important not only for the information that they contain, but as critical objects of evidence themselves.

Despite the variation within the collection of charters and wills, structurally they conform to many of the same patterns. Medieval charters generally followed the patterns established by Roman legal practices. Deeds to property tended to be composed like letters, and any public transaction recorded the time and place, as well as a list of witnesses present.³³ This of course meant that the documents tended to be very formulaic, especially those composed by the same scribe or institution. This phenomenon is very evident among the documents collected here, especially those pertaining to the monastery of Poblet. Broadly speaking, each document contains an *arenga*, or introductory statement of purpose, the details of the property arrangements, and a concluding element including a date and witness list. These different components each provide useful information regarding the actions and circumstances of the participants in the campaign. The *arengas* often include references to the campaign itself; the property arrangements highlight the social standing and wealth of the individuals; and the conclusions date the documents and give some indication of other persons involved in the campaign (through the witness list).

The Participants: Identity and Status

All of the men making these wills and charters in preparation for the campaign were nobles, of varying rank and importance. For example, the names of Pedro Velasco

³³ Sharpe, 231.

of León, and his wife Constancia, carry the honorific *don* and *domna*, marking them as aristocratic, though there is nothing more indicated with regards to their rank. The livestock which they gifted to the monastery represented considerable value, though compared to the major grants of property found in some of the other charters and wills, this was a modest endowment.³⁴ Pedro does not appear as the signatory on any contemporary royal charters or diplomas, so it is safe to conclude that he did not rank among the major magnates of the realm. The witnesses list of his charter includes a number of otherwise anonymous nobles, though one of them, Juan Lobet, may be the same D. Lobet, the *mayordomo* of the city of León in 1215.³⁵ However, Pedro Velasco seems to have been a member of “the large amorphous group of lesser nobles or knights” who made up the rank and file of the military aristocracy.³⁶ Despite his apparent wealth in livestock, Pedro’s arrangement with Vega makes it clear that his liquidity was contingent upon his military vocation: he was to pay the monastery thirty *aureos* (almost certainly referring to a gold *maravedí*) for his daughter’s upkeep only upon his safe return from a presumably prosperous campaign.³⁷

Some of the documents created by the Aragonese participants also reflect their relatively low social rank. For example, the will of Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez,

³⁴ The approximate cash value of livestock can be determined by studying the price-fixing decree of 1207 issued by Alfonso VIII. At that time, a war horse was priced at 100 *maravedis*, a mule at 40. See Francisco Hernández, “Las Cortes de Toledo de 1207”, in *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, vol. 1 (Burgos: Cortes de Castilla y León, 1986), 220-260.

³⁵ Serrano suggests this identification, *Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega*, 110, note 1.

³⁶ Barton, 33-34.

³⁷ *Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega*, 110. Barton, 34, discusses the importance of booty to the income of the lesser nobility. 30 *maravedís* was not a particularly large sum of cash, at least in aristocratic circles. According to Archbishop Rodrigo, Alfonso VIII of Castile provided a daily stipend of 20 *solidi* for knights volunteering for the campaign, *DRH* lib. VIII, ch. 4. A *maravedí* was worth approximately 7.5 *solidi*.

stands out for its brevity and personality.³⁸ Rodrigo very clearly did not rank among the upper echelon of the Aragónese nobility, and in fact appears to have been a simple knight. He had but one piece of real-estate to dispose of, a vineyard, which he left to the Templar convent of Villel.³⁹ The property in question was already mortgaged (“*in pignus*”) to the Templars, further demonstrating Rodrigo’s relative poverty. He divided the rest of his estate: two horses, a mule, his armor and weapons, and 40 *mazmudinas* (gold coins of Almohad origin worth about two *maravedis*) between his friends Pascual and Garciola. A motley collection of men served as witnesses: in addition to two of the Templars of Villel, they were Don Grimaldo, Don García La Barba, Pedro Escudero and Don Guiralt. The knights may also have been Templars from Villel, or they may have been companions of Rodrigo; the list does suggest that this was a group of friends campaigning together. García “the bearded” sounds like friendly nickname, and Pedro Escudero was, of course, a squire to one or more of the knights.

Another Aragónese document, which could be described as a proto-will, comes from the monastery of San Victorián in Sobrarbe.⁴⁰ It compares rather well with that of Pedro Velasco. In what might be described as an entry *ad succurrendum* into the monastery, García de Orra, along with his wife Maria, deeded all of their lands (in the villages of Bruis and Fosato) to the monastery, in exchange for *societas* with the monks,

³⁸ Testament of Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez, AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellanía de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #34, 35.

³⁹ The word in the document is *parrale*, which refers to the wooden trellises used for grapes, and so presumably Rodrigo was the owner of a small vineyard, perhaps without healthy vines. Villel was one of the major Templar houses on the lower Ebro; see Alan Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 90.

⁴⁰ Testament of García de Orra, AHN, sección clero, San Victorián, car 769, #11.

as part of his preparation for departure on campaign.⁴¹ In return, they were granted the use of their lands for the remainder of their lives, and burial rights at the monastery.⁴²

García was clearly a noble, as he described himself as the son of “*domnus Petrus Arnaldus*”, though again ranking below the great magnates in the circle of the monarch. The witnesses to García’s arrangement with the monastery were, Lupus de Pomar and Johannis “*de urbani milites*”. Johannis was likely a *caballero villano*, a knight in the urban militia, perhaps of the nearby town of Huesca.⁴³

The documents which were preserved in the the archives of the monastery of Santa María de Poblet in Cataluña were all created by aristocrats with a variety of social and kinship ties. They were mostly minor Catalan noblemen, though with some significant connections. Of the knights mentioned in this set of charters, only Ramon and Guillem de Cervera appear regularly as signatories of the royal diplomas generated by their king Pedro II while on campaign.⁴⁴ Both of the Cerveras appear as witnesses to the will of Bernard de Granyana (just to the north of Lleida), who was a man of some financial resources. He made grants of property and cash to a wide variety of monasteries and churches, including Poblet, his home church in Granyana, the Cathedral of Urgell, and the Hospital of Jerusalem. Similarly, Bernard de Conesa made donations to at least three religious establishments. He was also well-connected, appearing as a

⁴¹ Entry *ad succurrendum* into a monastery was a practice often pursued by people in their old age, or in the terminal stages of illness. See Joseph Lynch, *Simoniack Entry into Religious Life from 1000-1260* (Columbus, 1976), 27-36.

⁴² Not an unusual arrangement for the time. See Ruiz, 41.

⁴³ For the beginning of the urban militia of Huesca, see James Powers, *A Society Organized for War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 36.

⁴⁴ For example, a royal charter issued at Toledo, June 1212. AHN, sección ordines militares, San Juan, Castellania de Amposta, car 584, # 81; Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1317, 1370. Bernard de Conesa did witness a land swap between Pedro II and the Monastery of Poblet in 1209, Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1009.

witness on Ramon de Cervera's donation of land to Poblet.⁴⁵ Guillem de Podio Viridi (the modern Puigvert) was also apparently quite wealthy, though settling a considerable financial obligation with the monastery of Poblet, was nonetheless able to mortgage his property for the considerable sum of 6000 *solidi*. Moreover, Guillem appears to have been the junior member of the family, and was departing on campaign with his brother Bernard and his father Pedro, who must have commanded similar resources. Bernard of Puigvert was a witness to the will of Bernard de Granyana, further demonstrating the close connections amongst the nobility. Two of the other knights who visited Poblet before departing on crusade that year appear to have been of considerably lesser means. Bernard de Claravalls arranged for his burial at the monastery of Santa María de Vallbona, in return for his horse. Ferrarius of Sanaugia (known today as Sanaüja) bequeathed his two horses and three mules to Poblet in exchange for his burial.

The second group of Catalan wills, preserved at Girona, belongs to Jofré, viscount of Rocabertí and Peralada and Bernard de Bellmirall (literally *pulcro miraculo* in the Latin). Jofré was an important Catalan noble, whose brother, Archbishop Ramon de Tarragona, was one of his executors and signators. He divided his considerable wealth between cash donations to a variety of churches and religious houses and land donations to his family. The document is especially significant because it is the only will we have of a combatant who was killed in the course of the campaign.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ AHN, Cód. 992-B, fols. 99r-100v.

⁴⁶ Jofré's tombstone, recording his death in late July, 1212, is preserved in the castle of Peralada, and is transcribed in Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol.3, doc. 1364. He was originally buried in the monastery of Santa Maria de Vilabertran.

The group of wills, all made by Aragónese noblemen, and preserved in the cartularies of the Hospitaller castellany of Amposta, belong to men of much greater wealth and status.⁴⁷ Two of the individuals making these wills were among the most important men in the kingdom: García Romeo, Pedro II's *alférez real* and lord of Calatayud, and Miguel de Luesia, the king's *mayordomo* and lord of Tarazona.⁴⁸ Both were, naturally, very wealthy individuals, prominent advisors to the king, and famous warriors. Archbishop Rodrigo mentioned that García Romeo commanded the Aragónese vanguard during the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and noted his particular bravery.⁴⁹ The *Chronica Latina* mentions that it was only Alfonso VIII and García Romeo who encountered the mysterious shepherd who guided the army through the Puerto de Muradal. This anecdote became one of the staple miracle stories associated with the campaign.⁵⁰ Miguel de Luesia is also attested at Las Navas, and accompanied Pedro II to Muret in September of 1213, where he died fighting at his king's side against Simon de Monfort.⁵¹ In his will, García arranged massive donations of cash (in *solidi*, and *maravedis*) to a long list of religious institutions, including Cîteaux, Santa María de Rocamadour (in Languedoc), and the Cathedral of Zaragoza. He managed to leave some

⁴⁷ The wills are those of Arnaldus de Alascuno (AHN, sección ordines militares, San Juan, Castellania de Amposta, car 584, #83), García Romeo (AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellania de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #33, 33-35), Michael de Luesia (AHN, sección ordines militares, Castellania de Amposta, car 608, #30), and Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez (AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellania de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #34, 35).

⁴⁸ García Romeo served as *alférez* from 1202 until his untimely death in early 1213. See Alvira, *Muret 1213*, 127.

⁴⁹ *DRH*, Book 8, ch. 9, 11.

⁵⁰ *CL* ch. 23. Also see chapter one of this work.

⁵¹ William of Tudela reports that Michael de Luesia actually suggested in council that it would be far better to confront de Monfort on the field of battle than to trap him inside the walls of Muret, *Chanson de La Croisade XXX*. Clearly his success at Las Navas had given him a fatal overconfidence in the military strength of the Aragónese. On the battle of Muret, see Martín Alvira Cabrer, *El Jueves de Muret* (Barcelona, 2002) and *Muret 1213*.

of his property to his son Blasco Romeo, who joined his father on campaign in 1212.⁵²

The will of Michael de Luesia, demonstrates a much greater concern for the support of surviving family members, particularly his pregnant wife and children, with only one pious donation made to the Hospitallers.⁵³ Arnaldo de Alascún, another Aragonese nobleman in the king's circle, bequeathed the vast majority of his property to an array of monastic institutions in his will, drawn up on the very eve of the battle.⁵⁴

Property

The property involved in the inheritance arrangements and gifts made in these documents is of various types. Often, enough, the wills mention simple personal property, usually designated as “*mobiles*” to differentiate it from land and buildings, or “*inmobiles*”. Some charters, primarily those of the lower-status knights, focus on

⁵² Blasco Romeo's presence is confirmed by his signature on a charter issued by Pedro II while on campaign, a donation made to the order of Calatrava on July 7. See Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc.1340.

⁵³ Michael de Luesia's will is dated “Sabbati Secunda, mensis julii, sub Era 1250” which corresponds to (the Sunday, July 15 (second Sunday in the month), 1212. The battle of Las Navas took place the following day, Monday, July 16. There is, however, a bit of mystery here. The dating clause also reports that the will was recorded at “Deus Libol, iuxta Cesaraugustam”, which is the district of Juslibol outside of Zaragoza. Juslibol is many hundreds of miles away from the Puerto de Muradal, where the Christian army was encamped on July 15. This may be a scribal error or interpolation, recording the place in which a field-made copy of the will was recopied properly sometime after the campaign. Alternately, perhaps the copyist wrote “julii” where it should have read “junii”. There is, of course, a third possible explanation, that Miguel was at Juslibol and not with the army at all. As Martín Alvira pointed out to me, Miguel de Luesia's name does not appear on any royal charters issued between May 19th and September 8th, dates which correspond closely with the campaign. On the other hand, Archbishop Rodrigo listed him among the Aragonese nobles who arrived at Toledo in May, but does not mention him in the order of battle: *DRH* book VIII, ch. iii, 261. The letter of Princess Blanca to Blanca of Champagne does list Miguel de Luesia in the Aragonese order of battle: *RGHF* XIX, 258. There is also a reference in the will to the “necessity, stress, and shortness of time of the present army” (“*tanta huius presentis exercitus nos compellit necessitas sive anxietas et temporis brevis*”) interfering with the proper settlement of certain property questions, a strong indication that he was indeed on campaign.

⁵⁴ The will of Arnaldus of Alascuno is dated “dominica II, mensis julii, sub Era 1250”, i.e. Sunday July 15, 1212. Arnaldus is also a signatory on a variety of charters made by Pedro II while on campaign, for example in a grant to the Templars made at Toledo in June of that year, AHN, sección ordines militares, car 584, #82.

bestowing moveable property. Pedro Velasco only mentions moveable property, specifically livestock, in his grant. Sheep, cattle, and other livestock were, of course, very valuable in a predominantly agricultural society. The synergetic relationship between Pedro's gift of sheep and goats to the monastery, recorded on vellum made of sheep or goat skin, signifies at least one of the ways in which such a gift might be used. As mentioned above, for some of the less wealthy warriors, their horses were among their most valuable possessions.

A few of the knights also made a point of gifting their armor, weapons, and horses. Typically these gifts were made to the military orders, for example, when Bernard de Claravalls and Guillem de Creixell left their shields and lances to the Templars, or to other religious institutions, such as when Ferrarius of Sanaugia left his gear to Poblet.⁵⁵ Similarly, Arinaldo de Alascun gave his equipment to the Hospitallers. Such gifts were both symbolic and substantive. By leaving their equipment to a religious institution, particularly one of the military orders, the knights were certainly attempting to ensure their military legacy would be associated with the church and crusading (a point which I will take up later in this chapter). Though these were relatively modest gifts, when compared to some of the major transfers of property and cash seen in some of the documents, a knight's military equipment could often be his most valuable possessions. The weapons of a cavalry soldier were the most basic marks of nobility, and symbols of

⁵⁵ Guillem de Creixell and his brother of Dalmau de Creixell, from the Tarragona region, were staunch supporters of Pedro II, as well as associates of the Rocabertí family (Dalmau was named as an executor for Jofré de Rocabertí's will). Guillem de Creixell's will (ACA, Cancillería, Pergs. Pedro I, n.º 422) was drawn up in early June, 1212.

elite status.⁵⁶ When Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez, left his arms and horse to his friend Pascual, we can be sure that this was a very generous inheritance, perhaps one which conveyed significant status on the receiver. Nonetheless, the symbolic act of gifting armor and weapons seems to have appealed to all members of the military elite, no matter their financial position.

Gifts and grants of actual land make up the bulk of the property exchanges found in the wills. The nature of the property rights varies considerably. In general, the more significant and wealthy men were disposing of family property, over which they had apparent allodial rights. Pedro Villa Lobos, a major Castilian magnate who fought at Las Navas, referred to his “*hereditatem*” in Aguilar de Campoo, in a land sale made shortly after the campaign.⁵⁷ Similarly, Arnald de Alascún gave his “*hereditatem de Adios*”, which he had personally purchased from Egidio de Fraella. Property of this sort was part of the patrimonial estates of the greater noble houses in Castile, León, and Aragón.⁵⁸ It might be inherited, as the name suggests, or purchased and added to family estates. In general, these patrimonial lands tended to be divided, in the cognatic fashion prescribed by Visigothic law, among a variety of siblings, children, spouses, and other family members.⁵⁹ García Romeo, for example, left property to his son and his sister. In the Catalan wills, the terms “*dominicum*” or “*dominicum*” is often used to refer to patrimonial lands. These properties were also divided among family members:

⁵⁶ Cite property requirement from *fueros* for urban militia, e.g. Powers, Lourie.

⁵⁷ Donation of Pedro Villa Lobos, AHN, sección clero, Aguilar de Campoo, car 1653, # 2. On his participation in the battle, see *DRH*, Book VIII, ch. 4.

⁵⁸ See Barton, 71.

⁵⁹ Doubleday, 15-16.

Bernard de Conesa left lands to his brothers, sister, and nephews, while Bernard de Granyana left land to his sons, daughter, and grandson.

The other major type of properties to appear in the wills might technically be described as fiefs. These properties, referred to as *honores* in Aragón and Cataluña, were originally relatively straightforward benefices, granted by king to nobles in newly conquered frontier territories.⁶⁰ These benefices came with typical responsibilities on the part of the beneficiary: military service with the king, defense of the territory, and development of the territory for new settlers. In theory these benefices, like the similar *tenencias* of Castile and León, were not inheritable, and could be reassigned at the king's pleasure. Over the course of the twelfth century, kings and nobles collaborated for the construction of castles and defensive works in some of these *honores*. In return for investing the considerable resources necessary for such undertakings, the nobility won the right to treat the benefices as inheritable property.⁶¹ Once this slippage began, it became commonplace. It was enshrined in the mid-twelfth century *Usatges de Barcelona*: the holders of benefices could bestow the property on descendents, provided they did so through a legal, written will. Intestate vassals gave up this right, and the inheritance of the will became the lord's decision.⁶² This transformation is very clear in the Catalan wills, most of which mention *honores*. In his will, Ferrarius of Sanaugia refers to all of his properties as "*honorem meum*". Bernard de Granyana makes numerous arrangements for his castles, most of which are *honores*, and takes advantage

⁶⁰ José María Lacarra, "Honores y Tenencias en Aragón", *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 45-46 (1967), 151-190. See also Bisson, 45.

⁶¹ Ibid, 182. For discussion of *tenencias* in Castile and León, see Barton, 86; Doubleday, 16.

⁶² *Usatges de Barcelona*, Donald Kagay trans. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), articles 27 and 175.

of his right to reassign them amongst his family and allies, should his primary benefactors die without heirs.

Bernard de Claravalls gives his *honores* entirely to his brother, most of which seem to be “*decimas*” from various castles. Whether these are actual tithes, the rights to which were not infrequently in lay hands, or simply rights to a tenth part of the income or properties is unclear. Such *decimas* appear frequently in the documents, usually as grants to monasteries or churches. Given that there was a “campaign to recover tithes from lay hands” during the twelfth and thirteenth century, it seems likely that these references are indeed to actual church tithes.⁶³

There is another interesting echo of Las Navas de Tolosa, which concerns property, of a sort, that appears in the diplomatic record. Raymonde Foreville noted that Arnald Amalric, archbishop of Narbonne and veteran of Las Navas, listed a Muslim slave among his possessions in his will of October, 1225.⁶⁴ It is very likely that this individual was a prisoner taken during the campaign of 1212, as the chronicles note that vast numbers of prisoners were carried off as slaves.⁶⁵ Similarly, Pedro Xirageza, a canon of the Cathedral of Toledo, left his two Saracens, Xanan and Zivat, to his sister Teresa.⁶⁶ Some of the canons of the Cathedral accompanied Archbishop Rodrigo on campaign in 1212: Domingo Pascual, a future archbishop himself, bore Rodrigo’s standard in the heat

⁶³ Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 99.

⁶⁴ Raymonde Foreville, “Arnaud Amalric, Archeveque de Narbonne (1196-1225)”, in *Gouvernement et vie de l’Eglise au Moyen Age. Recueil d’études* (London: Variorum, 1979), 136.; Alvira, “El venerable Arnaldo Amalrico”, 589.

⁶⁵ e.g. *CL*, 25

⁶⁶ ACT Z.4.C.99

of battle.⁶⁷ It more than likely that the Saracens slaves listed in this will were also prisoners of war, most of who came from the victory of Las Navas during this period.

The pattern of different types of property which emerges from the wills and charters reinforces the apparent differences in resources, social standings, and prestige of the participants in the battle. The wealthy magnates are generally concerned with patrimonial lands, dividing them among their families, or granting them as gifts to the church. The lesser nobility, while often following similar patterns of distribution, are concerned with property of a feudal nature, rather than great family estates. These men are also more likely to be concerned with the distribution of their personal property, in some cases, the only things they had to dispose of. Almost all of the wills mention donations of land and property to family as well. Bernard de Conesa planned to leave property to his brother Gerald, his brother's children, and to his sister Ermisedis. Bernard de Granyana made arrangements for his son, daughter, and grandson. Ferrarius of Sanaugia, arranged for his wife to inherit his money and to retain some of the property he granted to Poblet for the remainder of her life.

In these sorts of property arrangements, the wills of Las Navas de Tolosa compare favorably to wills created by participant in other crusades. Jonathan Riley-Smith, examining the wills of the First Crusaders, noted certain typical details: renouncing disputes with churches, endowing religious institutions, and mortgaging property for cash.⁶⁸ A century later, the Spanish crusaders did many of the same things: Ferrarius of Sanaugia settled a dispute over money with Poblet; nearly all of the wealthier participants

⁶⁷ *DRH*, Book VIII, ch. 10.

⁶⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, 34-35 and 120-130.

gave large cash donations to churches and monasteries; the central part of the will of Bernard Habenas involves a loan of 30 *solidi* from a monk of Poblet. This is, of course, what one would expect to find. Despite the different times and locations, the concerns of knights going off to war were bound to follow predictable patterns.

In these economic details, the wills of the participants are quite similar to other contemporary documents, and broadly conform to the testamentary patterns of their day. Teofilo Ruiz has demonstrated that the early thirteenth century was a time of transition in the content and style wills and “proto-wills” (similar donations and arrangements made with religious institutions) in Christian Spain.⁶⁹ Older patterns, in which nobles tended to heavily patronize single religious institutions were gradually giving way to more elaborate plans (“bargaining for salvation”) in which legacies were divided among multiple monasteries and churches.⁷⁰ Both patterns are visible in these wills: some knights, Bernard de Conesa for example, made all their pious donations to only one monastery (Poblet in this case); others, like Bernard de Granyana or García Romeo granted property to nearly a dozen institutions each. Some wills also demonstrate a concern for specifying how pious donations were to be used: the wealthy Bernard de Granyana specified that his donations to Poblet were to support the new poor house which was being built, and that the eight *solidi* he left to the church of Santa María de Pelliparus were for a lamp to be used for Lent and Advent. Similarly, Miguel de Luesia specified that some of his cash be used to feed and clothe the poor. Ruiz also notes that familial inheritance patterns changed during this period as well. Property tended to be

⁶⁹ Ruiz, 2-54.

⁷⁰ Ibid, .3.

dispersed among a greater number of friends and family members, with attention given to relatively minor items.⁷¹ Again, the wills of Las Navas demonstrate this nicely: Michael de Luesia made elaborate arrangements in his will for his descendents, including those not yet born; Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez divided his modest possessions between his friends. In fact it could be said that, more than anything else, these sources illuminate the details of kinship and the social environments of these men.

Preparing for Battle

The majority of these documents stand out because of the specific references to the campaign of 1212 in their *arrenga*. In many cases it is clear that these statements are a sort of boiler-plate, made up of stock phrases used by the clerical notaries who penned the documents. For example, the wills of Ferrarius de Sanaugia, Bernard de Conesa, and Guillem de Puigvert were all composed by the same scribe, Brother Pedro of Poblet. In two of these cases, the scribe uses the exact same terminology: “Since no one placed in the flesh is able to escape death, on that account I (Ferrarius or Bernard), going in the army of Spain against the Saracen nations and the enemies of the cross...”⁷² The first part of the statement (no one is able to escape death) was a veritable staple medieval wills. The second part, of course, is a specific reference to the campaign on which the knights were about to depart. These passages are useful whether or not they express the actual feelings of the noblemen making the wills, or those sentiments which the clerical

⁷¹ Ruiz, 38.

⁷² The testaments of Ferrarius de Sanauja and Bernardus de Conesa read “Quoniam nullus in carne positus potest evadere mortem, idcirco ego (name), pergens in exercitum Yspanie contra Sarracenicis naciones et inimicos crucis...”; AHN sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, #12, #16.

author felt they should express. It is these lines which set these wills apart from similar contemporary documents made by non-combatants, or during more peaceful times.

These statements tell us something about the expectations of the combatants, the perceived nature of the campaign which they were undertaking, and the perception of the enemy. Some of the *arregas* are even more effusive than those quoted above. . In its extended *arenga* the scribe of the will of Bernard de Claravalls reports his intentions: “I fear the punishments in Hell, and desire to adhere to Christ, and I wish to go with the other Christians in the host against the Saracens to the expansion of holy Christendom, for the redemption of my soul.”⁷³ Similarly, the above quoted Pedro Velasco tells us that he is making arrangements based solely on his intention to depart on crusade.⁷⁴ Other documents make less explicit statements about the intention of the individuals, and instead make only temporal references to the campaign. For example, García de Orra made his arrangements with the monastery of San Victorián “in the year in which the Lord King Pedro marched in that army of Toledo and in that war in which he had proposed to make there with the pagans”.⁷⁵ The same is true for Arnaldo de Alascún’s will simply states that it was made at “the Puerta de Muradal above the army of the Saracens.”⁷⁶ At some point before the battle, the Castilian nobleman Rodrigo Perez de

⁷³ “Ego Bernardis de Clares Valls timeo penas inferni et cupio herere christi et volo pergere cum aliis christianis in hostem super sarracenis exemplare sanctam christianitatem pro redemptionem amine mee”; AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 14.

⁷⁴ See note 23.

⁷⁵ “anno quo dompnus Petrus rex pergeret in illo exercitu de Toledo et in illo bello quod proposuerat se factum illuc cum paganis”. Donacion of Garcia de Orra.

⁷⁶ “ego Arnaldus... facio meum testamentum... videlicet ad portum de muradal super exercitum Sarracenorum.” Testament of Arnaldo de Alascúno.

Villa Lobos dated a charter recording a land grant “in the year in which the king (Alfonso) was on the armed march against the Saracens”.⁷⁷

Various terms are used to describe the expedition and crusader army itself. For example, the scribe Pedro of Poblet consistently describes the Christian forces as the “*exercitus Yspaniae*”, that is the army of Spain.⁷⁸ This phrase is particularly interesting when one considers that historians of Medieval Iberia are usually inclined to think of multiple Spains, reflecting the division of the Peninsula between the multiple Christian kingdoms, as well as Al-Andalus.⁷⁹ Yet here we have a monk describing the united forces of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón (Navarra joined the campaign late) as an army of Spain. This suggests that the emphasis on united action against the Almohads which one finds in both the royal and papal preparations for the campaign was a broadly understood ideal. Pedro of Aragón had been a true booster for united action, and it is perhaps not surprising to find this idealized sense of unity among his followers. Of course there is a great deal of variety. García de Orra’s proto-will refers to the “army of Toledo”, while the wills of Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galindez and Miguel de Luesia simply refer to the army with no further labels.⁸⁰ The wills of Bernard de Bellmirall and

⁷⁷ “anno in quo predictus rex erat in procinctu itineris super Sarracenos.”

⁷⁸ “*exercitum Yspaniae*” appears in the wills of Ferrarius of Sanaugia and Bernard de Conesa, and as “*exercitus de Yspania*” in the proto-will of Guillem de Puigvert.

⁷⁹ For example J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), or Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁸⁰ “*exercitu de Toledo*”. Testament of Garcia de Orra, AHN, sección Clero, San Victorian, Carpeta 769, #11.

Bernard Habenas both refer to the army as an “expedition”, while two of the documents use the word “host”.⁸¹

Fear of Death and Burial

Naturally enough, fear of death features prominently among the expectations of the participants. Pedro Velasco made his arrangements for his family “if perchance I should die there”, that is, on campaign.⁸² The charter of Guillem de Puigvert mentions that the terms of his property arrangements might change, “should I perchance die on the journey of the army of Spain.”⁸³ The will of Bernard de Granyana, Jofré de Rocabertí, and the proto-will of Pedro de Savassona both use the phrase “if perchance I happen to die”, another clerical staple, as the operative condition for their wills.⁸⁴ Peregrinus, a young knight joining the Order of Calatrava, deeded his property to his fellow knights “if I will meet my end in this war”.⁸⁵

In other wills, the fear of death is less explicitly stated, but none the less implied. Michael de Luesia, explaining some unresolved property issues in his will, explains that “the needs and worries of the current army, and shortness of time compel us”.⁸⁶ The will

⁸¹ “hac expeditione” in the testament of Bernard Habenas, “expedition Yspaniae” in Bernard de Bellmirall. “hostem”, which appears in the will of Bernard de Claravalls, is unusual as the word usually refers to an enemy army. I could also, however, be used in the modern sense to just refer to a military expedition. The second appearance of “host” comes from the fragmentary proto-will of Pedro de Savassona, which refers to the army as the “hostis Yspanie”. Proto-will of Pedro de Savassona, in Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1326.

⁸² See note 23.

⁸³ “si ego forte morer in hoc itinere exercitus de yspania”; AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, #9.

⁸⁴ “si forte me mori contigerit”, in the same form in all three documents, i.e. the wills of Jofré de Rocabertí, Pedro Savassona and Berard de Granyana.

⁸⁵ “Et si ego in hoc bello finiero”. Ed. Ortega y otros, *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava*, Scriptura IX, 451-452; Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc.1267.

⁸⁶ “presentis exercitus nos compellit necessitas sive anxietas et temporis brevisitas.”; AHN, sección ordines militares, Castellanía de Amposta, carp. 608, #30

of Arnaldo de Alascún was composed on Sunday July 15th, the very eve of battle, when the army was camped before the Puerto de Muradal, with the Almohad forces already in sight.⁸⁷ The simple and realistic fatality of the participants can be quite striking, as in the will of Rodrigo, son of Don Fortún Galíndez”, who made his arrangements “in case it does not go well for me in that army.”⁸⁸

This understandable preoccupation with mortality led many of the combatants to make arrangements for their burial. García Romeo made careful contingent arrangements for his burial: “I order that, if I die from this conflict within the Kingdom of Aragón, they bury me Zaragoza, in the House of the Hospital. And if perchance I die from this conflict outside the Kingdom of Aragón, I command that they bury me in the house of the Hospital in whatever distant place the battle occurs.”⁸⁹ Garcia de Orra added a burial arrangement to the end of his agreement with the Monastery of San Victorián, stating that “if I shall have sent my body to the monastery of San Victorián, they should receive me just as one of the monks, along with the offering I shall have sent there.”⁹⁰ Ferrarius de Sanaugia granted “to Lord God, Blessed Mary, and the monastery of Poblet, my body and soul to be buried”. In exchange, he left two horses and three mules, and all of his

⁸⁷ See note 23.

⁸⁸ “Memoria de testamento quod facio ego Don Rodrigo, filio de Fortun Galindez, si de mi desaveniret in exercitu illo.”; AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellanía de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #34, 35.

⁸⁹ “Et laxo et mando quod si obiero de hoc proelium in regno Aragón quod sepeliant me in Zaragoza in domo hospitalis, et si forte obiero de hoc proelio ex regnum Aragón mando quod sepeliant me in qualiscumque loco migrando de hoc proelio in domo hospitalis.”; AHN, *Cartulario Magno de la Castellanía de Amposta*, Códice 648-B, #33, 34.

⁹⁰ “Tamen hoc facio tali pactu, quatenus si destinavero corpus meum monasterio Sancti Victoriani, recipiant me sicut unus ex monachis, cum ea oblatione que ibi destinavero.”; AHN, sección clero, San Victorián de Sobrabe, car 769, #11.

armor and gear to the monastery; Bernard de Clarvalls made a similar arrangement.⁹¹ In an unfortunate moment of precognition, Jofré de Rocabertí arranged, right at the beginning of his will, to be buried in the monastery of Santa Maria de Vilabertran. Killed in battle, he found himself there just a few short months later.

The Name of the Enemy

The terms used to describe the enemy in the documents show differing levels of ideological content, or a lack thereof. Most of the documents simply refer to their Muslim opponents as Saracens.⁹² This term was in near universal use in the early thirteenth century: it is used by in the major Iberian historical works of the period, such as Rodrigo Xímenes de Rada and Lucas of Tuy, by the papal chancery, William of Tudela in his *Song of the Albigensian Crusade*, and by chroniclers such as Alberic of Trois Fontaines or William of Puylaurens.⁹³ Because it was in such general usage, it is difficult to assign much ideological meaning to any particular appearance of the word. Some medieval Christians, from at least the time of Isidoree, suggested that the term was an intentional deceit by Muslims claiming decent from Sarah rather than Hagar and

⁹¹ “In primis dimitto domino deo et beate María et monasterio Popleti corpus meum et animam ad sepeliendum, et dimitto eisdem monasterio omnis equitaturas meas, scilicet duos equos, duos mulos, et una mula et omne apparatus meum tam armorum quam vestium, et .I. lectum in quo iaceo.”; AHN sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, #12.

⁹² The wills of Pedro Velasco, Bernard de Clarvalls, Bernard de Conesa, Ferrarius de Sanaugia, Jofré de Rocabertí, and Bernard de Bellmirall all use the term “sarracenos” or “naciones sarracenicass”. So do two other contemporary charters (a donation by the Hospitallers in Navarra, and a property sale by Pedro de Villa Lobos in Toledo) making reference to the campaign: AHN, sección ordines militares, car 875, #41; AHN, sección clero, Aguilar de Campoó, car 1653, #2.

⁹³ *DRH, CM, Song of the Cathar Wars*, Alberic de Troisfontaines, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, etc.

Ishmael, but common usage seems to have blurred the original meaning.⁹⁴ Educated authors such as Archbishop Rodrigo typically used the alternative terms Agarenes or Ishmaelites when they wished to point out the divergent origin of Muslims.⁹⁵ Frequently enough the term Saracen appears to be essentially a racial marker, as it is often used to differentiate a certain group of Muslims (presumably Arabs) from Turks, Moors, or other diverse peoples.⁹⁶ At other times it is used interchangeably with other ethnic or racial terms.⁹⁷ In short, it is impossible to assign any sort of ideological meaning to the frequent appearance of the word in these documents. It was simply the standard name by which western Europeans referred to Muslims.

More polemical terms were certainly available. In the donation made by García de Orra to the monastery of San Victorián, the author describes the campaign as “the war which King Pedro had proposed to make there with the pagans.”⁹⁸ The image of Muslims as pagans was well established in Europe by the early thirteenth century. Popular epics such as the *Song of Roland* portrayed Islam as a gross caricature of ancient pagan idolatry and polytheism, worshipping statues of Apollo alongside images of

⁹⁴ On the origin of the word, see John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 287; also R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 17-18.

⁹⁵ For example, *DRH*, book 8, various.

⁹⁶ The term is used in this fashion frequently throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, see the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), or *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1864). Isidore also entertained the possibility that the term was a racial description marking their origin in Syria. See Tolan, 287.

⁹⁷ For example, in the *CL* freely switches back and forth between “sarraceni” and “mauri”; Jean de Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, calls his Muslim opponents both Saracens and Turks.

⁹⁸ “Anno in quo dompnus Petrus rex perget in illo exercitu de Toieto et in illo bello quod proposuerat se factum illuc cum paganis”; AHN, sección clero, San Victorián de Sobrarbe, car 769, #11.

Muhammad.⁹⁹ John Tolan has suggested that the term pagan was used so frequently that it was essentially synonymous with more common terms like Saracen, though I would be more cautious. The appearance of the term in the *Chansons de Geste* and similar literature seem to be used for dramatic rhetorical effect. In reality, anyone who bothered to investigate the issue could discover that the Muslims were indeed not pagans.¹⁰⁰ Referring to Islam as a pagan religion was an intentionally hostile polemical choice. The label pagan, and the related notion of idolatry (which does not appear in any of these documents) insisted on the illegitimacy of Islam. Other monotheists had to at least be acknowledged and reckoned with. Pagans could be exterminated or ignored.¹⁰¹

References to Muslims as pagans were relatively uncommon in the Iberian Peninsula, where first-hand knowledge of Islam was easy to come by. The Archbishop Rodrigo, who was familiar enough with Islam to write a history about it, uses the term only once, in passing, to refer to Muslims.¹⁰² Despite the fact that most Iberians recognized that Muslims were not pagans, the term could still be used to discredit and denigrate a Muslim opponent. Lucas of Tuy employed the term several times in his

⁹⁹ It seems to me, however, that the *Song of Roland* presents all of Roland's and Oliver's enemies as the stuff of fantasy and mythology, and not as actual people. I would hesitate to say that the epic's portrayal of Islam was in any way normative. Norman Daniel generally seems to suggest this as well in his *Heroes and Saracens: an interpretation of the Chansons de geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984). For the counter-argument, see Tolan, 126; Margaret Jubb, "Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents" in *The Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 225-244.

¹⁰⁰ For example Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Lavine (Middlesex: Echo, 2008).

¹⁰¹ See Ron Barkai, 169. Of course reckoning with ancient paganism, and its important adherents, like Aristotle, was a significant intellectual challenge to medieval intellectuals.

¹⁰² Rodrigo notes in his *De Rebus Hispaniae* that the royal palace of León was used as a "bath for pagans" before it was taken by the Asturians, *DRH*, Book IV, ch. 22. Rodrigo's history of Islam is the *Historia Arabum*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CCSL 72C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), in which he never refers to Muslims as pagans.

Chronicon Mundi, and also referred to the Muslims as barbarians.¹⁰³ In this context, it seems safe to conclude that the scribe composing the document of García de Orra (Pedro, the sacristan of the monastery of San Victorián) intentionally chose to call the enemy pagans rather than the more common term (Saracens) in order to emphasize the confrontation and hostility inherent in the coming conflict.¹⁰⁴

The even more polemical and dramatic term *inimicos crucis*, enemies of the cross, is used to describe the Muslims in the wills of Bernard de Conesa and Ferrarius of Sanaugia, again emphasizing the hostility between the Christian and Muslim camps. This terminology (or a variant of it) was in wide use in clerical circles, particularly those describing the crusades.¹⁰⁵ It comes originates in the Bible itself, where, in Philippians 3:18, Paul warns his church of the “enemies of the cross of Christ.” The term was a favorite of the papal curia, and was employed by Pope Innocent III regularly in his correspondences, particularly in the planning of the Las Navas campaign. For example, writing to Alfonso VIII in February of 1212 to inform him that he had issued a crusade bull for the upcoming campaign, he advised the King: “God is powerful, and he may cause you to triumph magnificently over the enemies of the cross of Christ.”¹⁰⁶ Even Archbishop Rodrigo uses the phrase on occasion, most notably in his own crusade-encyclical, where he encouraged his Spanish audience to defend the Church against the

¹⁰³ For example *CM*, 305.

¹⁰⁴ See above, note 98.

¹⁰⁵ For example, *Gesta francorum*, book IX; *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladium libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 66, (London 1875).

¹⁰⁶ “quia potens est ut te faciat de inimicis crucis Christi magnifice triumphare.” Mansilla, doc. 470, 501.

enemies of the cross.¹⁰⁷ In fact the entire campaign of 1212 was framed in similar terminology. “Miramamolín’s challenge”, the aggressive “letter” from al-Nasir which was the backbone of the propaganda and preaching effort for the Las Navas campaign, threatened war against all who adore the cross”, which is essentially the rhetorical opposite of “enemies of the cross”.¹⁰⁸ The phrase “*inimicos crucis*” was a stock rhetorical portrayal for the Muslim enemy in a crusade setting. The description of the Muslims as “enemies of the cross” in these wills reflects the ideological framing of the campaign, and demonstrates that this terminology reached beyond the writings of popes and bishops. As discussed above, these two wills were composed by the same scribe, using the same language. We can be certain that the papal and ecclesiastical effort to frame the campaign of 1212 as a crusade was fresh in the mind of the monks of Poblet, and Brother Pedro, as he recorded the wills of Bernard and Ferrarius. Moreover, while the phrase *inimicos crucis* was almost certainly chosen by the monk and not the knights, they were certainly aware of the meaning, and in agreement with the sentiment.

On Crusade

Some of the details in the diplomatic evidence connect the documents, and the combatants for whom they were created, more directly with the themes and ideas of the crusade. The will of Bernard de Claravalls reflects a distinct sense of Christian unity, portraying the campaign as an expansion of Christendom. In its extended *arenga* the

¹⁰⁷ ACT I.6.G.I.13, published in Lucy Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 209-210.

¹⁰⁸ See chapter 3. The letter is preserved in the *Anales de Lambach*, MGH SS IX, 557-558; also printed in Alvira, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, doc. 1204. The letter uses the Latin phrase “*omnes qui signum crucis adorant*”, which is essentially the opposite of “*inimicos crucis*”.

scribe reports Bernard as saying “I fear the punishments in Hell, and desire to adhere to Christ, and I wish to go with the other Christians in the host against the Saracens to the expansion of holy Christendom, for the redemption of my soul.”¹⁰⁹ This language and sentiment are very close to the vision of the crusades held by Pope Innocent III and much of the Church hierarchy.¹¹⁰ This view, in which the defense and expansion of the Christian world on all fronts, internal as in the case of the Albigensian crusade in Languedoc, or external as on the frontiers of Spain, the Holy Land, and the Baltic, were part of a single, unified struggle was gradually coalescing into official policy, which would see its greatest expression in the institutionalization of the crusade at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. It is likely that the cleric who composed this charter, who identifies himself as “Presbyter” Bernardus, was a particularly well informed individual and was inclined to include this nod to a larger crusade ideology. In fact, such sentiment may have been all around him. It seems likely that this document was composed during the campaign itself, given the lack of monastic scribes or witnesses found in the documents created before the campaign in monasteries. There were certainly persons travelling in the army who articulated the events in much the same way. For example, the archbishop of Narbonne, Arnald Amalric, in his letter reporting the victory to the Cistercian General Chapter, explicitly related the battle to the struggle of Christendom with heretics (in France) and “eastern schismatics” as well.¹¹¹ Other wills could be just as expansive. The *arenga* of the will of Guillem de Criexell says that he was “going for the

¹⁰⁹ “Ego Bernardis de Clares Valls timeo penas inferni et cupio herere christi et volo pergere cum aliis christianis in hostem super sarracenis examplare sanctam christianitatem pro redemptionem amine mee”; AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car 2106, # 14.

¹¹⁰ For example, Innocent III and Arnald Amalric. See chapter 2 of this work.

¹¹¹ Arnald, 253.

sake of the honor of God and of the universal church to the defense of the blessed people of God”.¹¹² While less explicit than the aforementioned will of Bernard de Claravalls, the statement nonetheless expresses a sense that the campaign, though specifically limited to Castile, was imagined as a defense of Christendom itself.

The most significant expression, or at least the most direct, appears in a charter from the Kingdom of Navarra. In this case, a land grant by a local chapter of the Hospital of Saint John is dated “in the Era 1250 (1212 A.D.), month of October, in the year in which King Sancho was against the Saracens with the crusade”.¹¹³ The use of the term crusade here, spelled “crozada” after the Occitanian, is in and of itself quite significant. I believe it to be one of the earliest examples of the use of the term crusade. The same term appears in the contemporary *Song* of William of Tudela, a verse-epic of the Albigensian crusade composed between 1210 and 1213.¹¹⁴ The term appears in the Spanish spelling, “cruzada”, in the *Annales Toledanos* for the years 1217 and 1218.¹¹⁵ In 1227 Domingo, the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Toledo gave a gold *morabetino* (maravedi) “ala cruzada” in his will.¹¹⁶ Similarly the term is used frequently to describe the campaign of 1212 in the *Primera Cronica General* of the later thirteenth century.¹¹⁷ Throughout the twelfth century, there was no consistent terminology for crusaders or

¹¹² “pergens ob honorem Dei et tocius ecclesie catolice ad defendendum populum sanctum Dei”.

¹¹³ “Facta Carta sub Era 1250, mense Octobris, in anno quod Rex Sancius fuit super Sarracenos cum illa crozada.”

¹¹⁴ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, various. Of course the term is most clear in the original French version, *Le Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, Tome I, *La Chanson de Guillame de Tudéle*. Eugene Martin-Chabot, trans. (Paris, 1931).

¹¹⁵ *AT I*, 400

¹¹⁶ *ACT Z.4.B.8*

¹¹⁷ *Primera Chronica General*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), 689, 690, etc.

crusading activity, either in Latin or Romance.¹¹⁸ The most common terminology associated the crusades with pilgrimage, and referred to crusaders as *peregrini*. During the papacy of Innocent III, the curia began to use the Latin term *crucesignatus* somewhat consistently, though until after the Fourth Lateran Council there was still no consistent usage.¹¹⁹ In this case, the charter evidence again suggests that the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa took place in the very period in which the ideology and definition of crusading were beginning to crystallize. It is quite possible that this campaign was the very first to be referred to as a crusade by contemporaries.

The Wills and Crusading

The appearance of the word “crozada” of course demonstrates that at least some of the participants in the campaign, in this case the members of one of the international military orders, thought of themselves as crusaders. But of course the knights of the Hospital of Saint John were, in a manner of speaking, permanent crusaders. What about the other participants, for whom the campaign of Las Navas was a somewhat unique event? While the papacy had been associating conflicts between Christians and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula with the eastern crusades for decades prior to 1212, there remains some question as to the degree to which the Spanish Christians themselves had adopted such an approach. As we have seen, clerical writers were certainly comfortable with the language and terminology of the crusades, but what about the combatants themselves? In many cases, the wars between Al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms take on an

¹¹⁸As discussed generally by Tyerman, 27; Brundage, “Cruce Signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England”; Markowski.

¹¹⁹ Markowski, 160.

overwhelmingly local character, and it is very difficult to discern any real influence from the larger crusading movement. Despite the efforts of historians such as Goñi Gatzambide to directly associate papal pronouncements of crusade indulgences and the actions of Spanish combatants, there are still real gaps in the evidence.¹²⁰

For example, despite evidence that a series of liturgical rites and crusade vows developed in northern Europe during the course of the twelfth century, we have no real evidence of Spanish warriors making anything like a crusade vow until the mid-thirteenth century.¹²¹ The wills of the participants in the Las Navas campaign do not help to illuminate this unexpected omission. There were terms commonly used to describe people who had taken vows, which became increasingly common toward the end of the twelfth century as the definitions of crusading activity were further institutionalized.¹²² Phrases such as “taking up the cross”, or “becoming signed with the cross”, which have been taken as descriptions of avowed crusaders, are entirely absent from these sources. In fact, the only example of a vow found in any of the diplomatic evidence surrounding the campaign of 1212 comes from the aforementioned charter drawn up for Peregrinus, who was joining the Order of Calatrava in April of that year. In order to join, Peregrinus “made a vow” to God, the Virgin, and the Master of the Order.¹²³

¹²⁰ Gatzambide, *Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada*.

¹²¹ Brundage, “Cruce Signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England”; James I of the Crown of Aragon appears to have made a proper crusade vow in the presence of the papal legate Jean d’Abbeville in 1229, prior to undertaking his Majorca campaign. See

¹²² Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades 76; Brundage, “Cruce Signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England”; Tyerman, 27-28.

¹²³ “Notum sit omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Peregrinus, existens in mea salute et in mea memoria, facio votum Deo et Beate Marie et vobis Magistro Roderico Didaci et omni Conventui Sancte Ordinis Salvaterre, ut si Deo aspirante Ordinem sim accepturus, nullam aliam nisi vestram extra maritalem copulam.”

By comparison, we do find such terms in wills just a few years later. In April of 1226, Martín Muñoz, a veteran of Las Navas de Tolosa, prepared to join a new campaign against Badajoz led by Alfonso IX of León and the Archbishop of Compostela.¹²⁴ This time, he was very explicit about his status as a crusader: “I, Don Martín Muñoz de Falcón, am a crusader by the sign of the cross. In the name of my lord Jesus Christ or the love of my lord Archbishop, I wish to go with him in the army against the Saracens”.¹²⁵ The expression “*cruciatus sum*” appears to be an explicit acknowledgement of a crusade vow. In all other ways, the will is very similar to those drawn up prior to the battle of Las Navas. However, in the ensuing years, the Spanish participants (and their scribes) had become far more specific when discussing the institution of the crusade.¹²⁶

Similarly, the wills of Las Navas provide only small clues concerning the reception of the spiritual benefits of the crusade. Bernard of Bellmirall made his will “wishing to go against the Saracens in the expedition of Spain for the remedy of my soul”.¹²⁷ Similarly, Bernard de Claravalls was joining the crusade “for the redemption of my soul.”¹²⁸ This language is of course reflective of the crusade indulgence, which the papacy and ecclesiastical leaders had repeatedly applied to this campaign. Innocent

¹²⁴ For this campaign, see *CL*, ch. 50, 94-95. The will of Martín Muñoz is in the Tumbo de Tojos Outos, AHN, códices, cod. 1002, 52v. It is mentioned, briefly, in Julio González, *Alfonso IX*, vol. 1 (Madrid: CSIC, 1944), 391.

¹²⁵ “Ego dompnus Martinus Muniz de Falcon cruciatus sum signu crucis. In nomine domini mei Jhesu Christi sive pro amore domini mei Archiepiscopi et volo ire cum eo in hoste super sarracenos”.

¹²⁶ Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades”, 76, n. 24, observed that “The argument, admittedly *ex silentio*, of the charters suggests that the vow was more important in the later than the earlier crusades.”

¹²⁷ “Ego Bernardus de Pulcro Miraculo volens ire contra sarracenos in expeditionem Yspanie pro remedio anime mee”.

¹²⁸ See note 104.

extended the indulgence to Spanish crusaders explicitly on numerous occasions.¹²⁹

Archbishop Rodrigo repeated the papal promise of indulgences in his own crusade encyclical, stating that:

We add for the greater confidence of your hope that whoever goes on this expedition, if he will have been truly penitent for his sins, by the authority of Almighty God and the Lord Pope and ourselves and our venerable brother bishops, namely the bishops of Osma, Calahorra, Palencia, Burgos, Segovia, Ávila, and Siguëenza, let him not doubt that he has made the same absolution for all his sins as he who goes to Jerusalem has.¹³⁰

Yet while the leaders and architects of the campaign articulated these very explicit indulgences, they are not so clearly reflected in the wills. Both the wills of Bernard de Bellmirall and Bernard de Claravalls make only vague statements about the redemption of one's soul. There is no specific reference to the remission or absolution of sins. In fact, the generic invocation "for the redemption of my soul" appears in a variety of contexts within these sources. For example, Pedro Velasco and his wife, as nearly every person bestowing gifts on religious institutions, make their arrangements with the monastery "for our souls and those of our parents and our own salvation", but mention no specific benefits associated with the campaign.¹³¹ In fact, the spiritual assurances that Pedro is seeking are clearly associated with the monastery: their extension of blessings to him and his family as though they were part of the convent, and their willingness to bury

¹²⁹ Mansilla, doc. 468, among others. See chapter 2.

¹³⁰ "Ad maiorem etiam spei vestre fiduciam addimus ut quisquis in hac expeditione ierit, si prius de peccatis suis vere penituerit, ex auctoritate dei omnipotens et domini pape, et nostra et venerabilium fratrum nostrorum coepiscoporum, videlicet Oxomeni, Calgurrutani, Palentini, Burgensis, Secobiensis, Abulenisis, Seguens, omnium peccatorum suorum tantam absolutionem sibi factam esse non dubitet, quanta mis qui Jherosolimam vadit habet ." ACT I.6.G.1.13; Pick, 209-210. See chapter 2.

¹³¹ "Statuimus itaque dedimus pro animabus nostris et parentum nostrorum necnon salute propria"; *Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega*, 110.

him in their cemetery.¹³² The same was true of Garcia de Orra, who made similar arrangements with the monastery of San Victorián. At the very beginning of his will, Bernard de Granyana makes a grant of property to the monastery of Poblet “for the remedy of my soul”, a very common phrase in these documents.¹³³ The testament of Arnaldus of Alascun reads “On account of the remission of all of my sins, and the souls of my father and mother and all of my relatives, I grant and concede to the aforementioned Hospital (of Saint John), after my death, that new castle of mine at Sadava.”¹³⁴ Michael de Luesia also grants property to the Hospitallers (at Barbastro) for the souls of his parents and in remission of his sins.¹³⁵ Ramon de Cervera made his donation to Poblet in remission of his sins and those of all his relatives.¹³⁶

If anything, the documents display the usual expressions of piety associated with the giving of gifts to religious institutions far more than they do the spiritual benefits of crusading. These expressions are conventional in the sense that they are standard expressions in wills and testaments from throughout the Middle Ages, and in that they reflect the common understanding that there was a genuine, if only vaguely defined, spiritual benefit behind the lay support of the religious. It has been argued that these

¹³² Pedro and his wife request that the convent “in suo nos recipere beneficio et quasi professos et datos haberent.” The burial arrangements are discussed above.

¹³³ “In primis, ob remedium anime mee, “; AHN, sección clero, Poblet, car. 2106, #5.

¹³⁴ “Et propter remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum et animabus patris et matris meorum omniumque meorum parentum, dono, laxo, et concedo predicto hospitale post obitum meum illud meum castellum novum de Sadava.”; AHN, sección ordines militares, Hospital de San Juan, car 584, #83.

¹³⁵ “In super pro animabus parentum meum et in meorum remissionem peccatorum, laudamus concedemus et damus domino deo et hospitali Sancti Johannis Barbastre villas meas...” AHN, sección ordines militares, Hospital de San Juan, car 608, #30.

¹³⁶ Ramon de Cervera was already a veteran crusader in 1212. The charter recording his donation to Poblet in the spring before the campaign notes that he had already made a similar donation in the late 1190s, when he went to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Sepulcher. The date suggests that he may have done this as part of the Fourth Crusade.

expressions, particularly those involving the terms “in remission of sins” indeed do refer to genuine clerical indulgences, which were developing during the twelfth and early thirteenth century.¹³⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith described the formulation as already “old fashioned” by the time Urban II used it at the Council of Clermont. He further argued that this phrase should always be equated with the indulgence, as a remission of sin was only possible through the satisfaction of penance.¹³⁸ The language and precise nature of the indulgences were not clearly defined until the Fourth Lateran Council, despite the popularity of the practice throughout the twelfth century. Though most frequently associated with crusading, indulgences also became a frequent reward for pious giving, particularly for church construction.¹³⁹ Therefore, while phrases like “in remission of my sins” or “for the salvation of my soul” were indeed attached to the activities of crusading, they were used very broadly by participants in this campaign.¹⁴⁰

A further comparison of the wills of Las Navas to those generated by participants in earlier crusades destined for the Holy Land reveals further ambiguity. In many ways, these documents compare well. They all demonstrate a concern among the participants for securing their families and possessions before embarking on a dangerous undertaking. Many show the exceptional expenses associated with crusading, and the means by which one might raise these funds. They also demonstrate the ties of family and regional

¹³⁷ See Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, 151. See also chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹³⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone, 1986), 27-29.

¹³⁹ Robert Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom 1175-1375* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007), 45-52. Shaffern points out that the term *indulgentia* was not used until the Fourth Lateran Council.

¹⁴⁰ Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades”, 75. It is worth noting that the papacy recognized the *ad hoc*, ill-defined nature of these ideas, and made efforts to establish formal definitions in the early thirteenth century. See chapter 3.

kinship which helped to draw people into the campaigns. But most of the wills of crusaders headed toward Jerusalem use the language of pilgrimage to describe the campaign. Words like *iter* and *peregrinandi* are used to describe the journey and the act of setting out.¹⁴¹ In the case of the Las Navas wills however, the word *itiner* appears three times but it is difficult to suggest that its use implies an association with pilgrimage.¹⁴² It seems rather to just mean “expedition” in this case. The most common verb in the Spanish documents is *pergere*, which is not etymologically related to *peregrinatio*. In short, the language of pilgrimage is simply not used to describe participation in the Las Navas campaign by the Spanish crusaders. It does appear on occasion in reference to the *ultramontanos*, for whom the journey to Spain was considerably more analogous to actual pilgrimage.¹⁴³

If the Iberian participants were not described as pilgrims, the words used to describe their participation do shed some light on their status. The aforementioned Pedro Velasco is the only Leonese participant to appear in these documents. He is particularly interesting because his king, Alfonso IX of León, did not participate in the campaign.¹⁴⁴ Pedro, like the handful of other verifiable Leonese participants, were volunteers, and not part of a royal host, and it is worth noting that his charter uses the word *volens*, suggesting that his participation was his own choice.¹⁴⁵ These volunteers would have

¹⁴¹ Constable, “Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades”, 75.

¹⁴² For example in the wills of Guillemus de Podio Viridi, Bernard of Bellmirall, and Pedro de Savassona.

¹⁴³ Innocent III refers to “*peregrinos*” at least twice, Mansilla docs. 468 and 470. The term also appears in the letter of Princess Blanca to Blanca of Champagne, *RHGF XIX*, 255-256.

¹⁴⁴ See chapter 1 for a discussion of Alfonso of León’s absence, and his stormy relationship with his cousin Alfonso of Castile.

¹⁴⁵ Seven Galician participants were listed by Julio González, in his *Alfonso IX* (Madrid: 1944), 144-146. Another, Sancho Fernández, the bastard son of Fernando II of León and Urraca López de Haro, fought in

been drawn of the campaign, as extensive kinship ties connected the nobility of León and Castile, even if the kingdoms were split and their kings at odds.¹⁴⁶ It is somewhat less certain how official recruitment programs in León may have worked. There was an aggressive preaching and recruiting program for the campaign which took place in the winter and spring of 1212, but mostly outside of Spain.¹⁴⁷ Pope Innocent, as part of his strenuous effort to secure widespread international support, wrote to Archbishop Pedro of Santiago de Compostela in April, asking him to foster mutual aid and cooperation between the kingdoms of León and Castile for the upcoming campaign.¹⁴⁸ While the Pope's primary concern was to prevent Alfonso IX from allying with the Almohads, as he had in the past, the request for mutual assistance may well have been publicized in the kingdom. Such calls for aid would have been passed on through the Church, and were perhaps the inspiration for volunteers like Pedro Velasco. Five other knights served as witnesses for Pedro's donation to the monastery, and it is quite possible that these men, Pedro's peers, were also planning on joining the crusader army that spring. In contrast, the men of the Crown of Aragón joined their king, Pedro II, on the campaign of 1212, as part of a powerful royal host which formed the left wing in the battle. Whereas Pedro Velasco of León wished (*volens*) to join the campaign, most of these wills simply state that the men are going (*pergens*) to join the army, perhaps implying that they were

the battle with the other members of the Haro family, *CL* ch. 24. Alvira, "Guerra e ideología", 607, adds Fernán Pérez de Varela el Capelo, bringing the total number of identifiable participants from the Kingdom of León to nine.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, Simon Doubleday, *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain* (Cambridge, 2001), on the cross-border conditions of the elites of León-Castile. The above-mentioned Sancho Fernández seems to have participated in the battle because of his familial ties to the Haro family.

¹⁴⁷ See chapter 2.

¹⁴⁸ Mansilla, doc. 471, 501-502

expected (or compelled) to join their king.¹⁴⁹ As mentioned above, recruitment for the campaign within the Christian kingdoms of Spain was primarily a function of the feudal responsibility of the nobility, and it is certain that the men of Aragón, like those of Castile and Navarra, would have been expected to follow their kings into battle, rather than volunteering. Their crusading was done at the pleasure of their monarchs.

The Military Orders

The wills of the participants do show direct engagement with the idea of crusading through the frequent fascination with the military orders. Many of the documents list gifts to the military orders. The relatively poor Rodrigo, son of Fortún Galíndez, made his only gift of real-estate to the Templars. Bernard de Clarvalls bestowed his shield and lance on the “*domus gardeni*”, an important Templar convent and castle near Lleida.¹⁵⁰ Guillem de Creixell also left the Templars his weapons, horse, and body for burial. García de Romeo also bequeathed property to them. He also supported the Order of the Hospital, as did his fellow Aragonese nobles, Miguel de Luesia and Arnaldo de Alascún. The most enthusiastic supporter of the Military Orders seems to have been Arnaldo de Alascún, who makes the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem the primary benefactor of his estate. Clearly the Hospitallers loom large in the plans of Arnaldo, and in return for leaving them his castle and personal property, he makes a very poignant demand of them: “I wish and order that the brothers of the aforementioned hospital convey my horse, my arms of wood and steel, and my death-bed

¹⁴⁹ The charters of Pedro de Villalobos and García de Orra, and the will of Jofré de Rochabertí all make specific reference to accompanying their respective kings on the campaign.

¹⁵⁰ For the foundation of the convent of Gardeny, see Forey, *The Templars in the Crown of Aragón*, 26.

and all other vestments of this sort which fall to me all to the Holy Land.”¹⁵¹ This desire for a posthumous inclusion in the crusading activity of the Hospital is striking, as is the clear enthusiasm for the Holy Land. Jerusalem was a major source of inspiration and a common focus of popular piety in early thirteenth century Spain.¹⁵² And while it is clear that Arnaldo de Alascún was inspired by the ideas of the crusade, his request that his property be taken overseas after his death suggests that he did not equate his own participation in the campaign of 1212 with a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Despite the pronouncements of popes and bishops, equating the fight against Islam in Spain and in the Holy Land, in the minds of some the connection was not explicit. If Arnaldo saw himself as a crusader and his participation in the campaign as part of a larger struggle against Islam, he still desired to make a spiritual connection to the Holy Land in the company of the Hospitallers.¹⁵³ For the participants in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, crusading in Spain was not necessarily the same as crusading in the Holy Land.

Yet clearly the Spanish participants were responding to the institutions and ideas which were, in the early years of the thirteenth century, coalescing into a coherent crusading program. From the encyclical distributed by Archbishop Rodrigo, to the close involvement of the papacy, the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa was planned and executed as a crusade. Clearly many of the Spanish Christians considered themselves crusaders. Moreover, the language of crusading, especially the hostile labels assigned to

¹⁵¹ “Volo laxo et mando quod meum equum et meas armas ex ligno et fero et meum lectum et totam aliam roppam qualem incidet mei in parte fraters dicti hospitali defferant haec totum ultra mare.” AHN, sección ordines militares, Hospital de San Juan, car 584, #83.

¹⁵² See chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹⁵³ Jamie I, the son of Pedro II and King of Aragón from 1213-1276, expressed similar sentiments. Despite a very successful career of crusade and conquest in the Iberian Peninsula, he still wished to lead an expedition to the Holy Land as late as 1269.

the enemy, had found its way into the vocabulary of the Peninsular monasteries, and presumably their patrons as well. But the penetration of crusading ideas, language, and practices was yet incomplete. There was clearly an enthusiastic embrace of crusade institutions by the Spanish church, and a vigorous promotion of Spanish crusading by Innocent III. However, the institutionalization of the crusade, and its integration into the culture of Europe, was an ongoing process. In France, a century of crusading traditions had accelerated the process considerably, to the point where it had become a major cultural feature. In the Iberian Peninsula, the distinctive local conditions had limited the degree to which the Spanish Christians could participate in the phenomenon of crusading. In 1212 the ideas and practices of crusading were just beginning to become regular features of the local culture.

EPILOGUE-- AFTERMATH AND CONSEQUENCES

In what must have been one of the more dramatic scenes in the long history of Christian-Muslim relations in the Iberian Peninsula, al-Bayyasi, the former governor, now independent lord of Baeza and the upper Guadalquivir valley, appeared before Fernando III of Castile on the battlefield of Las Navas de Tolosa in June of 1225. Here, according to Fernando's official version of the event, the "King of Baeza became my vassal and kissed my hands".¹ The meeting was apparently initiated by al-Bayyasi, who felt that a Castilian alliance might give him an advantage over his Andalusian rivals, and at very least forestall Christian attacks into his territory.² The precipitous decline of Almohad power in the years after 1212 led to the renewed independence (and internecine struggle) of the cities of al-Andalus, and with it new vulnerability to conquest from their northern neighbors. As many taifa rulers before him, al-Bayyasi could read the writing on the wall, and chose sides early.³ For Fernando III, this was an opportunity to secure his power south of the Sierra Morena, in order to begin a conquest of the great cities along the Guadalquivir. The choice of meeting places must have been intentional. In the ensuing 13 years since the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the region had been a no-man's-land along the frontier. The horses of the two parties meeting that day must have

¹ "Facta carta apud Toletum xxviii de aprilis, era MCCLX quarta, anno regni mei nono, eo videlicet anno quo rex Baecie apud Navas de Tolosa devenit vassallus meus et osculatus est manus meus". ACT, V.2.D.1.4; Hernandez, *Los Cartularios de Toledo* (Toledo: Fundacion Ramon Areces, 1985), doc. 418. The event was of sufficient importance to appear in the dating clause of some of Fernando III's charters in 1225-1226.

² Lomax, 137-138. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 83-85.

³ The most famous episode of this sort is of course the decision on the part of the *taifa* rulers in 1086 to request help from the Almoravids of Morocco. As Archbishop Rodrigo they had to decide "whether it was better to tend pigs for the Christians or herd camels for the Almoravids" ("ad invicem tractaverunt quid esset graciosius aut Christianorum porcos aut camelos Almoravidum custodire"), *DRH*, book VI, ch. 30, 214.

unearthed grim reminders of the Christian victory: a broken lance here, human bones there. Surely this is what Fernando had in mind. The symbolic act of sealing his alliance with al-Bayyasi on the site of the great battle ensured that there was no mistake about the power-relationship there established. Both the Christians and Muslims still recognized and remembered the events of 1212.

In fact, in Castile there was never really any question about the significance. The victory won on July 16, 1212 was, to Alfonso VIII at least, the crowning achievement of his life. From the autumn of 1212 until his death in October of 1214, nearly every document created by the King's chancery is dated with reference to the victory. The formulations of these written mini-memorials varied. Sometimes they were very direct, even boastful, with the date of the charter followed by the statement "the year in which I, the aforementioned King Alfonso overcame Miramomelin, King of Carthage, on the field of battle."⁴ Gradually, following Innocent III's advice to attribute the victory not to men but to God, the statements became somewhat more humble: "Charter made at Guadalquivir, 5th day of the month of June, era 1251 (1213 A.D.), the second year since I, the aforementioned King Alfonso defeated Miramomelin, the then King of Morocco on the field of battle at Las Navas de Tolosa, not by my own merit but by the mercy of God and the help of my vassals."⁵ It was not just the royal curia celebrating in this way; a

⁴ "eo videlicet anno quo ego predictus Aldefonsus rex Almiramomeninum regem Cartaginis campestri prelio superavi." González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, doc. 903, 580-581.

⁵ "Facta carta apud Guadalquivir, era MCCL prima, V die mensis Junii, secundo videlicet anno postquam ego A., rex predictus, Amiramomelinum, tunc regem Marracos apud Las Navas de Tolosa campestri prelio devici non meis meritis set Dei misericordia et meorum auxilio vassalorum." González, *Alfonso VIII*, vol. 3, doc. 905, 584-585. It is especially interesting to note the language "then King of Morocco." The Caliph al-Nasir died on the 23rd of May, 1213. News of his death must have travelled very fast. Innocent's

1214 charter from the canons of the Cathedral of Toledo, recording a gift of land to Archbishop Rodrigo, is dated “second year after noble and admirable triumph of Alfonso, King of Castile, which he had over Miramomelin and the enemies of the cross of Christ.”⁶ This formulation was almost certainly Archbishop Rodrigo’s doing, who, as one of the architects of the crusade, had every reason to celebrate its success.

The celebration was, however, short-lived. Though the Christian victory permanently broke the power of the Almohads in Spain, many of the principal actors were not around to see these results. After another year of minor campaigning, Alfonso’s greatest vassal, Diego Lopez de Haro, lord of Vizcaya, died on September 16, 1213.⁷ Alfonso VIII of Castile, at fifty-eight years of age, died near Ávila on October 6, 1214, his wife Leonor and Archbishop Rodrigo at his side. He left his son Enrique, still a minor, on the throne of Castile. Leonor followed her husband into the grave on October 31.⁸ Alfonso had, however, outlived Miramomelin: the Caliph al-Nasir, who died in May of 1213, not long after returning to Morocco.⁹

Pedro of Aragón also did not survive for long after the battle. The unfortunate episode that led to his untimely demise was his involvement in the Albigensian Crusade. Riding high on his victory at Las Navas, Pedro decided to intervene in the situation festering to the north of the Pyrenees. Raymond VII of Toulouse, his brother-in-law and vassal, as well as the Counts of Foix, Comminges, and the viscount of Béarn looked to

pastoral advice to embrace humility came in his congratulatory letter sent to Alfonso VIII in October of 1212. Mansilla, doc. 488, 519-521.

⁶ “secundo anno post nobile et admirabile triumphum Aldefonsum regis Castele quae habuit ad Admiramomelino et de inimicis crucis Christi”. BCT 42-23a, 66.

⁷ *CL*, ch. 28, 67-68.

⁸ *CL*, ch. 28, 68-69; *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 15, 279-280.

⁹ Ibn ‘Idhārī, 274-275.

the King of Aragón to save them from the relentless attack of Simon de Monfort and the prelates of the region. The King made serious efforts to settle the situation peacefully in early 1213, asking Innocent to suspend the crusaders' attack on his allies until their guilt or innocence could be determined and to allow Raymond of Toulouse and the others the opportunity to clear his name. Despite this diplomatic effort, Pedro, even with all his newfound prestige after Las Navas, could not out-manuever Simon de Monfort, Arnald Amalric, and the other leaders of the crusade. It became clear at the Council of Lavaur, in January of 1213, that the possibility of reconciliation, which had been discussed many times, was not being seriously considered by the ecclesiastical leadership. The Crusade had already become a war of territorial aggrandizement, as Simon conquered large swaths of land from the Count of Toulouse and his allies. He was determined to finish off the Count of Toulouse and annex his lands. Arnald Amalric, already Archbishop of Narbonne, who had fought with Pedro at Las Navas, was of the opinion that the southern nobles in question were at least guilty of sheltering heretics. Again and again he swayed the Innocent's opinion against Raymond of Toulouse. Both Simon and Pedro, successful and aggressive warriors, were convinced of the rightness of their cause, and both felt justified in taking a hard line. Moreover, Pedro considered Simon a contumacious vassal, and was determined to punish him. Conflict was inevitable; between two intractable positions, God would judge who was right. The two sides met in battle when Pedro and Raymond besieged Simon inside the town of Muret in September of 1213. Though greatly outnumbered, Simon and his knights sallied from the town and overwhelmed the Aragonese knights with a determined charge. Pedro II, along with fellow Las Navas veterans Miguel de Luesia, Miguel de Rada, Aznar Pardo, and others, fell under the

swords of the crusaders and his army was routed.¹⁰ Observing this ignominious end for a such a hero, the *Cronica Latina* comments “How happy that king would have been, if he had ended his life immediately after the noble triumph in battle fought at Las Navas de Tolosa against the king of Morocco.”¹¹

Though the heroes of the battle did not live to see the fruition of the victory they had won, their successors, Fernando III in Castile and Jaime I in Aragón would not fail to exploit the new balance of power which they inherited. Fernando III conquered Córdoba, Sevilla and by 1252 the whole of the Guadalquivir valley. By that point, Muslim control in the Iberian Peninsula had been reduced to the vestigial Granada, which was nominally a vassal-state of Castile. In Aragón, Jaime conquered Valencia in 1238, and then the Balearic Islands, turning his kingdom into a serious Mediterranean power. Only forty years after Las Navas, the Reconquest was basically complete.

In the process, the Spanish Christians came to wholly embrace the ideology of crusading. If Las Navas de Tolosa was the first episode to be labeled a crusade, it was hardly the last. By 1217, the *Annales Toledanos* were labeling any offensive action against the Muslims as “cruzada”.¹² In 1227 Dominic, archdeacon of the Cathedral of Toledo, could leave money “*ala cruzada*.”¹³ By the end of the century in the recensions of the historical works of Alfonso X, even Las Navas de Tolosa had been relabeled with the term, despite the fact that Archbishop Rodrigo himself, on whose writings the later

¹⁰ The entire narrative of this sequence of events relies on Damian Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragón*, 111-142; Mark Pegg, *A Most Holy War*, 123-132; Alvira, *Muret 1213*.

¹¹ “Felix fuisset rex ille, si uitam finisset statim post nobile triumphum belli commissi in Nauas de Tolosa contra regem Marroquitanum.” *CL*, ch. 27, 67.

¹² *ATI*, 401.

¹³ ACT Z.4.B.8

accounts of the battle are based, never used the phrase himself. Nonetheless, in the *Cronica de Castilla* and the *Cronica de Veinte Reyes*, the campaign of 1212 was organized as a crusade when Rodrigo “left Spain to demand the crusade”, presumably from the Pope.¹⁴

Remembering Las Navas in Spain

Of course by that point the campaign of 1212 and the institution of crusade had become, in the eyes of the Spanish Christians, an entirely Spanish affair. The legacy of disunity seemed at once forgotten in the celebration. Even in partisan commemorations, there was more than enough glory to go around. The troubadour William of Tudela, praising Sancho VII of Navarre as “the best knight that ever sat on a horse”, observed that “Miramelis felt his (Sancho’s) strength! Castile and Aragón were there too; side by side their kings rode and fought. I intend to make a good new song about this, and shall write it out on fair parchment.”¹⁵ The historians of the thirteenth century all emphasized the victory as a signal moment for Spanish arms. As Rodrigo put it, after Calatrava, “only the Spanish, with a few *ultramontanos*, marched down the road to the battle of the Lord.”¹⁶ The *Cronica Latina* echoes Rodrigo’s sentiments:

Amazing is God in his deeds, who so marvelously granted to Spain and especially to the kingdom of Castile that, on the withdrawal of the

¹⁴ “Cuenta la estoria que, estando el rrey en Toledo, llegó el arzobispo don Rodrigo que fue a demandar la cruzada e a pedricarla por muchas tierras, e comencóse de enchirse la cibdat de grandes gentes cruzadas de todas las tierras de Europa.” CVR, 281. See the identical note in CC, 738.

¹⁵ *Song of the Cathar Wars*, 13. Unfortunately William, who disappeared in 1213, never got to right his song.

¹⁶ DRH, book VIII, ch. 6, 266.

ultramontanos, the glory of the victory in the famous battle should be attributed to the Spaniards, and not the *ultramontanos*.¹⁷

These expressions of nationalism¹⁸, or perhaps xenophobia against the French, striking as they are, pale in comparison to the writings of Vincentius Hispanus, the Portuguese canon lawyer, decretalist, and chancellor.¹⁹ Writing from around 1210 until his death in 1248, Vincentius produced numerous glosses and commentaries on a variety of ecclesiastical works, including Gratian's *Decretum*, and the decretals of several different popes.²⁰ Throughout his writing Vincentius manages to insert comments and statements about the greatness, uniqueness and virtue of Spain. In a gloss written shortly after Las Navas de Tolosa, Vincentius makes a comment with a clear inspiration from 1212: "With deeds, like a Spaniard, not with words, like a Frenchman." Much of his rhetoric is spent decrying the French, including a protracted challenge to the whole story of Charlemagne and Roland in Spain. Vincentius even decides that the defeat of the 12 peers was a heroic defense of Spain, whether waged by Basques or Muslims. They were, at any rate, Spaniards, not Frenchmen.²¹

¹⁷ "Mirabilis Deus in factis suis, qui tam mirabiliter providit Yspanie et precipue regno Castelle, ut recentibus ultramontanis gloria victorie belli famosi Yspanis, non ultramontanis, atribueretur." *CL*, ch. 22, 58.

¹⁸ An anachronistic term consciously used. See Peter Linehan, "Religion and National Identity in Medieval Spain" *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews, *Studies in Church History*, 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 161–199.

¹⁹ Barkai, 217, labels the historians of the Las Navas era "xenophobic".

²⁰ The analysis of Vincentius Hispanus comes from Gaines Post, "'Blessed Lady Spain' Vincentius Hispanus and Spanish National Imperialism in the Thirteenth Century", *Speculum* 29 (1954), 202. This fascinating article is unfortunately marred, as Linehan (*Spain 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance*, 56) points out, by the mistranslation of Hispanus in the title. "Blessed lady Spain" should rather read "blessed queens of Spain", referring to the daughters of Alfonso VIII.

²¹ Post, 203. This idea is taken up Archbishop Rodrigo as well, who penned a rather unheroic image of Charlemagne's incursions into Spain in *DRH*, book IV, ch. x, 126-128. This was of course a great contemporary issue of national rivalry. French historians, for example Alberic de Troifontaines, 895, could assert that all the Christian kings of Spain had been subject to the French emperor.

This developing sense of national pride also helped to develop a sense of Christian Spain's place within Christendom. After Las Navas, Spaniards were not only inspired by the ideals of the crusade, but they co-opted them for themselves. According to Lucas of Tuy, "Pugnant Hispani Reges pro fide", the Kings of Spain fight for the Faith.²² Rodrigo describes his Alfonso, when considering war with the Almohads, as "desiring to die for the faith of Christ."²³ Alfonso himself told the Pope that the Spanish were there "to do battle with them for the Catholic faith."²⁴ The *Cronica Latina* at one point describes the battle as "this noble triumph, when the Catholic kings and their vassals risked their lives and kingdoms for the exaltation of the Christian name."²⁵ While on the surface, many of these comments do appear to be the same sorts of pious statements made by crusaders about other campaigns, all the statements are designed to emphasize the role of the Spanish in fighting for God. In fact, the entire propaganda and preaching effort exerted before the campaign, especially "Miramomelin's challenge", emphasized that the Almohads were not just invading the Iberian Peninsula, but had had come to conquer all of western Europe. While in 1211 this may have been a tool to motivate other European crusaders to join the fight, after "*solī Hispani*" had won the battle, the echoes of the propaganda effort simply confirmed that the Spanish had just saved all of Christendom. This sense of responsibility toward Christendom in general perhaps partly explains the previously mentioned lack of references to the papacy by the contemporary historians. Flushed with the sense of accomplishment, there could hardly

²² "Pugnant Yspani reges pro fide et ubique vincunt." *CM*, 334.

²³ "idem rex nobilis pro fide Christi mori desiderans". *DRH*, book VII, ch. 34, 256.

²⁴ "cum eis pro fide catholica pugnaturi." Alfonso VIII's letter to Innocent III, 570.

²⁵ "dum reges Catholici et eorum vasali animas exponerent et regna pro exultatione nominis Christiani". *CL*, ch. 25, 64.

be any incentive to share the glory of defending Christendom with a demanding pontiff in Rome, and the horde of traitorous foreigners his crusade had brought to Spain. The victory was for the Spanish, because, as Rodrigo said, “all things work together for good to those who love God.”²⁶

Remembering Las Navas beyond the Pyrenees

Of course things looked a bit differently to those observing from the other side of the Pyrenees. In his chronicle, Bishop Sicard of Cremona noted that “with the help of the grace and mercy of our lord Jesus Christ, and the resourcefulness of the lord pope Innocent, the kings of Aragón and Navarra and Castile met the pagans and put them to flight”.²⁷ In counting the victors, Sicard naturally included Innocent III. The Pope himself celebrated the news by reading Alfonso’s account of the battle to a massive crowd in Rome.²⁸ Writing to the King in reply, Innocent advised him that “This victory was without a doubt not brought about by human work, but by divine; and the sword of God, not of man, or better truly the sword of the people of God destroyed the enemies of

²⁶ “quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum”. *DRH*, book VIII, ch. 6, 266. Rodrigo is quoting Paul, Romans 8:28.

²⁷ “Set auxiliante gratia et misericordia domini nostril Ihesu Christi et sollertia domini pape Innocentii reges Arragonum et Navarre et Castelle occurrerunt paganis et eos de finibus esperie fugaverunt XVII kalendas Augusti.” *Sicardi Episcopi Cremonensis Cronica*, *MGH SS XXXI*, 180.

²⁸ It was delivered by a delegation that arrived in Rome sometime in October. Ato de Foces, an Aragonese knight in Pedro II’s service (and veteran of the battle) may have been part of the delegation. Ato is supposed to have delivered to the Pope the lance and banner of al-Nasir, which were supposedly displayed in Saint Peter’s Basilica until its Renaissance reconstruction. On Ato de Foces, see Alivra, *Pedro el Católico*, vol. 3, 1380, n. 2281. On the trophies in Rome, see Michele Maccarrone, *Studio su Innocenzo III* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1972), 99.

the Lord's cross."²⁹ Moreover, God had brought about this victory not just for Alfonso, but for the "*populum Christianum*", all the Christian people.

The universal nature of the victory was a recurring theme in the clerical accounts of the battle. Arnald Amalric, near the end of his account of the battle which he sent to the Cistercian General Chapter, says:

Blessed be in all things the Lord Jesus Christ, who through his mercy, in our time, under the blessed apostle of the Lord Pope Innocent, bestowed victories upon the catholic Christians over three pestilential peoples and enemies of his holy church, namely eastern schismatics, western heretics, and southern Saracens.³⁰

He goes on to associate the victory over Saracens and heretics even more clearly, when he explains the significance of the name of the battlefield, Las Navas de Tolosa: "There was a certain camp of the Moors that is called Tolosa, that has now been returned to our rule by the grace of God, so that similarly the Toulousan heretics may fear the indignation of God, unless they repent."³¹ Here, then, the Archbishop of Narbonne places the battle in its proper eschatological framework, and provides the explication of God's plan. The war against the Almohads is part of the larger crusade, which, in the aftermath of the victory, seemed to be advancing on all fronts. The danger from the Saracens had been defeated, and the example, it was hoped, would speed the repentance

²⁹ "Ista enim victoria procul dubio non humani operis extitit, set divini; et gladius Dei, non hominis, immo verius Dei hominis inimicos crucis dominice devoravit." Innocent's letter of congratulations to Alfonso VIII, October 1212, Mansilla, doc. 488, 519-521. On the *procession generalis*, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

³⁰ "Benedictus per omnia Dominus Jesus-Christus, qui per suam misericordiam in nostris temporibus, sub felici apostolatu domini Papae Innocentii, de tribus pestilentium hominum et inimicorum ecclesiae sanctae suae, videlicet orientalibus schismaticis, occidentibus haereticis, meridionalibus Sarracenis, victorias contulit catholicis christianis.", Arnald, 253.

³¹ "Erat quippe quoddam castrum Maurorum quod Tolosa nuncupatur, quod nunc in potestate nostra per Dei gratiam est redactum, ut indignationem Dei timeant similiter, nisis poenituerint, haeretici Tolosani.", Arnald, 253.

of the Albigenian heretics, who were being defeated at any rate. The business of fighting God's enemies was the same, no matter the specific time, place, or actors.³²

Arnald Amalric's firsthand account, written soon after the battle, was circulated by the Cistercian abbots, to whom it was addressed, to their various abbeys and monasteries, thus insuring the inclusion of the events into the historical writings of their monks. As a result the letter was one of the principle vehicles of transmission for the news of the battle to much of Europe.³³ For example, the anonymous annalists at Cistercian abbeys of Waverly, in southeast England, and Margam, in Wales, both consciously drew upon Arnald's narrative.³⁴ The composer from Waverly actually copied the Archbishop's letter verbatim for several lines, only changing the voice of the first person references. However, the Archbishop's letter is rather long, and about one third of the way through, in an amusing reminder of the difficulties of writing history in a manuscript culture, the annalist changes his strategy: "Certainly it does not interest us to report everything which occurred in that war; indeed there are many things which we omit here on account of the brevity of this narration: we will turn to the principal matter, about which more will be said."³⁵ Turning to the battle itself, he paraphrases or directly quotes the letter for several more lines. The annalist at Margam wrote his own narrative of the campaign, but quotes casualty figures "just as the Archbishop of Narbonne (who

³² See Alvira, "El Venerable Arnaldo Amalrico".

³³ Alvira, "Guerra e ideología", 117.

³⁴ *Annales de Margam*, in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores* II, 15. *Annales Waverliensis Monasterii*, RHGF XVIII, 199-200.

³⁵ "Nostri quidem non interest omnia referre quae acta sunt in illo bello; sunt enim plura quae hic propter brevitatem narrationis intermittimus: ad summam redeamus, de qua magis fit sermo." *Annales Waverliensis Monasterii*, RHGF XVIII, 200.

took part in the battle) writes in a certain letter directed to the Cistercian General Chapter.”³⁶

The story, of course, got better in the retelling. In the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, the Almohads came specifically to the aid of the Albigensian heretics, to launch an assault on “all of Europe.”³⁷ Again the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa is placed in a wider, almost apocalyptic struggle between Christendom and its enemies. Alberic of Trois Fontaines also insisted on a broad conception of the battle, though his primary narrative goal was to try to salvage the reputation of the French crusaders. In doing so he attributed the victory to the intervention of the Virgin Mary, through the agency of a banner from the monastery of Rocamadour in Quercy carried in the battle.³⁸ The chronicles of Saint-Denis tried also tried to salvage the French reputation, reporting that “many a valiant knight from the Kingdom of France was at that battle.”³⁹ The chronicle of the abbey of Savigny, in Brittany, devotes two sentences to Las Navas de Tolosa, amidst reports of the so-called Children’s Crusade and the conflict between Philip Augustus and John of England.⁴⁰ It contains a unique episode, “and that which is most worthy of remembrance, in that battle Our Lord is said to have appeared

³⁶ “sicut scribit Narbonensis Archiepiscopus (qui ipse bello interfuit) in epistola quadam ad capitulum Cisterciense directa.” *Annales de Margam*, 15.

³⁷ “Albienses antequam veniret contra eos exercitus Domini, ut supra dictum est, Miralimomelinum Regem de Marroch in auxilium sibi invitaverant. Qui de Affrica in Hispanias cum tam incredibili multitudine venit, ut totam Europam se obtinere posse speraret.” *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 303.

³⁸ Alberic de Troisfontaines, 895

³⁹ “En celle bataille furent maint vaillant chevalier du roiaume de France.” *Extraits des Chroniques de Saint Denis, Les Gestes de Philippe Auguste*, RHGF XVII, 398.

⁴⁰ *Chronicum Savigniensis Monasterii*, RHGF XVIII, 351.

clearly to a certain knight.”⁴¹ This miracle story is entirely absent from the other sources. The specificity of the story suggests that this may have been a report given to the monk by a local participant in the battle, simultaneously reinforcing the French participation and the eschatological significance of the victory.

Conclusion

These competing visions of the battle of course reflected the different ways in which the ideas and actions which we associate with crusading were experienced. Though Las Navas de Tolosa was a pivotal moment in the codification and institutionalization of the crusade, orchestrated by Innocent III, the process was in no way complete in 1212. While at its heart, crusading may have been a papal project designed to harness the martial energies of Europe’s military aristocracy, and direct them towards the defense and expansion of the Latin Christian world, those warriors took the bit and ran with it. Despite the efforts of pope after pope, Innocent III foremost among them, the crusade became more than simply the strong right arm of Rome. By lending spiritual meaning to the nobility’s primary vocation, the Church gave direction to the deep religious feelings of the laity, and created a heroic historical narrative for the whole of society. The crusade became not just a religious institution, but a self-confident reimagining of the eschatological destiny of a burgeoning society. It also provided an ideological framework onto which the scattered and limited resources of the pre-modern kingdoms could be brought together. Religion, the last unifying legacy of the Roman past

⁴¹ “Et quod memoria dignissimum est, in eodem praelio Dominus noster cuidam militi manifeste apparuisse asseritur.” *Chronicum Savigniensis Monasterii*, RHGF XVIII, 351.

was the best tool for summoning a unified effort in European society Or rather many societies, because, despite the narrative of Christendom, there was great variety in the cultural landscape, and subsequently great variety in the ways in which crusading was practiced and experienced. By the early thirteenth century, the crusade had been, for a century, a central part of the cultural world of the French aristocracy. Reinforced by heroic tales and dramatic tragedies (like the battle of Hattin in 1187), the crusade had become a prescriptive force, rigidly drawing lines between good and evil. In contemporary Iberia, local circumstances meant that no such rigidity yet existed. There the Spanish Christians experienced the same religious enthusiasm which the excitement of the Holy Land and the powerful call to take up one's own cross inspired everywhere. However, the realities of the frontier, and the long-term interaction with their Muslim neighbors meant that they experienced the crusading without the element of pilgrimage, and without the black-and-white certainty of the enemy that suffused the imaginations of their northern neighbors. And yet, while Iberian crusaders might have room in their minds to accommodate the continued existence of the religious minorities with whom they shared their homeland, the power of the appeal of crusade indicates a great deal about the nature of this *convivencia*. What toleration did exist depended heavily on the maintenance of power relations which ensured the dominance of one's own group and the subjection of the others, and it was always, as Nirenberg put it, "predicated on an act of

violence.”⁴² While hostility did not prevent a great deal of cultural borrowing, such acculturation did not prevent warfare, even crusade.⁴³

And so it was that the most important military episode in the long history of the Christian-Muslim struggle for control of over the Iberian Peninsula was also the most successful crusade of the greatest crusading Pope. Planned and launched as a model of papal policy, the crusade nevertheless unfolded along pre-existing cultural patterns for the warriors who participated in it. Despite Innocent’s clarity of vision, practical and theological, the campaign of 1212 was a bumpy affair. But in the end, the project was successful. Local politics were put aside in the name of united action; the sacrifices necessary for the massive logistical effort were made palatable; international assistance was sought and found; the energies of all (or at least a lot of) Christendom were marshaled for its defense. The framework of the crusade made it all possible. Not surprisingly, both Innocent III and Bishop Juan de Osma, author of the *Cronica Latina*, chose the same words to mark the victory:

The Christians could sing that day with the Psalmist: Lord, Lord my God, who trains my hands for war, my fingers for battle. He is my loving God and my fortress, my stronghold and my deliverer, my shield, in whom I take refuge, who subdues peoples under me.

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⁴² Nirenberg, 229.

⁴³ Perhaps the most elegant demonstration of this almost paradoxical reality is found in the gold *maravedis* minted in 1212 to help pay for the campaign. These coins, like all of Alfonso VIII’s *maravedis*, essentially copies of Almohad coins, right down to the Arabic inscriptions. The coins minted in 1212 read, on the obverse “The Imam of the Christian Church is the Pope”; the reverse side reads “The Emir of the Catholics, Alfonso ibn Sancho, whom God helps and protects.” Juan Zozaya, *Alarcos, el fiel de la balanza* (Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1995), 317.

⁴⁴ *CL*, ch. 25, 62. The psalm referenced is 144. Innocent chose the same psalm to celebrate the battle in his letter of congratulations to Alfonso VIII. Mansilla, doc. 488, 520.

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